

[Text version of database, created 30/06/2012].

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

Languages included: Nidzh Udi [lez-udn], Vartashen Udi [lez-udv], Archi [lez-aqc], Kryts (proper) [lez-krp], Alyk Kryts [lez-kra], Budukh [lez-bdk], Mishlesh Tsakhur [lez-tkx], Mikik Tsakhur [lez-tky], Gelmets Tsakhur [lez-tkz], Mukhad Rutul [rut-rum], Ixrek Rutul [rut-rui], Luchek Rutul [rut-rul], Koshan Aghul [lez-agk], Keren Aghul [lez-age], Gequn Aghul [lez-agg], Fite Aghul [lez-agf], Aghul (proper) [lez-agp], Northern Tabasaran [lez-tan], Southern Tabasaran [lez-tas], Gyune Lezgi [lez-lzg].

Reconstruction: Proto-Lezgian reconstruction available.

DATA SOURCES

General.

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Comrie & Khalilov 2010 = Б. Комри, М. Халилов. Словарь языков и диалектов народов Северного Кавказа. Сопоставление основной лексики. Лейпциг/Махачкала, 2010 [B. Comrie, M. 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.

Khaydakov 1973 = С. М. Хайдаков. Сравнительно-сопоставительный словарь дагестанских языков. Москва, 1973. // *Thematic glossary of thirteen East Caucasian languages of Dagestan with comparative notes.*

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.*

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.*

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

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Starchevskiy 1891 = А. В. Старчевский. *Кавказский толмач. Переводчик с русского на главнейшие кавказские языки.* Санкт-Петербург, 1891. // *Glossaries, phrase-books and short grammar sketches for various languages of the Caucasus.*

I. Udi (Nidzh; Vartashen).

Main sources

Dirr 1903 = А. М. Дирр. *Грамматика удинского языка*. Тифлис, 1903 (= Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа, вып. 33). // *A grammar of the Vartashen dialect of Udi*.

Dzheiranishvili 1971 = Evg. Dzheiranishvili. *Udiuri ena. Gramat'ik'a, krest'omatia, leksik'oni*. Tbilisi, 1971. // *Descriptive grammar of Udi mainly based on the Vartashen dialect. Supplemented with several texts and a thematic glossary. In Georgian with a Russian summary*.

Fährnich 1999 = H. Fährnich. *Kleines udisch-deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*. Jena: Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, 1999. // *Author's own field records of the Vartashen dialect, from the 1960s*.

Gippert et al. 2008 = J. Gippert, W. Schulze, Z. Aleksidze, J.-P. Mahé. *The Caucasian Albanian Palimpsests of Mt. Sinai*. 2 vols. Brepols, 2008. // *A detailed edition of ancient texts written in the so-called Caucasian Albanian language*.

Gukasyan 1974 = В. Гукасян. *Удинско-азербайджанско-русский словарь*. Баку, 1974. // *The main (and, along with [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the most reliable) lexicographic source of Udi, supplemented by a grammar sketch. Covers both Nidzh (Cyrillic siglum H) and Vartashen (Cyrillic siglum B) dialects. NB: We presume that if a form is quoted by Gukasyan without siglum, it is attested in both dialects*.

Mobili 2010 = Р. Мобили. *Удинско-азербайджанско-русский словарь*. Баку, 2010. // *A new Udi dictionary based on [Gukasyan 1974], but with a number of new entries and/or phonetical variants of dialectal nature (exclusive Vartashen forms are marked by asterisk *, but common Nidzh-Vartashen forms and exclusive Nidzh ones are unmarked)*.

Schiefner 1863 = А. Schiefner. *Versuch über die Sprache der Uden*. St. Petersburg, 1863. // *Grammar, texts and glossary of Udi Vartashen*.

Schulze 1982 = W. Schulze. *Die Sprachen der Uden in Nord-Azerbajdžan*. Wiesbaden, 1982. // *A descriptive grammar of Udi, covering both dialects*.

Schulze 2001 = W. Schulze. *The Udi Gospels. Annotated text, etymological index, lemmatized concordance*. München/Newcastle: Lincom, 2001. // *Romanized and grammatically elaborated edition of Vartashen texts from [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902]. Contains a selective etymological glossary of Udi. The Romanized text of the Gospels is also available at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/udi/nt/nt.htm> [Accessed on 10.2010]*.

Schulze 2005 = W. Schulze. *A Functional Grammar of Udi*. Unpubl. ms. // *Partial draft version of a comprehensive descriptive grammar of Udi, covering both dialects (Nidzh and Vartashen). Available on demand at the author's site: <http://www.lrz.de/~wschulze/FGU.htm>*.

Schulze-Fürhoff 1994 = W. Schulze-Fürhoff. Udi. In: R. Smeets. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 4. Caravan Books, 1994. P. 447-514. // *A grammar sketch that covers both dialects of Udi*.

Additional sources

Alekseev 2008 = М. Е. Алексеев. Удинская лексика в этимологическом словаре лезгинских языков. In: *Удинский сборник: Грамматика, лексика, история языка*. Москва, 2008. P. 311-346. // *Etymological elaboration of the basic Udi vocabulary*.

Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902 = С. Бежанов, М. Бежанов. *Господа нашего Иисуса Христа Святое Евангелие от Матфея, Иоанна, Луки и Иоанна на русском и удинском языках*. Тифлис, 1902 (= Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа, вып. 30) // *Christian religious texts in the Vartashen dialect of Udi, recorded by S. & M. Bežanovs in the late 19th century. Supplemented by Russian translation. Pagination restarts in each next Gospel. Re-edited in [Schulze 2001]*.

Dabakov 2008 = В. В. Дабаков. Лексика ниджского диалекта удинского языка (дополнения к словарю В. Гукасяна). In: *Удинский сборник: Грамматика, лексика,*

история языка. Москва, 2008. P. 347-364. // *Lexicographical addenda to [Gukasyan 1974] from the Nidzh dialect*.

Ganenkov et al. 2008 = Д. С. Ганенков, Ю. А. Ландер, Т. А. Майсак. Удинский язык (ниджский диалект). In: А. Е. Кибрик (ред.). *Малые языки и традиции: Существование на грани*. Вып. 2: *Тексты и словарные материалы*. Москва, 2008. P. 232-259. // *Several glossed texts from the Nidzh dialect*.

Harris 2002 = A. C. Harris. *Endoclitics and the origins of Udi morphosyntax*. Oxford, 2002. // *A detailed description of Udi verbal morphosyntax (covering both Nidzh and Vartashen dialects)*.

Maisak 2008a = Т. А. Майсак. Глагольная парадигма удинского языка (ниджский диалект). In: *Удинский сборник: Грамматика, лексика, история языка*. Москва, 2008. P. 96-161. // *A detailed description of Udi Nidzh verb*.

Maisak 2008b = Т. А. Майсак. Семантика и происхождение глагольных форм настоящего и будущего времени в удинском языке. In: *Удинский сборник: Грамматика, лексика, история языка*. Москва, 2008. P. 162-222.

Maisak 2008c = Т. А. Майсак. Варианты удинской орфографии: Краткий обзор. In: *Удинский сборник: Грамматика, лексика, история языка*. Москва, 2008. P. 443-460. // *A description of all the main Cyrillic and Roman orthographies ever used for Udi*.

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II. Archi.

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Southern Daghestan, Caucasus, <http://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/archi/linguists/> [Accessed on November 2011]. // *Archi-Russian-English dictionary based on [Kibrik et al. 1977b], thoroughly checked and supplemented with sound files. A number of new entries is added, but, on the contrary, some lexicographic information as well as some entries (e.g., personal pronouns), quoted in [Kibrik et al. 1977b], have been omitted. It is not recommended to use the English definitions proposed in the dictionary when attempting to establish the exact meaning of an Archi word; Russian definitions must be referred to for this purpose.*

Chumakina 2009 = M. Chumakina. 2009. Archi vocabulary. In: M. Haspelmath & U. Tadmor (eds.). *World Loanword Database*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. // Available online at <http://wold.livingsources.org/vocabulary/16> [Accessed on November 2011].

Dirr 1908 = А. М. Дирр. *Арчинский язык*. Тифлис, 1908 (= Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа, вып. 39) // *A grammar of the Archi language, supplemented by texts and a glossary.*

Kibrik 1994 = A. Kibrik. Archi. In: R. Smeets. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 4. Caravan Books, 1994. P. 297-365. // *A grammar sketch of Archi.*

Kibrik et al. 1977a = А. Е. Кибрик, С. В. Кодзасов, И. П. Оловяннаякова, Д. С. Самедов. *Опыт структурного описания арчинского языка*. Т. 1: *Лексика, фонетика*. Т. 2: *Таксономическая грамматика*. Т. 3: *Динамическая грамматика*. Москва, 1977. // *A detailed grammar of Archi in three volumes.*

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III. Kryts (proper; Alyk).

Authier 2009 = G. Authier. Grammaire kryz (langue caucasique d'Azerbaïdjan, dialecte d'Alik). Leuven/Paris: Peeters, 2009. // *A grammar of the Alyk dialect of Kryts.*

Saadiev 1994 = Sh. M. Saadiev. Kryts. In: R. Smeets. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 4. Caravan Books, 1994. P. 407-446. // *A grammar sketch of Kryts, covering main dialects.*

IV. Budukh.

Alekseev 1994 = M. E. Alekseev. Budukh. In: R. Smeets. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 4. Caravan Books, 1994. P. 259-296. // *A grammar sketch of Budukh.*

Meylanova 1984 = У. А. Мейланова. *Будухско-русский словарь*. Москва, 1984. // *Budukh-Russian dictionary of ca. 8000 entries supplemented by a Russian-Budukh word-index and a grammar sketch.*

Talibov 2007 = Б. Б. Талибов. *Будухский язык*. Москва, 2007. // *A descriptive grammar of Budukh supplemented by sample texts.*

V. Tsakhur (Mishlesh; Mikik; Gelmets).

Main sources

Dirr 1913 = А. М. Дирр. *Цахурский язык*. [А. М. Dirr. *The Tsakhur Language*]. Тифлис, 1913 (= Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа, вып. 43). // *A grammar of the Mikik dialect of the Tsakhur language, supplemented by texts and a glossary.*

Ibragimov 1990 = Г. Х. Ибрагимов. *Цахурский язык*. [G. Kh. Ibragimov. *The Tsakhur Language*]. Москва, 1990. // *A descriptive grammar of the Mishlesh dialect (Tsakh group;*

with excourses into the Mukhakh-Sabunchi and Suvagil dialects) and the Gelmets dialect (Gelmets group) of Tsakhur.

Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010 = Г. Х. Ибрагимов, Ю. М. Нурмамедов. *Цахурско-русский словарь*. [G. Kh. Ibragimov, Yu. M. Nurmamedov. Tsakhur-Russian Dictionary]. Махачкала, 2010. // *A Tsakhur-Russian dictionary (based on the Tsakh dialectal group, mostly on the Mishlesh and Tsakhur-Kum dialects; some specific dialectal terms are also included, sometimes with special sigla), supplemented with a grammar sketch.*

Kibrik et al. 1999 = А. Е. Кибрик, Я. Г. Тестелец (ред.). *Элементы цахурского языка в типологическом освещении*. [A. Y. Kibrik, Y. G. Testelelets (eds.). Elements of Tsakhur from a typological point of view.] Москва, 1999. // *A theoretical grammar of the Mishlesh dialect (Tsakh group) of Tsakhur, supplemented by texts and a glossary.*

Additional sources

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VI. Rutul (Mukhad; Ixrek; Luchek).

Alekseev 1994a = М. Е. Alekseev. Rutul. In: R. Smeets. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, vol. 4. Caravan Books, 1994. P. 213-258. // *A short grammar sketch of Rutul, based on the Mukhad dialect.*

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Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006 = К. Э. Джамалов, С. А. Семедов. *Рутульско-русский словарь (ихрекский диалект)*. Москва, 2006. // *Rutul-Russian dictionary based on the Ixrek*

dialect. Supplemented by a Russian-Rutul word-index and a grammar sketch.

Ibragimov 1978 = Г. Х. Ибрагимов. *Рутульский язык*. Москва, 1978. // *Descriptive grammar sketches and word-lists of the main Rutul dialects (Mukhad, Shinaz, Muxrek, Ixrek, Borch-Khнов)*.

Makhmudova 2001 = С. М. Махмудова. *Морфология рутульского языка*. Москва, 2001. // *A morphological description of the Mukhad dialect of Rutul.*

VII. Aghul (proper; Koshan; Keren; Gequn; Fite).

Dirr 1907 = А. М. Дирр. *Агульский язык*. Тифлис, 1907 (= Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа, вып. 37). // *A grammar of the Gequn (Burkikhan) dialect of the Aghul language, supplemented by texts and a glossary.*

Magometov 1970 = А. А. Магомедов. *Агульский язык: Исследования и тексты*. Тбилиси, 1970. // *A grammar of the main Aghul dialects, supplemented by texts (unfortunately, in many cases the dialectal origin of the discussed forms is not specified by the author; it seems that normally these unmarked forms are proper Aghul).*

Shaumyan 1941 = Р. М. Шаумян. *Грамматический очерк агульского языка с текстами и словарем*. Москва/Ленинград, 1941. // *A grammar sketch of the main Aghul dialects (mostly based on the Koshan dialect), supplemented by texts and a glossary. The following sigla are used in Shaumyan's dictionary: "дул.", "тп.", "цир." = proper Aghul dialect (sub-dialects of the villages Duldug, Tpig, Tsirkhe respectively); "арс.", "бур.", "худ." = Koshan dialect (sub-dialects of the villages Arsug, Burshag, Khudig respectively); "гекх." = Gequn (Burkikhan) dialect; "фит." = Fite (Fit'e) dialect; "ус." = Keren dialect (sub-dialects of the village Usug).*

Suleymanov 1993 = Н. Д. Сулейманов. *Сравнительно-историческое исследование диалектов агульского языка*. Махачкала, 1993. // *Historical studies on the dialects of the Aghul language.*

Suleymanov 2003 = Н. Д. Сулейманов. *Агульско-русский (диалектологический) словарь*.

Махачкала, 2003. // *An Aghul-Russian dictionary of ca. 5000 entries, containing data on the Tpig sub-dialect of the proper Aghul dialect (the siglum "т.") and the Arsug, Burshag, Khudig sub-dialects of the Koshan dialect (the generic siglum "к."); entries without a siglum are common Tpig-Koshan; illustrative examples are normally from Tpig.*

Tarlanov 1994 = З. К. Тарланов. Агулы: их язык и история. Петрозаводск, 1994. // *A grammar sketch of the Aghul language (based on the Proper Aghul dialect) with excourses on the history and ethnology of the Aghuls.*

Ramazanov 2010 = М. Р. Рамазанов. Агульско-русский словарь. Махачкала, 2010. // *Aghul-Russian dictionary with over 40000 entries (in fact, ca. 5000 non-derived lexemes).*

VIII. Tabasaran (Northern, Southern).

Main sources

Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003 = М. Е. Алексеев, С. Х. Шихалиева. Табасаранский язык. Москва, 2003. // *A grammar sketch of the Literary Tabasaran language.*

Dirr 1905 = А. М. Дирр. Грамматический очерк табасаранского языка. Тифлис, 1905 (= Сборник материалов для описания местностей и племен Кавказа, вып. 35). // *A grammar of the Tabasaran language, based on the sub-dialect of the village Khanag (Northern dialect), supplemented by texts and a glossary. It must be noted that in Dirr's glossary some words are phonetically not Khanag, but rather originate from Southern Tabasaran.*

Genko 2005 = А. Н. Генко. Табасаранско-русский словарь. Москва, 2005. // *A Tabasaran-Russian dialectological dictionary, collected and prepared for publication by the author in the 1930s, but edited (by М. Е. Алексеев) only in 2005. Supplemented by a dialectological sketch and several texts. The dictionary is based on the Khiv sub-dialect (Southern Tabasaran), although the Khyuryuk (Northern Tabasaran) forms are also systematically quoted, and a lot of specific forms and variants from other sub-dialects of both Southern and Northern Tabasaran are additionally provided. Khiv forms are quoted without special marks: for $\text{ʃ}^{\text{h}}\text{Æ}$ other sub-dialects the following sigla are used: Northern dialect: "Арк." (Arkit), "Д." (Dyubek), "К." (Kumi), "Там." (Tatil),*

"Урс." (Ursyug), "Х." (Khyuryuk), "Хан." (Khapil), "Чув." (Chuvek). *Southern dialect:* "А.Я." (Ashaga Yarak), "Дж." (Dzhikhtig), "З." (Zildik), "Кан." (Kondik), "М." (Mezhgyul), "Н." (Nitrik), "С." (Sirtych), "Т." (Tinit), "Тр./Труф." (Truf), "Тур." (Turag), "Хор." (Khoredzh), "Ч." (Chara), "Чул." (Chulat), "Э." (Eteg), "Ю.Я." (Yukhary Yarak). The initial plus sign (+) denotes that the form is attested both in Khiv and in the undermentioned sub-dialect. It must be noted that dialectal specifications are not always accurate: in a substantial number of cases the specific siglum can be omitted (i.e. the form is formally marked as Khiv) or the plus sign can be omitted or, on the contrary, erroneously typed in.

Khanmagomedov 1957 = Школийриз рус чІалнанна табасаран чІалнан словарь. Ред. Б. Г. Ханмагомедов. Махачкала, 1957. // *A Russian-Literary Tabasaran dictionary of ca. 16000 entries.*

Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001 = Б. Г. Ханмагомедов, К. Т. Шалбузов. *Табасаранско-русский словарь.* Включает грамматический очерк табасаранского языка, сост. К. К. Курбанов. Москва: Илим, 2001. // *A Literary Tabasaran-Russian dictionary of ca. 25000 entries, supplemented by a grammar sketch.*

Magometov 1965 = А. А. Магометов. *Табасаранский язык. Исследование и тексты.* Тбилиси, 1965. // *A grammar of Tabasaran, covering both northern and southern dialects. The volume is supplemented by several texts.*

Uslar 1979 = П. К. Услар. *Табасаранский язык.* С введением и комментариями А. А. Магометова. Тбилиси, 1979. // *A grammar of the Tabasaran language, mostly based on the sub-dialect of the village Khanag (Northern dialect), supplemented by texts and a glossary. The manuscript was prepared in the 1870s, but only published one hundred years later.*

Zhirkov 1948 = Л. И. Жирков. *Табасаранский язык.* Москва / Ленинград, 1948. // *A descriptive grammar of the Literary Tabasaran language.*

Additional sources

Kodzasov & Muravyeva 1982 = С. В. Кодзасов, И. А. Муравьева. *Фонетика*

табасаранского языка. In: *Табасаранские этюды. Материалы Дагестанской экспедиции 1979*. Москва, 1982. P. 6-16. // *A description of the phonetic system of the Dyubek sub-dialect (Northern dialect) of Tabasaran.*

IX. Lezgi (Gyune).

Main sources

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NOTES

I. Udi (Nidzh; Vartashen).

I.1. *General.*

Two dialects of the Udi language - Nidzh and Vartashen - are closely related, but it is reasonable to treat them apart when applying lexicostatistics. The main lexicographic sources are [Gukasyan 1974] (both dialect) and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (Nidzh nouns).

In the field *Common Udi*, the term "Proto-Udi" is sometimes used. This refers to the language that yielded the modern Nidzh and Vartashen dialects. Proto-Udi is opposed to "Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi" - an ancestor of the language of the Caucasian Albanian palimpsests, on the one hand, and of Proto-Udi, on the other.

I.2. *Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (for all the other alphabets ever used for Udi see [Maisak 2008c: 456 ff.])

[Gukasyan 1974], [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	[Schulze- Fürhoff 1994]	[Schulze 2001], [Schulze 2005]	[Harris 2002]	[Mobili 2010]	GLD
П	p	p	p	p	p	p	p
Ḅ	b	b	b	b	b	b	b
п1, пI	Ḅ	p:	p'	p'	p'	p'	p:
Ф	f	f	f	f	f	f	f
В	v	w	v, w	v	v, w	v	v
Т	t	t	t	t	t	t	t
Д	d	d	d	d	d	d	d

[Gukasyan 1974], [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	[Schulze- Fürhoff 1994]	[Schulze 2001], [Schulze 2005]	[Harris 2002]	[Mobili 2010]	GLD
ХЪ	q	q	q	q	q	q	q
КЪ	q̃	q:	q'	q'	q'	q'	q:
х	X	χ	χ̂	x	x	x	χ
гъ	R	ʁ	ḡ	ḡ	ʁ	ḡ	ʁ
гь	h	h	h	h	h	h	h
м	m	m	m	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
р	r	r	r	r	r	r	r
л	l	l	l	l	l	l	l
й	j	j	y	y	y	y	y
и	i	i	i	i	i	i	i
е	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
а	a	a	a	a	a	a	a
аь	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä	ə	ä
ы	ɨ	ɨ	ь	ə	ə	ɨ	ɨ
о	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
оь	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö	ö
у	u	u	u	u	u	u	u
уь	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü
Въ	ʋI, qI, šI	ʋI, qI, šI	ʋ	ʋ ^f	ʋ.	ʋ̃	ʋ ^f , q ^f , š ^f

Notes:

1. Our phonetic interpretation of the Nidzh dialect is based on [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 347].
2. According to Kodzasov's report [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 347], the three-way

opposition of stops and affricates in Nidzh is as follows: $t^h \sim d \sim t$, $c^h \sim z \sim c$ and so on. As noted by Kodzasov, the third series is pronounced with oral and glottal tenseness, but without gemination. We are not aware of any detailed phonetic description of the Modern Vartashen dialect, but according to Dm. Ganenkov (p.c.), the Vartashen three-way opposition of stops and affricates is very similar to the Nidzh one. This is supported by Gukasyan's description of Udi phonetics. In [Gukasyan 1974: 255] and other works of this author, the third series in Udi is called "preruptive", *scil.* fortis, without any difference between dialects. In order to avoid rare diacritics, we prefer to follow the [NCED] and UdiLang systems and transcribe the third marked series of obstruents with the sign \cdot . For the same reason, according to common practice, we omit the non-phonological aspiration h for the first series. Thus, in our notation the three-way opposition of Nidzh & Vartashen stops and affricates looks as follows: $t \sim d \sim t$, $c \sim z \sim c$ and so on.

3. It must be noted that in a number of publications by Kartvelologists or Kartvelology-oriented authors (e.g., [Žeiranišvili 1971], [Fähnrich 1999], [Harris 2002]) the Udi system of stops and affricates is noted as $t^{(h)} \sim d \sim t'$, $c^{(h)} \sim z \sim c'$ and so on. Such a notation with the third series marked as ejective is a convenient adaptation of the Georgian alphabet, on one hand, and hints at the main etymological origin of the Udi tense obstruents, on the other.

4. The difference between Gukasyan's frequent {ɫ1} and very rare {ɫ́} is unclear. We treat both as c : {ɫ1} (according to Ganenkov's p.c., modern speakers do not perceive the difference between {ɫ1} and {ɫ́}).

5. Pharyngealization (a prosodic feature, which is anchored on vowels or, if present, on post-alveolar \check{c} \check{z} $\check{c}:$ \check{s} \check{z} and/or uvular q $q:$ χ κ obstruents in a phonetic word) can probably be noted as $\tilde{}$ (velopharyngeal friction), but we prefer to use the more common notation ʕ . If there are no post-alveolar or uvular obstruents in a phonetic word, pharyngealization is transcribed for the first vowel. Otherwise, pharyngealization is noted after the first post-alveolar or uvular obstruent. Normally we do not discriminate between $a \sim \tilde{a}$, $o \sim \tilde{o}$, $u \sim \tilde{u}$ in pharyngealized words and transcribe these vowels as a , o , u .

6. Vowel length, noted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], normally occurs in recently

contracted forms or loanwords.

Ia. Caucasian Albanian.

This is the language of two palimpsests, which have been recently recovered, and several short inscriptions. These texts have been elaborated and edited as [Gippert et al. 2008]. The lower (Caucasian Albanian) layers of the palimpsests are dated between 7th-10th centuries of the 1st millennium AD (see [Gippert et al. 2008: I-29 ff.] for detail).

The Caucasian Albanian language is very close to modern Udi, although it is unlikely that Caucasian Albanian is a direct ancestor of the known Nidzh and Vartashen dialects. We treat Caucasian Albanian as a close relative of the "Proto-Udi" language. Caucasian Albanian data, if available, is quoted in the *Common Udi* field.

The phonetic transcription of the Caucasian Albanian signs is, of course, somewhat of conventionality. In general, we follow the transliteration proposed and substantiated in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-1 ff.] with the following changes:

- "Postalveolar" sibilants (which are transcribed in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-10, 14, 15] as *ś, ź, ć, ǰ, č*, following Schulze's system, although in modern Udi these are pharyngealized alveolar) we render as *š^ʃ, ž^ʃ, č^ʃ, ǰ^ʃ, č^ʃ*;

- the sign #14 (Gippert-Schulze's *ʃ*) is rendered as *ʃ*, although its phonetic value is not entirely clear, see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-12];

- the sign #17 (*x* in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-11]) - as *χ*;

- the sign #24 (*x* in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-11]) - as *q*. Note that both *χ* and *q* are often interchangeable in the palimpsests. Apparently more accurate transcription of #24 *q* should be the affricate *q̣χ*;

- the sign #41 (*ğ* in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-9]) - as *ʁ*;

- the Greek-inspired sign combination *ow* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-10] - as *u*;

- the sign #25 (*â* in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-11]) - as pharyngealized *o^ʃ*;

- the sign combination #47 + #50 (*üw* in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-11]) - as pharyngealized *u^ʃ*. Note that #25 (*o^ʃ*) and discussed #47 are actually one alphabetical sign, so the combination *o^ʃw* (= our *u^ʃ*) is exactly paralleled by the combination *ow* (= our *u*).

II. Archi.

II.1. General.

The main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik et al. 1977b], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], [Chumakina et al. 2007].

II.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (see also the comparative tables in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 41] and at the site of the LanguedOC project: <http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/eng/archi/alphabet.php>).

[Chumakina et al. 2007]	[Kibrik et al. 1977a, 1977b]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Mikailov 1967]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
b	b	b	ḅ	ḅ	b	b
p	p (p ^h)	p	ḡ, ḡḡ	ḡ	p	p
p:	p̄	p̄	ḡ, ḡḡ	ḡḡ	p:	p:
p'	p'	p'	ḡḡ	ḡḡ	p̣	p'
d	d	d	ḍ	ḍ	d	d
t	t (t ^h)	t	ṭ, ṭṭ	ṭ	t	t
t:	t̄	t̄	ṭ, ṭṭ	ṭṭ	t:	t:
t'	t'	t'	ṭṭ	ṭṭ	ṭ	t'
d ^w	d _o	d _o	ḍḅ	ḍḅ	d ^w	d ^w
t ^w	t _o (t _o ^h)	t _o	ṭḅ	ṭḅ	t ^w	t ^w
c	c	c	ḥ, ḥ̄	ḥ	c	c
c'	c'	c'	ḥḡ, ḥḡḡ	ḥḡ	ç	c'
c:	c̄	c̄	ḥḡ, ḥḡḡ	ḥḡḡ	ç:	c':

[Chumakina et al. 2007]	[Kibrik et al. 1977a, 1977b]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Mikhailov 1967]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
c ^w	c _o	c _o	цв	цв	c ^w	c ^w
c ^w	c' _o	c' _o	цІв	цІв	ç ^w	c ^w
Z	Z	Z	з	з	Z	Z
s	s	s	c, c̄	c	s	s
s:	s̄	s̄	c, c̄	cc	s:	s:
Z ^w	Z _o	Z _o	зв	зв	Z ^w	Z ^w
s ^w	s _o	s _o	св, c̄в	св	s ^w	s ^w
s: ^w	s̄ _o	s̄ _o	св, c̄в	ссв	s: ^w	s: ^w
č	č	č	ч, č̄	ч	č	č
č̄	č̄	č̄	чІ, č̄І	чІ	č̄	č̄
č:	č̄	č̄	чІ, č̄І	ччІ	č:	č̄:
č ^w	č _o	č _o	чв, č̄в	чв	č ^w	č ^w
č ^w	č' _o	č' _o	чІв, č̄Ів	чІв	č ^w	č ^w
ž	ž	ž	ж	ж	ž	ž
š	š	š	ш, š̄	ш	š	š
š:	š̄	š̄	ш, š̄	шц	š:	š̄:
ž ^w	ž _o	ž _o	жв	жв	ž ^w	ž ^w
š ^w	š _o	š _o	шв, š̄в	шв	š ^w	š ^w
š: ^w	š̄ _o	š̄ _o	шв, š̄в	шцв	š: ^w	š̄: ^w
kɫ	ķ	L	лІ	лІ	λ	λ
kɫ'	ķ'	L'	кьІ	кь	λ̣	λ'
kɫ ^w	ķ _o	L _o	лІв	лІв	λ ^w	λ ^w
kɫ ^w	ķ' _o	L' _o	кьІв	кьв	λ̣ ^w	λ ^w

[Chumakina et al. 2007]	[Kibrik et al. 1977a, 1977b]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Mikhailov 1967]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
ɬ	ʃ̣	ɬ	лб	лб	ɬ	ɬ
ɬ	ʃ̣̄	ɬ	лб, л̄б	лб	ɬ	ɬ
ɬ:	ʃ̣̄:	ɬ	лб, л̄б	лблб, ллб	ɬ:	ɬ:
ɬ ^w	ʃ̣̣ _o	ɬ _o	лбв, л̄бв	лбв	ɬ ^w	ɬ ^w
ɬ: ^w	ʃ̣̣̄ _o	ɬ _o	лбв, л̄бв	лблбв, ллбв	ɬ: ^w	ɬ: ^w
g	g	g	г	г	g	g
k	k (k ^h)	k	к, кк	к	k	k
k:	k̄	k̄	к, кк	кк	k:	k:
k'	k'	k'	кІ	кІ	ḱ	k'
g ^w	g _o	g _o	гв	гв	g ^w	g ^w
k ^w	k _o (k ^h _o)	k _o	кв, ккв	кв	k ^w	k ^w
k: ^w	k̄ _o	k̄ _o	кв, ккв	ккв	k: ^w	k: ^w
k' ^w	k' _o	k' _o	кІв	кІв	ḱ ^w	k' ^w
q	q	q	хб	хб	q	q
q'	q'	q'	кб, к̄б	кб	q̣	q'
q: ^w	q̄'	q̄'	кб, к̄б	кбкб, ккб	q̣:	q':
q ^w	q _o	q _o	хбв	хбв	q ^w	q ^w
q' ^w	q' _o	q' _o	кбв	кбв	q̣ ^w	q' ^w
ʁ	ʀ	ʀ	гб	гб	ʁ	ʁ
χ	x	χ	х, х̄	х, хб	χ	χ
χ:	x̄	χ	х, х̄	хх, хб	χ:	χ:
ʁ ^w	ʀ _o	ʀ _o	гбв	гбв	ʁ ^w	ʁ ^w
χ ^w	x _o	χ _o	хв, х̄в	хв, хбв	χ ^w	χ ^w
χ: ^w	x̄ _o	χ _o	хв, х̄в	ххв, хх̄Ів	χ: ^w	χ: ^w

[Chumakina et al. 2007]	[Kibrik et al. 1977a, 1977b]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Mikhailov 1967]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
ʕ	‘	ʕ	гІ	гІ		ʕ
ħ	Н	Н	хІ, х̄І	хІ		ħ
ʔ	’	ʔ	’		ʔ	ʔ
h	h	h	гъ	гъ	h	h
w	w	w	в	в	w	w
m	m	m	м	м	m	m
n	n	n	н	н	n	n
nn	nn	nn	нн	нн	nn	n:, nn
r	р	р	р	р	r	r
l	л	л	л	л	l	l
j	й	й	й	й	j	y
i	i	i	и	и	i	i
e	e	e	е, э	е, э	e	e
a	a	a	а	а	a	a
ə	ə	ə	ы	ы	ə	ə
o	o	o	о	о	o	o
u	u	u	у	у	u	u
V ^ʳ , q ^ʳ	VI, qI	VI, VqI	VI	VI	VI, qI	V ^ʳ , q ^ʳ
V:	V̄	V̄	V	V̄, V	V̄	V:
V́	V́	V́	V	V	V	'V

Notes.

1. According to Kodzasov's report [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 206 ff., 226 ff.], the voiceless stops are, in fact, aspirated: $p^h t^h k^h$. Following common practice, we omit the sign h and denote these as plain voiceless consonants: $p t k$.

2. The tense series of obstruents should rather be denoted as $\underset{\cdot}{C}$, but, in order to avoid rare diacritics, we prefer to follow the common practice and mark these consonants as

geminated C:

3. Following common practice, we do not note the initial glottal-stop (?), which is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset.

4. Normally we denote pharyngealization as ʕ after the first vowel or after the first uvular obstruent (if there are uvulars in a phonetic word), although the real situation is somewhat more complicated, see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 250 ff.].

III. Kryts (proper; Alyk).

III.1. *General.*

The Kryts (Kryz) language consists of several dialects named according to the corresponding villages. It is sometimes proposed to regard these dialects as separate languages. Out of these, two idioms have been more or less systematically described: Kryts proper (the Kryts village) and Kryts Alyk (the Alyk village).

For Kryts proper the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. A less reliable source is [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] (it seems that normally forms from Kryts proper are quoted, taken from Kibrik & Kodzasov's dictionaries, but in some cases the forms are either corrupted or originate from other dialects). Some exclusive forms are quoted after [NCED] and [LEDb], whose authors collected lexical data from Kryts proper themselves, during the MSU expedition of 1977. Some forms and grammatical information have also been taken from [Saadiev 1994].

The basic source for Alyk Kryts is the descriptive grammar [Authier 2009].

III.2. *Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Saadiev 1994]	[Authier 2009]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
b	b	b	б	b	b
p	p	p	п	p	p
p'	p'	p'	пІ	p̣	p'
v	v	v	в	w, v	v
f	f	f	ф	f	f
d	d	d	д	d	d
t	t	t	т	t	t
t'	t'	t'	тІ	ṭ	t'
ʒ	ʒ		дз	ʒ	ʒ
c	c		ц	c	c
c'	c'	ts'	цІ	ç	c'
z	z	z	з	z	z
s	s	s	с	s	s
ʒ̣	ʒ̣	c	дж	ʒ̣	ʒ̣
č	č	ç	ч	č	č
č'	č'	ç'	чІ	č̣	č'
	č̣			č̣ ^w	č̣ ^w
ž	ž	j	ж	ž	ž
š	š	ʃ	ш	š	š
g	g	g	г	g	g
k	k	k	к	k	k
k'	k'	k'	кІ	ḳ	k'

[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Saadiev 1994]	[Authier 2009]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
g _o	ḡ	gv	ГВ	g ^w	g ^w
k _o	k̄	kv	КВ	k ^w	k ^w
k' _o	k̄'	k'v	КІВ	k ^w '	k ^w '
ǰ	ḡ	gh	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
x	ḡ	xh	ХЪ	x	x
x _o	ḡ	xhv	ХЪВ	x ^w	x ^w
G	q:-	ǰ	КЪ-	q:-	G (q: in the initial position or before a voiceless consonant)
q	q	q	ХЪ	q	q
q'	q'	q'	КЪ	q'	q'
G _o	q̄:	ǰv	КЪВ	q ^w :	G ^w , q ^w :
q _o	q̄	qv	ХЪВ	q ^w	q ^w
q' _o	q̄'	q'v	КЪВ	q ^w '	q ^w '
R	ǰ	ǰ	ГЪ	Ṛ	Ṛ
X	ǰ	x	Х	χ	χ
X _o	ǰ _o	xv	ХВ	χ ^w	χ ^w
ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ГІ	ʕ	ʕ
H	ḡ		ХІ	ḡ	ḡ
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ, ʔ'	Ъ	ʔ	ʔ
h	h	h	ГЪ	h	h

[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Saadiev 1994]	[Authier 2009]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[NCED]	GLD
m	m	m	м	m	m
n	n	n	н	n	n
r	r	r	р	r	r
l	l	l	л	l	l
j	y	y	й	j	y
i	i	i	и	i	i
e	e	e	е, э	e	e
a	a	a	а	a	a
ä	ä, e		аь	ä	ä
ě	e		ě, е	e	e
ï	ə		ы	ï	ï
o	o		о	o	o
ö	ö		оь	ö	ö
u	u	u	у	u	u
ü	ü		уь	ü	ü

Voiceless stops and affricates are actually aspirated: $p^h t^h c^h$ and so on. Following common practice, we omit the sign h and denote these as plain voiceless: $p t c$ and so on.

IV. Budukh.

IV.1. General.

The main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and [Meylanova 1984]. Some forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Talibov 2007] and [Alekseev 1994]. An unreliable source is [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], which is generally based on the short Russian-Budukh word index at the end of [Meylanova 1984], without attention to semantic nuances of quasi-synonyms.

IV.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Meylanova 1984], [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Talibov 2007]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Alekseev 1994]	[NCED]	GLD
б	б	b	b	b	b
п	п	p	p	p	p
п̄	п̄	p'	p'	ṗ	p'
в	в	v	v	w, v	v
ф	ф	f	f	f	f
д	д	d	d	d	d
т	т	t	t	t	t
т̄	т̄	t'	t'	ṫ	t'
ц		c		c	c
ц̄	ц̄	c'	c'	ç	c'
з	з	z	z	z	z
с	с	s	s	s	s
дж		ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
ч	ч	č	č	č	č
ч̄	ч̄	č'	č'	č̇	č'
ж	ж	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
ш	ш	š	š	š	š
г	г	g	g	g	g
к	к	k	k	k	k
к̄	к̄	k'	k'	k̇	k'

[Meylanova 1984], [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Talibov 2007]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Alekseev 1994]	[NCED]	GLD
		ǰ		ʏ	ʏ
хъ	хъ	x	χ̂	x	x
къ (къг)	къ (къг)	G	q:	q:-	ɢ (q: in the initial & final positions or before a voiceless consonant)
хъ	хъ	q	q	q	q
къ	къ	q'	q'	q̇	q'
гъ	гъ	R	ǰ	ʁ	ʁ
х	х	X	χ̂	χ	χ
ъ	ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гІ	гІ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ
хІ	хІ	H	ħ	ħ	ħ
ъ	ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гъ	гъ	h	h	h	h
м	м	m	m	m	m
н	н	n	n	n	n
р	р	r	r	r	r
л	л	l	l	l	l
й	й	j	y	j	y
и	и	i	i	i	i
е, э	е, э	e	e	e	e
а	а	a	a	a	a
аъ	аъ	ä	ä	ä	ä
ы	ы	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ	ɨ
а	а, ă	ə	ə	ə	ə

[Meylanova 1984], [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Talibov 2007]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[Alekseev 1994]	[NCED]	GLD
o	o	o	o	o	o
oь	oь	ö	ö	ö	ö
y	y	u	u	u	u
yь	yь	ü	ü	ü	ü

Notes.

1. Voiceless stops and affricates are actually aspirated: $p^h t^h č^h$ and so on. Following common practice, we omit the sign ^h and denote these as plain voiceless: $p t č$ and so on.

2. According to Kodzasov's report [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 345], voiced stops and affricates - $b d ž g$ - become voiceless unaspirated (and apparently tense) in the initial and final position or before a voiceless obstruent, i.e. shift to $p t č g q$ (apparently $p̥ t̥ č̥ g̥ q̥$), but do not coincide with the voiceless aspirated series mentioned above. Following common practice (cf. Kibrik & Kodzasov's transcription or traditional Cyrillic orthography), we do not reflect this non-phonological change and denote these phonemes as $b d ž g$ in all positions. The only exception is /g/ (Kibrik & Kodzasov' G), which is transcribed as tense q : in the initial and final position or before a voiceless obstruent and as g otherwise. As noted in [Talibov 2007: 27], however, some speakers may articulate /g/ as [q:] in all positions.

3. On sporadically attested consonantal geminates see [Alekseev 1994: 294] w. lit.

V. Tsakhur (mishlesh; Mikik; Gelmets).

V.1. General.

The Tsakhur language consists of two dialectal groups [Ibragimov 1990: 12-13]: Tsakh and Gelmets. The Tsakh group is divided into the following dialects, all of which are rather close to each other: *Tsakhur-Kum*, *Mishlesh*, *Dzhynykh*, *Mukhakh-Sabunchi*, *Suvagil* (named according to the corresponding villages or the groups of villages). The Gelmets

group is divided into the *Gelmets* and *Lek/Kurdul* dialects. The dialect of the village *Mikik* is described as "transitional between Tsakh and Gelmets" in [Ibragimov 1990: 13]; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 4] the Mikik dialect is considered to be closer to Tsakh.

The newborn literary Tsakhur language, described in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], is based on the Tsakh dialectal group, mostly on the Tsakhur-Kum and Mishlesh dialects [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 13, 502] (for the most part, apparently, on Mishlesh proper).

The database includes three lists: for Mishlesh (Tsakh group), Gelmets (Gelmets group) and Mikik ("transitional") dialects. Unfortunately, only data on nouns have been systematically recorded and published for the Tsakhur-Kum (Tsakh group) dialect.

For the **Mishlesh dialect**, the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik et al. 1999] (Mishlesh dialect) as well as [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] (literary Tsakhur). Some Mishlesh forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Ibragimov 1990]. In addition, literary Tsakhur forms from [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] (an unreliable source) are also quoted. In the notes, forms from the Tsakhur-Kum dialect (if known) are quoted after [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

For the **Mikik dialect**, the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] (verbs), [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (nouns), [Dirr 1913]. It is not explicated in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] which dialect is described by the authors under the siglum "LAX" - Mikik, Tsakhur-Kum or Gelmets. Proceeding from the fact that these verbal forms are accompanied by the tonal information, we conclude that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], the Mikik dialect is represented; some phonetic peculiarities also point to the Mikik dialect; the Mikik origin of the data of [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] is also explicitly noted, e.g., in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 70] (in [NCED: 13], however, it is presumed that the siglum "LAX" in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] covers the Tsakhur-Kum dialect).

For the **Gelmets dialect**, the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], where data on nouns from the Gelmets village are published. Gelmets verbs are quoted after [Ibragimov 1990] and, cautiously, after [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]. Grammatical information has been taken from [Ibragimov 1990].

V.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart, covering our principal sources, can be presented (note that the Cyrillic orthography of [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] is very inconsistent, especially where it concerns palatalized consonants, *y*, *ʔ* etc.; in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], additionally, the orthographic systems of [Ibragimov 1990] and [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] are mixed):

[Ibragimov 1990]	[Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]	[Kibrik et al. 1999]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	б	b	b	b	b
п	п	p	p	p	p
пп	пп	p̄	p̄	p:	p:
пІ	пІ	p'	p'	p̂	p'
ф	ф	f	f	f	f
д (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	д (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	d (d _y + i, e)	d (d _y + i, e)	d	d
д' (д + и, е)	д' (д + е, ё, ю, я, и)	d _j (d + i, e)	d _y (d + i, e)	d̂, d' (d + i, e)	d ^y
т (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	т (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	t (t _y + i, e)	t (t _y + i, e)	t	t
т' (т + и, е)	т' (т + е, ё, ю, я, и)	t _j (t + i, e)	t _y (t + i, e)	t̂, t' (t + i, e)	t ^y
тт (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	тт (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	t̄ (t̄ _y + i, e)	t̄ (t̄ _y + i, e)	t:	t:
тт' (тт + и, е)	тт' (тт + е, ё, ю, я, и)	t̄ _j (t̄ + i, e)	t̄ _y (t̄ + i, e)	t̄:, t̄: (t: + i, e)	t: ^y
тІ (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	тІ (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	t' (t' _y + i, e)	t' (t' _y + i, e)	t̂	t'
тІ' (тІ + и, е)	тІ' (тІ + е, ё, ю, я, и)	t' _j (t' + i, e)	t' _y (t' + i, e)	t̂, t̂' (t̂ + i, e)	t' ^y
тв	тв	t _o	t _o	t ^w	t ^w
тІв	тІв	t' _o	t' _o	t̂ ^w	t' ^w
дз	дз	-	-	-	ʒ
ц (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	ц (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	c (c _y + i, e)	c (c _y + i, e)	c	c
ц' (ц + и, е)	ц' (ц + е, ё, ю, я, и)	c _j (c + i, e)	c _y (c + i, e)	č, c' (c + i, e)	c ^y
цІ (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	цІ (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	c' (c' _y + i, e)	c' (c' _y + i, e)	ç	c'
цІ' (цІ + и, е)	цІ' (цІ + е, ё, ю, я, и)	c' _j (c' + i, e)	c' _y (c' + i, e)	č, ç' (ç + i, e)	c' ^y
цц	цц	c̄	c̄	c:	c:

[Ibragimov 1990]	[Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]	[Kibrik et al. 1999]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
ЦВ	ЦВ	c _o	c _o	c ^w	c ^w
ЦІВ	ЦІВ	c' _o	c' _o	ç ^w	ç ^w
з (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	з (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	z (z _y + i, e)	z (zy + i, e)	z	z
з' (з + и, е)	з' (з + е, ё, ю, я, и)	z _j (z + i, e)	zy (z + i, e)	z', z' (z + i, e)	z ^y
с (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	с (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	s (s _y + i, e)	s (sy + i, e)	s	s
с' (с + и, е)	с' (с + е, ё, ю, я, и)	s _j (s + i, e)	sy (s + i, e)	ś, s' (s + i, e)	s ^y
сс (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	сс (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	s̄ (s̄ _y + i, e)	s̄ (s̄y + i, e)	s:	s:
сс' (сс + и, е)	сс' (сс + е, ё, ю, я, и)	s̄ _j (s̄ + i, e)	s̄y (s̄ + i, e)	ś:, s': (s: + i, e)	s: ^y
ЗВ	ЗВ	z _o	z _o	z ^w	z ^w
ДЖ	ДЖ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
Ч	Ч	č	č	č	č
ЧІ	ЧІ	č'	č'	č'	č'
ЧЧ	ЧЧ	č̄	č̄	č̄:	č̄:
ДЖВ	ДЖВ	ǰ _o	ǰ _o	ǰ ^w	ǰ ^w
ЧВ	ЧВ	č _o	č _o	č ^w	č ^w
ЧІВ	ЧІВ	č' _o	č' _o	č' ^w	č' ^w
Ж	Ж	-	ǰ̇	ǰ̇	ǰ̇
Ш	Ш	š	š	š	š
Щ, ШШ	Щ	š̄	š̄	š̄:	š̄:
ЖВ	ЖВ	-	ǰ̇ _o	ǰ̇ ^w	ǰ̇ ^w
ШВ	ШВ	š _o	š _o	š ^w	š ^w
ЩВ	ЩВ	š̄ _o	š̄ _o	š̄: ^w	š̄: ^w
Г (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	Г (+ о, у, а, и, ы)	g (g _y + i, e)	g (gy + i, e)	g	g
Г' (Г + и, е)	Г' (Г + ё, ю, я)	g _j (g + i, e)	gy (g + i, e)	g', g' (g + i, e)	g ^y
К (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	К (+ о, у, а, и, ы)	k (k _y + i, e)	k (ky + i, e)	k	kk
К' (К + и, е)	К' (К + ё, ю, я)	k _j (k + i, e)	ky (k + i, e)	k', k' (k + i, e)	k ^y
КІ (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	КІ (+ о, у, а, и, ы)	k' (k' _y + i, e)	k' (k'y + i, e)	ķ	k'
КІ' (КІ + и, е)	КІ' (КІ + ё, ю, я)	k' _j (k' + i, e)	k'y (k' + i, e)	ķ', ķ' (ķ + i, e)	k' ^y
КК (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	КК (+ о, у, а, и, ы)	k̄ (k̄ _y + i, e)	k̄ (k̄y + i, e)	k:	k:
КК' (КК + и, е)	КК' (КК + ё, ю, я)	k̄ _j (in the table on p. 16 misspelled as	k̄y (k̄ + i, e)	ķ:, ķ': (k: + i, e)	k: ^y

[Ibragimov 1990]	[Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]	[Kibrik et al. 1999]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
		ḡ _o)			
ГВ	ГВ	g _o	g _o	g ^w	g ^w
КВ	КВ	k _o	k _o	k ^w	k ^w
КІВ	КІВ	k' _o	k' _o	k ^w '	k ^w '
ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ɣ	ɣ
хь (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	хь (+ о, у, а, и, ы)	x (x _y + i, e)	x (x _y + i, e)	x	x
хь' (хь + и, е)	хь' (хь + ё, ю, я)	x _j (x + i, e)	x _y (x + i, e)	x', x' (x + i, e)	x ^y
х̄ь (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	ххь (+ о, у, а, и, ы)	x̄ (x̄ _y + i, e)	x̄ (x̄ _y + i, e)	x:	x:
х̄ь' (х̄ь + и, е)	ххь' (ххь + ё, ю, я)	x̄ _j (x̄ + i, e)	x̄ _y (x̄ + i, e)	x':, x': (x: + i, e)	x: ^y
хьв	хьв	x _o	x _o	x ^w	x ^w
х̄в	ххьв	x̄ _o	x̄ _o	x: ^w	x: ^w
къ	къ	G	G	q:-	Tsakhur-Kum & Mishlesh: ɠ (q: in the initial position); Mikik & Gelmets: q: (in the initial position).
хъ	хъ	q	q	q	q
къ	къ	q'	q'	q'	q'
х̄ъ	ххъ	q̄	q̄	q:	q:
къв	къв	G _o	G _o	q: ^w -	Tsakhur-Kum & Mishlesh: ɠ ^w (q: ^w in the initial position); Mikik & Gelmets: q: ^w (in the initial position).
хъв	хъв	q _o	q _o	q ^w	q ^w
къв	къв	q' _o	q' _o	q ^w '	q ^w '
х̄ъв	ххъв	q̄ _o	q̄ _o	q: ^w	q: ^w
Гъ	Гъ	R	R	ʁ	ʁ
Х	Х	X	X	χ	χ

[Ibragimov 1990]	[Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]	[Kibrik et al. 1999]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
xx	xx	χ	χ	χ:	χ:
ГЪВ	ГЪВ	R _o	R _o	ɤ ^w	ɤ ^w
ХЪВ	ХЪВ	X _o	X _o	χ ^w	χ ^w
-	XXЪВ	X _o	X _o	χ: ^w	χ: ^w
Ъ	Ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
Гъ	Гъ	h	h	h	h
ГъВ	ГъВ	h _o	-	h ^w	h ^w
м	м	m	m	m	m
н (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	н (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	n (n _y + i, e)	n (n _y + i, e)	n	n
н' (н + и, е)	н' (н + е, ё, ю, я, и)	n _j (n + i, e)	n _y (n + i, e)	n̄, n' (n + i, e)	n ^y
р	р	r	r	r	r
л (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	л (+ э, о, у, а, ы)	l (l _y + i, e)	l (l _y + i, e)	l	l
л' (л + и, е)	л' (л + е, ё, ю, я, и)	l _j (l + i, e)	l _y (l + i, e)	l̄, l' (l + i, e)	l ^y
в	в	w	w	v, w	w
й	й (я, ю, ё, е)	j	j	j	y
и	и	i	i	i	i
е, э	е, э	e	e	e	e
а	а, я	a	a	a	a
ы	ы	i	i	i	i
о	о, ё	o	o	o	o
у	у, ю	u	u	u	u
аь			ä	ä	ä
оь			ö	ö	ö
уь			ü	ü	ü
V̄	VV, V̄	V̄	V:	V̄	V:
ий	ий	ī	i:	ī	i:
кь', хь', х̄ь', кь'(в), гь'(в), х'(в), хх', ь', гь'(в), VI	VI	VI	GI, qI, q̄I, q̄I, RI, XI, XI, VI	GI, qI, q̄I, q̄I, ɤI, χI, χ:I, VI	q̄I, ..., χ̄I, ..., V ^f

Notes.

1. Plain voiceless stops and affricates are actually aspirated: $p^h t^h č^h$ and so on. Following common practice, we omit the sign ^h and denote these as plain voiceless: $p t č$ and so on.

2. Voiced stops and affricates become devoiced in the initial and final position (not always) and after a voiceless fricative (/sd/ > [st], always), see [Kibrik et al. 1999: 14], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 343]. Following common practice (cf. Kibrik & Kodzasov's transcription or Cyrillic orthography), we do not reflect this non-phonological change, e.g., /sd/ is written as *sd*.

3. According to Kodzasov's report [Kibrik et al. 1999: 14-15], in the Mishlesh dialect the phoneme {G} (i.e. *g* in IPA) occurs as [g] in the intervocalic position, whereas in the initial position {G} is normally (but not always) realized as a voiceless non-aspirated [q]. For the sake of convenience, we transcribe all instances of Mishlesh initial {G} as *q:* (note that the proper phoneme *q:* occurs only in the intervocalic position), whereas Mishlesh intervocal {G} is transcribed as *g*. Apparently the Tsakhur-Kum dialect possesses the same system. On the contrary, in the Mikik dialect (as well as, apparently, in Gelmets) Kibrik & Kodzasov's {G} occurs only in the initial position (being in complementary distribution with intervocalic *q:*). This initial {G} is realized as voiceless non-aspirated [q] [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 343]. We transcribe Mikik initial {G} as *q:*.

4. Normally, in all Tsakhur dialects we denote pharyngealization as ^ʕ after the first vowel or after the first uvular obstruent (if there is a uvular in the phonetic word), although the real situation is more complicated, see [Kibrik et al. 1999: 19] for the Mishlesh dialect, [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 344] for the Mikik dialect. Ibragimov [Ibragimov 1990: 182] reports on gradual loss of pharyngealization in the speech of younger generations in the Gelmets dialect; apparently this process is almost completed in the speech of the Gelmets informant in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010].

5. We do not note initial glottal stop [ʔ], which is automatic in vowel-initial forms. We also do not note stress and/or tone, because the dialectal systems are too poorly described and the available data are contradictory.

VI. Rutul (Mukhad; Ixrek; Luchek).

VI.1. *General.*

The Rutul language consists of several dialects (see [Ibragimov 1978: 13 ff.] and [Makhmudova 2001: 3]): 1) Mukhad (proper Rutul or literary Rutul) dialect; 2) Shinaz dialect; 3) Muxrek (Myukhrek) dialect; 4) Ixrek (Ikhrek) dialect; 5) Borch-Khnov (Borch-Khinov) dialect; 6) "Mixed" dialects - according to [Ibragimov 1978: 15], the villages Kala, Amsar (Asar), Vurush (Vrush), Kina & Luchek represent the results of local migrations. Dialects of these villages are close to the Mukhad, Shinaz, sometimes to Ixrek dialects. Ibragimov labels them as "mixed dialects". Out of these, the Borch-Khnov dialect is the most detached; sometimes it is considered to be a separate language [Ibragimov 1978: 226 fn. 1].

The database includes three lists: Mukhad (proper Rutul), Ixrek, Luchek ("mixed") dialects. Unfortunately, the Borch-Khnov data have so far not been systematically recorded and published (except for glosses in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]).

For the **Mukhad dialect**, the main lexicographic sources are [Dirr 1912] and [Ibragimov 1978]. Some Mukhad forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Makhmudova 2001] and [Alekseev 1994a]. In addition, literary Rutul forms from [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] (an unreliable source) are also quoted.

For the **Ixrek dialect**, the main lexicographic source is [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006]. Some Ixrek forms and grammatical information have been taken from [Ibragimov 1978]. In addition, Ixrek forms from [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] (an unreliable source) are also quoted.

For the **Luchek dialect**, the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

VI.2. *Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

[Ibragimov 1978]	[Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	б	б	b	b	b
п	п	п	p	p	p
пІ	пІ	пІ	p'	p̣	p'
ф	ф	ф	f	f	f
д	д	д	d	d	d
	дд	дд	dd	dd	d:
т	т	т	t	t	t
тт	тт	тт	tt	tt	t:
тІ	тІ	тІ	t'	ṭ	t'
тІв	тІв	тІв		ṭ ^w	t' ^w
дз	дз	дз	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
ц	ц	ц	c	c	c
цІ	цІ	цІ	c'	ç	c'
цв		цв	c _o	c ^w	c ^w
цІв		цІв	c' _o	ç ^w	c' ^w
з	з	з	z	z	z
с	с	с	s	s	s
св	св	св	s _o	s ^w	s ^w
дж	дж	дж	ʒ̣	ʒ̣	ʒ̣
ч	ч	ч	ç̣	ç̣	ç̣
чІ	чІ	чІ	ç̣'	ç̣'	ç̣'
джв	джв	джв	ʒ̣ _o	ʒ̣ ^w	ʒ̣ ^w

[Ibragimov 1978]	[Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
ЧВ		ЧВ	č _o	č ^w	č ^w
ЧІВ	ЧІВ	ЧІВ	č _o	č ^w	č ^w
Ж	Ж	Ж	ž	ž	ž
Ш	Ш	Ш	š	š	š
ШВ		ШВ	š _o	š ^w	š ^w
Г	Г	Г	g	g	g
Г'			gy	g ^y	g ^y
	ГГ	ГГ	gg	gg	g:
К	К	К	k	k	k
К'			ky	k ^y	k ^y
КК	КК	КК	kk	kk	k:
КІ	КІ	КІ	k'	ḳ	k'
КІ'			k'y	ḳ ^y	k' ^y
ГВ	ГВ	ГВ	g _o	g ^w	g ^w
КВ	КВ	КВ	k _o	k ^w	k ^w
КІВ	КІВ	КІВ	k' _o	ḳ ^w	k' ^w
Ү	ГІ	ГІ	ǰ	ʏ	ʏ
ХЪ	ХЪ	ХЪ	x	x	x
ХЪ'			xу	x ^y	x ^y
ХЪВ	ХЪВ	ХЪВ	x _o	x ^w	x ^w
КЪ	КЪ	КЪ	G	q:	ɢ (q: in the initial position).
ХЪ	ХЪ	ХЪ	q	q	q
Х̄Ъ	КЪКЪ	КЪКЪ	GG	GG	-q:-
КЪ	КЪ	КЪ	q'	q̣	q'

[Ibragimov 1978]	[Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
КЪВ	КЪВ	КЪВ	G _o	q: ^w -	ɣ ^w (q: ^w in the initial position).
ХЪВ	ХЪВ	ХЪВ	q _o	q ^w	q ^w
КЪВ	КЪВ	КЪВ	q' _o	q' ^w	q' ^w
ГЪ	ГЪ	ГЪ	R	ʁ	ʁ
Х	Х	Х	X	χ	χ
ГЪВ	ГЪВ	ГЪВ	R _o	ʁ ^w	ʁ ^w
ХВ	ХВ	ХВ	X _o	χ ^w	χ ^w
			ʕ	ʕ	ʕ
Ъ	Ъ	Ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ГЪ, Ъ	ГЪ	ГЪ	h	h	h
М	m		m	m	m
Н	н	н	n	n	n
Р	р		r	r	r
Л	л	л	l	l	l
Л'			ly	l̥	l̥
В	в	в	w, v	v, w	w
Й	й (ю, я, е, ё)	й (ю, я, е, ё)	j	j	y
И	и	и	i	i	i
Е, Э	е, э	е, э	e	e	e
А	а	а	a	a	a
Ы	ы	ы	i	i	i
О	о	о	o	o	o
У	у	у	u	u	u
АЬ	аь, я	аь		ä	ä

[Ibragimov 1978]	[Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006]	[Comrie & Khalilov 2010]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
уь, ѱ	уь	уь	ü	ü	ü
̄V		VV	V:	̄V	V:
кь'(в), ... , гь', VI		VI	qI, ... , hI, VI	qI, ... , q ^ʕ , ... , h ^ʕ , V ^ʕ	
VI				hI, VI	

Notes.

1. Plain voiceless stops and affricates are actually aspirated: $p^h t^h č^h$ and so on. Following common practice, we omit the sign ^h and denote these as plain voiceless: $p t č$ and so on.

2. Voiced stops and affricates become devoiced in the initial position (not always) and after a voiceless fricative ($/sd/ > [st]$, always), see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 342]. Following common practice (cf. Kibrik & Kodzasov's transcription or Cyrillic orthography), we do not reflect this non-phonological change, e.g., $/sd/$ is written as sd . An exception is $/g/$, which is always realized as $[q]$ or $[q:]$ in the initial position at least in the Luchek dialect; we transcribe initial $/g-/$ (Cyrillic {кь}, Kibrik & Kodzasov's {G}) as $q:-$.

3. Palatalization of velars and l is phonological in the final position in the Luchek dialect. In some dialects, consonants can also be automatically palatalized before front vowels; we do not note this in our transcription.

4. Pharyngealization is normally a segmental feature, which distinguishes between two series of uvular and laryngeal consonants ($q - q^ʕ, ʁ - ʁ^ʕ, ʔ - ʔ^ʕ$ and so on). Adjacent vowels can also be pharyngealized, but we do not reflect this in the notation. If there are no uvulars/laryngeals in the phonetic word, we denote pharyngealization as ^ʕ after the first vowel. We also do not mark the initial glottal-stop $[ʔ]$, which is automatic in vowel-initial forms. It seems, however, that in the Cyrillic notation of [Ibragimov 1978] and [Makhmudova 2001] initial {ь} may denote not an automatic $ʔ-$, but $h-$ (cf., e.g., the transcriptional fluctuation {ьадхьд} ~ {гьадхьд} for *hadχ-id* 'high' in [Ibragimov 1978: 151]).

5. We do not mark stress, since the dialectal systems are not systematically described; furthermore, in many cases the place of stress seems to be synchronically predictable.

VII. Aghul (proper; Koshan; Keren; Gequn; Fite).

VII.1. *General.*

According to [Magometov 1970: 15], [Shaumyan 1941: 12], [Suleymanov 1993: 17 ff, 203] and other authors, the Aghul language can be divided in several dialects: 1) Koshan (sub-dialects of the villages Burshag, Arsug, Khudig); 2) Keren (sub-dialects of the villages Richa, Usug and some other); 3) Gequn (the village Gequn/Burkikhan); 4) Fite (the village Fit'e); 5) Aghul proper (sub-dialects of the villages Tpig, Tsirkhe, Duldug, Kurag, Yarkug, Khpyuk and some other). Tsirkhe and Khpyuk are sometimes regarded to be separate dialects.

Out of these, the Koshan dialect is the most detached. It is reported in [Suleymanov 2003: 4] that Koshan is not completely mutually intelligible with other Aghul dialects (as far as we can judge, due to phonetic differences rather than proper lexical divergence). The newborn literary Aghul language is based on the proper Aghul dialect (for the most part, on the sub-dialect of the village Tpig). The available lexicographical data is sufficient for the compiling of five lists: Koshan, Keren, Gequn, Fite, Proper Aghul.

For **Koshan dialect (Burshag village)**, the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (K&K's siglum "АГБИ"). The data from [Suleymanov 2003] are less reliable, particularly since the dictionary is generally "Tpig-oriented", the author does not discriminate between three sub-dialects of Koshan, and some specific Koshan phonemes (laryngeals and tense fricatives) are not always transcribed properly.

For **Keren dialect (Richa village)**, the main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (K&K's siglum "АГПИ").

For **Gequn dialect (Gequn/Burkikhan village)**, the main lexicographic sources are

[Dirr 1907] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (nominal forms only; K&K's siglum "АГБХ").

For **Fite dialect (Fit'e village)**, the main lexicographic source is [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (nominal forms only; K&K's siglum "АГФИ"). Additional sources are [Shaumyan 1941], [Magometov 1970], [Suleymanov 1993].

For the **proper Aghul dialect (Tpig village)**, the main lexicographic sources are [Suleymanov 2003] and [Shaumyan 1941] (some phonetically important Tpig forms are also quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]). Unfortunately, the dictionary [Ramazanov 2010] (ca. 5000 non-derived lexemes) is an unreliable source, containing a substantial number of incorrect semantic definitions, cases of incorrect phonetical or morphological analysis, or merely ghost words. One can suspect that [Ramazanov 2010] is based on the sub-dialect of the Kurag village (Proper Aghul dialect), which is the native idiom of the author, but in fact a number of specific terms of other dialects is also included in the dictionary - usually without any notes. Lexical data of the literary Aghul language (Proper Aghul dialect) as well as of the Koshan dialect are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

Relevant lexicographical information on specific sub-dialects from [Shaumyan 1941], [Magometov 1970], [Suleymanov 1993] is quoted in the notes. Grammatical information for various dialects has been taken from [Shaumyan 1941], [Magometov 1970], [Suleymanov 1993], [Tarlanov 1994].

VII.2. *Transliteration.*

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (in [Shaumyan 1941], the diacritical⁷ (shadda) can also be optionally used for tense consonants):

[Suleymanov 2003]	[Magometov 1970]	[Shaumyan 1941]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b	b	b	b	b
п	p	φ	p	p	p

пп	p ^o	p	p̄	p:	p:
пІ	p	p	p'	ṗ	p'
ф	f	f	f	f	f
	f ^o	f	f̄	f:	f:
д	d	d	d	d	d
т	t	θ	t	t	t
тт	t ^o	t, τ	t̄	t:	t:
тІ	ṫ	t̄	t'	ṫ	t'
дз	ʒ	d'		ʒ	ʒ
ц	c	θ	c	c	c
цц	c ^o	ṫ	c̄	c:	c:
цІ	ç	t̄	c'	ç	c'
з	z	z	z	z	z
с	s	s	s	s	s
	s ^o	s	s̄	s:	s:
дж	ʒ̣	ḍ	ʒ̣	ʒ̣	ʒ̣
ч	č	θ̣	č	č	č
чч	č ^o	τ̣	č̄	č:	č:
чІ	č̇	ṭ	č'	č̇	č'
джв	ʒ ^o	d ^o	ʒ ^o	ʒ ^w	ʒ ^w
чв	č ^o	θ ^o	č ^o	č ^w	č ^w
чІв	č ^o	t ^o	č ^o	č ^w	č ^w
ж	ʒ̣	ʒ	ʒ̣	ʒ̣	ʒ̣
ш	š	ш	š	š	š
	š ^o	ш	š	š:	š:

ЖВ	ž°			ž ^w	ž ^w
ШВ	š°	ш°	š	š ^w	š ^w
	š ^o	ш°	š̄	š ^{o:w}	š̄ ^{o:w}
Г	g	g	g	g	g
К	k	q	k	k	k
КК	k ^o	k, κ	k̄	k:	k:
КІ	ḳ	ḳ	k'	ḳ	k'
ХЪ	x'	χ	x	x	x
	x ^o	χ	x̄	x:	x:
ХЪ	q	q	q	q	q
КЪ	q ^o	q̣	q̄	q:	q:
КЪ	q	k	q'	q̣	q'
ГЪ	ɣ	ğ	R	ʁ	ʁ
Х	x	q̣	X	χ	χ
	x ^o	q̣	X	χ:	χ:
	ɣ'	ɛ (ayin)	Ṛ	R	ʀ
	h ^o	ħ	ḫ	X	ħ
І (Ъ', Ъ)	ω	ɛ (ayin)	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ГІ	h ^o , ɣ'	ɣ, ɛ (ayin)	ʕ	ʕ	ʕ
ХІ	h ^o	ħ	H	ħ	h
Ъ	'	ɛ (hamza)	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ГЪ	h	h	h	h	h
М	m	m	m	m	m
Н	n	n	n	n	n
Р	r	r	r	r	r

Л	l	l	l	l	l
В	w	w	w	v, w	w
Й (Ю, Я, Е)	j	y	j	j	y
Св	C°	C _o	C _o	C ^w	C ^w
'			Cy	Ć	C ^y
И	i	ɪ	i	i	i
Е, Э	e	e	e	e	e
А	a	a	a	a	a
Аь	ä	ä	ä	ä	ä
У	u, ù	u	u	u	u
Уь	ü	ü	ü	ü	ü
‘	‘		qI, ... , VI	qI, ... , q ^ʕ , ... , V ^ʕ	VI

Notes.

1. All the sources, except for [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990], provide rather inconsistent and unreliable transcriptions of Aghul. This concerns, among other things, pharyngealization, tense fricatives and especially laryngeal phonemes.

2. Some Aghul dialects display unique systems in which the pharyngeal fricatives ʕ ħ are phonemically opposed to the epiglottal fricatives ʕ H . Such is the situation at least in the Burshag/Koshan [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 338], Richa/Keren [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 339] and Gequn [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 340] dialects. Thus, in these dialects the systems of laryngeals can include up to seven phonemes: ʕ - ħ , ʕ - H , ʔ , ʔ - h . On the contrary, certain other Aghul dialects lack the opposition between pharyngeal and epiglottal fricatives: among these are the Fite dialect [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 340] and the Tpig and Khpyuk sub-dialects of Proper Aghul (T. Maisak, p.c.). Normally, for Lezgian languages, which lack such an opposition, we transcribe pharyngeal-epiglottal fricatives as pharyngeal ʕ ħ , although these are actually epiglottal ʕ H (according to Kodzasov's reports). For Aghul dialects like Fite or Tpig, however, we prefer to use

epiglottal ʕ H for the sake of compatibility within Aghul data.

3. The seven-partite system of laryngeal phonemes (ʕ - ħ , ʕ - H , ʔ , ʔ - h) is properly described and transcribed only in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990] (followed by [NCED]). All the other sources reduce it to a five- or three-way opposition. E.g., in the Cyrillic transcription of Koshan forms from [Suleymanov 2003], both pharyngeal & epiglottal voiced fricatives ʕ ʕ are noted as [ɾ], both pharyngeal & epiglottal voiceless fricatives ħ H are noted as [x]. In some cases, when the form, containing a pharyngeal or epiglottal phoneme, comes from a source other than Kibrik & Kodzasov, we are forced to transcribe it with the symbol H , which denotes an unidentified laryngeal.

4. Note the absence of the automatic prothesis ʔ - in vowel-initial forms.

5. Plain voiceless stops and affricates are actually aspirated: p^h t^h tʃ^h and so on. Following common practice, we omit the sign h and denote these as plain voiceless consonants: p t tʃ and so on.

6. In all Aghul dialects we denote pharyngealization as ̣ after the first vowel or after the first uvular obstruent (if there is a uvular in the phonetic word).

7. "Woolly voice" - a specific pharyngealization-like prosodic feature of some Aghul dialects, which is described by Kodzasov as the constriction of the upper pharynx [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 319, 339] (Ṿ in Kodzasov's transcription) - has not been studied in detail yet. We do not note it in our transcription.

8. We do not mark stress, since the dialectal systems are not systematically described; furthermore, the place of stress seems to be synchronically predictable [Magometov 1970: 19 ff.].

VIII. Tabasaran (Northern, Southern).

VIII.1. *General.*

According to [Magometov 1965: 14] and other authors, the Tabasaran language can be

divided into two mutually intelligible dialects: Southern (or Nitrik) and Northern (or Suvak). As noted in [Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 12, 15], it is possible to single out a third dialect: Eteg, which is close to Southern, but also demonstrates some Northern features; see the map in [Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 12]. Literary Tabasaran (established in the 1920s) is based on the Southern dialect, although some grammar features - especially verbal class agreement - have been taken from Northern Tabasaran.

The available lexicographical data is sufficient for the compilation of two lists: Northern Tabasaran (the village Dyubek) and Southern Tabasaran (the village Kondik).

Northern Tabasaran (Dyubek): The main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], in which the sub-dialect of the village Dyubek (or Dyuvek) is described (K&K's siglum "ТАБД"). Additional sources are [Uslar 1979] and [Dirr 1905] - both volumes are based on the sub-dialect of the village Khanag and reflect the archaic language of the 2nd half of the 19th - early 20th centuries. A lot of words from various Northern Tabasaran dialects are contained in [Genko 2005], especially concerning the systematically quoted Khyuryuk sub-dialect (Genko's siglum "X."). Several Swadesh items are missing from the available Dyubek sources (e.g., 'all', 'human skin'); in such cases it does not seem risky to fill the slot with the corresponding term from the very close Khanag sub-dialect. Some forms and grammatical information of Northern Tabasaran have been taken from [Magometov 1965].

Southern Tabasaran (Kondik): The main lexicographic sources are [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], where the sub-dialect of the village Kondik (or Kandik) is described (K&K's siglum "ТАБК"). Additional sources, which describe the literary Tabasaran norm, are the dictionaries [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001] and to a lesser degree [Khanmagomedov 1957], as well as several grammars: [Zhirkov 1948], [Magometov 1965], [Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003]. An important source is the dictionary [Genko 2005], where the data of Khiv (without a specific siglum) and sporadically some other Southern sub-dialects are quoted. Several Swadesh items are missing from Kibrik & Kodzasov's volumes (e.g., 'all', 'human skin'); in such cases we fill the slot with the corresponding term from the close Khiv sub-dialect.

Lexical data of both Northern and Southern dialects of Tabasaran are systematically

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

VIII.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources (additionally, in [Genko 2005], labialization of velars and uvulars before the vowel *a* is denoted as {o} for some sub-dialects, e.g. {koa} for *k^wa* instead of the standard notation {кба}):

Modern literary alphabet [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001]	[Genko 2005]	[Magometov 1965]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988, 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	б	b	b	b	b
п	п	p	p	p	p
пп	пп	p ^a	p̄	p:	p:
пІ	пІ	p.	p'	ṗ	p'
ф	ф	f	f	f	f
	фф	f ^a	ff	f:	f:
д	д	d	d	d	d
т	т	t	t	t	t
тт	тт	t ^a	t̄	t:	t:
тІ	тІ	t.	t'	ṫ	t'
з	зз	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ	ʒ
ц	с	c	c	c	c
цц	с ^a	c ^a	c̄	c:	c:
цІ	ç	ç	c'	ç	c'
з	з	z	z	z	z
с	с	s	s	s	s

	cc	s ^o	ss	s:	s:
ж	жж	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
ч	ч	č	č	č	č
чч	чч	č ^o	č	č:	č:
чІ	чІ	č	č'	č	ч'
ж	ж	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ	ǰ
ш, щ	ш, щ	š	š	š	š
	шш	š ^o	šš	š:	š:
жв	жъ, жь	ǰ	ǰ ^o	ǰ ^w	ǰ ^w
чв	чв	č	č ^o	č ^w	č ^w
ччв	ччв	č ^o	č ^o	č ^w :	č ^w :
чІв	чъ, чь	č	ч ^o '	ч ^w	ч ^w
жв	жв	ǰ	ǰ ^o	ǰ ^w	ǰ ^w
шв	шв	š	š ^o	š ^w	š ^w
	шшв	š ^o	šš ^o	š ^w :	š ^w :
г	г	g	g	g	g
к	к	k	k	k	k
кк	кк	k ^o	k̄	k:	k:
кІ	кІ	k̄	k'	k̄	k'
гв	гв	g ^o	g ^o	g ^w	g ^w
кв	кв	k ^o	k ^o	k ^w	k ^w
ккв	ккв	k ^o	k ^o	k ^w :	k ^w :
кІв	кІв	k ^o	k ^o '	k ^w	k ^w
г	гг	g ^c	ǰ	ɣ	ɣ
хъ	хъ	x'	x	x	x
	ххъ	x' ^o		x:	x:

		g	G	G	g
хъ	хъ	q	q	q	q
къ	къ, кькъ, кккъ	q ^o	q̄	q:	q:
къ	къ	q	q'	q̇	q'
		gw	G _o	G ^w	g ^w
хъв	хъв	qw	q _o	q ^w	q ^w
къв	къв	q ^o w	q̄ _o	q: ^w	q: ^w
къв	къв	qw	q' _o	q̇ ^w	q' ^w
гъ	гъ	ɣ	R	ʁ	ʁ
х	х	x	X	χ	χ
	хх	x ^o		χ:	χ:
гъв	гъв	ɣw	R _o	ʁ ^w	ʁ ^w
хв	хв	xw	X _o	χ ^w	χ ^w
	ххв	x ^o w		χ: ^w	χ: ^w
		ω			ɰ
		h ^o			ħ
ъ, '	ъ	'	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
гъ	гъ	h	h	h	h
м	м	m	m	m	m
н	н	n	n	n	n
р	р	r	r	r	r
л	л	l	l	l	l
в, 'в	в	w	w	v, w	w
й (ю, я, е)	й (ю, я, е)	j	j	j	y

	CC		CC	CC, C:	C:
и	и	i	i	i	i
е, э	е, э	e	e	e	e
а	а	a	a	a	a
	о				o
у	у	u	u	u	u
уь	уь	ü	ü	ü	ü
	VV		V:	\bar{V}	V:
аь (я), уь (ю)	аь (я), уь (ю)	ä, ù	qI, ... , VI	qI, ... , VI	q ^f , ... , V ^f
Ў	Ў	v	Ў		v
			$\underset{\wedge}{V}$		$\underset{\circ}{V}$

Notes.

1. Plain voiceless stops and affricates are actually aspirated: $p^h t^h č^h$ and so on. Following common practice, we omit the sign ^h and denote these as plain voiceless: $p t č$ and so on.

2. In Northern Tabasaran (at least in Dyubek), voiced stops and affricates ($b, d, ʒ$ and so on) become facultatively devoiced in the initial position and obligatorily devoiced after a voiceless fricative (e.g., /sd/ > [st]), see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 336]. Following common practice (cf. Kibrik & Kodzasov's transcription or Cyrillic orthography), we do not reflect this non-phonological change, e.g., /sd/ is written as *sd*.

3. In Southern Tabasaran, consonants become palatalized before or after front vowels [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 337], [Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 30]. We do not note this automatic process.

4. Labialized sibilant affricates & fricatives possess specific compressed labio-dental coarticulation. The main focus can be either alveolar or postalveolar depending on the dialect, particularly alveolar c^w, s^w , etc. in Dyubek (Northern Tabasaran) and postalveolar $č^w, š^w$ in Kondik and Khiv (Southern Tabasaran). See [Kodzasov & Muravyeva 1982: 7] for detail. Nevertheless, following common practice, we denote

them as postalveolar \check{c}^w , \check{s}^w and so on for all Tabasaran dialects.

5. The glottal-stop (ʔ) is an automatic prothesis in the case of vocalic onset; we do not note it in our transcription.

6. Pharyngealization (a word-prosodic feature) occurs only in the syllables with back vowels: *a* and *u* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 337]. We denote pharyngealization as $^{\text{f}}$ after a first vowel *a* or *u* or after a uvular/laryngeal (if there is a uvular/laryngeal in the phonetic word). Pharyngealized vowels a^{f} and u^{f} are actually fronted: $a^{\text{f}} = [\text{ä}^{\text{f}}]$, $u^{\text{f}} = [\text{ö}^{\text{f}}]$, but we do not note this automatic feature.

7. In Southern Tabasaran (at least in Kondik), close vowels (*i*, *ü*, *u*) of the non-final syllable become devoiced (*i̥*, *ü̥*, *u̥*) in two positions: (1) after plain voiceless (i.e. aspirated) stops/affricates; (2) after voiceless fricatives, which originate from the lax series (note that after voiceless fricatives, which originate from the tense series, vowels remain voiced). This effect is noted only in Kodzasov's transcription of Kondik, see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 337 f.]. Actually, neither of the aforementioned rules are absolute; the exact positions of vowel devoicing require additional investigation.

IX. Lezgi (Gyune).

IX.1. *General.*

According to [Meylanova 1964: 43, 45 f.], [Haspelmath 1993: 20 ff.] and other authors, the Lezgi (Lezghi) language can be divided into three main dialectal groups:

- Kyuri (Küre) group, consisting of the Gyune (Güne), Yarki, Qurah dialects (each of these is divided into specific sub-dialects), as well as of the Giliar and Gelkhen dialects, which possess some features of the Samur group;

- Samur (Axceh) group, consisting of the Akhty and Doquzpara dialects (each of these is divided into specific sub-dialects), as well as of the Fiy, Jaba and Qurush dialects, which are sometimes labeled as "mixed";

- Quba (Kuba), consisting of Quba proper, Kuzun, Yargun and some other dialects.

It must be noted that Lezgi dialectological research is still in progress, and not all

known Lezgi dialects are listed above. The Literary Lezgi language is based on the Gyune dialect (for the most part on the Magaramkent sub-dialect) of the Kyuri group.

Despite the great number of Lezgi-speaking people, the relatively high sociolinguistic status of the language, its wide geographic distribution and dialectal diversity, the lexicographic description of Lezgi is modest. The available data are sufficient for compiling just one list for the Mamrach/Mamrash sub-dialect of the Gyune dialect (Kyuri dialectal group), described in [Uslar 1896]. Actually, it is stated in [Meylanova 1964: 34] that the Mamrash sub-dialect is somewhat transitional between Gyune and Yarki dialects (Gyune and Yarki, however, are quite close to each other).

Literary Lezgi (Gyune dialect) is very close to Uslar's data; therefore, we prefer to quote literary forms in the notes rather than compile an individual list. The basic lexicographic sources for Literary Lezgi are [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966; Gadzhiev 1950] as well as [Gyulmagomedov 2004] and [Gadzhiev 1956]. Additionally, we refer to the glossary in [Haspelmath 1993]. Another important source is the Literary Lezgi corpus [Ganenkov 2011]. Grammatical information has been taken from [Gaydarov et al. 2009; Alekseev & Sheykhov 1997; Haspelmath 1993].

As for other Lezgi dialects, only the data on nouns of the Akhty dialect (Klyut sub-dialect) of the Samur group have been systematically recorded and published in the dictionary [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. We quote Akhty as well as some scattered forms from other dialects in the notes.

Lexical data of the Literary Lezgi language as well as of the Kuba (proper) dialect and the Mikrakh subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect are systematically quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], but we prefer not to use this source due to its general unreliability.

It must be pointed out that, despite dialectal diversity, the Lezgi language appears to be rather homogenous lexicostatistically. E.g., there are only two unmatched items between Uslar's dialect and the literary language ('earth', 'feather') - both idioms belong to the Kyuri dialectal group. Comparison with the available nominal forms of the Akhty dialect (Samur group) yields three additional mismatches: 'cold', 'leaf', 'rain'.

IX.2. Transliteration.

The following transliterational chart covers our principal sources:

Modern literary alphabet	[Haspelmath 1993]	[Uslar 1896]	[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]	[NCED]	GLD
б	b	б	b	b	b
п	p, /p ^h /	п	p	p	p
п, [пп]	p, /p/	п́	p̃	p:	p:
пІ	p'	п,І	p'	ṗ	p'
ф	f	ф		f	f
д	d	д	d	d	d
т	t, /t ^h /	т	t	t	t
т, [тт]	t, /t/	т́	t̃	t:	t:
тІ	t'	т,І	t'	ṫ	t'
		з			з
ц	c, /ts ^h /	ц̄	c	c	c
ц, [цц]	c, /ts/	ц́	č	c:	c:
цІ	c'	ц̄	c'	ç	c'
з	z	з	z	z	z
с	s	с	s	s	s
		ђ			ž
ч	č, /tʃ ^h /	ч	č	č	č
ч, [чч]	č, /tʃ/	ч́	č	č:	č:
чІ	č'	ч̄	č'	č̇	č'
ж	ž	ж	ž	ž	ž

Ш	š	ш	š	š	š
Г	g	г	g	g	g
К	k, /k/	ќ	k	k	k
К, [КК]	k, /k ^h /	к	ķ	k:	k:
КІ	k'	к,	k'	ķ	k'
		ĩ			ɣ
ХЪ	χ	ћ, ħ	x	x	x
(КЪГ)					ɠ
ХЪ	q ^h	ќ	q	q	q
КЪ	q̃	ķ	q̃	q:	q:
КЪ	q'	q	q'	q̇	q'
ГЪ	ǰ	ǰ,	R	ʁ	ʁ
Х	x	x	X	χ	χ
		ɓ	ɓ	ɓ	ɓ
		ɓ	H	ħ	ħ
Ъ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
ГЪ	h	h	h	h	h
М	m	м	m	m	m
Н	n	н	n	n	n
Р	r	р	r	r	r
Л	l	л	l	l	l
В	w	в, w	w	w, v	w
Й (Ю, Я, Е)	j	ј	j	j	y
СВ	Cw	Cw	C _o	C ^w	C ^w
СИ	/C'/	Си	Cy	Ć	C ^y

			Ç		Ç
и	i	i	i	i	i
е, э	e	e	e	e	e
а	a	a	a	a	a
аь, я	ä	æ	ä	ä	ä
ы			i	i	i
о		o	o	o	o
у	u	y	u	u	u
уь, ю	ü	y	ü	ü	ü
	ǂ, 'CV	V	ǂ		'V

Notes.

1. Obstruent stops and affricates are arranged in four series: voiced [d] / plain voiceless [t] / voiceless aspirated [t^h] / voiceless ejective [t']. This is the situation for at least the modern Gyune dialect (Literary Lezgi) and the Klyut sub-dialect of the Samur dialectal group (see [Haspelmath 1993: 2; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 341]). The plain voiceless series [t] originates from old tense obstruents (*t). According to [Uslar 1896: 12 ff.], however, in the Gyune dialect of the 19th century the plain voiceless series (modern [t]) was pronounced as tense [t̚] or [t̚], whereas the voiceless aspirated series (modern [t^h]) possessed weak aspiration, similar to the Russian voiceless sounds like [t]. For this reason, as well as for the sake of general compatibility within Lezgian data, we prefer to transcribe the plain voiceless series [t] as tense (i.e. t̚) and voiceless aspirated [t^h] as plain (i.e. t).

2. The only sources that systematically discriminate between aspirated (t̚) and non-aspirated (t̚) voiceless series, are [Uslar 1896; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Meylanova 1964] and the glossary in [Haspelmath 1993]. In modern Cyrillic orthography, both series are denoted with the corresponding Russian letters for voiceless phonemes, i.e. both t̚ and t̚ are written as {т}. In the case of homographs, the tense series can be written with the doubled Cyrillic letter in dictionaries and other grammatical or educational

publications, e.g., *tar* {tap} ‘a k. of musical instrument’, but *t:ar* {tap} ‘tree’. In the same cases, in [Gyulmagomedov 2004] the aspirated series can be transcribed as either {t} or {tʰ}.

3. Note that the automatic prothesis ?- in vowel-initial forms is apparently absent (at least in main dialects).

4. At least in the Klyut sub-dialect of the Samur dialectal group, *ä* is actually pharyngealized [äʰ] in all positions. In the same sub-dialect *a* is realized as [o] after *w* or *C^w*; likewise, *e* is realized as [ö] after *C^w*. See [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 342].

X. Proto-Lezgian

X.1. General.

The only systematic published reconstruction of the Proto-Lezgian phonological system and etymological corpus belongs to Sergei Starostin, although, of course, the reconstruction acknowledges its debt to previous research, conducted by such Caucasologists as Nikolai Troubetzkoy, M. E. Alekseev, E. A. Bokarev, B. K. Gigineyshvili, B. B. Talibov *et alii* (see the overview of Proto-Lezgian studies in [Alekseev 1985: 8 ff.]). S. Starostin’s reconstruction was included in [NCED] and published electronically as *Lezgian Etymological Database* [LEDb] on the StarLing database server (Starostin’s full manuscript *Lezgian Historical Phonology* still remains unpublished, but its abbreviated version has appeared in [NCED: 122-179]). It must be noted that [LEDb] only includes those Proto-Lezgian 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*).

In reconstructing the Swadesh wordlist for Proto-Lezgian, we generally follow [NCED] and [LEDb], although in some cases we revise and, occasionally, even reject Starostin’s specific etymologies (this mostly has to do with new Lezgian data that have been published since the mid-1990s).

Database compiled and annotated by:

Udi (Nidzh), Udi (Vartashen): A. Kassian, November 2011 (we are thankful to the UdiLang Project (<http://udilang.narod.ru/index.html>) team - T. Maisak, Dm. Ganenkov, Yu. Lander [all Moscow] - for a number of valuable remarks on Udi data). Updated January & March 2012 (some minor corrections concerning Azerbaijani and Iranian data);

Archi: A. Kassian, November 2011;

Kryts (proper), Kryts (Alyk): A. Kassian, December 2011;

Budukh: A. Kassian, January 2012. Updated February 2012 (words for 'bark', 'fingernail', 'sand', 'to swim' have been added - all borrowed);

Tsakhur (Mishlesh, Mikik, Gelmets): A. Kassian, February 2012.

Rutul (Mukhad, Ixrek, Luchek): A. Kassian, March 2012.

Aghul (Koshan, Keren, Gequn, Fite, proper Aghul): A. Kassian, April 2012.

Tabasaran (Northern, Southern): A. Kassian, May 2012.

Lezgi (Gyune): A. Kassian, June 2012.

Proto-Lezgian: A. Kassian, October 2012.

1. ALL

Nidzh Udi *bütün* ~ *bütüm* (-1), Vartashen Udi *bütün* ~ *bitun* (-1), Archi *m'arči* (1), Kryts (proper) *vari* (-1), Alyk Kryts *girt* (-1), Budukh *pitin* {*питуин*} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *g'irgi-n* {*гиргын*} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *g'irgi-n* (2), Mukhad Rutul *si-žin* (3), Ixrek Rutul *si-ne-bir* {*синебыр*} (3), Koshan Aghul *wari* (-1), Keren Aghul *wari* (-1), Gequn Aghul *žal:a* ~ *žal:a* (-1), Fite Aghul *žal:a* (-1), Aghul (proper) *žal:a* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *war'i* ~ *war:i* (-1), Southern Tabasaran *w'ari* {*вару*} (-1), Gyune Lezgi *war'i* (-1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Mobili 2010: 76; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 472; Schulze 2005: 263 (3.2.9.4, p. 10). Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'. Not found in [Gukasyan 1974].

Vartashen Udi: Dirr 1903: 90, 92, 94; Schiefner 1863: 22; Schulze 2001: 263; Starchevskiy 1891: 489. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Common Udi: Borrowed from Azerbaijani *bütün* 'all (totus/omnis)'.

Caucasian Albanian: *ceχ* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-41, IV-40]. Normally means 'all (omnis), every', as opposed to *ka-nay* 'all (totus), whole' and *luš'u* 'all (totus), whole, entire' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-41, IV-22, 41].

Archi: Kibrik et al. 1977b: 277, 354; Chumakina et al. 2007; Dirr 1908: 47. Quoted as *mirči* ~ *murči* in [Mikailov 1967: 95, 193], but as *marči* in [Mikailov 1967: 156 (65)]. As noted in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 277], *m'arči* normally refers to substantives of classes 1 and 2, *scil.* human beings (the same in [Chumakina et al. 2007]).

Browsing through texts in [Kibrik et al. 1977b; Mikailov 1967; Dirr 1908] suggests that the adjective *m'arči* is the most common expression for 'all (omnis)', which can be used as both attributive and non-attributive, referring to human beings. Examples are numerous, e.g., "All youths like this girl" and so on [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 9, 11, 66, 67, 90], "All men have come", "you do say to all the people that..." [Mikailov 1967: 95, 156, 158]. Examples for non-attributive *m'arči* 'all (omnis)' referring to human beings are also well attested, e.g., "I have killed them all" [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 173], "Everybody was happy, when she died" and so on [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 9, 10, 11, 21, 27, 46, 104, etc.].

A reasonable solution should be to treat expressions for 'omnis (human beings)' and 'omnis (non-human or inanimate)' as synonyms, but the latter basic term cannot be established from available sources.

A possible candidate for 'omnis (non-human or inanimate)' could be the adverb/adjective *k'illiy-CLASS-u* [Mikailov 1967: 95, 186; Dirr 1908: 48] with polysemy: 'totus / omnis'. The following examples for 'omnis' are found: "All the bull calves went home" [Mikailov 1967: 95], "All the horses" [Dirr 1908: 48], and also referring to humans: "All the women" [Dirr 1908: 48]. In more modern sources, however, this word is quoted as *k'ell'ey-CLASS-u* with the exclusive meaning 'entirely, wholly', i.e. 'totus' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 264].

More rare seems to be the adjective *b'at:-eš:u-t:u-CLASS* 'totus / omnis' [Chumakina et al. 2007] (examples: "I have filled a whole notebook with my writing", "All the sheep have come back"), [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 200] from the adverb *b'at:-eš:u* 'completely' ← the verb *b'at:-eš:a-* 'to come true, be fulfilled (of wish); to pass, come (of time)'.
Cf. also various words for 'all (totus)':

The adverb *i:k'en* [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 251, 354; Mikailov 1967: 95, 182], which normally expresses non-attributive 'all (totus)' referring to inanimate and abstract objects. E.g., "She demonstrated her hair and all (the rest, i.e. her body)", "Then this girl said everything" and so on [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 32, 37, 41, 93, 94, 97, etc.]. But there is one example for attributive *i:k'en* 'all (omnis)' referring to inanimate objects: "He (the physician) cured all fractures" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 116], and one example for attributive *i:k'en* 'all (totus)' referring to an inanimate object: "I have latched onto all of the property" [Mikailov 1967: 95].

The adjectives *g^wey-CLASS-u* and *g^wey-CLASS-u-h'o:nu*, which are explicitly glossed as 'all (totus), whole' in [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 234, 352] and [Chumakina et al. 2007] (*h'o:nu* means 'some, any' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 240]) with examples like "He has left all his property to the son", "The whole girl has been covered with gold", "I was washing the dishes yesterday, but could not wash the whole lot" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 41, 234; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 148]. In [Mikailov 1967: 95, 176] this

adjective is quoted as *g^miy-CLASS-u* with additional examples for the meaning 'all (totus)'.

More marginal seems to be the adjective *h'ammu-CLASS-h'o:nu* 'all (totus), whole' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 236, 354], consisting of *h'ammu* 'which one' + *h'o:nu* means 'some, any'.

The last term is the adjective *obš:i* 'all (totus/omnis)', glossed as 'all, whole, every' in [Chumakina et al. 2007] and supplemented by two examples: "All the people [sg.] went in different directions", "Everybody went to the fields". This word has not been found in other sources.

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 422. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'. Apparently a Turkic loanword: Proto-Turkic predicative **ba:r* 'there is, there exists', which shifted to 'all (omnis or totus)' in many Turkic languages, although Azerbaijani *var* is probably attested only with the meaning 'there is'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 107. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'. The same term in other dialects: Dzhek, Xaput *girt* [Saadiev 1994: 422]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani dialectal *gird* 'wholly, completely' or directly from Iranian, cf. Talysh *gird* 'all (totus)'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 119, 193; Alekseev 1994: 270; Talibov 2007: 130. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *bütün* 'all (totus/omnis)'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 152; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 125, 518. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Dirr 1913: 58, 148, 221. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Not attested.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 51, 171, 186. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Distinct from the paronymous *siyä-nä ~ siye-nä* 'all (totus)' [Ibragimov 1978: 76].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 230. The meaning is 'all (omnis)'; it is the regular plural form from *si-ne* {сине} 'all (totus)' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 230].

Distinct from the paronymous *säye-nä* {саёнаь} 'all (totus)' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 224, 327] with the examples: "I have got it all" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 229b], "Everything depends upon you" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 23a], "He has sold everything" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 23b].

An additional term is *bütün* {бүтүьн} 'all (totus/omnis)' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 43], borrowed from Azerbaijani *bütün* 'all (totus/omnis)'.

Luchek Rutul: Not attested.

Common Rutul: Mukhad *si-ʔin*, *siyä-nä* and Ixrek *si-ne*, *säye-nä* apparently represent historical derivatives from the Rutul numeral *sa* '1'.

Koshan Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 74, 170; Suleymanov 2003: 80. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

In other subdialects: Arsug *ʃil:a*, Khudig *ʃal:a* 'totus / omnis' [Shaumyan 1941: 74, 170].

Keren Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 134; Shaumyan 1941: 74. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 28, 114, 170; Suleymanov 1993: 134. The form in *ž-* is from [Dirr 1907] (in some cases Dirr transcribes Gequn *ž* as *ʒ*). Meaning 'all (omnis)'.

Distinct from inherited *k'il-di* 'all (totus)' [Dirr 1907: 28, 130, 169], an adverb derived from *k'il* 'head' q.v.

Fite Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 134. Two synonyms are quoted in [Suleymanov 1993]: *ʃal:a* and *wari*, both of them probably with polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 134; Suleymanov 2003: 80; Shaumyan 1941: 74, 170. Polysemy: 'totus / omnis'.

Common Aghul: The word *wari* was ultimately borrowed from Turkic; see notes on Kryts (proper).

The second term (*ʃil:a ~ ʃal:a*) also seems to be a loanword. The Koshan and proper Aghul forms are quoted as *ʃil:a ~ ʃal:a* in [Suleymanov 2003: 80]; the initial stress points to a recent borrowing (see [Magometov 1970: 20]), although the source is not entirely clear (Arabic?).

Northern Tabasaran: Uslar 1979: 145, 622, 991; Dirr 1905: 45, 159, 225. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. This is actually the word from the Khanag subdialect; the proper Dyubek term for 'all' is unknown.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *wari* {вари} 'all (omnis / totus)' [Genko 2005: 32].

Southern Tabasaran: Genko 2005: 32. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. This is actually the word from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik term for 'all' is unknown.

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *wari* {вари} 'all (omnis / totus)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 93; Zhirkov 1948: 105]. There also exists the rare literary word *marci-yi* {марцийи} 'all' [Khanmagomedov 1957: 43] (not found in other sources; the exact meaning is unknown) - literally 'cleanly', derived from the adjective *marci* 'clean' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 224] with the common adverbial suffix *-yi* (for which see [Magometov 1965: 327]).

Common Tabasaran: The loanword *wari* / *w'ari* is the Common Tabasaran term for 'all (omnis / totus)' [Magometov 1965: 189]. The form was ultimately borrowed from Turkic, see notes on Kryts (proper).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 79, 366, 606. Polysemy: 'all (omnis) / all (totus)'. A close, but less frequent synonym is *mix'iz* 'all (omnis/totus)' [Uslar 1896: 80, 507, 606].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *wiri* [вирн] 'all (omnis/totus)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 78; Gadzhiev 1950: 80; Alekseev & Sheykhov 1997: 46; Haspelmath 1993: 200, 511, 515] with the close, but less frequent synonym *mix'iz* [михъиз] 'all (omnis/totus)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 241; Gadzhiev 1950: 80].

The word *wari* ~ *wiri* was ultimately borrowed from Turkic; see notes on Kryts (proper). The second term *mix'i*-z literally means 'cleanly', derived from the inherited adjective *mix'i* 'clean' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 240] with the common adverbial suffix -z (for which see [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 220 f., 222 f.]).

Proto-Lezgian: Not reconstructible.

Distribution: In the majority of languages, the meaning 'all' (*omnis* or with polysemy *omnis / totus*) is represented by Turkic or Iranian loanwords. Inherited forms are:

- 1) Tsakhur *giri-n*, derived from the old root for 'round' q.v.
- 2) Rutul *si-žin*, *si-ne-bir*, apparently derived from the old root for 'one' q.v.
- 3) Lezgi *mix'i*-z, literally 'cleanly' from the adjective 'clean'.
- 4) Tabasaran *marci-yi*, literally 'cleanly' from the adjective 'clean'.
- 5) Caucasian Albanian *ceχ* and Archi *m'arči*, both are etymologically unclear.

Tabasaran *marci-yi* and Archi *m'arči* are indeed phonetically similar, but the affricate correspondence is irregular.

Replacements: {'round' > 'all'} (Tsakhur), {'one' > 'all'} (Rutul), {'clean' > 'all'} (Tabasaran, Lezgi).

2. ASHES

Nidzh Udi *žeq*: {жекъ} (1), Vartashen Udi *iq*: ~ *yeq*: {икъ ~ ѱекъ} (1), Archi *diq*:^ſ (1), Kryts (proper) *räq* (1), Alyk Kryts *raq* (1), Budukh *req* {пекъ} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yiq*:^ſ {үүлхъ, үүлхъ} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *yiq*:^ſ (1), Gelmet Tsakhur *yiq*:^ſ (1), Mukhad Rutul *riq*:^ſ {пылхъ} (1), Ixrek Rutul *riq*:^ſ {пылхъ} (1), Luchek Rutul *riq*:^ſ (1), Koshan Aghul *ruq*:^ſ (1), Keren Aghul *ruq*:^ſ (1), Gequn Aghul *rüq*:^y (1), Fite Aghul *ruq*:^ſ (1), Aghul (proper) *rüq*: (1), Northern Tabasaran *r'uq*:^ſ-u (1), Southern Tabasaran *ruq*:^ſ (1), Gyune Lezgi *rüq* (1), Proto-Lezgian **riq*:^{wf} (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 114; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64; Schulze 2001: 286.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 128; Mobili 2010: 153, 157; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Schiefner 1863: 77; Schulze 2001: 286; Starchevskiy 1891: 505. Apparently, in [Mobili 2010: 153, 157] the variant *yeq*: is erroneously not marked as Vartashen.

Common Udi: Both forms are apparently related, reflecting different treatments of Proto-Lezgian **r*- (thus [NCED: 606; Schulze 2001: 286]).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 222, 360; Mikailov 1967: 181; Dirr 1908: 141. In [Chumakina et al. 2007] erroneously quoted as *diq*:^ſ- in oblique forms.

Distinct from *kurt'ul* 'tobacco ashes, tobacco sediment in a pipe' [Chumakina et al. 2007].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 16, 34, 288, 375.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 121, 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 879, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 184; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *yiq*:^ſ [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207].

- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Dirr 1913: 170, 226.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: abs. *yiq*.
- Common Tsakhur:** It should be noted that the tense *-q-* was eliminated in the Mishlesh paradigm which was levelled after the regular absolutive form *yiq*^f.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 167, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 118. Regular paradigm: *riq*^f [abs.] / *riq*^{f-} [obl.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64], erroneously quoted as *riq* {рыхъ}.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 219, 343; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 64. Paradigm: *riq*^f [abs.] / *riq*^{f-} [obl.].
Distinct from the more specific term *c'üq* 'fine ashes (Russian: пепел)' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 288].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. Regular paradigm: *riq*^f [abs.] / *riq*^{f-} [obl.].
Distinct from the more specific term *c'üq* 'fine ashes (Russian: пепел)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207].
- Common Rutul:** Muxrek dialect: *riḡ*^f [abs.] / *ri c̣*^{f-} ~ *riq*^{f-} [obl.] 'ashes' [Ibragimov 1978: 166, 169, 187].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Suleymanov 2003: 144. The same in the Khudig subdialect: *ruq* 'ashes' [Shaumyan 1941: 160].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207. The same in the Usug subdialect: *rüq-* 'ashes' [Shaumyan 1941: 161] (apparently to be read *ruq*^{f-}).
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Dirr 1907: 140, 179.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.
- Aghul (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207; Shaumyan 1941: 161. In [Suleymanov 2003: 144], incorrectly transcribed as *ruq*^f.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.
The same in the Khanag subdialect: *ruq*^f 'ashes' [Uslar 1979: 900, 994; Dirr 1905: 203, 229]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *ruq*^f {рюкъ} 'ashes' [Genko 2005: 135].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.
The same in the Khiv subdialect: *ruq*^f {рюкъ} 'ashes' [Genko 2005: 135]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ruq*^f {рюкъ} 'ashes' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutov 2001: 263].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 544, 613. Paradigm: *rüq* [abs.] / *rüq*^{w-}*edi-* [obl.]. The uvular consonant of the oblique stem is levelled after the absolutive form.
The same in Literary Lezgi: *rüq* [abs.] / *rüq*^{w-}*edi-* [obl.] {рюкъ} 'ashes' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 282; Gadzhiev 1950: 248; Haspelmath 1993: 505, 515] (the levelled paradigm).
The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *rüq* [abs.] / *rüq*^{w-}*ädi-* [obl.] 'ashes' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 606. Distribution: One of the most stable words, retained in its basic meaning in all Lezgian lects.
Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the unique (?) development **r-* > *ž-* in Nidzh Udi.
Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **riq*^w*V-*.

3. BARK

Nidzh Udi *q'ol* {хъобъл} (1), Vartashen Udi *q'ol* {хъобъл} (1), Archi *p'aq'ut* (2), Kryts (proper) *q:abuχ* ~ *q:abuḡ* (-1), Alyk Kryts *q:abuḡ* (-1), Budukh *q:abuḡ* {къабугъ} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q'abiχ* {къабых} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *q'abiχ* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *q'abiχ* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *žigal* {джигал} (3), Ixrek Rutul *žigal* {джигал} (3), Luchek Rutul *žugal* (3), Koshan Aghul *gal* (1), Keren Aghul *gužal* (3), Gequn Aghul *q:ark* (4), Fite Aghul *q:ark* (4), Aghul (proper) *q:ark* (4), Northern Tabasaran *γal* (1), Southern Tabasaran *γal* (1), Gyune Lezgi *čik:al* (3), Proto-Lezgian **χ:al* (1).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 164; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412; Mobili 2010: 182. Polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell / case, etui'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] two variants are quoted: *q'ol* ~ *χ'ol*.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 164; Fähnrich 1999: 27; Schiefner 1863: 81.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **q'ol* 'bark'.
Caucasian Albanian: Not attested.
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 291, 363; Mikailov 1967: 196. Not found in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010; Dirr 1908]. Distinct from *qal* 'human skin (q.v.); fruit peel' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 295].
 The only term for 'bark' in [Dirr 1908] is, however, *qal* 'peel; bark; shell' [Dirr 1908: 162, 211]. It is very probable that this reflects an archaic usage, before *qal* 'skin / bark' was superseded by *p'aqut* in the meaning 'bark' and its semantic usage was narrowed to 'skin' q.v. It must be noted that *qal* is also quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412] as the only translation for 'bark', but this may be an error.
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* (Quba dialect **gabuy*) 'bark; shell'.
Alyk Kryts: G. Authier, pers. com. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* (Quba dialect **gabuy*) 'bark; shell'.
Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 81, 218; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412. Polysemy: 'bark / peel / shell'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* (Quba dialect **gabuy*) 'bark; shell'.
Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 222. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412], erroneously quoted as *k'apix* {к'апых}. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999].
 Distinct from the inherited specific term *luk'un* {лук'ун} 'birch bark' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 233].
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *q'abix*, polysemy: 'bark / peel' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97]. Distinct from the inherited specific term *luk'on* 'birch bark' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].
Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Dirr 1913: 194, 227.
 Distinct from the inherited specific term *luk'on* 'birch bark' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].
Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412], quoted as the complex expression *yiwiny' q'abix*, lit. 'tree's *q'abix*'. Polysemy: 'bark / skin'.
 Distinct from the inherited specific term *luk'on* 'birch bark' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].
Common Tsakhur: In all dialects the generic term was borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* 'bark; shell'.
Mukhad Rutul: Ibragimov 1978: 117; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412. Polysemy: 'bark / peel'.
 It should be noted that Dirr quotes two different terms for 'bark': Mukhad *q'abix* [Dirr 1912: 152, 192] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* 'bark') and Mukhad & Shinaz *č'iχ'in* [Dirr 1912: 181, 182, 192]. The latter can in fact mean simply 'birch bark', cf. the Luchek data below.
Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 108, 349; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 412. Polysemy: 'bark / peel'. Cf. an example: "To strip bark from the tree" [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 278a].
 Another term for 'bark' is *q'äbuχ* {к'аьбуχ} [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 349], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* 'bark'.
Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.
 A second synonym for 'bark' is *q'abix* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* 'bark'.
 Distinct from the more specific term *č'iχ'in* 'birch bark' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].
Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. It must be noted that in [Shaumyan 1941: 187] and [Suleymanov 2003: 114] Burshag *gal* is glossed only as 'shell', whereas in [Suleymanov 2003: 114] the meaning 'bark' is ascribed to the Burshag word *šark*.
 In the Khudig subdialect 'bark' sounds as *šark* [Magometov 1970: 41].
Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. The same root in the Usug subdialect: *žigal* 'bark', where it is opposed to *q'ark* 'shell' [Shaumyan 1941: 187].
Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. Not attested in [Dirr 1907]. It must be noted that in [Shaumyan 1941: 187], Gequn *q'ark* is glossed only as 'shell'.
Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.
Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 114; Shaumyan 1941: 187. Polysemy: 'bark / shell / peel'. The same in the Kurag subdialect: *q'ark* 'bark' [Magometov 1970: 41].
Common Aghul: It seems that *q'ark* can assuredly be reconstructed as the Proto-Aghul term for 'bark / shell'. In some modern

dialects this polysemy tends to be eliminated, with the meaning 'bark' transferred to other words - *gužal* ~ *žigal* in Keren or *gal* in Koshan (Burshag).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yal* with polysemy: 'bark / peel / skin (i.e. hide?)' [Uslar 1979: 653, 996; Dirr 1905: 162, 231]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yal* {ггал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel' [Genko 2005: 39].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yal* {ггал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel' [Genko 2005: 39] (the plus sign is apparently omitted by accident, although the white space between the bracket and the siglum "X." is present). The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yal* {рал} with polysemy: 'bark / rolled out dough' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 96].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 589, 615. Polysemy: 'bark / peel'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *čkal* {чкал} with polysemy: 'bark / peel' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 373; Gadzhiev 1950: 308].

Somewhat differently in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *kan* 'bark' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97]. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the second Khlyut word for 'bark' is *čkal*. The difference between the two terms is unknown, but Khlyut *kan* is clearly secondary, because its literary counterpart *kan* means 'dandruff; epidermis' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 149] and the external comparison proves that the semantics of 'skin' is primary [NCED: 699].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 789. Distribution: An unstable word, superseded by a loanword from Azerbaijani in Kryts, Budukh and Tsakhur and probably by a loanword from Avar in archaic Archi. Four inherited stems enter into competition: (1) **λ:al* (Udi 'bark / peel / shell', Tabasaran 'bark / peel' and Koshan Aghul 'bark'), (2) **č:uka-la / *kuč:a-la* (Rutul 'bark / peel', Lezgi 'bark / peel' and Keren Aghul 'bark'), (3) **parq:ul*: (modern Archi), (4) **q:ärk^wa* (Proto-Aghul 'bark / shell').

The last of these, **q:ärk^wa*, is formally a Proto-Aghul innovation (Lezgian comparison suggests the development 'a k. of hide' > 'bark' [NCED: 455 f.]).

Two stems with the best distribution - **λ:al* and **č:uka-la / *kuč:a-la* - are formally equivalent candidates, and any historical scenario would imply certain zig-zag or parallel semantic shifts.

External North Caucasian comparison suggests that the original meaning of **č:uka-la / *kuč:a-la* was 'noodles' or 'a k. of food rising to the surface after boiling' [NCED: 439]. This semantics is retained in Budukh ('noodles'), but underwent such shifts as 'noodles' > 'sour cream' in Tsakhur, 'noodles' > 'bast, bass' in Kryts and 'noodles' > 'bark, peel' in Rutul, Lezgi, Keren Aghul. The latter shift is not a genetical feature of Rutul, Lezgi and Keren Aghul, but is either an independent development or, rather, an areal isogloss between adjacent territories (see [Koryakov 2006: map 13]).

As for **λ:al*, external North Caucasian comparison points to the original meaning 'color' with the shift 'color' > 'surface' [NCED: 789]; however, it is not particularly risky to assume the shift 'color' > 'bark, peel' for Proto-Lezgian. The meaning 'bark, peel' is retained in Udi and Tabasaran, and emerges as a secondary development in Koshan Aghul (in Proto-Aghul this root apparently meant 'shell').

The fourth inherited term for 'bark', **parq:ul*, which is attested in the basic meaning in modern Archi, can be a recent introduction, if Dirr's data are correct. If so, this Proto-Lezgian stem demonstrates the shift 'burdock, plantain' > 'bark' in Archi [NCED: 865]. It is important that Lezgian **parq:ul* finds Avar cognates with the meaning 'bark' [NCED: 865], but it is not clear whether **mVq:Vr-* can be reconstructed as the Proto-Avar-Andic term for 'bark' (perhaps we are dealing with independent developments in Archi and Avar). Note that in the Lezgian languages, **parq:ul* demonstrates various consonant irregularities of dissimilative/assimilative nature [NCED: 865], particularly the Archi form is *p'aq'ut* with lax *q'* (not ***p'aq:ut pace* [NCED]).

Replacements: {'a k. of hide' > 'bark'} (Aghul), {'shell' > 'bark'} (Koshan Aghul), {'noodles' > 'bark'} (Rutul, Lezgi, Keren Aghul), {'burdock, plantain' > 'bark'} (Archi), {'color' > 'bark, peel'} (Proto-Lezgian).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, probably with Proto-Lezgian polysemy 'bark / peel'. The oblique stem is **λ:ole-* or **λ:ola-*.

4. BELLY

Nidzh Udi *tapan* {тапан} (1), Vartashen Udi *bukun* {букун} (2), Archi *l'agi* (3), Kryts (proper) *fän* (4), Alyk Kryts *fan* (4), Budukh *təpən* {тапан} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *wuxun*

{*vyxybyh*} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *wuxun* ~ *wuxin* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *uxun*^y (4), Mukhad Rutul *uxun* {*yxybyh*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *ämvröz* {*abmpabz*} (-1), Luchek Rutul *iči* (-1), Koshan Aghul *fun* (4), Keren Aghul *fun* (4), Gequn Aghul *fun* (4), Fite Aghul *fun* (4), Aghul (proper) *fun* (4), Northern Tabasaran *fun* (4), Southern Tabasaran *fun* (4), Gyune Lezgi *rufun* (4), Proto-Lezgian **uo=ɬ^win* ~ **ro=ɬ^win* (6).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 202; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 222; Mobili 2010: 261. Glossed as 'belly, paunch, stomach' in [Gukasyan 1974: 202]. Quoted as a translation for 'stomach' in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]. Glossed as 'belly' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], distinct from *mä.da* 'stomach' (< Azerbaijani *mädä* 'stomach') in the same source.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 93; Mobili 2010: 72; Fähnrich 1999: 11; Schiefner 1863: 102; Schulze 2001: 262; Starchevskiy 1891: 496. Glossed as 'belly, paunch, stomach, womb'. In [Gukasyan 1974] (followed by [Mobili 2010]) quoted with an error: *bucun* {*bykbyh*} with a superfluous {*h*}. The variant *bukun* has also been checked by Yu. Lander (p.c.) in the modern subdialect of the Zinobiani (Oktomberi) village.

Schulze [Schulze 2001: 262] suspects a borrowing from Arabic *but'un* (the plural form of Arabic *bat'n*- 'belly, stomach, womb'); the hypothesis is unconvincing both phonetically and morphologically.

Common Udi: Both terms (*tapan* and *bukun*) look suspicious, although no potential sources of borrowing have been revealed up to now. If both forms are indigenous, it is rather *tapan* that should be postulated as the original Udi word for 'belly' in the light of external comparanda.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested. Cf. *kaq* 'womb' in the collocation *ne kaq* 'mother's womb' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-32].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 271, 359.

According to [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 271, 336, 359] there are two closely synonymous terms for 'belly, stomach': *l'agi* and *χ^lurχ^u*. Browsing through texts in [Kibrik et al. 1977b], however, suggests that *l'agi* is applied to humans, whereas *χ^lurχ^u* normally denotes stomach of an animal. Cf. the following examples for *l'agi*: "I have a stomach ache" (lit. "my stomach aches") [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 27, 28, 271, 32, 33, 38, 39], "She is pregnant" (lit. "a child in her belly"), "stepbrother" (lit. "brother with a different belly") [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 271].

Examples for *χ^lurχ^u* are: "Give me the ram's stomach" etc. [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 25, 26, 28], "I have given him (i.e., to the child of the king of beasts) the name *Full Belly*" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 336], "A dried cow stomach" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 336].

Two terms, *l'agi* and *χ^lurχ^u*, are discriminated in [Dirr 1908]: *l'agi* is translated as 'paunch, belly (Russian: брюхо, живот)' [Dirr 1908: 164, 207], *χ^lurχ^u* - as 'stomach (Russian: желудок)' [Dirr 1908: 190, 207].

Conversely, in [Mikailov 1967] two terms are opposed as *l'agi* 'abdominal cavity (Russian: брюшная полость)' [Mikailov 1967: 190] vs. *χ^lurχ^u* 'stomach, belly (Russian: желудок, живот)' [Mikailov 1967: 201a] (the Archi word is omitted due to typographic error).

We fill the slot with the etymologically obscure word *l'agi*. This resembles Lak *laq^{fi}* 'belly, stomach', which is likewise unetymologizable, but the Archi term can hardly be a Lak loanword due to phonetic difference (for Lak loanwords in Archi see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 53 f.]). It is proposed in [NCED: 755] that Archi *l'agi* was borrowed from Avar *lag'a* 'body part, organ; body-build, frame, figure; stature', but this solution seems dubious due to semantic difference (cf. the late transparent Avar loanword in Archi *lag'a* 'body part' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 271]).

Distinct from *kumm'ullin nol'* 'stomach, gaster (Russian: желудок)', literally 'food's house' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36] - a loan translation from Avar (in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 222] this is incorrectly quoted as the only Archi term for 'stomach').

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Glossed as 'belly'. Paradigm: *fän* [abs.] / *fin-* [obl.]. Distinct from *mäsdä* 'stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 222], borrowed from Azerbaijani *mädä* 'stomach' or rather directly from Arabic *mafd-at-* 'stomach'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 23, 36, 49, 55, 105, 199, 268, 288, 321, 347. Paradigm: *fan* [abs.] / *fun-* [obl.]. According to examples, a generic term with wide application.

- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 132, 212; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 222. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.
Distinct from the more marginal term *fin* {фын}, glossed as 'belly' in [Meylanova 1984: 143, 212] with the only example being: "to have a stomach ache".
Distinct from *qursav* 'stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gursag* 'abomasum; stomach, belly'.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 108. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 222], erroneously quoted as *wuxun* {вухун}. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach / protuberance, projection'.
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *wuxun*, polysemy: 'belly / stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Dirr 1913: 144, 225. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.
According to [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 222], the meaning 'stomach' can also be expressed with the loanword *maʔda* {маʔда} (< Azerbaijani *māda* 'stomach' or rather directly from Arabic *maʔd-at-* 'stomach').
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 174, 190; Ibragimov 1978: 39, 114. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach', applied to humans and animals. It should be noted that in [Makhmudova 2001: 43], *uxun* is specified as 'belly of animal' as opposed to *iči* 'belly' (i.e. 'belly of human?') [Makhmudova 2001: 12, 41]; the latter is borrowed from Azerbaijani *ič* (possessed *ič-i*) 'entrails'. In [Ibragimov 1978: 39], however, Mukhad *iči* is glossed as 'pluck'.
Distinct from *armaz* 'belly, paunch', quoted in [Ibragimov 1978: 169, 222] without additional specifications.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 21, 339. In [Ibragimov 1978: 198, 222], quoted as *amraz*. This seems to be the basic word for 'belly' in Ixrek, cf. the examples: "It became tight in the belly" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 88b], "Bellyaches have begun" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 166a], "To crawl on the belly" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 279b]. Ixrek *ämraz* ~ *amraz*, Mukhad *armaz*, Muxrek *amraz* 'belly' [Ibragimov 1978: 169, 186] looks like a recent loanword, although the source is not clear (cf. Arabic *ʔamarr-* 'intestines').
A second (apparently less frequent) term is the inherited *ufun* 'belly; stomach' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 257].
A third candidate is *laqʔa* 'paunch, belly' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 178], borrowed from Lak *laqʔi* 'belly, stomach'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Glossed as 'belly (Russian: живот)'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *ič* (possessed *ič-i*) 'entrails'.
Distinct from inherited *uxun* 'stomach (Russian: желудок)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36].
- Common Rutul:** The form *uxun* represents the Proto-Rutul term for 'belly; stomach'; it tends to be superseded by loans in the first meaning.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Suleymanov 2003: 169.
Distinct from *šax*: 'stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36]. It must be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 115], 'stomach' is quoted as Koshan *bʔag* and *šahar*, but without exact specification of the subdialect.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. The same in the Usug subdialect: *fun* 'belly' [Shaumyan 1941: 149].
Distinct from *qar-fun* 'stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36] (a compound of *qark* 'shell' + 'belly?').
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36; Dirr 1907: 149, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 149.
Distinct from *šix* 'stomach (of human)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36], *qar-fun* 'stomach (of animal)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36] (a compound of *qark* 'shell' + 'belly?').
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36.
Distinct from *qar-fun* 'stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36].
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 169; Shaumyan 1941: 149. Distinct from *qar-fun* 'stomach' [Suleymanov 2003: 115].
The same in other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Khpyuk *fun* 'belly' [Shaumyan 1941: 149; Magometov 1970: 223-224 sentences 4, 8, 9].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.
The same in the Khanag subdialect: *fun* 'belly; offal' [Uslar 1979: 942, 989; Dirr 1905: 213]; cf. also the expression *lekrin fun* 'calf of the leg', literally 'belly of the leg' [Dirr 1905: 213]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *fun* 'belly; offal' [Genko 2005: 161].
Distinct from Khanag *maʔad-an* 'stomach' [Dirr 1905: 195, 228] (ultimately borrowed from Arabic *maʔd-at-* 'stomach').
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36. Paradigm: *fun* [abs.] / *fun-i* [erg.]. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.
The same in the Khiv subdialect: *fun* 'belly; offal' [Genko 2005: 161]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *fun* 'belly; stomach' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 310].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 542, 611. Polysemy: 'belly / stomach'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *rufun* {руфун} 'belly' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 281; Gadzhiev 1950: 200; Haspelmath 1993: 505, 516]. Distinct from literary *χuk* [abs.] / *χ^wk^w-'adi-* [obl.] {хук} with polysemy: 'stomach / gourmandizer' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 349; Haspelmath 1993: 512, 527].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *rifin* with polysemy: 'belly / stomach' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 36].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 771. Distribution: The best candidate is **uo=t^win* ~ **ro=t^win*, attested with the generic meaning 'belly' in all Nuclear Lezgian lects except for Budukh, but apparently totally lost in the outliers (Udi, Archi). External North Caucasian comparison also seems to confirm =*t^win* as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'belly' [NCED: 771].

Another candidate is Nidzh Udi *tapan* ~ Budukh *təpən* 'belly', but these isolated forms seem very suspicious and rather look like a wandering loanword (although the source of borrowing is unknown). Vartashen Udi *bukun* and Archi *lagi* 'belly' are likewise isolated; they could only formally pretend to the status of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'belly'. It should be noted that the authors of [NCED] follow Gukasyan's typo that transcribes the Vartashen Udi form as *buqun* - actually, the proposed Udi-Archi comparison [NCED: 297] should be rejected.

In some lects **uo=t^win* ~ **ro=t^win* was superseded with loanwords (Luchek Rutul < Azerbaijani; Ixrek Rutul < ?).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, modified by means of class prefixes.

5. BIG

Nidzh Udi *kala* {кала} (-1), Vartashen Udi *kala* {кала} (-1), Archi *d'o:z-u-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *bu* (2), Alyk Kryts *buʔu* (2), Budukh *boʔlu* {бозлу} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χe-CLASS-n* {херна, хедын} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *χe-CLASS-n* (3), Gelmet Tsakhur *χ^fa-CLASS-n^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *q^wux-di* ~ *q^wux-du* {кьухьды} (4), Ixrek Rutul *q^fač-di* {хьаIчды} (5), Luchek Rutul *q^wax^y-di* (4), Koshan Aghul *ʕaba-ni-r* (2), Keren Aghul *baba-f* (6), Gequn Aghul *aHa-f* (3), Fite Aghul *aχ^fa-t* (3), Aghul (proper) *na-f* (3), Northern Tabasaran *aχ^fi* (3), Southern Tabasaran *aχ^fu* (3), Gyune Lezgi *č^fiq^fi* (7), Proto-Lezgian **p:Vh^fV-* ~ **h^fVp:V-* (6).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 131; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583; Mobili 2010: 160. Polysemy: 'big / elder / senior'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 131; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Dirr 1903: 2, 10; Schiefner 1863: 83; Schulze 2001: 288; Starchevskiy 1891: 492. Polysemy: 'big / old'. A second term for 'big' is quoted in [Fähnrich 1999: 18; Schiefner 1863: 105] and [Starchevskiy 1891: 492]: *yeka* ~ *yeko* 'groß, большой' (borrowed from Azerbaijani *yekä* ~ *äkä* 'big, large').

Common Udi: Udi *kala* is an Iranian loanword: cf. Persian *kala*-n 'large, great, big; elder', Judeo-Tat *kälä* 'big, large', etc. Pace [Schulze 2001: 288], *kala* can hardly be borrowed directly from Judeo-Tat *kälä*, since Judeo-Tat linguistic influence on Udi is very modest (if it exists at all) and the idea of a borrowing of such a basic term cannot be accepted.

Caucasian Albanian: *bo^f-n^yi* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-11, 44], glossed as 'great, big, tall'. Apparently an important retention.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 223, 351; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583; Mikailov 1967: 181; Dirr 1908: 139, 203 (sub *daz*). Polysemy: 'big, large / elder'. Derived from the stative verb *do:z* 'to be big, large / to be elder' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 223] (for morphology see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 309 f.]).

Apparently more marginal is the adjective *m^firχbi-tu-CLASS* 'big, large; worthy' [Chumakina et al. 2007] (not found in other sources).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 67, 74, 93, 179, 203, 204, 207, etc. Widely applicable.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 30, 205; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583. Polysemy: 'big, large / great / elder'.

Distinct from *baham* {багъам} 'quite big, big enough' [Meylanova 1984: 23, 205] (in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583] incorrectly quoted for generic 'big').

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 891; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 369; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: $\chi^{\acute{a}}$ -CLASS-*n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Dirr 1913: 210, 220. In [Dirr 1913], quoted as $\chi^{\acute{a}}$ -CLASS-*n*.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted:

$\chi^{\acute{a}}$ -CLASS-*n*^y {хадын^y}.

Common Tsakhur: The stem χ^e - ~ $\chi^{\acute{a}}$ - represents the same root as 'many' q.v.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 166, 185; Ibragimov 1978: 69. Cf. Dirr's examples: "big house", "big (= important) person", "elder brother", "My son / the tree becomes big (= grows up) rapidly".

A second candidate is *äyk-ääd* 'big' [Ibragimov 1978: 39, 125] with the more modern variant *ek-ed* [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583; Makhmudova 2001: 95], borrowed from Azerbaijani *yekä ~ äkä* 'big, large'.

According to [Makhmudova 2001: 95], in the modern language the inherited form *q'ux-di* 'big' is applied to animated objects, whereas the borrowed *ek-e-d* - to inanimate ones (apparently Makhmudova means human beings vs. animals/inanimate objects); cf. an example for *q'ux-di ~ q'ux-du*: "big father" [Ibragimov 1978: 69]. We prefer to follow Dirr's norm.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 278. Glossed as 'big, large'. According to examples that could be found, this seems to be the basic word for 'big', cf. "large windows" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 68a], "big stones" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 95b], "The children became big (= grew up)" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 278a].

A second candidate is *eke-di* 'large' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 309], cf. such examples as: "large (court)yard" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 80a], "large family" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 272a], "You became big (= grew up) rapidly", "to do a big job", "to hold a high post" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 309b]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *yekä ~ äkä* 'big, large'.

A third candidate is *q'ix-di* {кыхьды} 'big' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 167, 323; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583] (in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] erroneously quoted as *k'ix-di* {кыхьды}), but examples point rather to a more abstract sense, cf. "capital letters" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 79a], "He is a great dandy" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 90b].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.

Common Rutul: In the Borch-Khnov dialect, only the Azerbaijani loanword *äk:ä-di* 'big' [Ibragimov 1978: 231] (quoted without specifications) is attested.

Both roots (Mukhad-Luchek *q^wax^y- ~ q'ux-* and Ixrek *q'äč-*) seem to be inherited, although their etymology is unknown. Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Suleymanov 2003: 18, 190. In [Suleymanov 2003], erroneously quoted as *vaba-ni-r* {гъабанир} and *va-ni-r* {гъанир}.

A different Burshag term for 'big' is quoted by Shaumyan: *aHa-r* 'big' [Shaumyan 1941: 176], and the same word in the Arsug subdialect: *aHa-d* 'big' [Shaumyan 1941: 176]. According to [Suleymanov 2003: 85], however, Koshan *aHa-d* {axIad} has the more specific meaning 'big, huge, enormous'. On the contrary, the Arsug or Khudig word for 'big' is quoted as *vaba-ni-d* in [Suleymanov 2003: 18, 190].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.

It should be noted, however, that, according to [Magometov 1970: 86], the Richa term for 'big' is *Ha-* (*ha?*). The same in the Usug subdialect: *aχ^e-f* 'big' [Shaumyan 1941: 176].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 99, 169; Shaumyan 1941: 176. Cf. the examples: "big river" [Dirr 1907: 13], "big house", "big woman" [Dirr 1907: 17, 19]. Not quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

A second term is *q:aba-n-* (> *q:aba-m-f*), which is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] as a neutral term for 'big', but in [Dirr 1907: 128] is glossed as 'big, huge'. In the discovered examples *q:aba-n-* is applied to an evil monster [Dirr 1907: 83] or to a human penis, which cannot fit the fox burrow [Dirr 1907: 76].

A third term for 'big' is *azmam-f* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237], borrowed from Azerbaijani *azman* 'huge, enormous', dialectal 'large' (ultimately from Arabic *ʕazʕim* 'big').

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Shaumyan 1941: 176; Magometov 1970: 28.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 190; Magometov 1970: 205 sentences 5, 8; Shaumyan 1941: 176. Polysemy: 'big / elder'. Cf. Magometov's examples: "big village", "big river". The shape *äHä-f* (*äi#-f*?) 'big' is also attested [Magometov 1970: 28].

The same adjective in other subdialects: Kurag *aHa-f* 'big' [Magometov 1970: 170], Tsirkhe *äχä-f* 'big' [Shaumyan 1941: 176], Duldug *aHa-f* 'big' [Shaumyan 1941: 176].

Distinct from Tpig *azman-f*, glossed as 'big, large' in [Suleymanov 2003: 18] (an Azerbaijani loanword, see notes on Gequn Aghul).

Common Aghul: Data from Koshan and Keren dialects are rather discrepant, but it is clear that two Proto-Lezgian roots enter into competition in Aghul: **ʔaχʰi-* and **p:VhʰV-* / **hʰVp:V-*. Both scenarios are possible for Proto-Aghul: **ʔaχʰi-* could be the neutral term for 'big' (retained in non-Koshan dialects, but shifted to 'huge' in Koshan), whereas **hʰVp:V-* '?' acquired the generic meaning 'big' in Koshan. On the other hand, **hʰVp:V-* could be the Proto-Aghul term for 'big' (retained in Koshan, but lost in non-Koshan dialects), whereas **ʔaχʰi-* meant 'huge' in Proto-Aghul, retained in Koshan, but shifted to generic 'big' in the non-Koshan dialect. External Lezgian comparison speaks in favor of the second solution.

Keren *baba-* is of unknown origin. It is proposed in [NCED: 316] to treat *baba-* as a reduplicated cognate of Koshan *ʃaba-*.

On the sporadic reduction of initial *a-* in the Aghul dialectal descendants of **ʔaχʰi-* see [Suleymanov 1993: 42 f.] with other examples of this process.

Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. The tenseness of the uvular is obviously secondary.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *aχʰi* with polysemy: 'big / elder' [Uslar 1979: 600, 989; Dirr 1905: 154, 224]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *aχʰi* {аьхи} 'big' [Genko 2005: 24].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *aχʰu* {аьхю} with polysemy: 'big / elder' [Genko 2005: 24]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *aχʰu* {аьхю} 'big; elder' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 71].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 597, 605. Polysemy: 'big / elder'.

Literary Lezgi: *čex'i* {чехи} with polysemy: 'big / elder' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 378; Gadzhiev 1950: 59; Haspelmath 1993: 485, 516]. A close synonym is literary *yek'e* {eke} 'big, large' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 117; Gadzhiev 1950: 59; Haspelmath 1993: 493], but this term is less frequent. Lezgi *yek'e* was borrowed from Azerbaijani *yekä ~ äkä* 'big, large'.

Only the Azerbaijani loanword in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yek'e* 'big' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].

Cf. the inherited term for 'big' in the Yarki dialect (Kyuri group): Nyutyug *čeqi* [Meylanova 1964: 96]. In the Yargun dialect (Quba group), *čex'i* means 'great; elder', whereas the generic word for 'big' is the borrowing *yike ~ yek'e* [Babaliyeva 2007: 38, 48, 105, 106].

The historical phonetics of Lezgi dialects requires additional investigation, but the fluctuation *q ~ χ* (Gyune/Yarki *čiq'i/čeqi* ~ literary/Yargun *čex'i*) seems irregular. Proceeding from general premises, one can suppose that the affricate *q* is primary here rather than the lenited *χ*, although external comparison speaks in favour of *χ*.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 316. Distribution: From the distributional point of view, the best candidate is Proto-Lezgian **p:VhʰV-* ~ **hʰVp:V-*, which is retained in the generic meaning 'big' in Caucasian Albanian, South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and Proto-Aghul, but underwent the shift 'big' > 'good' in Archi [NCED: 316].

The second candidate is **ʔaχʰi-* [NCED: 511], attested as generic 'big' in Tsakhur, Tabasaran, non-Koshan Aghul. However, actually, **ʔaχʰi-* might have been the Proto-Lezgian root for 'many' q.v. The assumed shift 'many' > 'big' cannot be an inherited feature of Tsakhur, Tabasaran and non-Koshan Aghul, but rather represents parallel independent innovations in Tsakhur and Tabasaran-Aghul (the Tabasaran-Aghul isogloss is apparently of an areal origin; the Proto-Aghul meaning of this root was probably something like 'huge').

The third candidate is **čəχV* (~ *-ä-*) [NCED: 386], which means 'big (in general)' in Lezgi and 'massive' in Tabasaran. Despite some interesting external North Caucasian *comparanda*, this can hardly be considered a good candidate for Proto-Lezgian 'big'.

Various etymologically isolated roots for 'big' are found in Archi and the Rutul dialects; these do not look like loans, but lack Lezgian and North Caucasian cognates.

Inherited forms were superseded with loanwords in some lects (modern Udi < Iranian, Akhty Lezgi < Azerbaijani).

Replacements: {'many' > 'big'} (Tsakhur, Tabasaran), {'huge' > 'big'} (non-Koshan Aghul), {'massive' > 'big'} (Lezgi), {'big' > 'good'} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, but two metathetical variants have to be reconstructed.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be big'.

6. BIRD

Nidzh Udi *q:uš* {кбуш} (-1), Vartashen Udi *q:uš* {кбуш} (-1), Archi *noc'* (1), Kryts (proper) *q:uš* (-1), Alyk Kryts *q:uš* (-1), Budukh *q:uš* {кбуш} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *šit^y* {шумП} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *q:uš* (-1), Gel mets Tsakhur *q:uš* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *naχčir* {нахчир} (-1), Ixrek Rutul *šey* {шеÿ} (-1), Luchek Rutul *šey* (-1), Koshan Aghul *žaq^w* (3), Gequn Aghul *naχšir* (-1), Aghul (proper) *q:uš* (-1), Gyune Lezgi *q:uš* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **níc^w* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 162; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141; Mobili 2010: 196. Distinct from *čoval* {човал} 'sparrow' [Gukasyan 1974: 238], 'small bird in general' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 162; Fähnrich 1999: 28; Dirr 1903: 38; Schiefner 1863: 81; Schulze 2001: 315; Starchevskiy 1891: 506.

Common Udi: Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 286, 377; Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141. Polysemy: 'bird (in general) / gusset (in a sleeve)'. Paradigm: *noc'* [abs.] / *nac'-a* [erg.].

In [Mikailov 1967: 194] *noc'* is glossed as 'small bird (in general); sparrow', although translated as 'bird (in general)' in the texts: "A bird is sitting on the branch" [Mikailov 1967: 60], "He, like a bird, has thrown himself upon the sea steed" [Mikailov 1967: 160, 162]. Similarly in [Dirr 1908: 170, 219] *noc'* is glossed as "sparrow; small bird (in general)". It must be noted that in [Dirr 1908: 165, 219] *l'iləχ^u* is quoted as 'bird (in general)', although the actual meaning of *l'iləχ^u* is 'a mythological bird' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 274; Mikailov 1967: 190] (borrowed from Lak *liluχⁱ* 'bird (in general)').

It is probable that in Proto-Archi the term *noc'* denoted a 'small/middle bird (in general)' as opposed to specific names of large predatory birds (a typologically possible lexicological situation).

Note that the Archi word is unjustifiedly labeled as "probably borrowed" in [Chumakina 2009].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141] the word *čav* {чав} is also quoted as a synonym for 'bird (in general)', apparently < Lezgian **čaq^w(a)* 'bird, small bird', although the expected Kryts form should rather be ***čaq* {чак} (Comrie & Khalilov's error?).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 52, 76, 87, 181, 223, 259, etc. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 92, 236; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141], 'bird' is glossed as *živ-živ* {джив-джив} - apparently a corrupted spelling of the onomatopoeic term *žib-žib* 'chicken' [Meylanova 1984: 57].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 888, 898; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], quoted as *šit'* {шитI}, which is not an error, cf. the same form from [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] below.

Cf. examples in [Kibrik et al. 1999]: "If only a human had wings, he would fly like a bird" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 263]; "The bird ate the grain, but it was eaten itself by the hawk" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 677]; "The birds have flown away" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 218]; "Ali saw a rock, a bird was flying over it" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 391], "The bird is sitting on the tree" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 469]; "Ali fired at the bird that was flying over him" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 649]; "When the bird caught the snake, it ate it up" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 678]. Two first instances demonstrate that *šit^y* generally denotes 'small/mid-size bird (in general)', but can be extended to the generic meaning 'bird'.

In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 221], only *q:uš* {кбуш} 'bird' (borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird') is quoted as a separate entry. Examples include: "There are a lot of birds in our woods" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 221], "A bird flies with the help of its wings" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 213], "The falcon is a predatory bird" [Ibragimov &

Nurmamedov 2010: 217]. However, the word *šit' / šit'ʷ*- {шит', шит'яр} is attested in examples like "He was snaring birds" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 51], "Morwennol is a pretty bird" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 199], "(Scarecrows) frightened birds on the grain field" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 354], "Babble of birds" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 403].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *šit'* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Dirr 1913: 198, 236. A generic term, borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

Distinct from the inherited specific term *šit'ʷi* 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86] (in [Dirr 1913: 217, 236] quoted as *šit'*).

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141], 'bird' is glossed with the enigmatic form *šikʷey* {шик'ей}.

Common Tsakhur: It is probable that in Proto-Tsakhur the term *šit'ʷ(i)* denoted 'small/middle bird (in general)' as opposed to specific names of large predatory birds (a typologically possible lexicological situation). Recently the Azerbaijani word *guš* has been borrowed for generic 'bird', although it should be noted that the old Tsakhur form *šit'ʷ(i)* seems etymologically obscure, so it could be an old loanword from an unknown source.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 162, 198; Ibragimov 1978: 53. Oblique stem: *naχčir-di-*. A borrowed term, because the oblique stem marker *-di-* is characteristic of loanwords [Alekseev 1994a: 221] (the source is Iranian, see notes on Tabasaran).

Distinct from the inherited *šuruk* 'sparrow; small bird (in general)' [Dirr 1912: 183], 'sparrow' [Ibragimov 1978: 116], although in [Ibragimov 1978: 282; Makhmudova 2001: 12, 20, 86, 159] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141] Mukhad *šuruk* is glossed as the generic 'bird'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 302; Ibragimov 1978: 204. Polysemy: 'beast (in general) / bird (in general)'. In [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 383], 'bird' is additionally specified as *läwši-di šey* {лавшиды шей}, literally 'flying beast'. Cf. the example: "bird's wing" [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 152], "The birds have flown from the tree" [Ibragimov 1978: 204]. Oblique stem: *šey-di-*. A borrowed term, because the oblique stem marker *-di-* is characteristic of loanwords [Alekseev 1994a: 221] (the source is Persian, see notes on Tabasaran).

A second word for 'bird' is *q:uš* {къуш} [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 160], but it is probably less frequent - no examples found; borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'.

Distinct from the inherited *šuruk* 'sparrow' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 305] (which is quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 141] as a generic term for 'bird').

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86. A Persian loanword, see notes on Tabasaran.

Distinct from the inherited *širuk* 'young (of animal), nestling; small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86, 219].

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov dialect: *naχčir* [Ibragimov 1978: 282] (a Persian loanword, see notes on Tabasaran).

As in some other Lezgian cases, it is likely that in Proto-Rutul the term *širuk* denoted 'small/middle bird (in general)' as opposed to specific names of large predatory birds. Recently several foreign words have been borrowed for the generic meaning 'bird'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86. It must be noted that in [Shaumyan 1941: 157], Burshag 'bird' is quoted as (borrowed) *naχšir*, whereas *žaqʷ* is glossed as 'sparrow' in [Suleymanov 2003: 80].

Keren Aghul: Not attested. Cf. in the Usug subdialect: *naχčir* 'bird' [Shaumyan 1941: 157].

Distinct from Richa *žaqʷ* 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86], although Magometov translates it simply as 'bird' in examples [Magometov 1970: 136].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 136, 181; Shaumyan 1941: 156.

Distinct from inherited *žaqʷ* 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Dirr 1907: 114, 181].

Fite Aghul: The generic term is unknown. Cf. *žaqʷ* 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 118. A recent borrowing from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird', which has superseded the Tpig word *naχšir* 'bird' [Shaumyan 1941: 156]. The latter is of Iranian origin. Distinct from inherited *žaqʷ* 'sparrow' [Suleymanov 2003: 80].

In other subdialects: Tsirkhe *naχšir*, Duldug *naχčir* 'bird' [Shaumyan 1941: 156].

Common Aghul: As in some other cases typical of Lezgian languages, it is likely that in Proto-Aghul the term *žaqʷ* denoted 'small/middle bird (in general)' as opposed to specific names of large predatory birds. It acquired the generic meaning 'bird' in Koshan (if Kibrik & Kodzasov's data is correct), while other dialects introduced the Iranian loanword *naχčir* ~ *naχšir* for 'bird (in general)' (see notes on Tabasaran).

Northern Tabasaran: The generic Dyubek term is unknown.

In other subdialects the loanword *šey?* is used for 'bird': Khanag *šey?* 'a thing; bird' [Uslar 1979: 981, 1003; Dirr 1905: 220, 240]; according to [Dirr 1905: 218], there is also a more detailed expression for 'bird' in Khanag: *čeyi šey?*, literally 'living/alive *šey?*', Khyuryuk *šey?* {шейъ} 'a thing, creature, œuvre; bird' [Genko 2005: 189]. Another loanword in the Kumi subdialect: *naχš'ir* {нахшир} 'bird' [Genko 2005: 126].

Distinct from inherited Dyubek *ž'aq'-a* 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86], Khanag, Khyuryuk, Kumi *ž'aq'* {жжакъ} 'small bird (in general)' [Dirr 1905: 169, 240; Genko 2005: 65].

Southern Tabasaran: The generic Kondik term is unknown.

In other subdialects only loanwords are attested: Khiv *ničχ'ir* {ничхир}, Tinit *naχš'ir* {нахшир} 'bird' [Genko 2005: 126, 127]; a second Khiv term is *šey?* {шейъ} with polysemy: 'a thing, creature, œuvre / bird' [Genko 2005: 189].

Distinct from inherited Kondik, Khiv *ž'aq'* {жжакъ} 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86; Genko 2005: 65].

A different situation in Literary Tabasaran: inherited *ž'aq'* {жакъ} 'bird (in general); sparrow' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 157], which is opposed to borrowed *ničχ'ir* {ничхир} 'wild bird; wild beast' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 244]. Cf. *šey?* {шейъ} 'thing, object' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 349].

Common Tabasaran: As in some other cases typical of Lezgian languages, it is likely that in Proto-Tabasaran the term *ž'aq'* denoted a 'small/middle bird (in general)' as opposed to specific names of large predatory birds. It acquired the generic meaning 'bird' in Literary Tabasaran (if Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov's gloss is correct), while other dialects introduced the Iranian loanwords for 'bird (in general)'.

The forms *naχš'ir* ~ *ničχ'ir* originate from Iranian, cf. Persian *naxč'ir* 'hunting, the chase; game, wild animal', Tajiki *naxč'ir* 'wild animal', etc. The Literary Tabasaran meaning 'wild bird; wild beast' and the Gyune Lezgi meaning 'game' (see notes on Lezgi 'bird') directly correspond to the Iranian semantics. This term penetrated into some other Lezgian languages with the modified meaning 'bird (in general)'.

The word *šey?* with polysemy: 'a thing, creature, œuvre; bird' was borrowed from Persian *šay?* 'a thing, something, object' (ultimately from Arabic *šay* 'a thing, something'). The semantic development 'a thing' → 'animal' can represent an internal Lezgian development. Cf. the polysemy in Ixrek Rutul: *šey* 'beast (in general) / bird (in general)' and the attested full collocation for 'bird': Northern Tabasaran (Khanag) 'living/alive *šey?*', Ixrek Rutul (q.v.) 'flying *šey?*'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 495, 628. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *guš* 'bird'. Distinct from the inherited Gyune word *nük* 'sparrow' [Uslar 1896: 516]. Distinct from the Iranism *ničχ'ir* 'game', *luwan ničχ'ir* 'game bird' (literally '*ničχ'ir* with wing') [Uslar 1896: 516]. For the Iranian origin of *ničχ'ir* see notes on Tabasaran.

The same Azerbaijani loanword in Literary Lezgi: *quš* {кюш} 'bird' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 195; Gadzhiev 1950: 671; Haspelmath 1993: 502, 516]. The second literary expression for 'bird (in general)' is *luwan ničχ'ir* {луван ничхир} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 254; Gadzhiev 1950: 671], literally '*ničχ'ir* with wing', whose original meaning was the narrower 'game bird', see Uslar's data above. Modern literary *ničχ'ir* {ничхир} means 'game bird, wild bird' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 254; Haspelmath 1993: 500, 516], originating from the wider meaning 'game', see Uslar's data above.

Distinct from literary inherited *nük* {нук} 'small bird (in general), sparrow' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 255; Haspelmath 1993: 500, 516].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *quš* 'bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86]; distinct from the inherited Khlyut word *nuc* 'small bird (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 86].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 525. Distribution: Most of the attested Lezgian languages demonstrate the lexical opposition between a term for 'small/middle bird (in general)' and various terms for specific kinds of large (predatory) birds. There are no reasons not to project such a system onto the Proto-Lezgian level. Thus, we fill the Proto-Lezgian slot with the generic term for 'small/middle bird'.

Out of several inherited roots for 'small/middle bird', **nic^{mw}(a)* possesses the best distribution: Archi 'small/middle bird (in general)', Lezgi 'small bird (in general)', also Khnyukh (subdialect of Mukhad Rutul) *nic* 'a k. of bird' [Ibragimov 1978: 135]. This root also has a good North Caucasian etymology ('small bird' or 'bird').

Cf. other roots, attested with the meaning 'small bird' in Lezgian: **č'aq^{mw}(a)* (Aghul, Tabasaran), for which external North Caucasian comparison suggests the shift 'a k. of small bird' > 'small bird' [NCED: 1105]; **š^(w)Vrt' / *č^vVrt'* (Tsakhur), apparently with the shift 'a k. of small bird' > 'small bird' [NCED: 343]; **č'iraλ^{:w}* (Rutul), for which the Lezgian comparandum suggests the shift 'nestling, young of birds' > 'small bird' [LEDb: #161]; **čVp:V(?)* (Udi), an isolated form [LEDb: #267].

The majority of Lezgian languages have recently borrowed their generic terms for 'bird' from Azerbaijani or Persian.

Replacements: {'a k. of small bird' > 'small bird'} (Aghul, Tabasaran, Tsakhur), {'nestling, young of birds' > 'small bird'} (Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **nV č^wa-*.

7. BITE

Nidzh Udi *kaš^f-p-sun* {кашпсун} (1), Vartashen Udi *kaš^f-p-sun* {кашпсун} (1), Archi =*'eq'a-* (2), Kryts (proper) *k'is-* (3) / *k'ip-* (4), Alyk Kryts *k'is-* (3), Budukh *k'usu-* {кысу-} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *ac'=ak^wan-* {ацIаκIван-} (5), Mikik Tsakhur *ac'=ak^wan-* (5), Gelmets Tsakhur *ac'=ok'on-* (5), Mukhad Rutul *sis a?-* {сыс ваъас} (6), Ixrek Rutul *sis ha?-* {сыс гъаькьыи} (6), Luchek Rutul *sis a?-* (6), Koshan Aghul *q'ac'-ayki-* (7), Keren Aghul *q'ac'-ik'a-* (7), Aghul (proper) *q'ac'-ik'a-* (7), Northern Tabasaran *q'ac'-'ar 'ax-* (7), Southern Tabasaran *q'ac' ap'-* (7), Gyune Lezgi *k'as-* (3), Proto-Lezgian **ʔeq'i-* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 133; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233; Mobili 2010: 162. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] erroneously quoted as *kaš-p-sun* {кашпсун}. In [LEDb] this root is quoted as *kaš^f-*, but without references. Polysemy: 'to dig (a hole etc.) / to bite / to sting'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 133. Polysemy: 'to dig (a hole etc.) / to bite / to sting'. In [Schulze 2001: 289] attested only with the meaning 'to dig' (*kaš^f-p-esun*). Apparently the same verb is quoted in [Schiefner 1863: 82] as *kač-p-esun* {кач-} 'kauen' and in [Dirr 1903: 95 (l. 14)] as *kač-* {кач-} 'to dig'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **kaš^f-p-esun* 'to dig (a hole etc.) / to bite / to sting'; in [Gukasyan 1974: 133; Mobili 2010: 162] the reduplicated Nidzh-Vartashen variant *kaš^f-kaš^f-p-esun* {кашIкашIпесун} is also cited as a synonym. The morpheme *-p-* is a light verb: 'to say, to do smth. with the mouth; to do smth. (in general)' [Schulze 2005: 565 ff. (3.4.2.2 #15 ff.); Harris 2002: 204 ff.].

Not to be confused with *kač-p-esun* {качIпесун} 'to cut, split, cut down' [Gukasyan 1974: 141] = *kač-p-esun* {кач-} 'zerschneiden, zerstören, vernichten' [Schiefner 1863: 82], 'to kill, destroy, slay' [Schulze 2001: 291].

Distinct from Nidzh-Vartashen *karam-p-esun* 'to gnaw, gnaw round; to nag' [Gukasyan 1974: 140; Mobili 2010: 172] (translated as simply 'to bite' in [Starchevskiy 1891: 486]).

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 227, 364; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233; Mikailov 1967: 207; Dirr 1908: 144, 212.

Distinct from the complex verb *h'a'nč-bo-* 'to bite off; to nibble grass, depasture', formed with the suppletive light verb *-bo-* 'to say' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 238].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 160; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233. Suppletive paradigm: *k'is-* [imperf.] / *k'ip-* [perf.]. We treat both stems as synonyms. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 160. Perfective stem.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 128, 192, 411. No suppletion.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 99, 219; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 160; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233. Ablaut paradigm: *k'usu-r-* [imperf.] / *k'isə-* [perf.].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 868, 895; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 52. Ablaut paradigm: *ac'=ak^wan-* [imperf., fut.] / *ac'=ak'un* [perf.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233] an enigmatic future form *ăcaɣaʔn-as* {аьцагъаънас} is quoted for 'to bite' - maybe a corrupted lettering of *ac'=ak^wan-*.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159; Dirr 1913: 213, 228. Ablaut paradigm: *ac'=ak^wan-* [imperf., fut.] / *ac'=ak'un* [perf.].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233. The future stem.

Common Tsakhur: Initial *ac'* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41]. Alternatively

the Common Tsakhur verb can be analyzed as $a=c'ak^{w}an-$ with the prefix $a=$ (for which see [Ibragimov 1990: 123]), thus [LEDb].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 171, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 236, 351. Cf. an example: "He will not bite the finger put in his mouth" (proverb referring to a honest person) [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 251b]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 233], the auxiliary verb is quoted with an error.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159.

According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], one other synonym is the verb yit' 'to bite', paradigm: $r=it'-a-r-$ [imperf. 4] / $y=it'-i-r$ [perf. 4] / $y=it'$ [inv. 4] (initial $r=$ is the imperfective exponent; $y=$ is a prefix with general semantics or the fossilized class 1/4 exponent). In the Borch-Khnov dialect, the corresponding verb $w=it'$ means 'to bite', applied to a snake [Ibragimov 1978: 276, 300]. This root is isolated within Lezgian, cf. [NCED: 227].

Common Rutul: The analytic construction sis 'incisor / canine tooth' + $(h=)a?$ (/ $h=äq'$) 'to do' represents the meaning 'bite' in all dialects. See notes on 'tooth'.

Borch-Khnov dialect: $gič' ha?$ {гычI пыгыын} 'to bite' [Ibragimov 1978: 284], literally $gič'$ + 'to do'. The Rutul noun $gič'$ is unattested outside this expression, but regularly reflects Proto-Lezgian $*gamč'$ 'canine tooth; molar tooth' [NCED: 430].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159; Suleymanov 2003: 121; Magometov 1970: 229 (sentence 4). In [Shaumyan 1941: 136], the Burshag verb $ayki-$ 'to bite' is quoted, which seems an inaccuracy, see notes on common Aghul.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159. The same in the Usug subdialect: $q'ac'-ik'a-$ 'to bite' [Shaumyan 1941: 185].

Gequn Aghul: Not attested.

Fite Aghul: Not attested.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 121; Shaumyan 1941: 185.

Common Aghul: A complex verb, consisting of the noun $q'ac'$, which means 'a piece' in Koshan [Shaumyan 1941: 186; Magometov 1970: 235 sentences 3] (cf. Magometov's example "The miller gave the fox a piece of bread"; in [Suleymanov 1993: 83], however, $q'ac'$ is mentioned as the common Aghul substantive 'bite') plus the verb $ʔayki-$ (Koshan) / $ʔik'a-$ (Non-Koshan) 'to put in, move into (trans.)' [Suleymanov 2003: 210].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159. Literally $q'ac'-ar$ 'bites (pl.)' + the verb $ax-$ 'to put'.

Similarly in the Khanag subdialect: $q'ac' ax-$ [Dirr 1905: 201] ~ $q'ac' ap-$ [Uslar 1979: 882], literally $q'ac'$ 'a bite; a piece' + $ax-$ 'to put' or $ap-$ 'to do'.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 159. Literally $q'ac'$ 'a bite' + the auxiliary verb $ap-$ 'to do' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 129].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: $q'ac' ap-$ {къацI апIуб} 'to bite' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 209], literally $q'ac'$ 'a bite; a piece' + $ap-$ 'to do'.

A similar construction in the Khiv subdialect, but with a different noun: $vanc' ap-$ {гъацI апIуб} 'to bite' [Genko 2005: 41], literally $vanc'$ 'a bite (e.g., of snake)' + the auxiliary verb $ap-$ 'to do'. Distinct from Khiv CLASS= $is-$ {бисуб} 'to seize; hold; to bite (said of dog)' [Genko 2005: 29].

Common Tabasaran: The collocation $q'ac'$ 'a bite; a piece' + an auxiliary verb can be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'to bite'. The Khiv construction with $vanc'$ 'a bite' is an innovation from the distributive point of view.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 472, 616.

The same in Literary Lezgi: $k'as-$ {кIасун} 'to bite' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 212; Gadzhiev 1950: 326; Haspelmath 1993: 496, 516; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 455]. Distinct from literary $q'a-$ {къун} 'to hold; to seize; to bite (said of dog)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 207].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 559. Distribution: First of all, we need to exclude analytic patterns of the shape 'tooth' / 'a piece' / 'a bite' + an auxiliary verb, which are attested in Rutul, Aghul, Tabasaran. These look like recent introductions of areal origin.

After that, several verbal roots enter into competition: (1) Udi $kaš^f-$, isolated root; (2) $*ʔeq'i-$ (Archi); (3) $*kos^{w}i-$ (South Lezgian [Kryts, Budukh] and Lezgi); (4) the Tsakhur verb, whose morphological analysis is not entirely clear. From the distributional point of view, all of them are equivalent candidates. We choose $*ʔeq'i-$ (Archi, lost in the rest of Lezgian languages), since it actually stems from a good candidate for the status of the Proto-North Caucasian verb for 'to bite' [NCED: 559].

If so, the Udi polysemy $kaš^f-$ 'to bite / to dig' suggests an earlier shift 'to dig' > 'to bite', or else both synchronic meanings originate from $*to break$ (i.e. 'to break' > 'to dig'). Pace [LEDb: #11], the Udi root has plain $k-$, not tense $k-$, therefore,

comparison with Proto-Lezgian **k'os^wi-* should be rejected.

The root **k'os^wi-* (South Lezgian, Lezgi) is an inner Samur introduction for 'to bite', although its semantic origin is unknown, since it lacks any cognates outside South Lezgian and Lezgi. Formally **k'os^wi-* can be reconstructed as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian verb for 'to bite'. Cf. also the etymologically obscure Kryts form *k'ip-* 'to bite', which serves as the perfective stem in the suppletive paradigm.

Replacements: {'to dig' > 'to bite' (?)} (Udi), {'to do a tooth' > 'to bite'} (Rutul), {'to put a piece in' > 'to bite'} (Aghul), {'to put a bite' > 'to bite'} (Northern Tabasaran), {'to do a bite' > 'to bite'} (Southern Tabasaran).

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

8. BLACK

Nidzh Udi *ma^hyi-n* {ма^hйи^hн} (1), Vartashen Udi *ma^hi-n* {ма^hви^hн} (1), Archi *beχ:^he-t:u-CLASS* (2), Kryts (proper) *läh^hä* (2), Alyk Kryts *leha* (2), Budukh *laḡa* {лаḡIa} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *k'ari-n* {κIарын} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *k'ari-n* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *k'ari-n^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *liχ^h-di* {лвиIх^hди} (2), Ixrek Rutul *liχ^h-di* {лвиIх^hди} (2), Luchek Rutul *liχ^h-di* (2), Koshan Aghul *k'ere-r* (3), Keren Aghul *k'are-f* (3), Gequn Aghul *k'are-f* (3), Fite Aghul *k'ari-t* (3), Aghul (proper) *k'are-f* (3), Northern Tabasaran *k'ari* (3), Southern Tabasaran *k'ar'u* (3), Gyune Lezgi *č'ul'aw* (4), Proto-Lezgian **Iaχ:^hV- ~ *Iox:^hV-* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 172; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673; Mobili 2010: 211.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 172; Fähnrich 1999: 23; Dirr 1903: 2; Schiefner 1863: 104; Starchevskiy 1891: 495. In [Fähnrich 1999] and [Starchevskiy 1891] quoted as *ma^hyn*.

Common Udi: The suffixal *-n* is not clear; in [Schulze 2001: 298] and [Schulze 2005: 131 (3.2.2.3 #5)] this is treated as a genitive exponent, that is, the underlying Proto-Udi stem should be substantival with the meaning 'blackness' ('of blackness' > 'black'). It is not obvious, however, that all Udi nouns with the suffix *-n* must be analyzed as old qualifying genitive forms.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 203, 388; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673; Mikailov 1967: 175; Dirr 1908: 134, 226. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673] there is also a corrupted variant *beχ:^he-du-CLASS*. Regular participle from the stative verb *beχ:^he* 'to be black' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 202].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 68, 179, 280, 360, 366.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 100, 250; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 880, 901; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 201; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *k'ari-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Dirr 1913: 176, 195, 242.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 158; Ibragimov 1978: 20; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 413; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673. Missing from the main section of [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Common Rutul: Final *-di* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Suleymanov 2003: 125; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. The same in the Usug subdialect: *k'are-f* 'black' [Shaumyan 1941: 183].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Dirr 1907: 129, 187; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 125; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Common Aghul: Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *k'er'i* 'black' [Uslar 1979: 799, 1010; Dirr 1905: 190, 246]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *k'er'i* {к'ер'и} 'black' [Genko 2005: 112].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

The same in other subdialects: Khiv *k'ar'u* {к'ар'у}, Tinit *k'ar'i* {к'ар'и} 'black' [Genko 2005: 111]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *k'ar'u* {к'ар'у} 'black' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 213].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 598, 638.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *č'ul'aw* {чу'лав} 'black' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 379; Gadzhiev 1950: 929; Haspelmath 1993: 485, 516].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *č'law* 'black' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 748. Distribution: Four roots enter into competition here. Out of these, **laχ:^ŷV-* ~ **loχ:^ŷV-* seems to be the best candidate from the distributive point of view. It has been retained as the basic root for 'black' in Archi, on the one hand, and in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and Rutul, on the other, but got lost in other languages. Its only external *comparandum* is the basic Lak term for 'black' [NCED: 748].

The second candidate is **k'ari-*, attested with the meaning 'black' in Tsakhur, Aghul and Tabasaran. This was lost as a separate word in the rest of Lezgian languages, but survived in the compound **k'arV-š'im* 'charcoal', literally 'X pebbles' in Aghul, Rutul, Kryts, Budukh [NCED: 719]. External North Caucasian comparison could point, however, to the original meaning 'charcoal' for this root (cf. Proto-Nakh 'charcoal'), thus the Lezgian compound **k'arV-š'im* might actually mean 'charcoal pebbles' rather than the more trivial 'black pebbles'. If so, one must assume the shift 'charcoal' > 'black' that occurred independently in Tsakhur and Aghul-Tabasaran.

Two residual roots, attested with the generic meaning, should be excluded due to their distribution. The root **mič[ä]-* means 'black' in Udi, but 'dark' in other Lezgian languages including Archi, thus the Proto-Lezgian semantic reconstruction 'dark' is very probable; external North Caucasian comparison, however, is not unambiguous, because the Khinalug cognate of this Lezgian root means 'black' (further to Nakh 'yellow, orange', Avar 'dark grey, yellow', Lak 'blind') [NCED: 819].

The fourth root is **č'ulV* (~ *-o-*) which denotes 'black' in Lezgi. This got lost in other Lezgian languages except for Aghul, where it survived in the expression for 'raspberry', literally 'dark/black berry' [NCED: 556]. Actually Lezgian **č'ulV* possesses good North Caucasian (strictly speaking East Caucasian) *comparanda* with the meaning 'black' (Proto-Nakh, Proto-Avar-Andic), but it is hard to suppose that **č'ulV* survived with its original meaning 'black' only in Lezgi; we should assume the meaning 'a k. of dark color' for Proto-Lezgian **č'ulV* and the late development 'a k. of dark color' > 'black' in modern Lezgi.

Replacements: {'dark' > 'black'} (Udi), {'a k. of dark color' > 'black'} (Lezgi), {'charcoal' > 'black'} (Tsakhur, Aghul, Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, right up to the class prefix fusion in Archi.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be black'.

9. BLOOD

Nidzh Udi *pi* {nlu} (1), Vartashen Udi *pi* {nlu} (1), Archi *bi* (1), Kryts (proper) *irä-ž* (2), Alyk Kryts *ira-ž* (2), Budukh *ir-d* {upð} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *e-b* {əb} (3) / *e=b* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *e-b* (3) / *e=b* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *e-bi* (3) / *e=bi* (1), Mukhad Rutul *e-bir* ~ *ä-bir* {əbup ~ əbūp} (3) / *e=bir* (1), Ixrek Rutul *e-bir* {əbip} (3) / *e=bir* (1), Luchek Rutul *e-bir* (3) / *e=bir* (1), Koshan Aghul *i* (3), Keren Aghul *i?* (3), Gequn Aghul *i?* (3), Fite Aghul *i?* (3), Aghul (proper) *i?* (3), Northern Tabasaran *i-w'i* (3) / *i=w'i* (4), Southern Tabasaran *i-fi* (3) /

i=f'i (4), Gyune Lezgi *i-w'i* (3) / *i=w'i* (4), Proto-Lezgian **ʔäʔ* (3).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 194; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180; Mobili 2010: 240.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 194; Fähnrich 1999: 27; Dirr 1903: 2, 20; Schiefner 1863: 98; Schulze 2001: 309; Starchevskiy 1891: 501.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **p.i*.
- Caucasian Albanian:** *p'i* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-36].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 203, 364; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180; Mikailov 1967: 175; Dirr 1908: 134, 211.
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180. A substantivized form of the adjective *iri* 'red' q.v.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 34, 39, 67, 148, etc. A substantivized form of the adjective 'red' q.v.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 66, 218; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180. A substantivized form of the lost adjective 'red'.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 872, 895; Ibragimov & Nuramedov 2010: 419; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180.
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *eb* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Dirr 1913: 156, 228.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180.
- Common Tsakhur:** Following [NCED: 497, 879], we treat Tsakhur *e-b(i)* as a compound of two old roots.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 121, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 18; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 308, 350. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 180], erroneously quoted as *ebir*.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48.
- Common Rutul:** Following [NCED: 497, 879], we treat Rutul *e-bir ~ e-bir* as a compound of two old roots, where the second root acquired the final *-r* under the influence of the common plural exponent *-b-Vr*.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Suleymanov 2003: 90; Shaumyan 1941: 143.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48. The same in the Usug subdialect: *iʔ* 'blood' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Dirr 1907: 122, 175; Shaumyan 1941: 143.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48; Shaumyan 1941: 143.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 90; Shaumyan 1941: 143. The same in other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *iʔ* 'blood' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48.
- The same in the Khanag subdialect: *i-f'i ~ ye-fi* 'blood' [Uslar 1979: 738, 996; Dirr 1905: 179, 232]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *i-f'i* {иффи} 'blood' [Genko 2005: 77].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48.
- The same in the Khiv subdialect: *i-fi* {ифи} 'blood' [Genko 2005: 77]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *i-fi* {ифи} [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 180].
- Common Tabasaran:** Following [NCED: 497, 1064], we treat Tabasaran *i-fi ~ i-wi* as a compound of two old roots.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 439, 615.
- The same in Literary Lezgi: *i-w'i* {иви} 'blood' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 132; Gadzhiev 1950: 319; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 516].
- The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *e-w'i* 'blood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 48].
- Following [NCED: 497, 1064], we treat Lezgi *e-wi* as a compound of two old roots.
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 496. Distribution: A difficult case, because formal internal reconstruction contradicts external data. There are two main roots for 'blood' in Lezgian languages: **p:iy* (~ *p'·*) [NCED: 879] and **ʔäʔ* [NCED: 496].
- The plain root **p:iy* is attested in the meaning 'blood' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi and Archi. In West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), the compound **ʔäʔ·*p:iy* 'blood' is observed. Finally, in East Lezgian we see the compound **ʔäʔ·*t:wiy* 'blood' (Tabasaran, Lezgi) and the plain **ʔäʔ* 'blood' (Aghul). The root **t:wiy* is unattested outside this compound, but its external North Caucasian *comparanda* clearly point to the meaning 'vein' [NCED: 1064]. Formal distribution suggests that the Proto-Lezgian root for 'blood' should have been **p:iy*, retained in both of the outliers (Udi and Archi), whereas in Proto-

Nuclear Lezgian this was superseded with *ʔäʔ, which was normally used as an element of compounds. The problem of this solution is that the status of *p:iy in the Proto-West Lezgian compound *ʔäʔ-p:iy appears to be unclear.

Both discussed roots - *p:iy and *ʔäʔ - possess external East Caucasian cognates with the meaning 'blood' [NCED: 496, 879], but it is actually *ʔäʔ which reflects the main candidate for the status of at least the Proto-East Caucasian term for 'blood', whereas the original meaning of *p:iy seems to have been 'blood vessel'. If *ʔäʔ is to be posited as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'blood', we must assume that the root *p:iy independently shifted from 'blood vessel' > 'blood' in both of the outliers (Udi, Archi). On the other hand, both of the attested compounds for 'blood', *ʔäʔ-p:iy (West Lezgian) and *ʔäʔ-ʔ:iy (East Lezgian), acquire the identical structure 'blood + vein'.

In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), the substantive 'blood' is transparently derived from the adjective *ʔiri- (~ ʔ-) 'red' q.v. [NCED: 519].

Replacements: {'red' > 'blood'} (Kryts, Budukh), {'blood vessel, vein' > 'blood'} (Udi, Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is not reconstructible.

10. BONE

Nidzh Udi *uq:ʕen* {уѳкѳеѳн} (1), Vartashen Udi *uq:ʕen* {уѳкѳеѳн} (1), Archi *l'ek:i* (2), Kryts (proper) *käräp'* (3), Alyk Kryts *k'arap'* (3), Budukh *k'erep'* {кIepenI} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *bark^w* {бapкIб} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *bark^w* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *bark^w* (4), Mukhad Rutul *q'irib* {кѳыѳыѳб} (3), Ixrek Rutul *q'irib* {кѳыѳыѳб} (3), Luchek Rutul *q'irib* (3), Koshan Aghul *yirk*: (1), Keren Aghul *irk*: (1), Gequn Aghul *irk*: (1), Fite Aghul *irk*: (1), Aghul (proper) *irk*: (1), Northern Tabasaran *y'irk-i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *k'ur'ab* (3), Gyune Lezgi *k'ar'ab* (3), Proto-Lezgian **yirA*: (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181; Mobili 2010: 283.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 215; Fähnrich 1999: 33; Dirr 1903: 33; Schiefner 1863: 79; Schulze 2001: 305; Starchevskiy 1891: 501. In [Fähnrich 1999] quoted as *uq:ʕyn*, in [Schulze 2001] - as *oq:ʕen*.

Common Udi: Common Udi **uq:ʕen*.

Caucasian Albanian: *hu'q'en* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-28, 44].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 273, 363; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181; Mikailov 1967: 190; Dirr 1908: 164, 211. Polysemy: 'bone / corpse'. The Archi word is unjustifiedly labeled as "perhaps borrowed" in [Chumakina 2009].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181. Distinct from a more specific term *mäsir* 'tubular bone (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 22, 37, 49, 104, 251, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 98, 218; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181. Polysemy: 'bone / cream-coloured (adj)'.
In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181], the word *čanaq* {чанахъ} is incorrectly quoted as a second term for 'bone', although in reality *čanaq* means 'hip bone' [Meylanova 1984: 151].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 870, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 74. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181], erroneously quoted as *bark'* {бapкI}.

Distinct from *c'om* {цIом} 'bone marrow' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 386].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *bark^w* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39]. Distinct from the more specific term *c'om* 'tubular bone (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Dirr 1913: 140, 227.

Distinct from the more specific term *c'om* 'tubular bone (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181] erroneously quoted as *bark'* {баркI}.

Distinct from the more specific term *c'om* 'tubular bone (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 166, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 114; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 167, 349; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 181.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Suleymanov 2003: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39. The same in the Usug subdialect: *irk*: 'bone' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Dirr 1907: 122, 175; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39; Magometov 1970: 45; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 142. The same in the Tsirkhe and Duldug subdialects: *irk*: 'bone' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yirk*: 'bone' [Uslar 1979: 753, 996; Dirr 1905: 180, 231]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yirk*: {йиркк} 'bone' [Genko 2005: 80].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *k'ur'ab* {кIураб} 'bone' [Genko 2005: 113]. In Literary Tabasaran both terms are present: *yirk*: {йиркк} 'bone' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 185] and *k'ur'ab* {кIураб} 'bone' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 214].

Common Tabasaran: External comparison suggests that Northern *yirk*: 'bone' is an archaism.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 472, 615.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *k'ar'ab* {кIараб} 'bone' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 212; Gadzhiev 1950: 312; Haspelmath 1993: 496, 516].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *k'rab* 'bone' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 39].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 528. Distribution: Two complementarily distributed roots for 'bone' enter into competition in this criss-crossing situation. The first one is **yirλ*: [NCED: 528], attested in Udi and Caucasian Albanian on the one hand, and in some Nuclear Lezgian lects (namely Aghul, Northern Tabasaran) on the other. The second one is **λ'orap*: [NCED: 779], common in Nuclear Lezgian: South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Rutul, Southern Tabasaran, Lezgi.

Since the Samur territory generally demonstrates a high number of post-split, contact-induced lexical isoglosses between Nuclear Lezgian lects, the distribution seems to speak in favor of **yirλ*: as the Proto-Lezgian term for 'bone'. External North Caucasian comparison clearly supports such a solution. On the contrary, **λ'orap*: in the meaning 'bone' looks like an inner Nuclear Lezgian introduction, which further spread across the Samur territory as an areal isogloss (cf. especially the opposition **yirλ*: / **λ'orap*: between two Tabasaran dialectal clusters). External North Caucasian comparison suggests that the Proto-Lezgian meaning of **λ'orap*: was 'hand bone' [NCED: 779] (actually **λ'ora-p*: with the fossilized plural suffix, used for body parts).

In Archi, **yirλ*: 'bone' was superseded with **lāk*, whose original meaning was probably 'leg bone' [NCED: 755]: cf. the meaning 'knee' in Caucasian Albanian (see notes on 'knee') and 'foot, leg' in Tabasaran-Aghul (see notes on 'foot'). In Tsakhur, the meaning 'bone' is expressed by **p:alk^w*, originating from the meaning 'a k. of bone' [NCED: 310] (cf. its reflexes in other Lezgian languages: 'cheek-bone', 'spine', 'rib').

Replacements: {'leg bone' > 'bone'} (Archi), {'hand bone' > 'bone'} (Kryts, Budukh, Rutul, Southern Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'a k. of bone' > 'bone'} (Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is not reconstructible.

11. BREAST

Nidzh Udi *š^δaq*: {шIаѳкѳ ~ шѳѳкѳ} (1), Vartashen Udi *aq^f* {аѳѳѳ} (2), Archi *χ^aatum* (3), Kryts (proper) *maχar* (4), Alyk Kryts *maχar* (4), Budukh *maχar* {маχар} (4), Mishlesh

Tsakhur *koksi* {кокци} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *koksi* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *koksi* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *mīχīr* {мышыр} (4), Ixrek Rutul *mīχīr* {мышыр} (4), Luchek Rutul *mīχīr* (4), Koshan Aghul *muχur* (4), Keren Aghul *muχur* (4), Gequn Aghul *muχur* (4), Fite Aghul *muχur* (4), Aghul (proper) *muχur* (4), Northern Tabasaran *muχ'ur* (4), Southern Tabasaran *muχ'ur* (4), Gyune Lezgi *χur* (4), Proto-Lezgian **moχor* (4).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 57; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217; Mobili 2010: 259. Polysemy: 'human breast, chest / slope (of mountain)'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217] erroneously quoted as *š'aλ'* {шаъкъ}.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22] the word *dōš* is also quoted for 'breast, chest' (the only term in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], as a synonym of *š'aq:* in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]); it is borrowed from Azerbaijani *dōš* 'breast, chest'.

Distinct from *cicik:* {цицик} 'female breast, nipple' [Gukasyan 1974: 234; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23; Mobili 2010: 253]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217], 'female breast' is translated as *āq* {аъкъ}, which is both an incorrect translation (in fact, a Vartashen form *aq'* for 'human breast') and incorrect spelling for {аъкъ}.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 57; Mobili 2010: 114; Fähnrich 1999: 7. Polysemy: 'human breast, chest / slope (of mountain)'. In [Schulze 2001: 271; Schiefner 1863: 97] and [Dirr 1903: 2] only *dōš* 'breast' is quoted (< Azerbaijani *dōš* 'breast, chest').

Distinct from *cicik:* 'female breast' [Fähnrich 1999: 12].

Common Udi: Both Nidzh *š'aq:* and Vartashen *aq'* seem secondary with the common semantic shift 'mountain slope' > 'breast'. Vartashen *aq'* possesses Lezgian comparanda, whereas Nidzh *š'aq:* is probably isolated.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 332, 356; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217; Mikailov 1967: 200; Dirr 1908: 188, 206. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217], there is also a word *ik'* {икI}, quoted as a synonym for *χ'atum* - apparently a corrupted spelling for *ik^w* {икIв} 'heart' q.v.

Distinct from *mam* 'female breast, nipple, baby's dummy' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 277] (incorrectly glossed in [Chumakina et al. 2007] as 'breast, nipple').

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217.

Distinct from *yeχā* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23] (maybe < Azerbaijani *yaxa* 'collar, lapel, breast (metaphorical)').

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 49, 216.

Distinct from *mam* 'female breast' [Authier 2009: 49].

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22. Not found in [Meylanova 1984].

According to [Meylanova 1984: 55, 210], the word for 'breast (in general, both male and female)' is *duš* {душ} (polysemy: 'human breast, chest / slope (of mountain), plateau'). But in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23] *duš* is quoted only for 'female breast'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *dōš* 'breast, chest'.

Distinct from *mam* {мам} 'nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23], 'nipple, female breast' [Meylanova 1984: 104].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217. Not attested in either [Kibrik et al. 1999] or [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010].

Distinct from the inherited *muχu* {муxy} 'female breast' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 267].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *koksi* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23]. Distinct from the inherited *muχu* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23; Dirr 1913: 174, 223.

Distinct from the inherited *muχu* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23; Dirr 1913: 188, 223].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217.

Distinct from the inherited *mīχī* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Common Tsakhur: In all the dialects the inherited term for 'breast (in general)' *mīχī* ~ *muχu* was narrowed to the meaning 'female breast', having been superseded by the loanword *koksi* ~ *koksi*, borrowed from Azerbaijani *kōks* 'breast, chest'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 161, 189; Ibragimov 1978: 41, 114; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217.

Distinct from *t'it'* 'female breast' [Ibragimov 1978: 48].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 196, 334; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 217.

Distinct from *t'it'* 'female breast, nipple' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 252, 334; Ibragimov 1978: 191].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22.

Distinct from *t'it'* 'nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Suleymanov 2003: 136; Shaumyan 1941: 152. It must be noted that in [Magometov 1970: 23] the Burshag word for 'breast' is transcribed as *муχur* - an obvious error. The same term in the Arsug subdialect: *муχur* 'breast' [Shaumyan 1941: 152].

Distinct from Burshag *bizi* 'female breast, nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22. The same in the Usug subdialect: *муχur* 'breast' [Shaumyan 1941: 152].

Distinct from Richa *bizi* 'female breast, nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Dirr 1907: 135, 171; Shaumyan 1941: 152. Polysemy: 'breast / big hill'.

Distinct from *bizi* 'female breast, nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23; Dirr 1907: 107].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22; Shaumyan 1941: 152.

Distinct from *bizi* 'female breast, nipple' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 136; Shaumyan 1941: 152; Magometov 1970: 195 strophe 6. According to Magometov's example, applied to both men and women. No specific Tpig terms for 'female breast' have been found in [Suleymanov 2003].

The same in Tsirkhe and Duldug subdialects: *муχur* 'breast' [Shaumyan 1941: 152].

Common Aghul: The common Aghul term *bizi* 'female breast, nipple' (see also the additional forms in [Shaumyan 1941: 154]) is of unknown origin; cf. [NCED: 305] with hypothetical West Caucasian *comparanda*.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22. Distinct from the nursery word *nen'ey* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *муχur* 'breast' [Uslar 1979: 864, 992; Dirr 1905: 197, 227], *nan'ay* with polysemy: 'female breast, nipple / udder / pupil of the eye' [Uslar 1979: 868, 992; Dirr 1905: 197, 227]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk, Kumi *муχur* {мухур} 'breast' [Genko 2005: 123], Khyuryuk *nan'ay* {нанай} with polysemy: 'female breast, nipple / pupil of the eye' [Genko 2005: 125].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22. Distinct from the nursery word *nan'a* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *муχur* {мухур} 'breast', *nana* {нана} 'female breast, nipple' [Genko 2005: 123, 125]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *муχur* {мухур} 'breast', *nan'a* {нана} 'female breast, nipple' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 235, 241] (distinct, however, from *nin'i* {нини} 'pupil of the eye' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 244]).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 578, 609. Distinct from Gyune *mam* 'female breast, teat; udder' [Uslar 1896: 501, 609].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *χur* {хур} 'breast' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 349; Gadzhiev 1950: 154; Haspelmeth 1993: 512, 516]. Distinct from literary *mam* 'female breast, teat' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 230; Gadzhiev 1950: 154].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *χir* 'breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22]. Distinct from Khlyut *mam* 'female breast' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 23].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 829. Distribution: This stem is retained in the meaning 'breast' in all Nuclear Lezgian lects, except for Tsakhur, where the basic term for 'breast' is an Azerbaijani loanword, whereas **moχor* narrowed to 'female breast'. In Archi **moχor* shifted to 'brisket' ('breast' > 'brisket' is natural, but not *vice versa*), having been superseded with the etymologically obscure form *χ'atum*. No traces of the root **moχor* in Udi. External North Caucasian comparison confirms **moχor* as the Proto-Lezgian term for 'breast (in general)'.

In two Udi dialects, 'breast' is expressed by forms with synchronic polysemy: 'breast / mountain slope', apparently with the development 'mountain slope' > 'breast'. At least for the Vartashen Udi form **ṛawχ:(a)*, both internal and external comparison suggest the original meaning 'slope' [NCED: 244] (the Nidzh Udi term is etymologically isolated). It should be noted, however, that theoretically both directions of the semantic shift between 'breast' and 'slope' are possible.

Replacements: {'mountain slope' > 'breast'} (Udi), {'breast' > 'brisket'} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. Historically **moχo-r* with the nominal *r*-suffix with general semantics.

12. BURN TR.

Nidzh Udi *bok:-b-esun* {бок|бесун} (1), Vartashen Udi *bok:-en-b-esun* ~ *bok:-es-b-esun* (1), Archi =¹*ok:a-* ~ =¹*uk:a-* (1), Kryts (proper) *uga-* (1), Alyk Kryts *ugu-* (1), Budukh *s=ugu-r-* {сугур-} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur $g^y=ox:w\text{an-a}?$ - {гӕххван-аь-ас, зӕйхъван-ейъ-ас} (2), Mikik Tsakhur $g^y=ox:an-a?$ - (2), Gelmets Tsakhur $g^y=ox:an-a?$ - {гӕххван-аь-} (2), Mukhad Rutul $h=ux-a a?$ - {вудхъа-ъас} (2), Ixrek Rutul $h=ux-ä ha?$ - {вудхъавъ гъавкъвын} (2), Luchek Rutul $l=i k'-u a?$ - (3), Koshan Aghul *urš:-ana-* (4), Keren Aghul *ug-a-* (1), Gequn Aghul *ug^w-a-* (1), Aghul (proper) *ug-a-* (1), Northern Tabasaran *ug-¹* (1), Southern Tabasaran *ug-¹* (1), Gyune Lezgi *k:u-* (1), Proto-Lezgian **?ok:wⁱ-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66. Quoted as *bok:-* 'to burn (tr.)' in [Gukasyan 1974: 283] and as *bok:-os-b-esun* 'to set fire to' in [Gukasyan 1974: 88] and [Mobili 2010: 68].

Vartashen Udi: Fähnrich 1999: 10; Schiefner 1863: 102; Schulze 2001: 259.

Common Udi: Common Udi **bok:-b-esun*, a transitive/causative from Nidzh-Vartashen *bok:-(e)sun* 'to burn (intr.)' [Gukasyan 1974: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66; Mobili 2010: 68; Fähnrich 1999: 10; Schulze 2001: 259], formed with the light verb *-b-* 'to do' [Schulze 2005: 569 ff. (3.4.2.2 #22 ff.)].

The root *bok:-* is synchronically unsegmentable; as in many other cases with Udi roots in *b-*, Lezgian cognates suggest that *b-* is a petrified prefix (a former class exponent, see [Harris 2002: 72 ff., 215 ff.] w. lit. and discussion), thus *b=ok:-*.

Caucasian Albanian: The transitive verb is unattested. Cf. *bok'-ok'-esun* 'to burn (intr.)' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-11]; morphologically can be analyzed as *bok'-o-k'-esun* with the light verb *-k'-* as, e.g., in *bas-k'-* 'to lie, sleep' q.v. (the second *-o-* is unclear in this case) or as partially reduplicated *bok'-ok'-* (cf. [Gippert et al. 2008: II-78]).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 287; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66; Mikailov 1967: 195; Dirr 1908: 171. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66] 'to burn (trans.)' is glossed as *уџа-џи* {уджаджу} - apparently an error for *угӕ-џи* {угаьджу} (but 'to burn (intrans.)' is correctly quoted as *угӕ-џи*).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 69, 133, 417. Polysemy: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 129; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95. Ablaut paradigm: *sugu-r-* [imperf.] / *süğü-r-* [perf., inv.]. Derived from *sugə-* 'to burn (intrans.)' [Meylanova 1984: 129; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94]. Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Alekseev 1994: 271 f.].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 874, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 116; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95; Dirr 1913: 146. It should be noted that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94, 95], a labile verb $g^y=ox:an$ / $g^y=ox:in$ 'burn (intrans.); to burn (trans.)' is postulated, which seems an inaccuracy; see notes on Common Tsakhur.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66. Class 1/4 form.

Common Tsakhur: The stem represents a regular causative formation from $g^y=ox:w\text{an-}$ 'to burn (intrans.)', formed with the verb $(h=)a?$ 'to do' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 58 f.; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 129].

Note that x^w is still retained in some forms in Mishlesh and Literary Tsakhur, but it has been totally superseded by x in Mikik under the influence of numerous forms with the regular delabialization $ox^w > ox$ (the Gelmets data are unknown).

Initial $g^y=$ is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Ibragimov 1978: 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66. Causative from *ux-* 'to burn (intrans.)' [Dirr 1912: 176; Ibragimov 1978: 120], modified with the additional prefix *h=*. It should be noted that in [Makhmudova 2001: 252] this word is quoted

as $h=ux^w$ - (гудхъвас) (with the labialized $-x^w$ - - an archaism) and treated as a labile verb 'to burn (intrans.); to burn (trans.)'.

Distinct from the causative $l=ik^w-a$ $a?$ - 'to set fire to' [Dirr 1912: 157; Ibragimov 1978: 120] from $l=ik^w$ - 'to catch fire' [Ibragimov 1978: 120; Makhmudova 2001: 159, 253].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 339; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 66. Causative from $h=u=r-x-ä-r$ - [imperf.] / $h=ux-u-r$ - [perf.] 'to burn (intrans.)' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 81].

Distinct from $l=ik^w-ä$ $ha?$ - 'to set fire to' (with the example: "They lit a fire") [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 180] from $l=ik^w$ - 'to catch fire' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 180].

Distinct from $k=irš-e$ $ha?$ - [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 144], which is translated by Dzhamalov & Semedov as 'to burn (trans.)', but the only example "He has lit a splinter" points to the meaning 'to set fire to smth.'. Causative from $k=irš-$, which is translated in [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 144] as 'to burn (intrans.)' (examples: "The firewood burns", "The lamp is lit"), but such a glossing also seems an inaccuracy.

In [Ibragimov 1978: 224], both Ixrek forms, $h=ux-$ and $k=irš-$, are quoted as synonyms for 'to catch fire'; they are semantic counterparts of Mukhad $l=ik^w$ - 'to catch fire'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95, 96. Polysemy: 'to burn (trans.) / to set fire to'. Causative from $l=ik^w$ - 'to burn (intrans.); to catch fire' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 94, 95].

Common Rutul: In all the dialects the equivalents of the meaning 'to burn (trans.)' represent regular causative formations from different verbs for 'to burn (intrans.)', formed with the verb ($h=)a?$ - (/ $h=äq?$ -) 'to do'. Luchek $l=ik^w$ - in the generic meaning 'to burn (intrans.)' is an innovation; external Lezgian comparison proves that the primary meaning of this root was 'to catch fire' as in Mukhad and Ixrek.

Initial $h=$, $l=$ and $k=$ are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95; Suleymanov 2003: 159. Labile verb 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'. Derived from the verb $urš-a$ - 'to boil (intrans., trans.)' [Magometov 1970: 18, 23]; it should be noted, however, that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 137] and once in [Magometov 1970: 57] the verb 'to boil' is transcribed as $urš-a$ - with lax, not tense $š$. Etymologically corresponds to Keren (Richa) rux^y-a - 'to boil', Proper Aghul (Tsirkhe) $urx-e$ - 'to boil' (with the tense $x!$), etc. [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 137; Magometov 1970: 23, 57; NCED: 1030].

Distinct from $k=eyx-i-$ 'to set fire to' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 96].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95; Magometov 1970: 164. Labile verb 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

Distinct from $k=ix-a$ - 'to set fire to; to write' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 96, 181] (homonymy rather than polysemy).

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 97, 145. Labile verb 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.) / to set fire to'. Note the retention of the labialized velar.

Fite Aghul: The verb $ug-a$ - is attested only in the intransitive meaning 'to burn' [Suleymanov 1993: 72].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 159; Shaumyan 1941: 145. It should be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 160], the archaic Tpig form ug^w-a - is also quoted as a variant of more common $ug-a$ -.

Common Aghul: Internal reconstruction as well as external comparison suggest that Koshan $urš-ana$ - 'to burn' is an innovation.

The labialization of g^w in ug^w-a - is almost eliminated in dialects due to the recent areal process of dissimilative delabialization $uC^w > uC$ [Magometov 1970: 26].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95. Labile verb: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: $wug-^1$ 'to burn (intrans.); to burn (trans.)' [Uslar 1979: 625; Dirr 1905: 212].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 95. Labile verb: 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: $ug-^1$ {ypryḅ} 'to burn (intrans.); to burn (trans.)' [Genko 2005: 154]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: $ug-^1$ {yḅryḅ} 'to burn (intrans.); to burn (trans.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 290].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 455, 631. Ablaut paradigm: $ku-$ [imperf.] / $ka-$ [perf.] / $ku-g$ [redupl. inv.]. Labile verb 'to burn (intrans.) / to burn (trans.)'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: $ku-$ [imperf.] / $ka-$ [perf.] / $ku-g$ [inv.] {кун, ккун} 'to burn (trans., intrans.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 166; Gadzhiev 1950: 199; Gaydarov et al. 2009: 181; Haspelmath 1993: 495, 516; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 368].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 860. Distribution: Retained with the basic meaning in all the languages, except for some Nuclear Lezgian lects.

In West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), this root was superseded with the synchronic causative from **ʔet(:)ᵂVr-*, whose original meaning is 'to get heated' [NCED: 1036]. Subsequently in Luchek Rutul, it was superseded with the synchronic causative from **ʔikᵂa-*, whose original meaning is 'to catch fire' [NCED: 632]. Koshan Aghul, 'to burn (intrans./trans.)' is a suffixal derivation from the verb **ʔVrʔan-* 'to boil (intrans./trans.)' [NCED: 1030].

Replacements: {'to get heated' > 'to burn'} (Tsakhur, Rutul), {'to catch fire' > 'to burn'} (Luchek Rutul), {'to boil (intrans./trans.)' > 'to burn'} (Koshan Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with the labile meaning 'to burn (trans./intrans.)'.

13. CLAW (NAIL)

Nidzh Udi *muχ* {*муχ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *muχ* {*муχ*} (1), Archi *ʔont'ol* (2), Kryts (proper) *mič-ek* (3), Alyk Kryts *dirnaχ* (-1), Budukh *dirnaβ* {*дырнаβ*} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *xubana* {*хубана*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *xiwna* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *xibina* (1), Mukhad Rutul *xäb ~ xeb* {*хвб*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *xeb* {*хвб*} (1), Luchek Rutul *xeb* (1), Koshan Aghul *kirk* (4), Keren Aghul *kirk* (4), Gequn Aghul *kerkᵂ* (4), Fite Aghul *kirk* (4), Aghul (proper) *kirk* (4), Northern Tabasaran *šaw* (1), Southern Tabasaran *šib* (1), Gyune Lezgi *kek* (4), Proto-Lezgian **m:āʔ:* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 176; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209; Mobili 2010: 214. Polysemy: 'nail / claw'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 176; Fähnrich 1999: 24; Schiefner 1863: 104; Starchevskiy 1891: 504. According to [Fähnrich 1999], polysemy: 'fingernail / claw' (in [Fähnrich 1999: 24] a phonetical variant *muq* is also quoted, apparently, in error). Not to be confused with the word *miχ*, glossed in [Schiefner 1863: 104] as 'Nagel', which apparently means 'nail, peg', as follows from the Persian gloss *mex* 'nail, peg', quoted by Schiefner as a source of borrowing.

Distinct from Vartashen *čilik* 'claw' [Gukasyan 1974: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210; Mobili 2010: 83; Schiefner 1863: 89; Starchevskiy 1891: 501].

Common Udi: Common Udi **muχ*; it is claimed in [Schulze 2001: 299a] that Udi *muχ* was borrowed from Persian *mex* 'nail', which cannot be true, because Persian *mex* is a *terminus technicus* with the meaning 'nail, peg', not 'fingernail' (the Persian term was adapted as Vartashen *miχ* 'nail, peg').

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 270, 370; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209; Mikailov 1967: 190. Paradigm: *ʔont'ol* [abs.] / *ʔant'l-a* [erg.]. In [Dirr 1908: 201, 215] a dissimilated form *ʔont'or* is quoted. Polysemy: 'fingernail / toenail'.

As proposed in [NCED: 210, 1002], this is a compound: *ʔon-t'ol*, the second part of which (*-t'ol*) can be identified with Lezgian **fīl* (~ *-o-*) 'finger'. In turn, the first element *ʔon-* is analyzed in [NCED: 210] as *ʔo-n-* from the Archi verb *ʔᵂa-* 'to slaughter', i.e. 'nail' as '[the part of the] finger which is being cut'. The latter solution is unlikely on two points. First, both the Archi verb *ʔᵂa-* and its Proto-Lezgian ancestor **ʔirʔᵂ:ᵂār-* mean 'to slaughter (an animal)', rather than the generic 'to cut, cut off'. Next, the semantic derivation 'to cut off' > 'fingernail' seems typologically problematic.

Alternatively analyzed in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 301] as *ʔont'-ol* with a root *ʔont'* and the relatively common nominal suffix *-ol*.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209. Polysemy: 'fingernail / claw / hoof'. The final *-ek* is a diminutive suffix.

Alyk Kryts: G. Authier, pers. com. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *dirnağ* 'fingernail, claw, hoof'. In [Authier 2009: 25] Alyk 'fingernail' is quoted as *meχ* as opposed to the Persian loanword *miχ* 'nail, peg', but this is a confusion (in the discovered textual

example the real meaning of *mex* is 'nail, peg' [Authier 2009: 231], not 'fingernail').

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209] erroneously quoted as *dirmav* {дырмагь}. Polysemy: 'fingernail / hoof'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *dirmag* 'fingernail, claw, hoof'. There are no terms for 'fingernail' or 'claw' in [Meylanova 1984].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 896; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 381; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209.

Distinct from *ximič* {хымычI} 'claw' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 381].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *xint'a* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33]. Apparently from **xibna* < **xibVna*.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Dirr 1913: 166, 231.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Ibragimov 1990: 186. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209], the plural form is quoted: *ximn-ara* (an error or sandhi *bn* > *mn*).

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 141, 196; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209. Polysemy: 'nail / claw'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 281, 364; Ibragimov 1978: 197; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 209. According to [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 348], with polysemy: 'nail / claw'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Suleymanov 2003: 102; Shaumyan 1941: 193. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted as *kirik* - apparently a typo. Ergative: *kirk-i*.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. Ergative form: *kirk-u*. The same in the Usug subdialect: *kirk* 'nail' [Shaumyan 1941: 193].

Distinct from *q'amž* 'claw' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Dirr 1907: 127, 178; Shaumyan 1941: 193. Ergative form: *kerk-u*. As proposed in [NCED: 690], labialized *k^w* in the absolutive form is secondary, due to the influence of the ergative *kerk-u*.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33; Shaumyan 1941: 193.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 102; Shaumyan 1941: 193. The same in the Duldug subdialect: *kirk* 'nail' [Shaumyan 1941: 193].

Distinct from Tpig *q:armaχ* 'claw; hook' [Suleymanov 2003: 115], ultimately borrowed from Azerbaijani *garmag* 'hook'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *š:aw* with polysemy: 'nail / stone plate' [Uslar 1979: 984, 999; Dirr 1905: 220, 235].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *š:aw* {шшав} 'nail' [Genko 2005: 192].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33. Paradigm: *šib* [abs.] / *šib-u* [erg.].

The same in other subdialects: Khiv *šib* {шиб}, Turag *šab* {шаб} with polysemy: 'nail / stone plate' [Genko 2005: 188, 190]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *šib* {шиб} with polysemy: 'nail / stone plate' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutov 2001: 349].

Common Tabasaran: Note the retention of tense fricative *š:* in the Northern subdialects. The Kondik oblique stem *šibu-* (not ***šibu-*) also points to an old tense consonant, although such paradigms are expected to get levelled after the monosyllabic absolutive form.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 461, 619. Paradigm: *kek* [abs.] / *k^hk-e-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'nail / claw / hoof'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *kek* [abs.] / *k^hk-e-* [obl.] {кек} with polysemy: 'nail / hoof / furniture leg' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 154; Gadzhiev 1950: 426; Haspelmath 1993: 494, 523].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *kek* [abs.] / *k^hk-e-* [obl.] with polysemy: 'nail / hoof' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 33].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 814 (as **t:äm:*). Distribution: This root is retained in the generic meaning '(finger)nail' in Udi, on the one hand, and in some Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and Tabasaran. External North Caucasian comparison confirms such a semantic reconstruction for **m:ät:* [NCED: 814].

Some local substitutions are observed in individual languages. In Archi the obscure form *Xont'ol* is attested. In Kryts, the old root is superseded with **mič* 'hoof' [NCED: 819]. In Aghul and Lezgi, 'nail' is denoted by **kerk*, whose original meaning is not clear and general antiquity is dubious [NCED: 689] (as proved by the Tabasaran data, **kerk* is not the Proto-East Lezgian root for 'nail', but a late areal innovation).

Superseded with an Azerbaijani loanword in some Nuclear Lezgian lects.

Replacements: {'hoof' > 'nail'} (Kryts).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular up to the metathesis **m:ät:* > **t:äm:* in Proto-Nuclear Lezgian.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **m:it:*V-.

14. CLOUD

Nidzh Udi *aso-y* {*acoü*} (1), Vartashen Udi *haso* {*ɥbaco*} (1), Archi *dit:^w-* (2), Kryts (proper) *k'äbäl* (3), Alyk Kryts *k'ap'al* (3) / *žif* (2), Budukh *bulut* {*ɔylym*} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *g'imil^y* {*ɥɪmɪɫ^y*} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *gumul^y* ~ *g'imil^y* (4), Gel mets Tsakhur *g'imil^y* (4), Mukhad Rutul *g'ibul* ~ *g'ibil* {*ɥɪɔɪɪɪɪ*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *g'ibil* {*ɥɪɔɪɪɪɪ*} (4), Luchek Rutul *g'ibil* (4), Koshan Aghul *q:iri* (-1), Keren Aghul *q:iri* (-1), Gequn Aghul *q:iri* (-1), Fite Aghul *amsar* (1), Aghul (proper) *q:iri* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *a'ms-a* (1), Southern Tabasaran *žif* (2), Gyune Lezgi *c:if* (2), Proto-Lezgian **ʔams:* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 49; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60; Mobili 2010: 35; Schiefner 1863: 82; Schulze 2001: 282. Polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud'.

Distinct from *duman* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205], borrowed from Azerbaijani *duman* 'fog'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 229; Mobili 2010: 136; Fähnrich 1999: 17; Dirr 1903: 14, 16; Schiefner 1863: 82; Schulze 2001: 282; Starchevskiy 1891: 504. Polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **aso(y)*, with a laryngeal prothesis in Vartashen (note, however, that normally in such cases the laryngeal prothesis is characteristic of the Nidzh dialect, not the Vartashen one). The suffixal *-y* of the Nidzh form is explained in [Schulze 2001: 282] as a result of analogy with the Nidzh word-formative suffix *-oy*, but actually the *-y* suffix is observed in some Nuclear Lezgi forms (namely Rutul), thus we rather deal with the archaic formation, not synchronic derivation (in such a case Vartashen *haso* can be interpreted as the occasional loss of the final glide).

Caucasian Albanian: *al^yeg* 'cloud; mist, fog' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-5]. Etymologically unrelated to the Udi term.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 222, 370; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60; Mikailov 1967: 181; Dirr 1908: 141, 215. Polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud'. Paradigm: *dit^w* [abs. sg.] / *dit:^w-i* [erg. sg.] / *dot:^w-or* [abs. pl.].

Distinct from *ɪ^walqi* with polysemy 'fog / light north wind' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Polysemy: 'sheep-flock / cloud'. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two terms for 'cloud' are quoted: *k'äbäl* and *bilit*; difference is unclear. It must be noted that *k'äbäl* is a metaphoric expression with the main meaning 'sheep-flock' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 63], whereas *bilit* is borrowed from Azerbaijani *bulut* 'cloud'.

Distinct from *žif* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60] three terms - *k'abal* (sic!), *bilit* and *žif* - are quoted as synonyms for 'cloud', whereas 'fog' is translated as *zov*, which in fact means 'sky' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 49. For the Alyk dialect two words are translated as 'cloud' by Authier, but without specifications: metaphoric *k'ap'al* with polysemy: '(small) flock / cloud' [Authier 2009: 49] and *žif* with polysemy: 'cloud / fog' [Authier 2009: 39, 280, 386]. The latter is a retention. Authier 2009: 39, 280, 386.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 31, 226; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60. According to [Meylanova 1984], with polysemy: 'cloud / fog'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *bulut* 'cloud'.

Distinct from inherited *žuf* {*ɔɟyɟɔ*}, glossed as 'black cloud; fog' in [Meylanova 1984: 59] and as 'fog' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 38; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 125. Missing from [Kibrik et al. 1999]. Polysemy: 'cloud / rheumatism'.

Another attested word is *bulut* {*ɔylyt*} 'cloud', borrowed from Azerbaijani *bulut* 'cloud' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 94]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60], erroneously quoted as *buput* {*ɔyɪɪɪɪ*}.

Distinct from *čamra* 'fog' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 871] (in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 393], quoted as *čamra*).

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *g'imil^y* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205]. Distinct from *čamra* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Dirr 1913: 148, 232.

Distinct from *čamra* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60.

Distinct from *ča'mra* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 131; Ibragimov 1978: 43, 48, 115, 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60. Polysemy 'cloud / rain cloud / fog / rheumatism'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 58, 365; Ibragimov 1978: 195; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 60. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog / rheumatism'. In [Ibragimov 1978], quoted as *gibilʹ*.

The second (probably less frequent) term is *äsʷäy* {аьсваьй} 'cloud; wall-eye (?)' (Russian: пелена на глазу) [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 23].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog'.

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov dialect: *kibil* 'cloud / rheumatism' [Ibragimov 1978: 233, 236].

Despite the wide distribution of Rutul **kibil*, it is not entirely certain that this was the basic or at least the only term for 'cloud'. Another appropriate candidate is reflected as Khnyukh (subdialect of Mukhad) *asiy* 'cloud' [Ibragimov 1978: 136], Ixrek *äsʷäy* 'cloud' (see above), Shinaz *asay* 'cloud' [Dirr 1912: 120, 196] (final *-Vy* may be a frequent nominal suffix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 65]). Perhaps **kibil* possessed the generic meaning 'fog / rheumatism', whereas **asʷVy* meant properly 'cloud'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Shaumyan 1941: 188; Suleymanov 2003: 117.

Distinct from inherited *dif*: 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. The same in the Usug subdialect: *qiri* 'cloud' [Shaumyan 1941: 188].

Distinct from inherited Richa *dif* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205; Dirr 1907: 129, 178; Shaumyan 1941: 188.

Distinct from inherited *dif* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. For the Fite dialect two words are quoted as synonyms for 'cloud' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205]: *qiri* and *amsar*; the latter is also attested in [Tarlanov 1994: 240], but without dialectal provenance.

Distinct from *dif* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 117; Shaumyan 1941: 188. The same in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *qiri* 'cloud' [Shaumyan 1941: 188].

Distinct from inherited Tpig *dif* 'fog' [Suleymanov 2003: 77].

Common Aghul: The widespread Aghul term *qiri* was borrowed from some neighboring languages of the Dargi group (cf. Chirag *qiri* 'cloud') or, rather, both words represent a common loanword of unknown origin. This means that Fite *amsar* (historically *ams-ar* with the fossilized plural suffix) is the only candidate for the Proto-Aghul term for 'cloud'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Polysemy: 'cloud / fog'.

Differently in the Khanag subdialect: *dif*: with polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud / foam' [Uslar 1979: 669, 999], opposed to *ams* 'fog' [Uslar 1979: 584, 1008]. Both Khanag words *dif*: and *ams* are glossed as 'fog' in [Dirr 1905: 156, 164, 245].

Two words for 'cloud' are also quoted for the Khyuryuk subdialect: *dif* {диф} with polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud / foam' [Genko 2005: 61] and *ams* {амс} 'cloud' [Genko 2005: 18] (semantic nuances are unknown).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205. Distinct from Kondik *ams* 'fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205].

Two words for 'cloud' are quoted for the Khiv subdialect: *žif* {жжиф} with polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud' [Genko 2005: 68] and *ams* {амс} 'cloud' [Genko 2005: 18] (semantic nuances are unknown; the latter form is not explicitly marked as Khiv due to erroneous omission of the plus sign).

The corresponding Literary Tabasaran terms are better documented: *dif* {диф} with polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 149]; distinct from literary *ams* 'rain cloud' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 57]. According to [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 149, 305a], in Literary Tabasaran 'fog' is expressed as *žil'in dif*, literally 'earth's cloud'.

Common Tabasaran: The distribution formally suggests that *dif*: ~ *žif* was the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'cloud', whereas *ams* meant 'fog'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 582, 620. Paradigm: *cif* [abs.] / *cʷf-edi-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'cloud / rain cloud / fog'. Distinct from *kup:ul* 'rheumatism' [Uslar 1896: 466].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *cif* [abs.] / *cʷf-edi-* [obl.] {циф} 'cloud' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 358; Gadzhiev 1950: 434; Haspelmath 1993: 483, 517]. According to [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 358], in Literary Lezgi 'fog' is expressed as *čilin cif*, literally 'earth's cloud'. Distinct from *kp:ul* 'rheumatism' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 163].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *cif* with polysemy: 'cloud / fog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 205] (regular

paradigm).

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 243. Distribution: A rather complicated criss-crossed situation with several roots entering into competition.

First, we must rule out the root **kap'al*, which shifted from its original meaning 'group, heap, sheep-flock' > 'cloud' in Kryts [NCED: 448].

Second, we may exclude the root **kom:ol*, which means 'cloud, fog, rheumatism' in West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and simply 'rheumatism' in Lezgi. This root has a fairly modest distribution in the meaning 'cloud' and can hardly reflect the Proto-Lezgian basic term. Its Proto-Lezgian or at least Proto-Nuclear Lezgian meaning can be either 'rheumatism' (if the shift 'rheumatism' > 'cloud, fog' is possible) or rather 'a k. of precipitation or wet weather' > 'cloud'. In this case, the shift 'a k. of precipitation or wet weather' > 'rheumatism' is a late Tsakhur-Rutul-Lezgi isogloss of areal origin, or the polysemy 'a k. of precipitation or wet weather / rheumatism' existed already on the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian level. Additionally, the retention of the root **ʔams:* with the meaning 'cloud' in some Rutul dialects may indicate that the semantic development **kom:ol* 'a k. of precipitation or wet weather' > 'cloud' is a late Tsakhur-Rutul process after the split of Proto-West Lezgian. External North Caucasian comparison also proves that the original meaning of Lezgian **kom:ol* was 'a k. of precipitation or wet weather' [NCED: 737].

The real choice consists of two Proto-Lezgian roots: **ʔams:* and **t:it:^w*, which are to be distributed among two specific meanings: 'cloud' and 'fog'.

On formal grounds, the stem **ʔams:* [NCED: 243] has a better chance to represent the Proto-Lezgian term for 'cloud'. It is retained as 'cloud' in Udi, on the one hand, and in Rutul and Aghul, on the other. The root **t:it:^w* [NCED: 400], whose Proto-Lezgian meaning in this case must have been 'fog', is retained as 'fog' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and in Aghul. In Lezgi, **t:it:^w* expanded to 'cloud', having acquired polysemy 'fog / cloud' (whereas the old root **ʔams:* got lost). There are two difficulties with such a scenario. First, **t:it:^w* developed into 'cloud' ('fog' > 'cloud') in Archi. Next, both roots swapped their meanings in Proto-Tabasaran, where **ʔams:* probably meant 'fog' and **t:it:^w* meant 'cloud'; it should be noted, however, that the Proto-Tabasaran semantic reconstruction is not very certain.

The second scenario is that **ʔams:* meant 'fog' in Proto-Lezgian, whereas **t:it:^w* meant 'cloud'. This implies that **t:it:^w* has been retained as 'cloud' in Archi and probably Proto-Tabasaran, but independently underwent the shift 'cloud' > 'fog' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and Aghul. In its turn, **ʔams:* 'fog' only retained its meaning in Proto-Tabasaran, but independently shifted from 'fog' > 'cloud' in Udi, Rutul and Aghul. It should be noted that both roots swapped their meanings in Aghul.

The first scenario is much more economical; thus, we follow the formal distribution and reconstruct Proto-Lezgian **ʔams:* 'cloud' and Proto-Lezgian **t:it:^w* 'fog'. The problem is that external North Caucasian comparison suggests that it should be **t:it:^w* that denoted 'cloud' in Proto-Lezgian. In any case, we must note that, due to natural reasons, both meanings, 'cloud' and 'fog', are frequently interchangeable in mountainous regions.

An additional term for 'cloud' is the etymologically obscure Caucasian Albanian form *al^yeg*. It is proposed in [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-5] that *al^yeg* originates from Lezgian **t:it:^w*, but the assumed sound shifts (not discussed by Gippert and Schulze) seem strange and irregular.

'Cloud' is expressed by Azerbaijani or Dargi loanwords in Budukh and Aghul.

Replacements: {'fog' > 'cloud'}, {'cloud' > 'fog'}, {'group, heap, sheep-flock' > 'cloud'} (Kryts), {'a k. of precipitation or wet weather; rheumatism' > 'cloud'} (Tsakhur, Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the laryngeal prothesis in Vartashen Udi.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is not reconstructible. Udi and Rutul reflect the suffixed variant **ʔams:V-y*.

15. COLD

Nidzh Udi *čax* {чax} (1), Vartashen Udi *čax* {чax} (1), Archi *χ^he-t:u-CLASS* (2), Kryts (proper) *s=ava-y* (3), Alyk Kryts *q:a-y* (3), Budukh *s=ava* {сагъа} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *mik'a-n* {мыкІан} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *mik'a-n* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *mik'a-n^y* (4), Mukhad Rutul *miq'-di* ~ *miq'-di* {мыкъды} (4), Ixrek Rutul *miq'-di* {мыкъды} (4), Luchek Rutul

mīq'-dī (4), Koshan Aghul *mik'-le-r* (4), Keren Aghul *ruku-f* (3), Gequn Aghul *ruku-f* (3), Fite Aghul *ruku-t* (3), Aghul (proper) *ruku-f* (3), Northern Tabasaran *aq^h-l'i* (2), Southern Tabasaran *ɸ=aku* (3), Gyune Lezgi *q:a-y'i* (3), Proto-Lezgian **meA'ä-* (4).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Confirmed in [Ganenkov et al. 2008: 252 (23)]: "we pour cold (*čax*) water in the bath". Polysemy: 'cold (adj.) / cold (n.), frost / ice'.

Vartashen Udi: Fähnrich 1999: 12; Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902 (Mt. 10.42 "a cup of cold (*čax*) water to drink"). Polysemy: 'cold (adj.) / cold (n.), frost / ice'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **čax* 'cold (n.); cold (adj.); ice'. In [Gukasyan 1974: 236; Mobili 2010: 80; Schiefner 1863: 87] and [Schulze 2001: 266], however, Nidzh-Vartashen *čax* is inaccurately glossed only as a substantive 'cold, frost; ice' (thus polysemy 'cold, frost / ice / cold (adj.)'); there is no equivalent for English 'cold (adj.)' in these dictionaries. Cf. also the common Udi substantive *mi* 'cold, frost' [Gukasyan 1974: 174; Schiefner 1863: 104; Fähnrich 1999: 23; Schulze 2001: 299].

Caucasian Albanian: *mii* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-30] ("a cup of cold (*mii*) water"). Apparently [miʔi].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 335, 387; Mikailov 1967: 200; Dirr 1908: 189, 225. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686] a corrupted form *χ^he-du*-CLASS is quoted. Regular participle from the stative verb *χ^he* 'to be cold' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 335]; widely applicable.

Distinct from *o^hrču-t.u*-CLASS, which is quoted in [Dirr 1908: 172, 225] with the translation 'cold (adj.)' ("the cold water"). A more correct translation should be rather 'having gotten cold', a regular participle from the verb *o^hrča-* 'to get cold' [Chumakina et al. 2007], Kibrik et al. 1977b: 291].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Participle from the verb *s=ava-* 'to get cold' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 97]. Initial *s=* is the preverb *s-/c-* with general semantics [Saadiev 1994: 424].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 16, 338. A prefixless counterpart of the Kryts proper form.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 122, 249; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Polysemy: 'cold / frozen, congealed'. Participle from the verb *s=ava-* 'to become cold; to feel cold' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 97]. Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Alekseev 1994: 271 f.].

Distinct from *šatχa-lu* {гIатχалу} 'cold (of weather)', a participle from *šatχa* 'to become cold (of weather), to catch cold (of human)' [Meylanova 1984: 46].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 882, 901; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 268; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *mik'a-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Dirr 1913: 188, 242.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 161; Makhmudova 2001: 93, 181, 184; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Applied both to objects and weather. The assimilated variant with *-u-* comes from [Dirr 1912].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 195, 411; Ibragimov 1978: 201, 213; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Applied to both objects and weather.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

Common Rutul: Final *-dī* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Shaumyan 1941: 160. The same in the Khudig subdialect: *mik'-le-d* 'cold' [Shaumyan 1941: 160].

Derived from the substantive, attested as Burshag *mek'* (oblique *mik'-la-*) 'cold, frost' [Shaumyan 1941: 151].

It should be noted, however, that in [Suleymanov 2003: 144], 'cold' is quoted as *urɸa-d* {урғад} and *urɸa-d ~ urɸa-d* {урғад} (apparently *urɸa-d*), which represent forms of the Arsug or Khudig subdialect, as is evident from the suffixal *-d*.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ruku-f* 'cold' [Shaumyan 1941: 160]. Cf. also the Usug substantive *mek'* (oblique *mek'-ala-*) 'cold, frost' [Shaumyan 1941: 151].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Dirr 1907: 140, 187; Shaumyan 1941: 160. Cf. two substantives with the meaning 'cold, frost': *ruku* [Dirr 1907: 140], *mek'* [Dirr 1907: 134] (oblique stem: *mek'-i-* ~ *mek'-ila-*).

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 144; Shaumyan 1941: 160. The same root in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *уру-* 'cold' [Magometov 1970: 215 sentence 11 "cold water"].

In the Tpig subdialect, cf. the substantive *mek'* (oblique *mek'-ila-*) 'cold, frost' [Suleymanov 2003: 133; Shaumyan 1941: 151].

Common Aghul: The distribution suggests that the Proto-Aghul adjective 'cold' was derived from the substantive 'cold, frost', attested as Gequn *руку* 'cold, frost' (see above) and *рув* 'cold, frost', quoted in [Magometov 1970: 46] without dialect specification (probably proper Aghul). Cf. also the paronymous verb, which is attested in non-Koshan dialects as Keren (Richa) *рув-а-* 'to feel cold' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 166], proper Aghul (Tpig) *рув-а-* 'to become cold' [Suleymanov 2003: 144]. For the Koshan (Burshag) dialect two synonymous verbs with the meaning 'to feel cold; to become cold' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 165] and [Suleymanov 2003: 144]: *ʔурʔ-а-* and *урʔ-а-*. The former Burshag stem is perhaps to be analyzed as *ʔ=урʔ-а-*, although the prefix *ʔ=* seems very rare or unique (cf. Proper Aghul (Kurag) *ʔ=аHa-р ха-* 'to know' q.v.); phonetically *=урʔ-а-* normally corresponds to non-Koshan *рув-а-*, see [NCED: 133]. The latter Koshan stem *урʔ-а-* is unclear; formally, it represents the result of secondary pharyngealization.

Only in the Burshag subdialect of Koshan (but not in other Koshan subdialects) this term was superseded with a new adjective, derived from another substantive with the meaning 'cold, frost' - *mek'* (oblique *mek'-ila-*), see the data above.

Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are the adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Distinct from Dyubek *мерџу-л'i* 'cool, chilly' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245] (historically *ме-р-џу-* with the fossilized class exponent *-r-*).

In the Khanag subdialect: *миџ'i-л'i* 'cold' [Uslar 1979: 858, 1009; Dirr 1905: 196, 246], applied to both objects (e.g., water) and weather; distinct from *ақ'i* 'cold (said of weather)' [Dirr 1905: 152, 246].

Two words are quoted for the Khyuryuk subdialect: *ақ'i* {аьхью} 'cold' [Genko 2005: 25], *миџ'i-л'i* {миџили} 'cold' [Genko 2005: 121] - application and semantic nuances of both terms are unknown.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Morphologically *в=а-CLASS-ву*.

Two words with the meaning 'cold' are attested in the Khiv subdialect: *в=арву* {гьаргьу} [Genko 2005: 41] (historically *в=а-р-ву* with the fossilized class exponent *-r-*) and *миџ-ли* {миџили} 'cold' [Genko 2005: 121] - both terms are applied to objects, but the semantic or pragmatic difference is unclear ('cold' and 'cool?'). Distinct from Khiv *ақ'u* {аьхью} 'cold' [Genko 2005: 25], which is applied to weather, as may be seen from Genko's examples (cf. also an additional example in [Genko 2005: 147 sub *ʔақ'рақ'*]).

Three Literary Tabasaran terms are known: *в=аву* {гьабгьу} 'cold' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 329 sub *q'al*] (the example: "cold water"); *миџ-л'i* {миџили} 'chilly' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 231]; *ақ'u* {аьхью} 'cold (said of weather)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 72].

Common Tabasaran: A tangled situation with three competing roots: (1) **ʔiq'ä-* (Northern *ақ'i* ~ *ақ'-л'i*, Southern *ақ'u*); (2) **ʔirq:ε(r)-* (Southern *в=аву*); (3) **meX'ä-* (Northern *мерџу-л'i* ~ *миџ'i-л'i*, Southern *миџ-ли*).

It seems that Northern *ме-р-џу-л'i* ~ *миџ'i-л'i*, Southern *миџ-ли* can be reconstructed with the specific meaning 'cool, chilly', as retained in both Northern and Southern dialects, although in the Khanag subdialect this acquired the generic meaning 'cold'. It is confirmed by comparative Aghul data that this adjective was derived from the oblique stem of the substantive 'cold, frost' (this substantive is retained as Tabasaran *mik'* 'wind' q.v.).

As for Northern *ақ'i* ~ *ақ'-л'i*, Southern *ақ'u*, its normal meaning is 'cold (of weather)', although in the Dyubek subdialect *ақ'-л'i* acquired the meaning 'cold (in general)' (apparently the Dyubek final *-li* is due to influence on the part of *мерџу-л'i* 'cool, chilly'). This term was derived from the verbal root that is retained in the prefixed form as Dyubek *da=ʔaq'.* 'to become cold' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 97], Khanag *d=aq'.* 'to become cool, chilly' [Dirr 1905: 163].

Southern *в=а-CLASS-ву* 'cold' (not attested in Northern Tabasaran) is the synchronic perfect participle from the Common Tabasaran verb 'to become cold'. Cf. Northern: Khyuryuk *ақ:-* {аькьув} 'to feel cold' [Genko 2005: 12], Kumi prefixed *q:=aq:-* {кьаркьув} 'to feel cold' or 'to get cold' [Genko 2005: 100]; Southern: Khiv *ав-* {аргьуб} 'to feel cold; to get cold' [Genko 2005: 19], Khiv *ув-* {ургьуб} 'to freeze (trans., intrans.)' [Genko 2005: 155], Literary Tabasaran *ав-* {абгьуб} 'to get cold; to feel cold' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 44].

It is possible that Southern *в=аву* reflects the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'cold (in general)'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 485, 638. Glossed as 'cold, cool'; applied to both objects and weather. Perfective participle from the verb *räq:i-* [imperf.] / *q:a-* [perf.] 'to get cold' [Uslar 1896: 495]; cf. also the parallel participle *q:a-y* 'cold wind, cool wind' [Uslar

1896: 485] (inaccurately glossed as 'cool, coolness' by Uslar; see note on 'wind'). Distinct from Gyune *māq*'i 'cold (of weather)' [Uslar 1896: 504].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *q:a-y*'i {къайи} 'cold, cool (applied to objects)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 176; Gadzhiev 1950: 916; Haspelmath 1993: 501, 517]; perfective participle from the verb *req*'i- [imperf.] / *q:a*- [perf.] {къун} 'to get cold' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 193]. Distinct from literary *meq*'i {мекъи} 'cold (of weather)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 234], derived from the substantive *meq*' {мекъ} 'cold (n.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 234].

Differently in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *meq*'i 'cold' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

It is uncertain how the Proto-Lezgi word for 'cold' should be reconstructed. According to the external data, it is likely that Akhty *meq*'i is an archaic form, whereas the Gyune participle *q:a-y*'i represent a late introduction of areal origin, which superseded *meq*'i in the meaning 'cold (of objects)'.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 808. Distribution: It seems that in all (or almost all) attested cases the adjective 'cold' can be interpreted as a synchronic derivate from either the substantive 'cold, frost' or the verb 'to be cold' (participle pattern).

A rigoristic approach would surmise leaving the Proto-Lezgian slot empty. Nevertheless, we prefer to reconstruct Proto-Lezgian **meλ'ä-* 'cold (adj.)', derived from Proto-Lezgian **meλ'* 'cold, frost' [NCED: 808]. This seems to be the most archaic Lezgian expression for 'cold (adj.)', and, indeed, the derivation 'cold, frost' > 'cold (adj.)' can theoretically be reconstructed for the Proto-Lezgian level.

The substantive **meλ'* 'cold, frost' is a Common Lezgian stem, since it is attested in Udi and in Nuclear Lezgian: Aghul, Lezgi (also in Tabasaran, where it shifted to the meaning 'wind (in general)'). The adjective stem **meλ'ä-* 'cold' also displays relevant distribution. It is attested in Caucasian Albanian, on the one hand, and in West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and Proto-Lezgi, on the other. In some East Lezgian lects - Koshan Aghul (Burshag), Southern Tabasaran (Khiv) - the adjectives for 'cold' contain the same root, but these forms represent synchronic derivatives from the substantive **meλ'* 'cold, frost'.

In Udi, 'cold (adj.)' is expressed with **čawχ-* [NCED: 346], whose original meaning was substantival, cf. the synchronic polysemy in Udi: 'cold (adj.) / cold (n.), frost / ice'.

The verbal root **ziq'ä-* 'to get cold' [NCED: 568] forms synchronic participles with the meaning 'cold (adj.)' in Archi and Northern Tabasaran (Dyubek).

The verbal root **ziq:e(r)-* 'to get cold' [NCED: 649] forms synchronic participles with the meaning 'cold (adj.)' in some Nuclear Lezgian lects: South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Proto-Aghul, Proto-Tabasaran, Gyune Lezgi.

The derivation 'to get cold' > 'cold' is likely to be a relatively late areal isogloss.

Replacements: {'cold, frost' > 'cold (adj.)'} (passim), {'to be cold' > 'cold (adj.)'} (passim).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Adjectival stem, derived from the primary nominal root.

16. COME

Nidzh Udi *ey-* ~ *e-* {eйсун ~ эйсун} (1) / *har-* (2), Vartashen Udi *ey-* ~ *e-* {есун ~ ейсун} (1) / *ar-* (2), Archi =*aλi-* (3) / =*q^ha* (1), Kryts (proper) $\text{ɛ}=\text{u}\check{\text{ɰ}}\check{\text{ɰ}}\check{\text{ä}}$ - (4) / $\text{ɛ}=\text{uxu}$ - (5), Alyk Kryts $\text{ɛ}=\text{a}\check{\text{ɰ}}\check{\text{ɰ}}\check{\text{ä}}$ - (4) / $\text{ɛ}=\text{axu}$ - (5), Budukh $\text{ɛ}=\text{a}\check{\text{ɰ}}\check{\text{ɰ}}\check{\text{ä}}$ - {zлашха-} (4) / $\text{ɛ}=\text{axi}$ - {zлашбу-} (5), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q=a?*- {хъарий} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *q=a?*- (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *q=i?*- (2), Mukhad Rutul CLASS=*i?i* {йиркьас, йиркьын} (2) / *y=iq'-i-r* (6), Ixrek Rutul CLASS=*i?i* {йиркьын} (2) / *y=iq'-i-r* (6), Luchek Rutul CLASS=*i?i* (2) / *y=iq'-i-r* (6), Koshan Aghul *wa^ɬ-y-* (1) / *arg-i-* (3), Keren Aghul *ad-i-* (3), Gequn Aghul *wa^ɬ-* (1) / *ar-i-* (3), Fite Aghul *ad-a-* (3), Aghul (proper) *we-y-* (1) / *ad-ina-* (3), Northern Tabasaran *ɠ^ɬ-* (1) / *af^ɬ-* (5), Southern Tabasaran *ɸ^ɬ-* (1) / *af^ɬ-* (5), Gyune Lezgi *q:^we-* (1) / *at:^la-* (7), Proto-Lezgian **ziq:^wä-* (1) / **?V?^wV(r)-* (2).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 122; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 495; Mobili 2010: 105. Glossed as 'to come, to arrive'. Perfective stem.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 122; Fähnrich 1999: 15; Dirr 1903: 10, 40, 51, 56, 69, 85, 89, 94, 95; Schiefner 1863: 77; Starchevskiy 1891: 488. Glossed as 'to come, to arrive'; but incorrectly as 'to go, walk' in [Schulze 2001: 275], cf. contexts like Mt. 8.9, where *e(y)*- 'to come' is opposed to *ta(y)*- 'to go': "I tell this one, 'Go (*take*),' and he goes (*tanesa*); and to another, 'Come (*eke*),' and he comes (*enesa*)" [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902].
- In [Fähnrich 1999: 30] the variant *ev-esun* is also quoted - an important archaism, see notes on 'to go'. Perfective stem.
- Common Udi:** As described in [Maisak 2008a: 107 ff., 154 ff.], a suppletive paradigm: *e(y)*- (present-infinitive) / *ar*- (past) / *ev*- (future) / *ek*- (imperative). For the paradigmatic distribution of the Nidzh variants *e*- and *ey*- see [Maisak 2008a: 107].
- Originally **e=iɣ* (> *e=y*) / *ar*- / **e=iɣ*- / *e=k*- with the preverb **(h)e*- 'hither', see notes on 'to go'.
- Caucasian Albanian:** A suppletive verb *hev*- (present-infinitive) / *ar*- (past) / *hekal*- (imperative) [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44, 45, 51, IV-26]. With the exception of the imperative root, directly corresponds to the Udi paradigm. For further analysis see notes on 'to go'.
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 188, 376; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 495; Mikailov 1967: 171; Dirr 1908: 131, 219. Glossed as 'to come, to arrive'.
- As described in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 72; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 242; Chumakina et al. 2007], a suppletive verb: *=aɬi*- [inf., imperf.] / *=q^ha* [perf.] / *z'a-ba* [inv.] (*-ba* in the imperative stem is the light verb 'to say') / *=h'e*- [potential]. We treat *=aɬi*- and *=q^ha* as synonyms. The latter is etymologically the same root as *=oq^he*- 'to go' q.v. Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 188, 376; Mikailov 1967: 171.
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Suppletive paradigm: $\text{ɬ}=\text{u}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\check{\text{ä}}$ - [imperf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{uxu}$ - [perf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{u}\check{\text{s}}\check{\text{ä}}$ - [inv.]. We treat $\text{ɬ}=\text{uxu}$ - [perf.] and $\text{ɬ}=\text{u}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\check{\text{ä}}$ - [imperf.] as synonyms. Both stems contain the preverb ɬ - 'in'; the imperfective stem is apparently a compound of two Proto-Lezgian verbal roots: $\text{ɬ}=\text{u}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\check{\text{ä}}$ -, thus [NCED: 657, 666]. Perfective $\text{ɬ}=\text{uxu}$ - contains the same root as 'to go' q.v. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 495. Perfective stem.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 158 f., 408. Etymologically the same paradigm as in Kryts proper: $\text{ɬ}=\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\text{a}$ - [imperf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{axu}$ - [perf.]. Authier 2009: 158 f., 408. Perfective stem.
- Budukh:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Suppletive paradigm: $\text{ɬ}=\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\text{a}$ - [imperf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{axi}$ - [perf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{a}\check{\text{s}}$ [inv.]. In [Meylanova 1984: 48, 235] quoted as $\text{ɬ}=\text{ü}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\text{a}$ - [imperf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{üxi}$ - [perf.] / $\text{ɬ}=\text{u}\check{\text{s}}$ [inv.]. We treat $\text{ɬ}=\text{axi}$ - [perf.] and $\text{ɬ}=\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\text{a}$ - [imperf.] as synonyms. Both stems contain the preverb ɬ - 'inside' [Alekseev 1994: 271]; the imperfective stem is apparently a compound of two Proto-Lezgian verbal roots: $\text{ɬ}=\text{a}\check{\text{s}}\check{\chi}\text{a}$ -, thus [NCED: 657, 666]. Perfective $\text{ɬ}=\text{axi}$ - contains the same root as 'to go' q.v. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Perfective stem.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 68, 74, 77, 884, 897; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 375. According to [Kibrik et al. 1999], a suppletive verb: $q^{\text{h}}=\text{a}\check{\text{a}}\text{-a}$ [imperf.] / $q=\text{a}\check{\text{a}}\text{-i}$ [perf.] / $q=\text{al}^{\text{h}}\text{-es}$ [fut.] / $q=\text{or-a}$ [inv.]. Cf. synchronic forms: imperf. class 1/2/3/4 $q^{\text{h}}\text{a}$; perf. 1/2 *qari*, 3 *qabi*, 4 *qadi*, fut. 1/4 *qal^hes*, 2 *qayel^hes*, 3 *qawal^hes*, inv. 1/4 *qora*, 2 *qera*, 3 *qiwora*. Polysemy: 'to come / to bring (animated obj.)' in perf. & fut., although in imperf. & inv. the roots for 'to come' and 'to bring' are different.
- There is also another suppletive verb with the more generic meaning 'to come, arrive / to bring (animated & inanimate obj.)', formed with the same roots $a\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$ [perf.] / $al\text{-}$ [imperf., fut., inv.] and the zero prefix (or with the prefix ʔ - an automatic prothesis for vocalic onset): *all^hes* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 63, 869].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Dirr 1913: 179, 235. The same suppletive paradigm as in Mishlesh: imperf. $q^{\text{h}}=\text{a}\check{\text{a}}\text{-a}$ (1/2/3/4 $q^{\text{h}}\text{a}$) / perf. $q=\text{a}\check{\text{a}}\text{-i}$ (1/2 *qari*, 3 *qabi*) / fut. $q=\text{al}^{\text{h}}\text{-es}$ (1 *qal^hes*, 2 *qiyel^hes*, 3 *quwal^hes*) / inv. $q=\text{or-a}$ (1 *qora*, 2 *qera*, 3 *quwora*).
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Ibragimov 1990: 183, 195, 213. Only the form of fut. is known: $q\text{-i-CLASS-ʔ-ez} \sim q\text{-i-CLASS-y-ez}$. The paronymous verb $a\check{\text{a}}\text{-}$ (formed with the zero prefix) is a close synonym: fut. *aryez*, *abyez*, prohib. *maraye*, *mabaye* 'to come' [Ibragimov 1990: 196]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 495], only the second verb is quoted: fut. $a\text{-CLASS-ʔ-ez}$ ($a\text{-r-ʔ-ez}$ {аръез}).
- Common Tsakhur:** Initial q^{h} is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 144, 198; Ibragimov 1978: 32, 33, 37-38; Makhmudova 2001: 16, 80, 129, 136, 159, 252; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 495. Imperfective stem.
- According to the data in [Makhmudova 2001] and [Ibragimov 1978], the suppletive paradigm is as follows: CLASS= $i\check{\text{a}}$ ~ CLASS= $r=u\check{\text{a}}\text{-u-r}$ - [imperf.] / $y=iq^{\text{h}}\text{-i-r}$ [perf.] / CLASS= $iq^{\text{h}}\text{-a}$ [inv.]. In the imperfective form, with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 132, 380; Ibragimov 1978: 217; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 495. Imperfective stem.

According to the data in [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006], the suppletive paradigm is as follows: CLASS=*iʔi* [imperf.] / *y=iqʔ-i-r* [perf.] / CLASS=*iqʔ-i* [imv.]. In the imperfective form, with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Imperfective stem.

Suppletive paradigm: CLASS=*iʔi* ~ CLASS=*r=uʔ-u-r* [imperf.] / *y=iqʔ-i-r* [perf.] / CLASS=*iqʔ-i* [imv.]. In the imperfective form, with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

Common Rutul: An irregular verb (with two synonymous stems for the imperfective), but the paradigms generally coincide in all three dialects. Two imperfective stems with polysemy: 'to go / to come' are genetically related. See notes on 'to go'.

Initial *y=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Makhmudova 2001: 165].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75; Suleymanov 2003: 18. Suppletive paradigm: *waʔ-y-* [imperf.] / *arg-i-* [perf., inf.] / *šaw* [imv.] / *ma=ʃe* [prohib.]. Perfective stem.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Suppletive paradigm: imperf. not attested / *ad-i-* [perf., inf.] / *šaw* [imv.] / *ma=maʔ* [prohib.]. The prohibitive *ma=maʔ* is apparently assimilated from **ma=baʔ*, cf. the Gequn data.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 102, 181. Suppletive paradigm: *waʔ-* [imperf.] / *ar-i-* [perf.] / *šaw* [imv.] / *ma=waʔ* [prohib.]. Perfective stem.

Fite Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 69. Only the infinitive form *ad-a-s*, containing the perfective stem, has been found.

Aghul (proper): Shaumyan 1941: 139. The following paradigmatic forms can be extracted from [Shaumyan 1941: 139] and [Suleymanov 2003: 18]: *we-y-* [imperf.] / *ad-ina-* [perf.] / *ad-i-* [inf.] / *šab* [imv.]. Shaumyan 1941: 139; Suleymanov 2003: 18. Perfective stem.

Common Aghul: A very irregular verb, although the suppletive paradigms generally coincide in all dialects. In the imperfective and prohibitive forms, with polysemy: 'to go / to come'; further see notes on 'to go'. All dialectal perfective forms (*arg-i-*, *ad-i-*, *ar-i-*) are etymologically related, originating from one proto-root [NCED: 422].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Suppletive paradigm: \mathcal{E} [imperf., inf.] / *afʔ* [perf.] / *ač* [imv.].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *qʔ-* [imperf., inf.] / *af-* [perf.] / *q.ač* [imv.] 'to come' [Uslar 1979: 834, 1003; Dirr 1905: 188, 239]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *qʔ-* [imperf., inf.] / *af-* [perf.] / *q.as* [imv.] {кхьюв} 'to come' [Genko 2005: 103]. Perfective root.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 75. Suppletive paradigm: *ʋʔ-* [imperf., inf.] / *afʔ* [perf.] / *vač* [imv.].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *ʋʔ-* [imperf., inf.] / *af-* [perf.] / *vač* [imv.] {гъюб} 'to come' [Genko 2005: 45]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ʋʔ-* [imperf., inf.] / *af-* [perf.] {гъюб} 'to come' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 117]. Perfective root.

Common Tabasaran: An irregular verb with three roots, although the suppletive paradigms coincide in both dialects. The imperfective stem *Qʔ-* contains the same root as 'to go' q.v.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 346, 627. Suppletive paradigm: *qʔʷe-* [imperf.] / *atʔa-* [perf.] / *ša* [imv.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *qʔʷe-* [imperf.] / *atʔa-* [perf.] / *ša* [imv.] {агун} 'to come' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 51; Gadzhiev 1950: 628; Haspelmath 1993: 481, 517; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 92].

The authors of [NCED], confused by the ambiguous Cyrillic orthography, transcribe the perfective stem as *ata-* with a subsequent incorrect connection to the Udi verb 'to go' q.v. [NCED: 423]. Perfective stem.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 572. Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root, attested with several ablaut grades. Reconstructed as the imperfective stem with polysemy 'to go / to come'. Further see notes on 'to go'. NCED: 1016. Reconstruction shape: The exact phonetic shape of a root with such a structure is not reconstructible. According to the table of correspondences in [NCED: 150], one could expect **ʔʷ > Udi p* instead of observed *θ*, but this can hardly be an obstacle to the whole etymology.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root, used as the perfective stem for 'to come'. Further see notes on 'to go'.

17. DIE

Nidzh Udi *bi-esun* {биесун} (1) / *p:u-r-* (2), Vartashen Udi *bi-esun* {биесун} (1) / *p:u-r-* (2), Archi =*kʔa-* (1), Kryts (proper) *qʔäy-* (1), Alyk Kryts *qʔäy-* (1), Budukh *s=aqʔa-* {сакъа-, саркъар-} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q=iʔ-* {хъикIyü} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *q=iʔ-* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *q=iʔ-* (1), Mukhad Rutul CLASS=*iqʔ-i-r* {йикъун} (1), Ixrek Rutul CLASS=*iqʔ-i-r*

{йикъин} (1), Luchek Rutul CLASS=iq'-i-r (1), Koshan Aghul k'-i- (1), Keren Aghul k'^y-a- (1), Gequn Aghul k'-e- (1), Fite Aghul k'-e- (1), Aghul (proper) k'-e- (1), Northern Tabasaran yik'- (1), Southern Tabasaran yik'- (1), Gyune Lezgi r=äq'i- (1) / q'e- (1), Proto-Lezgian *ʔiʔe (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 81; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 247; Mobili 2010: 61. In [Mobili 2010: 61] a contracted variant *bi-sun* is also quoted. Perfective stem.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 81; Dirr 1903: 51, 95; Fähnrich 1999: 9; Schiefner 1863: 101; Schulze 2001: 258; Starchevskiy 1891: 489. In [Fähnrich 1999] quoted as *biyesun*. Perfective stem.

Common Udi: As noted in [Maisak 2008a: 108 f.] and [Schulze 2005: 541 f. (3.4.2.1 #23)], the paradigm is suppletive in both dialects: *bi-* (present-infinitive, imperative, future) / *p:ur-* (past). Udi *bi-* is historically analyzed as *b=i-* with the *b-* prefix, see notes on 'to burn'. The second root *p:ur-* is probably to be analyzed as **p:u-ar-* with the past stem of the light verb *-ar-* 'came', thus [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44]. An expression for 'to kill' (q.v.) is based on the same synchronical root *bi-*.

Caucasian Albanian: A suppletive paradigm: *bil^y-a-* (present, imperative, future) / *up'* (infinitive) / *p'ur-i-* (past) [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44, IV-35]. A labile verb with the polysemy: 'to die / to kill (q.v.)'. The stem *bil^y-a-* probably corresponds directly to modern Udi *bi-* with a different treatment of Lezgian *ʔ. The noun *up' ~ up'-en* 'death' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-35] is included in the verbal paradigm as the infinitive stem. Nominal *up'-* and verbal *p'u-* are etymologically related; see notes on 'to say'.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 264, 386; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 246; Mikailov 1967: 186; Dirr 1908: 159, 225. Applied to sg. subj. As described in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 74; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 243; Chumakina et al. 2007], a synchronically suppletive verb: =k'i- / =k'a- [imperf., perf.] / =k'im- [imv.]. The choice between two main stems, =k'i- / =k'a-, is irrelevant for the lexicostatistical procedure.

Distinct from the suppletive verb =χ^wi- [inf., imv.] / =χ^wa-l- [imperf.] / χu-l-l'e [perf.] 'to die (pl. subj.)' [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 74; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 243; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 334, 386; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 246. Polysemy: 'to die / to kill'. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *r=iq'ä-* [imperf.] / *q'ä(y)-* [perf.] / *s=äq'* [imv.]. Initial *r-* and *s-* are old prefixes with general semantics.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 416. Polysemy: 'to die / to kill (q.v.)'. Etymologically the same paradigm as in Kryts proper: *r=iq'i-* [imperf.] / *q'ä(y)-* [perf.] / *s=aq'* [imv.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 124, 247; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 246. Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Alekseev 1994: 271 f.].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 885, 900; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 377; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 247. Ablaut paradigm: *q=ek'-a* [imperf.] / *q=ik'-u* [perf.] / *q=ik'-as* [fut.]. Applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from *h=at'-* 'to die (pl. subj.)' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 885].

Another (apparently less frequent) verb for 'to die' is *k'ečmiš-x-* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 880], which consists of the borrowed Azerbaijani adjective *kečmiš* 'last, past' plus the Tsakhur verb *ix-* 'to become'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Dirr 1913: 181, 241. Ablaut paradigm: *q=ek'-a* [imperf.] / *q=ik'-u* [perf.] / *q=ik'-as* [fut.]; note the thematic *-u-* in perf. Applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from *h=at'-* 'to die (pl. subj.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Dirr 1913: 165, 241].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 247. The future stem. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], quoted as *q=i vaz* {хъикъаз} - an error for *q=ik'-az* {хъикъаз}.

Common Tsakhur: Initial *q=* and *h=* are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41]. The verb *q=ik'-* 'to die (sg. subj.)' contains the same root as 'to kill (sg. obj.)' q.v., modified with another prefix; the verb *h=at'-* 'to die (pl. subj.)' contains the same root as 'to kill (pl. obj.)', modified with another prefix.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 144; Ibragimov 1978: 89; Makhmudova 2001: 97, 116, 135, 252; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 246. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to kill / to die', applied to sg. obj./subj.

Distinct from CLASS=*irq'* / CLASS=*q'irq'* 'to kill (pl. obj.) / to die (pl. subj.)' [Dirr 1912: 144, 166].

The root **ʔilʰe* can safely be reconstructed as the Proto-Lezgian labile verb for 'to die / to kill', at least with singular subject ('to die') / object ('to kill') and at least as the imperfective stem.

The only languages that suppletively discriminate between the imperfective and perfective stems are Caucasian Albanian and Udi. Formally, such a situation could reflect a Proto-Lezgian feature, but CA-Udi **p'u-* (with the ablaut variant **up'-*) is isolated within Lezgian and possesses rather scant external *comparanda* (the Khinalug verb *ib-i* 'to kill' and the imperative stem *ib-i* 'to die'), so it is preferable to regard Caucasian Albanian-Udi **p'u-* as a secondary complication of the verbal paradigm in question.

Archi and some Nuclear Lezgian lects demonstrate the lexical opposition between verbs with singular and plural subject/object. Formally, this could be a late innovation of areal origin, but there are actually no reasons not to project such an opposition onto the Proto-Lezgian level. If so, the correspondence sg. **ʔilʰe* / pl. **ʔilχ^we* between Archi and Tabasaran should be reflecting the Proto-Lezgian situation. In many other lects **ʔilʰe* acquired both singular and plural functions.

Some of the lects have lost the original lability. Thus, in modern Udi 'to kill' is the synchronic causative from 'to die'. In Archi, 'to kill' is euphemistically expressed by the verb 'to perform an action most typically associated with the given object in the current situation' (**ʔarč̣a-*), although the synchronic causatives from 'to die (sg.)' and 'to die (pl.)' are also used for 'to kill'. In Tsakhur, 'to die' and 'to kill' are distinguished by means of different fossilized prefixes.

In Budukh, 'to kill' is expressed by **ʔat^wi-*, whose original meaning was 'to cut' [NCED: 271]. Independently, the same root shifted to plural 'to die, kill' in Tsakhur.

In Rutul dialects, the verb 'to strike, hit' (**yirχ^ʰa-* [NCED: 581]) can acquire the basic meaning 'to kill'.

Consequently, we reconstruct two Proto-Lezgian labile verbs: **ʔilʰe* 'to die / to kill' (sg.) and **ʔilχ^we* 'to die / to kill' (pl.).

Replacements: {'to cut' > 'to die / to kill'} (Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular up to the fossilized class prefix in Caucasian Albanian-Udi.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

18. DOG

Nidzh Udi *χ^ʰa {xarb}* (1), Vartashen Udi *χ^ʰa {xarb}* (1), Archi *g^wač̣i* (-1), Kryts (proper) *χ^war* ~ *χor* (1), Alyk Kryts *χ^war* (1), Budukh *χor {xop}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χ^wa: {xbaa}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *χ^wa:* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *χ^wayä* (1), Mukhad Rutul *ṭila {ṃỵla}* (-1), Ixrek Rutul *ṭilä* ~ *ṭila {ṃỵlab ~ ṃỵla}* (-1), Luchek Rutul *ṭila* (-1), Koshan Aghul *χ^ʰuy* (1), Keren Aghul *tula* (-1), Gequn Aghul *χuy* (1), Fite Aghul *χuy* (1), Aghul (proper) *byy* (1), Northern Tabasaran *χuy* (1), Southern Tabasaran *χu* (1), Gyune Lezgi *kic*' (2), Proto-Lezgian **χ^w:^wäya* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 221; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147; Mobili 2010: 147.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 221; Fähnrich 1999: 34; Dirr 1903: 14, 16, 17, 26, 44, 96; Schiefner 1863: 81; Schulze 2001: 333; Starchevskiy 1891: 506.

Common Udi: Common Udi **χ^ʰa*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 234, 381; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147; Mikailov 1967: 176; Dirr 1908: 137, 222. Borrowed from Lak *k^wač̣i* 'dog' (in [Chumakina 2009] incorrectly tagged with the label "no evidence for borrowing").

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 260, 268, 309, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 147, 241; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147.

Distinct from the more specific term *t'art'a* {ᠲᠠᠷᠲᠠ} 'short-haired dog' [Meylanova 1984: 137].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 899; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 369. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147], erroneously

quoted as $\chi^{w}a$ {хва}.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: χ^{we} : [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Dirr 1913: 211, 238.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147], the variant $\chi^{w}aye$ {хvae} is quoted.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 173, 201; Ibragimov 1978: 34; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 250, 395; Ibragimov 1978: 213; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 147], a second word for 'dog' is also quoted: $qat'ay$ {къатІай}. This is actually the adjective $q'at'-äy$ {къаътІай} 'tailless, short-tailed (said of animals)' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 162] (from qat' 'cut-off fragment').

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73.

Common Rutul: Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tula* 'gundog' or directly from the Iranian forms (e.g., Persian *tola* 'gundog', Judeo-Tat *tula* 'gundog'), although the vowel adaptation is unclear.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Suleymanov 2003: 55. Synchronically, suppletive plural: $\chi ur-ur$ (without pharyngealization?). In [Magometov 1970: 23], transcribed as $\chi^{i}uy$ - an important archaism.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73. The same loanword in the Usug subdialect: *tula* 'dog' [Shaumyan 1941: 191]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tula* 'gundog' or ultimately from the corresponding Iranian forms (e.g., Persian *tola* 'gundog', Judeo-Tat *tula* 'gundog').

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Dirr 1907: 150, 184; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Synchronically, with a suppletive paradigm: χuy [abs.] / $\chi^{w}ar-a$ [erg.] / $\chi ur-ur$ [pl.].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Paradigm: χuy [abs.] / $\chi ur-a$ [erg.] / $\chi ur-ur$ [pl.].

Aghul (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73; Suleymanov 2003: 55; Magometov 1970: 41; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Paradigm: vuy [abs.] / $v^{w}ar-a$ [erg.] / $vur-ur$ [pl.].

The same in other subdialects: Kurag, Duldug χuy 'dog' [Magometov 1970: 41; Shaumyan 1941: 191]; Tsirkhe χuy 'dog' [Magometov 1970: 215 sentence 14; Shaumyan 1941: 191].

Common Aghul: Note the retention of tense χ : in Magometov's forms from Koshan (Burshag) and Proper Aghul (Tsirkhe).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: χuy 'dog' [Uslar 1979: 958, 1006; Dirr 1905: 216, 242]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk χuy {хууӀ}, Kumi χuy {хуӀ} 'dog' [Genko 2005: 166, 168].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73. Paradigm: χu [abs.] / $\chi u-y-i$ [erg.].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: χu {xy} 'dog' [Genko 2005: 166]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: χu {xy} 'dog' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 317].

Common Tabasaran: Note the retention of tense fricative χ : in the Northern subdialects. The Kondik oblique stem $\chi uyi-$ (not $\chi uyi-$) also points to an old tense consonant, although such paradigms are expected to get levelled after the monosyllabic absolutive form.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 464, 632.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *kic'* {кӀцӀ} 'dog' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 160; Gadzhiev 1950: 791; Haspelmath 1993: 494, 518].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *kic'* 'dog' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 73].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1073. Distribution: A rather stable root, retained in Udi and Proto-Nuclear Lezgian. In Lezgi, superseded with $*kic'$ / $*c'ik$, whose original meaning was 'puppy', as proved by its Lezgian and external North Caucasian cognates [NCED: 692].

Superseded with loanwords in Archi (< Lak), Rutul and Keren Aghul (< Azerbaijani or Iranian).

Replacements: {'puppy' > 'dog'} (Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem seems to have been $*\chi^{w}äy-rV-$.

19. DRINK

Nidzh Udi $u\beta^{f}-sun$ {уьгъсун} (1), Vartashen Udi $u\beta^{f}-sun \sim u\beta^{f}-esun$ {уьгъсун} (1), Archi $c^{n}a-bu-$ (2), Kryts (proper) $q:i\acute{r}-$ (1), Alyk Kryts $q:i\acute{r}-$ (1), Budukh $s=evir-$ {сегъир-, согъуру}

(1), Mishlesh Tsakhur $il^y=ov-$ {*илӕбгъуий, илӕдгъуий*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur $ul^y=ov-$ (1), Gelmets Tsakhur $ul^y=ov-$ (1), Mukhad Rutul $CLASS=raB-$ {*рагъын*} (1), Ixrek Rutul $CLASS=raB-$ {*рагъын, рагъас*} (1), Luchek Rutul $CLASS=raB^{\zeta}$ (1), Koshan Aghul $u\chi-a-$ (3), Keren Aghul $u\chi-a-$ (3), Gequn Aghul $u\chi-a-$ (3), Fite Aghul $u\chi-a-$ (3), Aghul (proper) $u\chi-a-$ (3), Northern Tabasaran uG^{-1} (1), Southern Tabasaran $u\chi^{-1}$ (3), Gyune Lezgi $q^w a-$ (4), Proto-Lezgian $*HVq:Vr-$ (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 215; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276; Mobili 2010: 283.

In [Mobili 2010: 151-152] *чур*, *чур-сун* are also translated into Russian as 'to drink', 'to drink water', but their Azerbaijani glosses rather mean something like 'to suck up (water) slurping'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 215; Fähnrich 1999: 33; Dirr 1903: 7, 39, 46, 50, 58; Schiefner 1863: 79; Schulze 2001: 330; Starchevskiy 1891: 487.

Common Udi: Common Udi $*uB^{\zeta}esun$.

Caucasian Albanian: $u^{\zeta}B-$ [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-40].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 207, 373; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276; Mikailov 1967: 204; Dirr 1908: 192, 217. Complex verb, formed with the suppletive light verb $-bo-$ 'to say'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276. Synchronically, the paradigm is suppletive: $q=i$ $\sigma-$ [imperf.] / $q:ir-$ [perf.] / $s=\ddot{a}$ $\acute{c}ir-$ [imv.]. Initial $s=$ is a prefix with general semantics, initial $q=$ is the prefix 'down' [Saadiev 1994: 424]. The imperfective stem is analyzed as reduplicated in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 45], which is unnecessary if we assume the prefix $q=$.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 417.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 127, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276. Initial $s=$ is a prefix with general semantics [Alekseev 1994: 271 f.].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 178; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276. Imperf. class 4 il^y-ov-a , fut. class 4 $il^y-ov-as$, perf. class 4 $il^y-o-d-B-i$.

It must be noted that in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 878, 897] this root is quoted with a labialized uvular as il^y-ov^w , cf. imperf. class 4 il^y-ov^w-a , fut. class 4 il^y-ov^w-as (also perf. class 4 $il^y-o-d-B^w-u$). This labialization contradicts data from other sources and looks strange from the synchronic viewpoint: according to Tsakhur morphophonology, C^w normally dissimilates into C after labial o , u , b , p , w , cf., e.g., Mishlesh imperf. 2 $h\ddot{e}-\acute{c}^wan \leftarrow \{h-o-y-y-\acute{c}^wan\}$, but 3 $h\ddot{o}\acute{c}an < *h\ddot{o}\acute{c}^wan \leftarrow \{h-o-w-y-\acute{c}^wan\}$, 1/4 $hoy\acute{c}an < *hoy\acute{c}^wan \leftarrow \{h-o-y-\acute{c}^wan\}$ 'to press' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 72, also 70], see the same statement for Mikik in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41 fn. 116]. It might be suggested that Kibrik et al.'s transcription $il^yov^w a-$ reflects some sporadic and irregular progressive assimilation, e.g. $-ov a- > -ov^w a-$?

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Dirr 1913: 207, 233. Note thematic $-i-$ in perf.: class 4 $ul^y-o-d-B-i$.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276.

Common Tsakhur: Initial $il^y=$ ~ $ul^y=$ is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 123; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 166, 197; Ibragimov 1978: 32, 35, 89, 234; Makhmudova 2001: 94, 206; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276. Paradigm: $CLASS=raB-a-r-$ [imperf.] / $CLASS=raB-i-r$ [perf.]. In [Ibragimov 1978: 121], an additional pharyngealized variant $CLASS=raB^{\zeta}$ is quoted: an error or an archaism.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 212, 372, 439. Paradigm: $CLASS=raB-\ddot{a}-r-$ [imperf.] / $CLASS=raB-i-r$ [perf.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 276], erroneously quoted as $CLASS=raB-i-r$ {*рагъын*}.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157. Paradigm: $CLASS=raB^{\zeta}-a-r-$ [imperf.] / $CLASS=raB^{\zeta}-i-r$ [perf.].

Common Rutul: Note the archaic pharyngealized form $CLASS=raB^{\zeta}$ 'to drink' in other dialects: Shinaz [Ibragimov 1978: 158], Borch-Khnov [Ibragimov 1978: 234].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157; Suleymanov 2003: 163; Shaumyan 1941: 145.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 147, 180; Shaumyan 1941: 145.

Fite Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 145.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 163; Shaumyan 1941: 145

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug, Kurag $u\chi$ -a- 'to drink' [Shaumyan 1941: 145; Magometov 1970: 151].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157. Distinct from the more specific Dyubek verb $q^=u\chi$ - 'to sip' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157] (initial $q^=$ is a desemantized spatial prefix [Magometov 1965: 218, 222]).

The same basic verb in the Khanag subdialect: wuq :-' 'to drink' [Uslar 1979: 627, 1001]. It should be noted that in [Dirr 1905: 212, 237], this verb is transcribed as $wu\kappa$ - or $u\kappa$ - {УК-} 'to drink' - the form either actually represents some specific Southern Tabasaran subdialect or the beginning of the phonetic process $q^ > \kappa$ in Khanag during the 2nd half of the 19th century between Uslar's and Dirr' records.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: wuq :-' {вубкьуб} 'to drink' [Genko 2005: 33].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 157. Regular paradigm.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: $u\chi$:-' [imperf., perf., inf.] / $i\chi$ [imv.] {yxьб} 'to drink' [Genko 2005: 157].

In some subdialects another root is attested: Chara 'uq- {yxьб}, Sirtych $\dot{u}q$:-' {юхьб} 'to drink' [Genko 2005: 157, 198]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: uq :-' {убхьб} 'to drink' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 291].

Common Tabasaran: Three phonetically similar, but nevertheless distinguishable roots for 'to drink' are attested in the Tabasaran dialect cluster: $u\chi$ -, u ϵ ~ wuq :-, uq :-.

The latter one, uq :- 'to drink', is clearly an innovation in some Southern subdialects (Chara, Sirtych, also Literary Tabasaran); the external Lezgian etymology points out that its primary meaning was 'to suck' [NCED: 222], and this semantics is still retained in such prefixed Tabasaran verbs as Khyuryuk, Khiv $k^=uq$ - {ккүбхьуб, ккүхьуб} 'to suck' [Genko 2005: 96, 97]. It should be noted, however, that this proto-root also acquired the generic meaning 'to drink' in the Lezgi language.

The choice between u ϵ ~ wuq :-' (Northern 'to drink', lost in Southern) and $u\chi$ - (Northern 'to sip', Southern 'to drink') is not so easy. The former verb originates from the best candidate for the status of the Proto-Lezgian root for 'to drink' ($*HVq:Vr$ -), but the latter one, $u\chi$:-, corresponds to the basic Aghul verb $u\chi$ -a- 'to drink'. In all likelihood, the Northern verb u ϵ ~ wuq :-' represents an archaism, whereas local Southern $u\chi$ - is a recent innovation (perhaps of areal origin, cf. the Aghul term).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 481, 623. Paradigm: $q^=a$ - [imperf., perf.] / qu -n [masdar] / qu -q [redupl. imv.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: $q^=a$ - {хьун} 'to drink' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 354; Gadzhiev 1950: 539; Haspelmath 1993: 504, 518; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 358].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 616. Distribution: $*HVq:Vr$ - can safely be postulated as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'to drink'. It is retained in its original meaning in Caucasian Albanian and Udi, on the one hand, and in Nuclear Lezgian, on the other: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Proto-Tabasaran (Northern dialect). In Archi, this root has survived in the substantive 'a gulp'.

Three other roots, attested with the generic meaning 'to drink' in Lezgian lects, are clear innovations from the distributive point of view.

In Archi, 'to drink' is expressed with $*?VcV$ (~ -c:-). This root seems isolated within Lezgian, but external North Caucasian comparison seems to point to the original meaning 'to gulp' (*vel sim.*) [NCED: 1017].

The root $*?o\chi^=a$ has acquired the basic meaning 'to drink' in Aghul and some Southern Tabasaran subdialects (an areal isogloss); its original Proto-Lezgian meaning is likely to have been 'to gulp' (further to North Caucasian 'to suck') [NCED: 1027].

Similarly, $*?oq^=a$ - has become the basic root for 'to drink' in Lezgi and some Southern Tabasaran subdialects (an areal isogloss); its original Proto-Lezgian meaning was 'to suck' [NCED: 222].

Replacements: {'to gulp' > 'to drink'} (Archi, Aghul, Southern Tabasaran), {'to suck' > 'to drink'} (Lezgi, Southern Tabasaran), {'to drink' > 'a gulp'} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for vocalic fluctuations.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

Nidzh Udi *q:ari* {κῶρι} (1), Vartashen Udi *q:ari* {κῶρι} (1), Archi *q'ur'e-t:u-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *säŕ-y* (2), Alyk Kryts *saŕa* (2), Budukh *saŕa* {caŕa} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:uru-n* {κῶρυν} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *q:uru-n* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *q:uru-n^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *q:uru-d* {κῶρυδ} (1), Ixrek Rutul *q:uru-di* {κῶρυδι} (1), Luchek Rutul *q:uru-d* (1), Koshan Aghul *urq:a-r* (1), Keren Aghul *ruq:u-f* (1), Gequn Aghul *ruq:u-f* (1), Fite Aghul *ruq:u-t* (1), Aghul (proper) *ruq:u-f* (1), Northern Tabasaran *yiz'i* (3), Southern Tabasaran *βε=y'ec:u* (3), Gyune Lezgi *q'ur'a-y* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ŕiq:ʷar-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 154; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684; Mobili 2010: 185.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 154; Fähnrich 1999: 28; Dirr 1903: 2, 100; Schiefner 1863: 80; Schulze 2001: 312; Starchevskiy 1891: 495.

Common Udi: Common Udi **q:ari*.

Caucasian Albanian: Attributive term is unattested. The old Lezgian root is known from the compound verb *q'ari-biy-esun* 'to (let) wither' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-31] with the verb *biy-esun* 'to do, make' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-8].

Archi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684; Dirr 1908: 178, 223. Regular participle from the verb 'to become dry, to dry out'. As described in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 73; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 242; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 305; Chumakina et al. 2007], this verb has two etymologically related stems: *=q'ur'a-* [inf., perf.] / *=q'ar-* [imperf.]. Prefixed forms of Class IV, as well as the partially reduplicated imperative *=q'ur'a-q'a*, prove that the initial uvular of the root is phonologically tense (*q':-*).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684. Apparently a participle from an unattested stative verb. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], the paronymous adjective *säŕä* is also quoted as a synonym. It must be noted that the correspondence Kryts (proper) *ŕ* / Alyk Kryts *ʔ* looks suspicious; this could be a borrowing from an unknown source.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 73, 191, 287, 295, 330, 333. See notes on Kryts proper.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 125, 244; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684. Apparently a basic term, cf. Meylanova's examples: "dry bread", "dry leaves".

Distinct from *qurah* {κῶραγ} 'dry (unknown application); dry (of weather)' [Meylanova 1984: 91].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 876, 900; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 221; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *aru-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Dirr 1913: 198, 239.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684], quoted as *q:uri-n^y* (an error?).

Common Tsakhur: Inherited forms, whose vocalism was influenced on the part of the Azerbaijani word *guru* 'dry'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 166, 201; Makhmudova 2001: 73; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684. Cf. the examples: "dry firewood" [Dirr 1912: 166], "dry meat" [Makhmudova 2001: 73].

A second candidate is *s=uqu-d* or *s=uq'u-d* 'dry', quoted in [Dirr 1912: 172, 201] with the example "dry firewood" (note that Dirr's notation rather speaks in favour of *s=uq'u-d* with ejective *-q'*). This is the participle from the verb 'to get dry', which is quoted in [Makhmudova 2001: 245] as *s=u ε* {сухъас} with *-ε* (sic!). Its counterpart in the Borch-Khnov dialect sounds as *su=q=uq-* {сухъухъури} 'to get dry' [Ibragimov 1978: 268, 272], with *-q-* in the root. The exact phonetics, as well as the etymology of this Rutul verb is unclear.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 159, 400; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 684.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242.

Common Rutul: Inherited forms, whose vocalism was influenced by the Azerbaijani word *guru* 'dry'. Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. In [Suleymanov 2003: 144], the morphological variant *urq:ri-r* 'dry' is quoted.

For the Khudig subdialect, the unclear form *arka-d* 'dry' is quoted in [Shaumyan 1941: 160]; apparently a corrupt

spelling.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ruq:u-f* 'dry' [Shaumyan 1941: 160].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242; Dirr 1907: 140.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 144; Shaumyan 1941: 160.

Distinct from Трiг *q:urah* {къурагъ} 'drought; arid' [Suleymanov 2003: 118], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gurag* 'drought; arid'.

Common Aghul: Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Derived from the verb 'to dry (intrans.)', which is attested in the following forms: Koshan dialect: *urq:a-* [Shaumyan 1941: 160; Magometov 1970: 57]; Keren dialect: Usug *ruq:a-* [Shaumyan 1941: 160]; Gequn dialect *ruq:w:a-* [Dirr 1907: 140] ~ *ruq:a-* [Shaumyan 1941: 160]; proper Aghul dialect: Трiг *ruq:a-* [Magometov 1970: 57, 197 strophe II; Shaumyan 1941: 160], Tsrkhe *urq:a-* [Magometov 1970: 215 sentence 18] ~ *ruq:a-* [Shaumyan 1941: 160]. Note Dirr's *q:w* and the lost of labialization of *q:w* in the modern verbal forms (a recent areal process of dissimilative delabialization $uC^w > uC$ [Magometov 1970: 26]).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. Actually *yi-w-3'i* with the fossilized class exponent *-w-*.

The same root in the Kumi subdialect: *q:=i-r-ci* {къирцици} 'dry' [Genko 2005: 101] (with the class infix *-r-* and the verbal perfective exponent *q:=*).

Differently in other subdialects: Khanag *q:ur'i* 'dry' [Dirr 1905: 189, 244] (not found in [Uslar 1979]), Khyuryuk *q:ur'i* {къури} 'dry' [Genko 2005: 102].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242. Actually *we=y'e-CLASS-c:u*; initial *we=* is the verbal perfective exponent.

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *we=y'e-r-c:u* {гъерциу} ~ *we=e-r-c:u* {гъерциу} 'dry', found in such examples as "withered flowers" [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 155a], "dry leaves rustled in the breeze" [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 349a] (with the fossilized class infix *-r-*). Distinct from Literary Tabasaran *q:ur'ah* {къурагъ} 'dry (of climate)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 207], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gurag* 'drought; arid'.

Three words for 'dry' are quoted for the Khiv subdialect, with no known difference: *q:ur'u* {къуру} 'dry' [Genko 2005: 102], *kur'u* {гъуру} 'dry' [Genko 2005: 45] and *we=e-r-c:u* {гъерциу} 'dry' [Genko 2005: 42] (with the fossilized class infix *-r-*). The Khiv opposition *q:ur'u* / *kur'u* is very suspicious (Genko's error?); it should be noted that the etymologically correct variant is *q:ur'u*.

Common Tabasaran: The adjective *q:ur'i*, retained in some subdialects (both Northern and Southern), represents an archaism and must be posited as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'dry'. The etymologically primary verb 'to get dry' is attested as Southern Tabasaran *uq:-*: Khiv *u-r-q:-* {уркъуб} 'to get dry (of soil, hide, spring)' [Genko 2005: 155] (with the fossilized class infix *-r-*), Literary Tabasaran *uq:-* {убкъуб} 'to get dry (of bread, clay)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 291].

In many subdialects (including Dyubek and Kondik), however, 'dry (adj.)' is expressed as a synchronic perfective participle from the verb 'to dry (trans., intrans.)', modified with the class infixes and normally with the perfective prefix *q:=* / *we=* (for which see [Magometov 1965: 222]). Cf. Northern: Khanag *ec:-* 'to dry (trans., intrans.)' [Dirr 1905: 168] (not found in [Uslar 1979]), Khyuryuk *ic:-* {ибциуь} 'to dry (intrans.)' [Genko 2005: 73]; Southern: Khiv *ec:-* {эрициуь} 'to dry (trans., intrans.)' [Genko 2005: 196], Literary Tabasaran *yec:-* {ебциуь} 'to dry (trans., intrans.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 155].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 532, 634. Participle from the verb *q'ur'a-* 'to dry (intrans.)' [Uslar 1896: 532].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *q'ur'a-y* {къурай} 'dry' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 208; Gadzhiev 1950: 831; Haspelmath 1993: 504, 518], participle from the verb *q'ur'a-* {къурун} 'to dry (intrans.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 208]. A second literary term for 'dry' is the paronymous *q'ur'u* {къуру} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 208; Gadzhiev 1950: 831; Haspelmath 1993: 504] - an inherited form, whose vocalism may have been influenced by the Azerbaijani word *guru* 'dry'. The difference between *q'ur'a-y* and *q'ur'u* is unclear. Distinct from literary *q'ur'ah* {къурагъ} 'dry (of climate)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 208; Haspelmath 1993: 504], ultimately borrowed from Azerbaijani *gurag* 'drought; arid', but influenced by the inherited *q'ura-*. For morphology cf. also the literary substantive *q'ur* {къур} 'dryness' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 208].

Morphologically different in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q:ur-q:ur* 'dry' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242]; this is a reduplicated formation from the same Lezgi root.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 631. Distribution: The primary verbal root **?iq:w-ar-* 'to get dry' is attested in Archi, on the one hand, and in East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), on the other. Its adjective derivatives of a participial nature with the meaning

'dry' have survived in all attested Lezgian lects, except for South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and some Tabasaran subdialects. In a number of Lezgian languages, inherited adjectival forms were phonetically influenced by the Azerbaijani word *guru* 'dry', but there are no reasons to consider these to be loanwords, since **ʔiqːˀar-* is deeply rooted in Lezgian and possesses reliable North Caucasian *comparanda* [NCED: 631].

In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), 'dry' is a participle from the etymologically obscure verbal root **saʔV-* or **aʔV-*, unattested elsewhere [LEDb: #251].

In many Tabasaran subdialects, the original participle has been superseded with the participle from another verb for 'to dry (intrans.)': *ec-*, see notes on Common Tabasaran.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular up to Azerbaijani influenced forms.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root 'to be dry, get dry'.

21. EAR

Nidzh Udi *um-uχ^ʃ* {*ʏbmybχ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *im-uχ* (1), Archi *oy* (1), Kryts (proper) *ibir* (1), Alyk Kryts *ibur* (1), Budukh *ibir* {*uɔup*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *k'iri* {*κIbirɔi*} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *k'iri* (2), Gel mets Tsakhur *k'iri* (2), Mukhad Rutul *ubur* {*ʏɔyp*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *ubur* {*ʏɔyp*} (1), Luchek Rutul *ubur* (1), Koshan Aghul *iwir* (1), Keren Aghul *yabur* (1), Gequn Aghul *iwur* (1), Fite Aghul *ibur* (1), Aghul (proper) *ibur* (1), Northern Tabasaran *iw* (1), Southern Tabasaran *ib* (1), Gyune Lezgi *yab* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔam:* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 259; Dabakov 2008: 360; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193; Mobili 2010: 284; Dzheiranishvili 1971: 204.

Vartashen Udi: Dzheiranishvili 1971: 204, 247; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Dirr 1903: 22, 27, 32; Schiefner 1863: 18, 78; Schulze 2001: 285; Starchevskiy 1891: 508.

Common Udi: Common Udi **i^ʃm-uχ* with the occasional assimilative labialization *i > u* in Nidzh *um-uχ^ʃ* (*-uχ* is a fossilized plural exponent). The irregular loss of pharyngealization in Vartashen *im-uχ* is to be explained by the influence of the verb *i-bak-sun* 'to hear' q.v. and the noun *i* 'hearing, ability to hear' (if it actually exists; see notes on 'to hear'; in [Schulze 2001: 283] Udi *i* is incorrectly interpreted as 'ear (anatomic)').

Caucasian Albanian: *ʃim* 'ear; hearing' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22]. Attested both in sg. (*ʃim*) and pl. (*ʃim-uq*). Incorrectly analyzed as *ʃi-* in [Gippert et al. 2008]. In fact, however, the verb *ʃi-biq^ʃ-esun* 'to listen' (see notes on 'to hear') indeed contains the root *ʃi*, which is apparently the result of reanalysis of *ʃim-uq* 'ears' as *ʃi-m-uq* with the plural exponent *-m-uq* (for this double suffix in Caucasian Albanian see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-22]).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 287, 386; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193; Mikailov 1967: 195; Dirr 1908: 171, 225. Paradigm: *oy* [sg.] / *oy^ʃ-om* [pl.].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193, 194] the Kryts words for 'ear' (*ibir*) and 'earlobe' (*sibel*) are erroneously interchanged. Historically *ib-ir* with a fossilized plural suffix.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 39, 354. Historically *ib-ur* with a fossilized plural suffix.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 63, 248; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193. Historically *ib-ir* with a fossilized plural suffix.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 881, 901; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 205; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *k'iri* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Dirr 1913: 178, 241.

Gel mets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193.

Common Tsakhur: Etymologically isolated word. May be a borrowing, but the source is unidentified.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 174; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 253, 409; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 193.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

Common Rutul: Historically *ub-ur*, with a fossilized plural suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Magometov 1970: 36. The same in the Usug subdialect: *yebur* 'ear' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Dirr 1907: 120, 187; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 142. The same in other subdialects: Kurag, Duldug *iwur* 'ear' [Magometov 1970: 36; Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Common Aghul: Historically *iw-ir*, *ib-ur* with fossilized plural exponents.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *ew* 'ear' [Uslar 1979: 677, 1009; Dirr 1905: 166, 245]. The same in the Kumi subdialect: *iw* {иѵ} 'ear' [Genko 2005: 73].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12.

The same in other subdialects: Khiv *eb* {эб}, Chara *ib* {иб} 'ear' [Genko 2005: 73, 193]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ib* {иб} 'ear' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 172].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 443, 637. Paradigm: *yab* [abs.] / *yap:-u-* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *yab* [abs.] / *yap:-u-* [obl.] {яб} 'ear' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 399; Gadzhiev 1950: 897; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 518].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *eb* [abs.] / *ep:-eni-* [obl.] 'ear' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 12].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 239. Distribution: **ʔam:* is retained as the basic root for 'ear' in all Lezgian lects, except for Tsakhur, where the etymologically obscure word *k'iri* 'ear' [LEDb: #202] is observed.

In many languages, synchronic forms are modified with fossilized plural suffixes.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

22. EARTH

Nidzh Udi *oč'al* {оч'ал} (1), Vartashen Udi *k:ul* {κIул} (2), Archi *naq^w* (3), Kryts (proper) *nöq'* (3), Alyk Kryts *neuq'* (3), Budukh *noq'* {нокъ} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *č'iye* {чIийе} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *n^yaq^w* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *n^yaq^w* (3), Mukhad Rutul *naq^w* {накъѵ} (3), Ixrek Rutul *neq^w* {некъѵ} (3), Luchek Rutul *naq^w* (3), Koshan Aghul *rug* (5), Keren Aghul *neq^w* (3), Gequn Aghul *rug* (5), Fite Aghul *rug* (5), Aghul (proper) *rug* (5), Northern Tabasaran *r'ug-u* (5), Southern Tabasaran *rug* (5), Gyune Lezgi *rug* (5), Proto-Lezgian **näq^w* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Ganenkov et al. 2008: 240 (8), 254 (34, 41); Gukasyan 1974: 185; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29; Mobili 2010: 223. It should be noted that in [Gukasyan 1974; Comrie & Khalilov 2010; Mobili 2010] this word is quoted as *oč'al* {о́чал} - apparently Gukasyan's error was repeated (as in some other cases) by posterior authors. According to T. Maisak's and Dm. Ganenkov's field records, non-tense *oč'al* is phonologically clearly opposed to the word *oč'i* {о́чи} 'dirt, mud' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201]; similarly, the variant *oč'al* {оч'ал} is also normally used in the modern literary orthography (cf., e.g., G. Keçaari's volume *Нана аъал* = "Native land").

Distinct from *k:ul* {κIул} 'earth' [Gukasyan 1974: 146; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29; Mobili

2010: 178].

All sources quote *kul* and *oč'al* as synonyms for 'earth, soil', except for [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. The latter dictionary gives only *kul* as the translation for 'earth, soil' (with polysemy: 'earth, soil / territory, plot'). On the contrary, text evidence from [Ganenkov et al. 2008: 240 (8), 254 (34, 41)] confirms *oč'al* as the most generic and common word for 'earth, soil', as well as 'land': "There is a place named so-and-so ... which existed on the Nidzh land (*oč'al*) as early as 2400-2500 years ago", "The soil (*oč'al*) cleans it (just prepared *vodka*) of its odours ... We take it (a buried jug with *vodka*) out from the ground (*oč'al*)".

According to Dm. Ganenkov's p.c., in Nidzh *kul* indeed means 'soil', but this word is very rare in the collected corpus. The default expression for all the meanings is currently *oč'al*.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 146; Fähnrich 1999: 21; Dirr 1903: 28; Schiefner 1863: 83; Schulze 2001: 293; Starchevskiy 1891: 499. Cf. some examples for the meaning 'soil', like "they threw/scattered the earth", "order to deliver some soil from his fatherland!", "the elder sisters covered their urine with earth in order not to let it foam" [Dirr 1903: 28, 46, 89], "a handful of earth" [Schiefner 1863: 54]. In [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] *kul* normally means 'land' or 'soil', e.g., Mt. 13.5 "Others fell on rocky ground, where they didn't have much soil (*kul*), and immediately they sprang up, because they had no depth of earth (*oč'al*)".

Distinct from the term *oč'al* {oč'al} 'earth' [Gukasyan 1974: 185; Fähnrich 1999: 25; Dirr 1903: 19, 26; Schiefner 1863: 78; Schulze 2001: 303; Starchevskiy 1891: 499]. In [Gukasyan 1974: 185] this is quoted as *oč'al* {oč'al} (apparently an error, see notes on Nidzh Udi); in [Fähnrich 1999: 25] the word is quoted as simply *oč'al* - apparently for *oč'al*; also quoted as *oč'al* in [Schulze 2001], despite the fact that Bežanov's {č} may cover č, č' and č'; graphical {c} in [Schiefner 1863], {ч} in [Dirr 1903] and {ц} in [Starchevskiy 1891] can hardly clarify the phonetical nature of the sibilant. It should be noted that normally this term is graphically opposed to *oč'i* 'dirt, mud' (e.g., [Fähnrich 1999: 25; Dirr 1903: 18; Schiefner 1863: 78]).

Vartashen *oč'al* means 'earth, ground', not 'soil', cf. some contexts: "to the ground", "he saw, as a mouse got out of the ground", "the earth quakes" (= 'earthquake') [Dirr 1903: 19, 64], "the silver ingot melted and spilt on the ground" [Schiefner 1863: 68]. In [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] {oč'al} normally means 'earth' as opposed to 'heaven' ("I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth", etc.) or 'ground' (cf. above Mt. 13.5, where two terms are opposed).

Common Udi: Common Udi **kul* 'earth, soil' (as opposed to **oč'al* 'earth, ground, land'). In Modern Nidzh *kul* is currently being superseded by *oč'al* 'earth, ground, land' under the influence of the polysemy in Azerbaijani and Russian. Udi *kul*, however, lacks any etymology; in [Schulze 2001: 293] *kul* is treated as a borrowing from Azerbaijani *kül* 'ashes', but it is not very likely due to semantic difference.

It is proposed in [Schulze 2001: 303] that *oč'al* 'earth, ground, land' can be derived from *oč'i* 'dirt, mud', which seems unsuccessful both phonetically (č vs. č') and semantically (derivation 'mud' > 'soil' is typologically normal, whereas 'mud' > 'land, ground' is odd). The relationship between Udi *oč'al* 'ground, land' and Caucasian Albanian *aš'al* 'world, land, ground' is uncertain, see below. The external Lezgian etymology of Udi *oč'al* is also not entirely clear (cf. Lezgian *č'il 'earth, floor').

Caucasian Albanian: The only candidate is *aš'al* 'earth (as opposed to heaven); world; land, country; ground ("he was thrown down on the ground")' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-7], although *aš'al* is unattested in the specific meaning 'soil'. As proposed in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-10, IV-7], *aš'al* can be cognate with Udi *oč'al* 'earth, land, ground' (the Udi word is erroneously quoted as *oš'al* in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-10]). Despite the semantic exactness of the comparison, this remains phonetically problematic: see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-76] for a couple of instances of the correspondence CA *a* ~ Udi *o*, but the correspondence CA *š'* ~ Udi *č'* seems unique and irregular.

Distinct from *ayz* 'earth, world' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-4] (corresponds to Udi *ayiz* ~ *aiz* 'village' [Gukasyan 1974: 37]) and various terms for 'clay': *elux* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-14], *hol* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-27].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 284, 360; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29; Mikailov 1967: 194; Dirr 1908: 169, 209. All sources specified as 'soil', except [Chumakina et al. 2007], where the polysemy: 'soil / land' is noted (the latter is probably a recent introduction under the influence of neighbouring languages like Azerbaijani or Russian). Paradigm: *naq^w* [abs.] / *n'eq^w-i* [erg.].

Distinct from the adverbs *q'a-tu* 'on the ground', *q'a-tu-k* 'to the ground' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 302] (from **q'a-* 'down' [NCED: 616] with the adjective suffix *-tu*) and *dun'il* with polysemy 'sky / world / life' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 224] (the latter was borrowed from Avar *dun'iyal* 'world / life / weather', ultimately from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world').

- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29. According to [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], the word *takna* {такна} is synonymous.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 34, 56, 212, 230, etc. This word means 'earth, soil', distinct from *q'um* 'ground; earth (as opposed to heaven)' [Authier 2009: 38, 181, 206, etc.].
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 115, 214; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29.
A second term for 'earth, soil' is *q'um* {к'ум} [Meylanova 1984: 96]. Semantic or pragmatic details are unknown.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 403. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / ground'. Cf. examples: "The boy digs the earth" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 574], "This girl used to sit down on the ground and stain her clothes" [Kibrik et al. 1999: 781].
A second candidate is the more marginal term *torpaχ* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 888, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 342], which means both 'earth, plot' (cf. Ibragimov & Nurmamedov's example "ground landlord") and 'earth, soil' (cf. *torpaχ-šunas* 'soil scientist, pedologist' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 342]). Borrowed from Azerbaijani *torpag* 'earth (soil, plot, land, ground)'.
Distinct from *žil'* {джил'} 'earth floor' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 890; [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 160].
Distinct from *d'ünnye* 'earth, world' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 872, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 158], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dünya* 'earth, world' (ultimately from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world').
The old term *n'yaq'* [abs.] / *n'yuq'*- [obl.] is retained in the meaning 'grave, tomb' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 883]; in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 277] this is quoted with polysemy: 'clay, earth / grave, tomb'.
In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29], Literary Tsakhur and Gelmets Tsakhur forms for 'earth' are interchanged: *naq'* (an error for *n'yaq'*) is quoted for the literary language, *č'iye* - for Gelmets.
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *n'yaq'* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199]. Polysemy: 'earth / grave, tomb'.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Dirr 1913: 189, 226. Paradigm: *n'yaq'* [abs.] / *n'yuq'*- [obl.]. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / grave, tomb'.
A second candidate is *č'iye* [Dirr 1913: 215, 226], but this rather means 'earth, ground', cf. an example: "Underground there is a jug with oil (= badger)" (a riddle) [Dirr 1913: 119].
Distinct from *žil-a* 'floor' (i.e. 'earth floor?') [Dirr 1913: 158].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199. Polysemy: 'earth / grave, tomb'.
- Common Tsakhur:** The Proto-Tsakhur term was no doubt *n'yaq'*, already with polysemy: 'earth, soil / grave, tomb'; in Early Proto-Tsakhur the meaning was simply 'earth, soil'; in modern Mishlesh this has been narrowed down to 'grave', having been superseded by Proto-Tsakhur *č'iye* 'earth, ground' > 'earth, ground; earth, soil' (under the influence of generic terms for 'earth' in Azerbaijani, Russian and Avar?). This scenario follows from the fact that the shift 'soil' > 'grave' is logical and typologically normal, whereas *vice versa* can hardly be imagined. The noun *žil* denoted 'earth floor' in Proto-Tsakhur.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 162, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29. According to Dirr, with polysemy: 'earth, soil / ground / land', cf. the examples: "There is black soil under the river" [Dirr 1912: 32], "Underground there is a silver lash, what is it? (= snake)" (a riddle) [Dirr 1912: 108], "Rutul land" [Dirr 1912: 161]. According to [Ibragimov 1978], with polysemy: 'earth / clay'.
In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29], a second term for 'earth' is quoted: *č'ir* {ч'ир}, which actually means 'grass-covered place' [Dirr 1912: 181] (cf. its Ixrek Rutul counterpart *č'ir* 'pasture, common' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 297]).
Distinct from *žil* 'earth floor' [Ibragimov 1978: 117].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 200, 342; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 29. Specified as 'earth, soil' in [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006]. In [Ibragimov 1978: 195], quoted as *n'yaq'* {н'акъв} 'earth; clay'.
Distinct from *žil* {джил} 'earth floor' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 108].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Suleymanov 2003: 144. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / dust'. The same in the Khudig subdialect: *rug* 'earth, soil / dust' [Shaumyan 1941: 160] (apparently erroneously quoted as *ruq*: by Shaumyan).
Distinct from the more specific Burshag term *neq'* with polysemy: 'black soil / grave, tomb' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 190, 199] (the two meanings are formally discriminated in the ergative form).
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / grave, tomb' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191]. The same in the Usug subdialect: *näq'* 'earth, soil' [Shaumyan 1941: 160].
Distinct from Richa *rug* 'dust' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 200].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Dirr 1907: 140, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 160. Polysemy 'earth, soil / dust'. The old term is retained as *neq^w* 'grave, tomb' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191].

Distinct from *žil* 'earth, ground; floor' [Dirr 1907: 115].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Shaumyan 1941: 160. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / dust'. The old term is retained as *niq^w* 'grave, tomb' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 144; Shaumyan 1941: 160; Magometov 1970: 198 sentence 22. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / dust'. The same in other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *rug* 'earth, soil; dust' [Shaumyan 1941: 160]. The old term is retained as *Tpig neq^w* 'grave, tomb' [Suleymanov 2003: 137].

A second candidate is *Tpig žil*, but the gloss 'earth, soil' in [Suleymanov 2003: 81] seems an inaccuracy; one would expect the meaning 'ground'.

Distinct from *Tpig q'uramat* 'land (opposed to water)' [Suleymanov 2003: 123].

Common Aghul: The Proto-Aghul term for 'earth, soil' was *neq^w*, probably already with polysemy: 'earth, soil / grave, tomb'. Currently *neq^w* in its first meaning tends to be superseded by the word *rug*, which is originally the Common Aghul term for 'dust' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 200] (an areal process influenced on the part of Tabasaran *rug* 'soil' q.v.).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199. 'Dust' is expressed as *biš'i r'ugu*, literally 'soft soil' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 200]. Distinct from *Dyubek yiš^w* 'place' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 218].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *rug* 'earth, soil' [Uslar 1979: 898, 994; Dirr 1905: 203, 229] (specified as 'soil' by both authors). Distinct from Khanag *yiš^w* 'place; land, region' [Uslar 1979: 755; Dirr 1905: 180].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *rug* {pyr} 'earth' [Genko 2005: 133], distinct from *yiš^w* {йишв} 'place; land, region' [Genko 2005: 81].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199. 'Dust' is expressed as *buš'u rug*, literally 'soft soil' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 200]. Distinct from *Kondik yiš^w* 'place' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 218].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *rug* ~ *rug^w* {pyr(в)} 'earth, soil' [Genko 2005: 133] (specified by Genko as 'soil'; the variant with *g^w* is etymologically unclear). Distinct from Khiv *žil* {жжил} 'ground; floor; field' [Genko 2005: 68] and from Khiv *yiš^w* {йишв} 'place; land, region' [Genko 2005: 81].

Two Literary Tabasaran terms for 'soil' are known: *rug* {pyr} with polysemy: 'soil / dust, litter' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 262] and *žil* {жил} with polysemy: 'soil / ground / land / Earth' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 162]. Distinct from Literary Tabasaran *yiš^w* {йишв} 'place' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 186].

Common Tabasaran: The word *rug* can safely be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'soil', opposed to *žil* 'ground' and *yiš^w* 'place'. In Literary Tabasaran, *žil* has undergone secondary broadening into the meaning 'soil' under the influence of similar polysemy in Azerbaijani and Russian.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 541, 613. Paradigm: *rug* [abs.] / *ruk^w-'adi-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'earth, soil / dust'. Examples: "I threw some soil on the grain", "The earth of this village is good (= fertile)" [Uslar 1896: 541], "The mouse throws soil down from the ceiling" [Uslar 1896: 326], "Human eyes are filled with contentment or with earth (a person must be satisfied or dead)" [Uslar 1896: 349], "You have put a lot of earth over this roof" [Uslar 1896: 353].

Distinct from Gyune *č'il* [Uslar 1896: 594, 613], which means 'earth, ground, earth floor' rather than specific 'soil', according to Uslar's examples: "The earth trembled (= earthquake)", "The earth is covered with grass", "He has the earth as his mattress, the sky for cover" [Uslar 1896: 594], "I have smoothed the earth" [Uslar 1896: 411], but also "The earth of this village is fertile" [Uslar 1896: 594].

The expected Gyune word ***naq^w* is not documented by Uslar.

Differently in Literary Lezgi: *naq^w* {накъв} 'earth, soil' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 250; Gadzhiev 1950: 245; Haspelmath 1993: 499, 518]. A second candidate is *č'il* {чил, ччил} with polysemy: 'ground / soil' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 370; Gadzhiev 1950: 245; Haspelmath 1993: 484, 518]. A third term is *rug* [abs.] / *ruk^w-'adi-* [obl.] {pyr} with polysemy: 'dust / soil / litter' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 280] (only as 'dust' in [Haspelmath 1993: 505]). The pragmatic or semantic difference between three words for 'soil' is unclear, although *naq^w* seems to be the most basic term in this meaning.

In the Akhty dialect: *Khlyut naq^w* 'earth, soil' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199]. Distinct from *Khlyut rug* [abs.] / *ruk^w-'adi-* [obl.] 'dust' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 200] and *č'il* 'earth floor' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 176].

The external comparison strongly suggests that *naq^w* was the Proto-Lezgi term for 'earth, soil'. The word *rug* originally meant 'dust', but has acquired the additional meaning 'soil' - an areal isogloss shared with Aghul and Tabasaran (q.v.). Lezgi *č'il* denoted 'ground', but currently tends to broaden into the meaning 'soil' under the influence of similar polysemy

in Azerbaijani and Russian.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 848. **Distribution:** This stem is retained with the specific meaning 'earth, soil' in Archi, on the one hand, and in almost all Nuclear Lezgian languages (except for Tabasaran, and some dialects of Tsakhur, Aghul and Lezgi), on the other.

In the Udi branch, however, **näq^w* has been lost, and 'earth, soil' is now expressed with the etymologically obscure form *kul*. Furthermore, in Nidzh Udi, the word *oč'al*, whose Proto-Udi meaning was 'earth, ground', has acquired the second meaning 'earth, soil'.

In Mishlesh Tsakhur, **näq^w* was superseded with **č'ura* (~ -o-) [NCED: 555], accompanied with the shift 'clearing, uncultivated land' > 'earth, ground' > 'earth, soil'.

In East Lezgian, **näq^w* tends to be superseded with **ruk*, whose original meaning was 'dust' [NCED: 603]. This is not a Proto-East Lezgian replacement, but a late areal isogloss (probably Tabasaran-induced): **ruk* became the default root for 'earth, soil' in Tabasaran, many Aghul dialects (Koshan, Gequn, Fite, proper Aghul) and some Lezgi dialects (Gyune).

Reconstruction of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'earth, ground' is less obvious.

The root **č'il* [NCED: 342] can be reconstructed with the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian meaning 'earth floor' (thus Tsakhur, Rutul, Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi). In East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), however, this word also denotes 'earth, ground', as opposed to various terms for 'soil'. External North Caucasian comparison suggests that **č'il* could theoretically be reconstructed as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'earth, ground'.

On the other hand, in Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi, the word for 'earth, ground' originates from Lezgian **yo(m)čV* (~ ?-) [NCED: 684]: Proto-Udi *oč'a-l* 'earth, ground', Caucasian Albanian *aš'a-l* 'earth, ground' (the correspondence Udi č' ~ CA š' is unique, but may represent different treatments of the Proto-Lezgian consonant cluster). In the rest of Lezgian, the root got lost. Lezgian **yo(m)čV* (~ ?-) possesses good external *comparanda* with the semantics of 'earth' [NCED: 684].

Thus, the easiest solution is to reconstruct **yo(m)čV* (~ ?-) with the Proto-Lezgian meaning 'earth, ground' and **č'il* with the Proto-Lezgian meaning 'earth floor'.

If so, **yo(m)čV* 'earth, ground' must have been lost in Archi (where there is only a new adverbial formation 'on the ground') and in Nuclear Lezgian. Various terms for 'earth, ground' are attested in Nuclear Lezgian: in Proto-Tsakhur, **č'ura* [NCED: 555] (with the semantic shift 'clearing, uncultivated land' > 'earth, ground'); in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), etymologically obscure *q'um*; in East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), **č'il* (with the shift 'earth floor' > 'earth, ground').

It should be noted that in some East Lezgian lects (Literary Tabasaran, Literary Lezgi), **č'il* has further shifted from 'earth, ground' > 'earth, soil'.

Some additional meaning shifts to be noted are: **näq^w* 'earth, soil' > 'land' in Archi; **näq^w* 'earth, soil' > 'grave, tomb' in Tsakhur and Aghul (Koshan, Gequn, Fite, proper Aghul); **näq^w* 'earth, soil' > 'earth, ground / land' in Rutul; **näq^w* 'earth, soil' > 'clay' in Ixrek Rutul.

In all the aforementioned cases, the bidirectional shifts between 'earth, soil' and 'earth, ground' can be explained as influenced by Azerbaijani or Russian polysemy.

Replacements: {'earth, ground' > 'earth, soil'} (Nidzh Udi, Literary Tabasaran, Literary Lezgi), {'clearing, uncultivated land' > 'earth, ground' > 'earth, soil'} (Mishlesh Tsakhur), {'dust' > 'earth, soil'} (Tabasaran, Aghul, Lezgi), {'earth, soil' > 'grave, tomb'} (Tsakhur and Aghul), {'earth, soil' > 'earth, ground / land'} (Rutul), {'earth, soil' > 'land'} (Archi), {'earth, soil' > 'clay'} (Ixrek Rutul), {'earth floor' > 'earth, ground'} (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **niq^wi-*.

23. EAT

Nidzh Udi *uk-sun* {уксун} (1) / *käy-* (1), Vartashen Udi *uk-sun* {уксун} (1) / *käy-* (1), Archi =*k^wan-* (1), Kryts (proper) *üfl-* (2), Alyk Kryts *ul-* (2), Budukh *s=ožul-* {совул-} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *oxan-* ~ *ox^wan-* {охъан-, әйхъван-} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *oxan-* (3), Gel mets Tsakhur *oxan-* {охъан-аз} (3), Mukhad Rutul *CLASS=?il-* {улаъс} (2) / *li?*- (2), Ixrek Rutul *il-*

{лигин} (2) / *li?*- (2), Luchek Rutul *CLASS=il-* (2) / *li?*- (2), Koshan Aghul *ʔut'-ala-* (2), Keren Aghul *ʔut'-a-* (2), Gequn Aghul *Hal-di* (2) / *ut'-una-* (2), Fite Aghul *Hut'-a-* (2), Aghul (proper) *ʔal-di* (2) / *ʔut'-una-* (2), Northern Tabasaran *'üd-* (2) / *'u^hp'-* (2), Southern Tabasaran *ip^h-* (2), Gyune Lezgi *ne-* (2) / *t'ü-* (2), Proto-Lezgian **ʔik^wVn-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271; Mobili 2010: 278. Perfective stem.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 212; Fähnrich 1999: 32; Dirr 1903: 5, 17, 42, 58, 60, 89; Schiefner 1863: 79; Schulze 2001: 328; Starchevskiy 1891: 489. Perfective stem.

Common Udi: According to [Maisak 2008a: 108 f.] and [Schulze 2001: 328], with a suppletive paradigm in both dialects: *uk-* (present-infinitive, imperative, future) / *kä(y)-* (past). The synchronic roots *uk-* and *kä(y)-* are etymologically related, see notes on 'to say'.

Caucasian Albanian: *uk-* (present-infinitive) / *kay-* (past) [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-35].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 259, 358; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271; Mikailov 1967: 185; Dirr 1908: 158, 227. Subj. = human. Ablaut paradigm: *=k^wan-* [imperf.] / *=kun-* [inf., perf.] / *=k^wen-* [imv.], see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 241; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Synchronically distinct from the suppletive verb 'to eat (subj. = animal)': *=k^wukin-* [imperf., imv.] / *=k^wun-* [inf., perf.], see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 72; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 242; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 259; Chumakina et al. 2007] (perfective *=k^wunni* probably < *kun-t^he*, for the nasal sandhi see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 304; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 69]). As correctly proposed in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 73 fn. 51] and [NCED: 207], all the stems of both verbs originate from the "Proto-Archi" root *k^wan* (or rather *k^wan* / *k^wen*).

Distinct from *lah-bo-* 'to want to eat smth.' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 271] (complex verb, formed with the suppletive light verb *-bo-* 'to say').

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *üšl-* [imperf.] / *šül-* [perf.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 417.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 156. Missing from [Meylanova 1984] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Meylanova 1984: 128 sub *sorŋu*]. Ablaut paradigm: *soʔul-* [imperf.] / *saʔal-* [perf., imv.]. Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Alekseev 1994: 271 f.].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271] 'to eat' is glossed as *čat' yixər*, lit. 'flat cake, scone' + 'to be, exist' apparently due to an inaccurate Russian question to a Budukh informant: Russian collocation of the type *есть хлеб* means both 'to eat bread' and 'there is bread'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 883, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 280; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271. Ablaut paradigm: *ox^wan-* [imperf., fut.] / *oxun* [perf.]; thematic *-a-* in fut. For the forms with labialized *-x^w*, see notes on Common Tsakhur.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155; Dirr 1913: 191, 243. Ablaut paradigm: *oxan-* [imperf., imv.] / *oxin* [perf.]; thematic *-e-* in imv. No traces of old *-x^w* (cf. imperf. class 4 *o-y-xan*, perf. class 4 *o-t-xin*).

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271. The future stem.

Common Tsakhur: Labialized *-x^w* is still retained in some forms in the Mishlesh dialects (cf. fut. class 2 *ex^wan-as* < **o-y-x^wan-as* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 883] and causative class 4 *o-t-x^wan-aʔ-u* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 110], but the variant *o-t-xan-aʔ-u* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 165] is also attested); in other forms (like imperf. class 4 *o-t-xan*) *x^w* has been superseded by *x*. In Mikik the delabialized *-x-* was totally levelled across the paradigm under the influence of the frequent forms with the regular development *oC^w > oC*, *pC^w > pC*.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 157; Ibragimov 1978: 120.

Synchronically, a suppletive paradigm: *CLASS=ʔil-ä-r-* [imperf.] / *liʔ-i-r* [perf.] / *CLASS=il-ä* [imv.]. In [Makhmudova 2001: 70, 94, 98, 114, 147, 158, 209, 247], the perfective and imperative stems are consistently quoted as *ul-e-* - contracted forms of class 3 (**w=*)? In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271], the perfective stem is quoted as *luʔ^f-u-* with unclear pharyngealization.

Distinct from $y=ix-$ 'to eat (subj. = animal)' [Makhmudova 2001: 94] (not found in other Rutul sources). Perfective stem.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 180, 338; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 271.

Synchronically, a suppletive paradigm: $il-e-r-$ [imperf.] / $li?-i-r$ [perf.] / $il-e$ [imv.]. Perfective stem.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155. Imperfective stem.

Synchronically, a suppletive paradigm: CLASS= $il-e-r-$ [imperf.] / $li?-i-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= $il-i$ [imv.]. Perfective stem.

Common Rutul: Historically, the perfective stem $li?$ - is a metathetical variant of the imperfective one $?il-$.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155; Suleymanov 2003: 215; Shaumyan 1941: 181.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155. The same in the Usug subdialect: $Hut'-a-$ 'to eat' [Shaumyan 1941: 181].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 146, 188; Shaumyan 1941: 181. Synchronically, with a suppletive paradigm: $Hal-di$ [imperf.] / $ut'-una-$ [perf.] / $ut'-a-$ [inf.] / $ut'-an$ [imv.] / $ma=Hal$ [prohib.]. Perfective stem.

Fite Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 181.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 215; Shaumyan 1941: 181. Synchronically, with a suppletive paradigm: $?al-di$ [imperf.] / $?ut'-una-$ [perf.] / $?ut'-ana-$ [inf.] / $?ut'-en$ [imv.].

The same verb in other subdialects: Kurag, Tsirkhe $?ut'-a-$ 'to eat' [Magometov 1970: 142, 206 sentence 11, 215 sentence 22]; Duldug $Hut'-a-$ 'to eat' [Shaumyan 1941: 181]. It should be noted that for the Tsirkhe subdialect the infinitive form $Hal-a-s$ 'to eat' is quoted in [Shaumyan 1941: 181]. Perfective stem.

Common Aghul: Note the forms that retain etymological $-l-$: Gequn and Proper Aghul $?al-di$, $Hal-a-$ and eventually Koshan $?ut'-ala-$.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155. Synchronically, a highly irregular suppletive paradigm: $'üld-e-$ (i.e. $'ü-l-d-e-$ with the l -infix) [imperf.] / $'u'p'-$ [perf.: class 2 sg.] / $'u't'-$ [perf.: class pl.] / $'ü'p'-$ [imv.: class 2 sg.] / $'ü'p'-$ [inf.: class 2 sg.] / $'üt'-$ [inf.: class pl.]. Class 2 sg. factually means singular object, class pl. - plural object.

Similar paradigm in the Khanag subdialect: $'ü-l-d-$ [imperf.] / $'u'p'-$ [perf., imv., inf.: class 2 sg.] / $'u't'-$ [perf., imv., inf.: class pl.] 'to eat' [Uslar 1979: 938; Dirr 1905: 211, 247]. Some interesting Khanag aorist forms (class 2) are also quoted by Dirr: $el-$, $'ül-$, where medial $-l-$ is the imperfective prefix.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: $'ü-l-d-$ [imperf.] / $'u'p'-$, $'u't'-$ [perf., inf.] {уһлуьв} 'to eat' [Genko 2005: 159]. Dyubek perfective stem of the class 2 sg. (i.e. singular object).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 155. Regular paradigm.

The same in other subdialects: Khiv, Chara $ip'-$ {иплуьб} 'to eat' [Genko 2005: 76] (regular paradigm).

Suppletive paradigm in Literary Tabasaran: $ip'-$ [sg. obj.] / $it'-$ [pl. obj.] {иплуьб, итлуьб} 'to eat' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 179].

Common Tabasaran: As proposed in [NCED: 625 f.], the variety of modern forms is explained by suggesting assimilation of the Tabasaran class infixes $-b-$ (class 2 sg.), $-d-$ (class pl.) with the old root glottal-stop, i.e. $ip'- \sim 'u'p'- \sim 'ü'p'- < *?i-b-?-, 'u't'- \sim 'üt'- < *?i-d-?-. Infixes $-d-$ is retained in the Northern imperfective stem $'ü-l-d-$ ($< *?i-l-d-V?-. In the Southern dialect the paradigm has been levelled after the class 2 forms ($ip'-$), although in Literary Tabasaran the class agreement has secondarily been restored: $ip'- / it'-$.$$

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 564, 639. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: $ne-$ [imperf., imv.] / $t'ü-$ [perf.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: $ne-$ [imperf.] / $t'ü-$ [perf.] / $ne?$ [imv.] {тлуьн} 'to eat' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 326; Gadzhiev 1950: 194; Haspelmath 1993: 509, 518; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 289]. Perfective stem.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 207. Distribution: This root has survived only in the two outliers: Caucasian Albanian-Udi and Archi, where it still retains its basic status. Besides the formal distribution, external North Caucasian comparison also proves that $*?ik^{w}Vn-$ was the Proto-Lezgian root for 'to eat'.

In Proto-Nuclear Lezgian, $*?ik^{w}Vn-$ was superseded by the verbal root $*?i?^{w}ül-$ [NCED: 625], whose original meaning is not entirely clear (cf. its Archi cognate with the meaning 'to want to eat smth.', and further North Caucasian *comparanda* which mean 'to bite' or 'to feed on smth.').

Additionally, in Tsakhur, $*?i?^{w}ül-$ was superseded by $*?i?^{w}V(n)-$ [NCED: 516], which originally meant 'to graze, pasture' in Proto-Lezgian.

Replacements: {'to graze, pasture' > 'to eat'} (Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with several Ablaut grades.

24. EGG

Nidzh Udi *qok:la* ~ *qoq:la* ~ *q:oqla* {*хъокЛа* ~ *хъокъла* ~ *къохъла*} (1), Vartashen Udi *qoq:la* ~ *χοχλα* ~ *qoqla* ~ *q:oqla* ~ *kokla* ~ *κοχλα* {*хъокъла*} (1), Archi *g'enuk:-* (-1), Kryts (proper) *kusunt'* (2), Alyk Kryts *kusχunt'* (2), Budukh *kusχud* {*кусχуд*} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q'ud'* {*кьукь*} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *q'ud'* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *q'ud'* (3), Mukhad Rutul *viliv* {*гъылыгъ*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *viliv* {*гъылыгъ*} (1), Luchek Rutul *viliv* (1), Koshan Aghul *ṽarava-n* (1), Keren Aghul *ṽarava-l* (1), Gequn Aghul *varavi-l* (1), Fite Aghul *ṽaravi-l* (1), Aghul (proper) *virava-l* (1), Northern Tabasaran *pa:luχ^huw* ~ *pe- χ^huw* {*пелихюв*} (4), Southern Tabasaran *murt'a* (-1), Gyune Lezgi *k.ak'a* (5), Proto-Lezgian **q:VIVq:* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 144, 164, 167; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319; Mobili 2010: 181, 193. The sources vary: *qok:la* in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], *qoq:la* ~ *q:oqla* in [Mobili 2010].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 164; Fähnrich 1999: 27; Dirr 1903: 13, 51, 64, 90; Schiefner 1863: 80; Schulze 2001: 335; Starchevskiy 1891: 508.

Distinct from Vartashen *q^haq:arun* {*къаъкъаъпун*} 'fried eggs' [Gukasyan 1974: 156]; according to [NCED: 932], *q^haq:a-pun* with an unclear suffix *-pun*, but such an analysis is uncertain.

Common Udi: Common Udi **QoQla* with various assimilative/dissimilative variants.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 231, 389; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319; Mikailov 1967: 177; Dirr 1908: 137, 227. Borrowed from Lak *kunuk* 'egg' (in [Chumakina 2009] labeled only as "perhaps borrowed" without the source), for Pre-Lak **kenuk*: see [NCED: 437].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319. Morphologically unclear, cf. notes on Alyk Kryts.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 26, 37, 40, 55, etc. It is proposed in [Authier 2009: 26, 37] to analyze it as a compound of *kis* 'hen' [Authier 2009: 23] (= Kryts Proper *kis* 'hen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 75]) + *χuy-* 'to give birth' [Authier 2009: 122] (= Kryts Proper *χuy-* 'to give birth' [NCED: 576]), but the final *-nt'* seems unexplainable in this case.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. Regular paradigm: *kusχud* [abs.] / *kusχu-y-* [obl.]. In [Meylanova 1984: 92, 252] quoted as *q:usχud* {*къусχуд*} (repeated in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319]). Cf. *kis* {*кыс*} 'hen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 75; Meylanova 1984: 81, 219].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 886, 901; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 416 (sub *ыкIывкIыный*); Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *q'ud'* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Dirr 1913: 198, 243.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 133; Ibragimov 1978: 117; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 69, 417; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 319.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Suleymanov 2003: 56; Shaumyan 1941: 191.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ṽaraval* 'egg' [Shaumyan 1941: 191].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Dirr 1907: 110, 188; Shaumyan 1941: 191.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Shaumyan 1941: 191.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 56; Shaumyan 1941: 191. The same in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *virava-l* 'egg' [Shaumyan 1941: 191].

Also *ṽärävä-l* 'egg' [Magometov 1970: 91] (without dialectal provenance, may be the Keren form).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Genko 2005: 128. The latter variant is from [Genko 2005]. A compressed

compound, whose first element is *p'aʔ^h-a*, obl. *paʔ^h-li-* 'hen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 75].

Differently in the Khanag subdialect: *peʔ'inʒuw ~ pelunʒuw ~ penunʒuw* 'egg' [Uslar 1979: 874, 1010; Dirr 1905: 199, 247]. According to [Uslar 1979: 875], the non-compressed expression *peʔ'in liʒ'uw* 'egg' was occasionally used as late as the 2nd half of the 19th century - literally 'hen's white' (*peʔ*, gen. *peʔ-eli-n ~ peʔ-li-n* 'hen'; *liʒi*, class 2 *liʒu-w* 'white' q.v.).

The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk *peʔ'inʒuw* {пелинззув} ~ *peʔ'liʒuw* {пеълуззув} 'egg' [Genko 2005: 128, 129] (the first variant is erroneously quoted as *peʔiʒuw* {пелиззув} in the head of the entry), Khapil *peʔ'uw* {пелюззув} 'egg' [Genko 2005: 128].

Superseded with the loanword in the Kumi and Chuvek subdialects: *murt'a* {мурта} 'egg' [Genko 2005: 123].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

The same loanword in the Tinit subdialects: *yumurt'a* {юмурта} 'egg' [Genko 2005: 197], and in Literary Tabasaran: *murt'a* {мурта} 'egg' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 234].

An inherited word in the Khiv subdialect: *gug'u* {гугу} 'egg' [Genko 2005: 37].

Common Tabasaran: Northern Tabasaran forms of the shape *peʔ'inʒuw* represent the recent neologism 'hen's white' (see above).

Dyubek *pa:luχ^huw ~ peʔiχ^huw* is a compressed compound of the same kind: 'hen's X', although its second part is not clear.

The forms *murta* and *yumurta* represent a borrowing from Azerbaijani *yumurta* 'egg'.

Khiv *gugu* seems to be the best candidate for the status of Proto-Tabasaran 'egg', although its external etymology is rather weak (Lezgi *kak'a* 'egg' q.v.).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 453, 639.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *kak'a* {кака} 'egg' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 148; Gadzhiev 1950: 962; Haspelmath 1993: 494, 519].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *kak'a* 'egg' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 906. Distribution: According to [NCED], two phonetically similar roots for 'egg' enter into competition here.

Both demonstrate rather irregular reflexes of assimilative or dissimilative nature.

The first one is reconstructed as **q:VIVq:* in [NCED: 906]. This stem means 'egg' in Udi, on the one hand, and Rutul and Aghul, on the other. In the rest of Lezgian, the root has been lost.

The second one is reconstructed as **q'oloq'* in [NCED: 932]. This stem means 'egg' in Tsakhur (*q'uq*), 'testiculus' in Budukh, Rutul and Tabasaran (these three forms have only been found in [NCED]), 'fried eggs' in Vartashen Udi.

In three languages, both of the roots have survived. The reflexes are opposed as follows:

Udi: *qok:la ~ qoq:la ~ q:ool'a ~ χoχla ~ qoql'a ~ q:ool'a ~ kokla ~ koχla* 'egg' / *q:aq:apun* (*q:aq:a-pun?*) 'fried eggs'.

Rutul (Khnyukh): *viliv* 'egg' / *q'iliq'* 'testiculus'.

Tabasaran (Dyubek): *viliv* 'egg' / *q'urq'-ur* 'testiculus' (with the fossilized plural suffix).

It should be noted, however, that Vartashen Udi *q:aq:apun* is morphologically obscure (*-pun* is a unique suffix) and too irregular phonetically (normally Lezgian **q'* yields a zero reflex in Udi). It seems better to separate the Udi form from these roots: we prefer to treat *q:aq:apun* as a word of unknown origin.

If so, the descendants of the hypothetical **q'oloq'* mean 'testiculus' in all three Nuclear Lezgian subbranches, but 'egg' in Tsakhur. The semantic derivation 'testiculus' > 'egg' is extremely rare cross-linguistically; thus, Tsakhur *q'uq* would rather seem to originate from **q:VIVq:* 'egg', but it must have been influenced by **q'oloq'*. The second solution is to unite all the aforementioned forms (excepting the Udi 'fried eggs') under one proto-root **QVIVQ* 'egg' with very irregular reflexes. If so, in Proto-Nuclear Lezgian, **QVIVQ* divided into two phonetic shapes - one retained the meaning 'egg', the other acquired the meaning 'testiculus' (the shift 'egg' > 'testiculus' is normal).

It is also likely that the discussed words for 'egg' have been influenced by various onomatopoeic forms for hen cackling, cf., e.g., Budukh *q'a əldam'i* 'cackling, clucking' [Meylanova 1984: 94], etc.

In Proto-Tabasaran and Lezgi, 'egg' is expressed by **kakay* [NCED: 429], not observed in other languages. The primary meaning of this root is unclear. It cannot be posited as the Proto-East Lezgian term for 'egg', since the Aghul language retains **q:VIVq:* for this meaning. In fact, however, both Khiv Tabasaran *gug'u* and Lezgi *kak'a* may represent independent introductions of onomatopoeic nature.

In Northern Tabasaran, two recent compounds are attested with the meaning 'egg', both with **paʔ* 'hen' [NCED: 865] as the first element (one of them literally means 'white of hen').

In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), the obscure forms *kusunt' ~ kusχunt' ~ kusxud* 'egg' are attested. Their first element *kus-* also looks similar to the word for 'hen'.

Superseded with loanwords in Archi (< Lak) and some Tabasaran dialects (< Azerbaijani).

Replacements: {'white of hen' > 'egg'} (Northern Tabasaran), {'X of hen' > 'egg'} (Northern Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are rather irregular, due to various assimilative/dissimilative processes and vowel syncope.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, maybe of onomatopoeic origin.

25. EYE

Nidzh Udi *pul* {*nyλ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *pul* {*nyλ*} (1), Archi *l-ur* (1), Kryts (proper) *ɣül* (1), Alyk Kryts *ɣul* (1), Budukh *ɣül* {*ɣIyɔλ*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *ul^y* {*yλ'*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *ul^y* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *ul^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *ul* {*yλ*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *ul* {*yλ*} (1), Luchek Rutul *ul* (1), Koshan Aghul *il* (1), Keren Aghul *ul* (1), Gequn Aghul *ul* (1), Fite Aghul *ul* (1), Aghul (proper) *ul* (1), Northern Tabasaran *ul* (1), Southern Tabasaran *ul* (1), Gyune Lezgi *wil* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ɟ^wil* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 189; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190; Mobili 2010: 235.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 189; Fähnrich 1999: 26; Dirr 1903: 22, 28; Schiefner 1863: 99; Schulze 2001: 308; Starchevskiy 1891: 497.

Common Udi: Common Udi **pul* with an irregular paradigm in both dialects: *pul* [abs.] / *p-* [obl.] (the oblique stem is explained by the historically normal loss of *-l-* in the intervocalic position, [NCED: 130]).

Caucasian Albanian: *pul* [abs.] / *pi-* [obl.] 'eye' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-41].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 275, 355; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190; Mikailov 1967: 190; Dirr 1908: 165, 206. Historically *l-ur* with a fossilized plural exponent.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 39, 49, 82, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 48, 209; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 888, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 351; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *ul^y* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Dirr 1913: 207, 222.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 174, 188; Ibragimov 1978: 114; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 255, 332; Ibragimov 1978: 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 190.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Suleymanov 2003: 161; Shaumyan 1941: 144. The same in the Arsug subdialect: *il* 'eye' [Shaumyan 1941: 144].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ul* 'eye' [Shaumyan 1941: 144].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Dirr 1907: 145, 171; Shaumyan 1941: 144.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11; Shaumyan 1941: 144.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 161; Shaumyan 1941: 144; Magometov 1970: 196 strophe XVI. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug, Khyuk *ul* 'eye' [Shaumyan 1941: 144; Magometov 1970: 223 strophe IV].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *ul* 'eye' [Uslar 1979: 927, 991; Dirr 1905: 209, 226]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *ul* {*yλ*} 'eye' [Genko 2005: 152].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *ul* {*yλ*} 'eye' [Genko 2005: 152]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ul* {*yλ*} 'eye'

[Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 294].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 369, 608.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *wil* [вил] with polysemy: 'eye / window framing / mesh (of net) / pore' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 75; Gadzhiev 1950: 141; Haspelmath 1993: 511, 519].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *ul* 'eye' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 11].

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

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem quite regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **ʔ^wile-*.

26. FAT N.

Nidzh Udi *bošin=č:äyin* (1), Vartashen Udi *č:äin* (1), Archi *may ~ miy* (2), Kryts (proper) *mä?* (2), Alyk Kryts *ma?* (2), Budukh *ma?* {*маʋ*} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *ma?* {*маʋ*} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *maʔa* (2), Gelmet Tsakhur *ma?* (2), Mukhad Rutul *ma?* {*маʋ*} (2), Koshan Aghul *hul* (3), Keren Aghul *maw* (2), Gequn Aghul *maw* (2), Fite Aghul *maw* (2), Aghul (proper) *yak* (4), Northern Tabasaran *χ^ful* (3), Southern Tabasaran *χ^ful* (3), Gyune Lezgi *maq[?]* (2), Proto-Lezgian **maʔ^f* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122. A collocation: *bošin č:äyin* = literally 'internal (*bošin*) butter (*č:äyin*)'. Expressions for 'fat' have not been found in [Gukasyan 1974] and [Mobili 2010]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310] 'grease, fat' is glossed as Nidzh *zeyt* {*зейт*}, which is an error, cf. in [Mobili 2010: 296]: Nidzh *zeyt* / Vartashen *zet* 'vegetable oil', *zeytun* 'olive'; a wide-spread Semitic (in our case Arabic) word with the meaning 'olive, olive oil'.

Vartashen Udi: Dzheiranishvili 1971: 217, 255; Fähnrich 1999: 13; Schulze 2001: 268. In [Fähnrich 1999] quoted as *č:äyn*. Polysemy: 'fat / animal oil, butter'.

Distinct from the specific term *pi* 'goat's fat' [Dzheiranishvili 1971: 217, 255; Fähnrich 1999: 26] (glossed simply as 'fat' in [Schiefner 1863: 98] and [Starchevskiy 1891: 499]), which is borrowed from Azerbaijani *piy* 'fat, lard' or directly from Persian *pi:h* 'fat'.

Distinct from *zeyt ~ zet* 'vegetable oil', *zet* 'olive oil' [Schiefner 1863: 90, 93] (an Arabic loanword, see notes on the Nidzh dialect).

Common Udi: Common Udi **č:äin* 'fat; animal oil'.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 276, 359; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310; Mikailov 1967: 192. Paradigm: *may* [abs.] / *mi-l'i-* [obl.]; the modern levelled variant *miy* comes from [Chumakina et al. 2007]. Polysemy: 'fat, suet / bone marrow'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310] the form *šelekul* {*шелекул*} is also quoted for 'fat, grease' - a corrupted spelling of the masdar in *-kul* from the stative verb *še^fle* 'to be fat (normally of food)' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 320; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Distinct from *tenn'e* 'layer of fat on soup; ointment' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 322; Chumakina et al. 2007] (quoted for 'dissolved grease' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121]).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 81, 332, 370.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 106, 213; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 64; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 244. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310], quoted as *maʔa*. Missing from [Kibrik et al. 1999].

Distinct from *yix^f* 'dissolved grease (Russian: *ал ʔ*)' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 184] and *čoz ~ čaz* 'visceral fat, suet' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 399].

- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *maʔ* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122]. Distinct from *yixʰ* 'dissolved grease' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122; Dirr 1913: 186, 225.
Distinct from *yixʰ* 'dissolved grease' and *čoz* 'visceral fat, suet' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310], quoted as *maʔi*.
Distinct from *yixʰ* 'fat on meat' (an error for 'dissolved grease?') and *čoz* 'visceral fat, suet' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Ibragimov 1978: 17, 27, 63, 117. Glossed by Ibragimov as generic 'fat, rendered fat (Russian: жир, сало)'.
A second candidate is *yixʰ* {йыIx}, which is glossed as generic 'rendered fat, fat (Russian: сало, жир)' in [Dirr 1912: 148, 190], but specifically as 'dissolved grease (Russian: топленое сало)' in [Ibragimov 1978: 224]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310], this word is erroneously quoted in the generic meaning 'fat' as *yix* {йыx}.
A second term, incorrectly quoted in the generic meaning 'fat' in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310], is *kuk-di yak* - actually a normal attributive construction with the direct meaning 'fatty meat' [Dirr 1912: 151].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Not attested; only several specific terms have been found: *maʔ* {маъ} 'visceral fat, suet' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 185, 339], *qʷiʃ* {къыш} 'dissolved grease' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 167], *qʷaʃir* {къаджир} 'dissolved grease' [Ibragimov 1978: 224].
In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 310], *qʷiʃ* is quoted in the generic meaning 'fat'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Not attested. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122], only two specific terms are quoted: *maʔ* 'visceral fat, suet', *yixʰ* 'dissolved grease; pitch, resin'.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Suleymanov 2003: 130. Glossed as generic 'fat' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], but as 'visceral fat, suet' in [Suleymanov 2003] (the latter seems an inaccuracy).
Distinct from *mutʷulay* 'dissolved grease' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121] of Arabic origin.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.
Distinct from *mutʷula* 'dissolved grease' of Arabic origin and inherited *yaχ* 'fat on meat' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].
In the Usug subdialect superseded with *yaχ* 'fat (in general)' [Shaumyan 1941: 147]. The old term is retained as *maw* 'visceral fat, suet' [Shaumyan 1941: 150].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122. Not attested in [Dirr 1907].
Distinct from *mutʷulay* 'dissolved grease' of Arabic origin and inherited *yaχʷ* 'fat on meat' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122]. Labialized uvular in abs. *yaχʷ* is apparently secondary, having appeared under the influence of the ergative form *yaχ-u* (as in some similar Burkikhan cases, e.g., **kerk* > *kerkʷ*, erg. *kerk-u* 'nail' q.v.).
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122.
Distinct from *darc* 'dissolved grease' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].
- Aghul (proper):** Shaumyan 1941: 147. Specified as 'fat (in general)'. It should be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 91], Tpig *yaβ* is glossed as 'lube, machine oil' (there is no generic term for 'fat' in [Suleymanov 2003]).
Distinct from Tpig *maw* 'visceral fat, suet' [Suleymanov 2003: 130; Shaumyan 1941: 150].
- Common Aghul:** We reconstruct Proto-Aghul *maw* as 'fat (in general)' (retained in some non-Koshan dialects) and *yaχ* as specific 'fat on meat' (lost in Koshan).
The original generic meaning of *maw* is suggested by the external Lezgian comparison. In Koshan (Burshag) *maw* was superseded with *hul* under the influence of the neighboring Tabasaran language, where the same shift occurred. The exact proto-meaning of *hul* cannot be reconstructed with certainty - 'a k. of fat'. Cf. also Keren Aghul (Richa) *hal*, Gequn Aghul (Burkikhan) *hel* quoted in [NCED: 1081] as 'fat' without semantic specifications (apparently based on the unpublished field records of the MSU expedition, cf. [NCED: 13]).
Aghul forms of the shape *yaχ*, *yaχʷ*, *yaβ* seem inherited (thus in [NCED: 948]), but influenced on the part of the basic Azerbaijani term *yay* 'fat (in general)'. This concerns both phonetics (the voiced fricative in Proper Aghul *yaβ*) and semantics: the shift from 'fat on meat' to the generic meaning 'fat' in Keren Aghul (Usug) and Proper Aghul (Tpig).
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121. Polysemy: 'fat (in general) / bone marrow'. Distinct from Dyubek *darc:-a* 'dissolved grease' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].
The same in the Khanag subdialect: *χʷul* 'fat' [Uslar 1979: 955, 993; Dirr 1905: 215, 229]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *χʷul* {хюл} 'fat' [Genko 2005: 167]. Distinct from Khanag, Khyuryuk *čem* {ччем} 'melted butter, dissolved grease' [Uslar 1979: 970; Dirr 1905: 217; Genko 2005: 182].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121. Paradigm: *χʷul* [abs.] / *χʷul-i* [erg.]. Distinct from Kondik *darc*: 'dissolved grease'

[Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *χ^lul* {хюл} 'fat' [Genko 2005: 167]; distinct from Khiv *čem* {ччем} 'melted butter, dissolved grease' [Genko 2005: 182].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *χ^lul* {хюл} 'fat' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 319]; distinct from Literary Tabasaran *darc*: {дарцц} 'visceral fat, suet' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 142], *χuc^uur* {хуцур} 'visceral fat, suet' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 318], *čim* {ччим} 'animal oil, butter; vegetable oil' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 340].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 501, 611. A second generic term for 'fat', closely synonymous to the former one, is *pi* [Uslar 1896: 517, 611], borrowed from Azerbaijani *piy* 'fat, lard' or directly from Persian *pi:h* 'fat'. Distinct from the more specific Gyune *verⁱ* 'animal oil, vegetable oil' [Uslar 1896: 385], *čem* 'butter, animal oil' [Uslar 1896: 597].

In Literary Lezgi the same two terms compete with each other: the inherited *maq^ʔ* {макъ} 'fat (not dissolved)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 229; Gadzhiev 1950: 201] (glossed as 'fat' in [Haspelmath 1993: 498, 519]) and the borrowed *pi* {пи} 'animal fat' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 264; Gadzhiev 1950: 201] (glossed as 'fat' in [Haspelmath 1993: 500, 519]).

Distinct from several specific Literary Lezgi terms: *verⁱ* {гъери} 'butter, animal oil, fat (i.e. dissolved fat?)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 93; Gadzhiev 1950: 201] (glossed as 'fat, grease' in [Haspelmath 1993: 490, 519]), *čem* {чѐм} - a synonym of *veri* [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 378; Gadzhiev 1950: 201]; *quc^uur* {хуцур} 'visceral fat, suet' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 354; Gadzhiev 1950: 201]; *yav* {ягъ} 'machine oil, lube' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 400] (glossed as 'oil, grease' in [Haspelmath 1993: 493, 519]; borrowed from Azerbaijani *yay* 'fat (in general)').

For the Akhty dialect two terms are quoted as synonyms for 'fat (in general)': Khlyut *ma^ʔ* and *qⁱš* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122]. Distinct from Khlyut *qⁱacⁱir* 'dissolved grease' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 122].

The form *maq^ʔ* / *ma^ʔ* must be posited as the Proto-Lezgi term for 'fat'.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 794. Distribution: Retained as the generic term for 'fat' in Archi, on the one hand, and in most of the Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other. External North Caucasian comparison also confirms such a semantic reconstruction for Proto-Lezgian **ma^ʔ*.

In Udi, **ma^ʔ* has been lost, superseded by **č.ã^m* [NCED: 624], whose original meaning was 'butter', as proven by both the Nuclear Lezgian and external North Caucasian cognates, as well as the synchronic Udi polysemy 'fat / butter'.

In Keren Aghul (Usug) and Aghul proper, **ma^ʔ* shifted to the specific meaning 'visceral fat, suet', superseded as the generic term by **yimχ*: [NCED: 948]. The original Proto-Lezgian meaning of **yimχ*: is likely to have been 'butterfat' *vel sim.* (cf. its Archi and South Lezgian cognates with the meanings 'butter' and 'milk'), but for Proto-Aghul **yimχ*: can be reconstructed with the specific meaning 'fat on meat'.

In Tabasaran and, secondarily, in the neighboring Koshan Aghul dialect, **ma^ʔ* has been lost, superseded by **χ^lul* (χ^l:, -o-, -l:) [NCED: 1081]. The root **χ^lul* apparently denoted a specific kind of fat in Proto-Lezgian, but exact semantic reconstruction is impossible (Lezgian **χ^lul* seems unattested outside Tabasaran-Aghul area, but external comparison points to the semantics of 'fat').

Replacements: {'butter' > 'fat'} (Udi), {'butterfat' > 'fat on meat' > 'fat'} (Keren Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

27. FEATHER

Nidzh Udi *maža* {маджа} (1), Vartashen Udi *kuk* (2) / *posposk:al* (3), Archi *cal* (4), Kryts (proper) *k^wak* (2), Alyk Kryts *kuk* (2), Budukh *q:anət* {къанат} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *wusun* {вусун} (5), Mikik Tsakhur *kuk-ra* (2), Gel mets Tsakhur *wisin* (5), Mukhad Rutul *maq^ʔaq* ~ *mač^ʔag* {маІкъаІкъъ} (6), Ixrek Rutul *piy* {пый} (-1), Luchek Rutul *maq^ʔaq* (6), Koshan Aghul *purc^ʔ* (7), Keren Aghul *pinc^ʔ* (7), Gequn Aghul *murc^ʔ* ~ *purc^ʔ* (7), Fite Aghul *murc^ʔ* (7), Aghul (proper) *murc^ʔ* (7), Northern Tabasaran *vik* (8), Southern Tabasaran *c:ik^w* (9), Gyune Lezgi *c^ʔap-ur* (7), Proto-Lezgian **k^wik* ~ **k^wimk* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 171; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216; Mobili 2010: 204. In the Vartashen dialect this stem means 'bunch of grapes' [Gukasyan 1974: 171; Mobili 2010: 204] and, more generally, 'tassel' [Schiefner 1863: 103]. A second term is *qänäd* 'feather; wing' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45], which was borrowed from Azerbaijani *ganad* 'wing' and underwent the areal isogloss of polysemy: 'wing / feather'.

Vartashen Udi: Schiefner 1863: 15, 84; Starchevskiy 1891: 505. It is not specified which 'feather' is meant (anatomic term or pen), but this word is distinct from *qaläm-uç* 'feather pen' [Schiefner 1863: 72] (< Azerbaijani *gäläm* 'id.', ultimately from Arabic *qalam*).

A second Vartashen term for 'feather', which is currently used in the Zinobiani (Oktomberi) village, is *posposkal* [Fährnich 1999: 26], confirmed by Yu. Lander's field records on 2011. In [Gukasyan 1974: 189] and [Mobili 2010: 235], however, this word is explained as a kind of wild plant (Azerbaijani: *xumxuma*, Russian: *перчий*).

In [Schulze 2001: 312] the word *qänäd* 'wing; feather' is quoted (an Azerbaijani loanword, see notes on Nidzh Udi), although in Bežanovs' text it is attested only with the meaning 'wing'. Fährnich 1999: 26; Yu. Lander's field records.

Common Udi: In the light of Lezgian *comparanda*, it is Vartashen *kuk* that has a better chance to have been the Proto-Udi term for 'feather'. In this case, it is necessary to postulate the meaning shift 'tassel' > 'feather' in Nidzh *maža* and similarly 'a k. of plant' > 'feather' in Vartashen *posposkal*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 207, 373; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216; Mikailov 1967: 203; Dirr 1908: 193, 217. Polysemy: 'wing / feather'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216] the term *qum* {хъум} is also quoted for 'feather', but its actual meaning is 'down' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 298; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 198, 205, 315.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. Polysemy: 'wing / feather'. In [Meylanova 1984: 83] glossed only as 'wing'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *ganad* 'wing' and subject to the areal isogloss of polysemy: 'wing / feather'.

Distinct from *pisi* {писи}, which is glossed in [Meylanova 1984: 119, 230] as 'feather, small feather' (repeated in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216] as a basic term for 'feather'), but Meylanova's examples rather suggest the specific meaning 'down': "downy pillow", "down appears on chickens".

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 175; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 107. Missing from [Kibrik et al. 1999]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216], the Literary Tsakhur word for 'feather' is quoted as *kuk-ra* {кукра}.

Tsakhur-Kum, Mukhakh-Sabunchi & Suvagil Tsakhur: *kuk-ra* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Ibragimov 1990: 162, 175]. Final *-ra* is a fossilized plural marker.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Dirr 1913: 174, 233. Final *-ra* is a fossilized plural marker. It is noted in [Dirr 1913: 215] that 'feather' can also be expressed by the collocation "bird's hair" (with *čer* 'hair' q.v.).

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216], quoted as *wisim*^y {висим^y}.

Common Tsakhur: From the distributive viewpoint it seems slightly more natural to assume that the Proto-Tsakhur term for 'feather' was *wisim* (~ *wusun*), which is retained both in the Takh and Gelmets dialectal groups, whereas *kuk-ra* is an innovation of some Tsakh dialects (Tsakhur-Kum, Mukhakh-Sabunchi & Suvagil) and "transitional" Mikik. External Lezgian etymology, however, speaks in favor of *kuk-ra*; in turn, *wisim* seems to be an interdialectal innovation of unclear origin.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 159, 197; Ibragimov 1978: 223, 282; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216. The variant with *q* comes from [Dirr 1912]; other sources give *ç{kъ}*.

Ixrek Rutul: [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 210; Ibragimov 1978: 223]. Borrowed from the neighboring Arakul dialect of Lak: *пуу* 'feather' [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216] (or, rather, both words represent a common loanword of unknown origin).

A second term is *p'eru* {п'еру}, glossed simply as 'feather' in [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 211, 372], but we suspect that *p'eru* rather means 'feather pen', borrowed from Russian *p'er'o* 'feather (anatomic); feather pen'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 216], 'feather' is apparently erroneously glossed as *ma ča* {маčа}.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45.

Common Rutul: In the Borch-Khnov dialect the word for 'feather' is *živa* {джива} [Ibragimov 1978: 282], apparently borrowed from

Azerbaijani *şiyə* 'lock, tress; plumage (e.g., of pheasant)'.
 The Mukhad-Luchek word *maq'aaq* is of unknown origin, but may represent the Proto-Rutul term.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Suleymanov 2003: 136; Shaumyan 1941: 152. The same in the Khudig subdialect: *purc* 'feather' [Shaumyan 1941: 152].

In [Suleymanov 2003: 136], two additional Koshan words for 'feather' are also quoted: *murc* and *c'urc'um* (both without exact dialectal provenance).

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45.

In the Usug subdialect: *purc* 'feather' [Shaumyan 1941: 152].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Dirr 1907: 135, 180; Shaumyan 1941: 152. In [Dirr 1907] and [Shaumyan 1941], only the variant *murc* is quoted; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], both are given.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Shaumyan 1941: 152.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 136; Shaumyan 1941: 152. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *murc* 'feather' [Shaumyan 1941: 152].

Common Aghul: Etymologically obscure forms, for which the Lezgian prototype **pinc^w* is proposed in [LEDB].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. Distinct from Dyubek *zik* 'down' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45].

Differently in the Khanag subdialect: *χil* 'feather' [Uslar 1979: 951, 1001] (missing from [Dirr 1905]); distinct from Khanag *zik* 'down' [Uslar 1979: 701, 1003]. It should be noted that in [Dirr 1905: 171, 237] *zik* is glossed as 'feather' - apparently an inaccuracy.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *χil* {хил} 'feather' [Genko 2005: 165]; distinct from Khyuryuk *zik* {зик} 'down' [Genko 2005: 71].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. Polysemy: 'feather / down'.

The same in the Tinit subdialect: *zik* {зик} 'feather; down' [Genko 2005: 71].

Differently in the Khiv subdialect: *c'up'ur* {цупур} 'feather' [Genko 2005: 178; Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 334]; distinct from Khiv *zük* ~ *zük* {зюк, ззюк} 'down' [Genko 2005: 72, 73].

Differently in Literary Tabasaran: *zik^w* {зикв} 'feather' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 169]; 'down' is expressed as *ž^wil:i zik^w* {жвилли зикв} [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 169], literally 'fine feather'.

Common Tabasaran: An unclear situation. Formally, the external comparison (cf. the Lezgi suffixed cognate *c'ak-ul* 'feather') could suggest that *c:ik^w* ~ *zik^w* ~ *zük* ~ *zik* is to be reconstructed with polysemy: 'feather / down' for Proto-Tabasaran. This polysemy was retained in some Southern subdialects (Kondik, Tinit), but reduced to 'down' in Northern Tabasaran as well as in some Southern subdialects (Khiv). Out of several new words for 'feather', Northern *χil* 'feather' apparently goes back to the local meaning 'wing' [NCED: 1070], Dyubek *vik* is etymologically obscure, for Khiv *c'up'ur* see below.

On the other hand, Khiv *c'up'ur* 'feather' can be analyzed as the fossilized plural formation *c'up-ur*, whose root etymologically corresponds to Aghul (the closet Tabasaran relative) **pinc^w* 'feather' via consonant metathesis (for the nasal cluster simplification cf. Tabasaran *p'ip* 'angle, corner' < Lezgian **p'i'mp* 'knee'). In this case Khiv *c'up-ur* continues the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'feather', whereas *c:ik^w* ~ *zik^w* ~ *zük* ~ *zik* originates from Proto-Tabasaran 'down' (the semantics 'down' was extended to 'feather, down' in some Southern subdialects, like Kondik, Tinit, as well as Literary Tabasaran). On the contrary, in Northern Tabasaran **pinc^w* 'feather' was lost, superseded with *χil* (< 'wing') or obscure *vik*.

The second scenario seems more preferable. Its main flaw, however, is that the Tabasaran plural exponent is *-ar*, harmonized *-er*, *-ir* [Magometov 1965: 93 ff.], not *-ur*, as in the assumed *c'up-ur*.

Note that it is also possible to treat Khiv *c'up'ur* as a borrowing from the neighboring Lezgi language, cf. Lezgi *c'ap'ur* 'feather' (q.v.).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 584, 623.

There are two words for 'feather' in Literary Lezgi. The most frequent one is *c'ak-ul* {цакул} 'feather' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 360; Gadzhiev 1950: 534; Haspelmath 1993: 484, 519]. The second, more marginal, term is *c'ap-ur* {цапур} with polysemy: 'feather / propeller blade' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 361]. Distinct from literary *tük* {тукъ} 'down' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 319; Gadzhiev 1950: 674], borrowed from Azerbaijani *tük* 'hair, fur, down'.

In the Yarki dialect (the same Kyuri group): Nyutyug *c'ap-ur* 'feather' [Meylanova 1964: 79].

In the Akhty dialect (Samur group): Khlyut *č^wk^w-al* 'feather' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45] (regularly < *č^wk^w*), Khuryug *č^wak^w-al* 'feather' [Meylanova 1964: 281]. The same in some other dialects of the Samur group: Jaba *čk-ol* 'feather' [Ganieva 2007: 22], Qurush *čk^w-al* 'feather' [Ganieva 2008: 33].

But in the Fiy dialect of the Samur group: *c'uw-ur* with polysemy: 'feather; down' [Meylanova 1964: 394].

An unclear situation, with two terms in competition: *c'ap-ur* (in the Kyuri and Samur dialectal groups) vs. *c'ak-ul* (Samur). Both words are present in Literary Lezgi. The available dialectal data are too scant for a full-fledged distributive analysis, but *c'ap-ur* seems more preferable from the etymological point of view: cf. Aghul **pinc^w* 'feather', Tabasaran (Khiv) *c'up-ur* 'feather' q.v.

The rare substantive suffix with generic semantics *-al* is both denominal [Haspelmath 1993: 107] and deverbal [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 131]. Final *-ur* looks like a fossilized plural exponent, but it must be noted that synchronic Lezgi plural suffixes are either *-ar* or *-er* [Haspelmath 1993: 71; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 291].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 707. Distribution: An unstable word, often superseded by etymologically obscure forms or loans. Distributively the best candidate for the Proto-Lezgian term 'feather' is **k^{wi}(m)k*. It has been retained with the meaning 'feather' in Vartashen Udi, on the one hand, and in two Nuclear Lezgian languages (Kryts and Tsakhur), on the other, having been lost in the rest of languages.

The modern Vartashen Udi word for 'feather' is, however, *posposkal*, which primarily denotes a kind of plant. In Nidzh Udi, **k^{wi}(m)k* was superseded with the etymologically unclear word *maža*, whose original Proto-Udi meaning is likely to have been 'tassel, bunch'.

In Archi, the root **cal* [NCED: 1090] with polysemy 'wing / feather' is observed. This root is isolated within Lezgian, but if the North Caucasian etymology, proposed in [NCED], is correct, this implies the shift 'fist' > 'wing' > 'feather' in Archi.

In some Tsakhur dialects (Mishlesh, Gelmets), 'feather' is expressed by the etymologically isolated root **wis-* (~ *-o-*) [NCED: 1058]. In Mikik Tsakhur, the neologism 'bird's hair' is also attested for 'feather'.

In Rutul, the etymologically obscure form *maq'aaq* 'feather' occurs.

As for East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), the best solution here is to postulate **pinc^w* [LEDb: #145] as the Proto-East Lezgian root for 'feather' (however, without any further etymology). It has been retained in Aghul, Southern Tabasaran (Khiv), Lezgi (Gyune, Yarki, Fiy). In Northern Tabasaran (Khanag, Khyuryuk), **pinc^w* was superseded by **χäla* (~ *-l-*) [NCED: 1070], whose local meaning could be 'wing' (thus 'wing' > 'feather'). On the contrary, in Southern Tabasaran (Kondik, Tinit) and some Lezgi dialects (Akhty, Literary Lezgi), the root **c:äm^k / *kämc:* 'down' [NCED: 1091] has acquired the meaning 'feather' (sometimes with synchronic polysemy 'feather / down').

Out of a number of etymologically obscure terms for 'feather', attested in Lezgian lects, in several cases the source of borrowing can be established: Budukh (< Azerbaijani), Borch-Khnov Rutul (< Azerbaijani), Ixrek Rutul (< Lak?).

Replacements: {'a kind of plant' > 'feather'} (Vartashen Udi), {'tassel, bunch' > 'feather'} (Nidzh Udi), {'bird's hair' > 'feather'} (Mikik Tsakhur), {'down' > 'feather'} (Southern Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'wing' > 'feather'} (Northern Tabasaran), {'fist' > 'wing' > 'feather'(?)} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

28. FIRE

Nidzh Udi *ar-uχ {apyx}* (1), Vartashen Udi *ar-uχ {apyx}* (1), Archi *oc'* (1), Kryts (proper) *c'ä* (1), Alyk Kryts *c'a* (1), Budukh *c'e ~ c'a {uIe ~ uIa}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *c'a {uIa}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *c'a* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *c'a* (1), Mukhad Rutul *c'ay {uIaü}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *c'ä {uIab}* (1), Luchek Rutul *c'ay* (1), Koshan Aghul *c'a ~ c'ay* (1), Keren Aghul *c'a* (1), Gequn Aghul *c'a ~ c'ay* (1), Fite Aghul *c'ay* (1), Aghul (proper) *c'a ~ c'ay* (1), Northern Tabasaran *c'a* (1), Southern Tabasaran *c'a* (1), Gyune Lezgi *c'ay* (1), Proto-Lezgian **c'ay* (1).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 48; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63; Mobili 2010: 34.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 48; Fähnrich 1999: 6; Dirr 1903: 5, 16, 17, 27, 85; Schiefner 1863: 76; Schulze 2001: 249; Starchevskiy 1891: 504.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **ar-uχ*, where *-uχ* is a fossilized plural exponent.
- Caucasian Albanian:** *c'e* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-23]. An etymological cognate of the Udi term (note that the ejective is still retained in Caucasian Albanian).
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 287; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63; Mikailov 1967: 195; Dirr 1908: 172, 216. Archaic paradigm: *'oc'* [abs., erg.] / *'c'er'e-q'* [loc.], see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 287] (levelled up in the modern language: *oc'* [abs.] / *'oc'-li* [erg.] / *'oc'-li-t* [loc.], [Chumakina et al. 2007]). Polysemy: 'fire / stone in fingerring'.
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63. Paradigm: *c'ä* [abs.] / *c'-ir* [gen.].
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 33. Paradigm: *c'a* [abs.] / *c'-ir* [gen.].
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 150, 227; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63. Paradigm: *c'e* [abs.] / *c'ey-i- ~ c'ay-i- ~ c'er-i-* [obl.]. Variants with *-a-* come from [Meylanova 1984] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 896; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 383; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63.
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *c'a* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Dirr 1913: 212, 232.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 179, 196; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Makhmudova 2001: 39; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63. Paradigm: *c'ay* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'fire / fever'.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 286. Paradigm: *c'ä* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 63], erroneously quoted as *c'a* {цIа}.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'ay* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Suleymanov 2003: 194; Shaumyan 1941: 166. The more archaic variant *c'ay* comes from [Shaumyan 1941]. Paradigm: *c'a* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'a* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.]. The same in the Usug subdialect: *c'ay* 'fire' [Shaumyan 1941: 166].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Dirr 1907: 151, 178; Shaumyan 1941: 166. The more archaic variant *c'ay* is from [Shaumyan 1941]. Paradigm: *c'a(y)* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206; Shaumyan 1941: 166. Paradigm: *c'ay* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.].
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 194; Shaumyan 1941: 166. In [Suleymanov 2003], only the former variant is quoted. Paradigm: *c'a(y)* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.]. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *c'ay* 'fire' [Shaumyan 1941: 166].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'a* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.].
- The same in the Khanag subdialect: *c'a?* ~ *c'a* 'fire' [Uslar 1979: 959, 999; Dirr 1905: 216, 235]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk *c'a?* {цIаъ}, Kumi *c'a* {цIа} 'fire' [Genko 2005: 176, 177].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206. Paradigm: *c'a* [abs.] / *c'-i-* [obl.].
- The same in other subdialects: Khiv *c'ay* {цIаӀӀ}, Eteg, Tinit *c'a* {цIа} 'fire' [Genko 2005: 176]. Distinct from Khiv *murz* {мурз} 'flame, blaze (Russian: пламя)' [Genko 2005: 122].
- The same in Literary Tabasaran: *c'a* {цIа} 'fire' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 331]. Distinct from literary *murz* {мурз} 'flame, blaze (Russian: пламя)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 234].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 583, 620. Paradigm: *c'ay* [abs.] / *c'-u-* [obl.].
- The same in Literary Lezgi: *c'ay* [abs.] / *c'-u-* [obl.] {цIаӀӀ} 'fire' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 360; Gadzhiev 1950: 448; Haspelmath 1993: 484, 519]. Distinct from two literary terms for 'flame, blaze (Russian: пламя)': *c'un murz* {цIун мурз} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 245; Gadzhiev 1950: 540] (literally 'blade of fire') and *yalaaw* {ялав} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 402; Gadzhiev 1950: 540] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *alaw* 'flame, blaze').
- The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *c'ay* [abs.] / *yic'-a-* [obl.] 'fire' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 206]. The Akhty oblique stem is historically the result of metathesis < **c'iy-*.
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 354. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained with its basic meaning in all Lezgian lects.

Replacements: {'fire' > 'stone in finger-ring'} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, assuming the metathesis $cVy(V) > yVc(V)$ that occurred in several lects (Archi, Akhty Lezgi). The Udi form contains the fossilized plural suffix (which seems somewhat surprising from a semantic point of view).

Semantics and structure: Primary substantival root. The oblique stems are $*c'oyi-$ and $*c'o(y)-rV-$ (functional difference is unclear, but the latter is attested in Udi, Archi and Nuclear Lezgian, therefore, is more likely to represent an archaism).

29. FISH

Nidzh Udi *čäli* {чаблу} (1), Vartashen Udi *čäli* {чаблу} (1), Archi $\chi^{\delta}ab\chi i$ (2), Kryts (proper) *balik* (-1), Alyk Kryts *baluk* (-1), Budukh *baluk* {балузв} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *baluk* {балузв} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *baluk* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *baluk* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *baluk* {балузв} (-1), Ixrek Rutul *bäluk* ~ *baluk* {баблузв ~ балузв} (-1), Luchek Rutul *baluk* (-1), Koshan Aghul *baluŋ* ~ *baluk* (-1), Keren Aghul *č'ek*^y (3), Gequn Aghul *č'ek*' (3), Fite Aghul *baluk* (-1), Aghul (proper) *č'ek*' (3), Northern Tabasaran *č'ič'-i* (3), Southern Tabasaran *čič'* (3), Gyune Lezgi *ved* (4), Proto-Lezgian $*\chi^{\delta}an$: (4).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 236; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150; Mobili 2010: 82.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 236; Fähnrich 1999: 12; Dirr 1903: 14; Schiefner 1863: 88, 108; Schulze 2001: 265; Starchevskiy 1891: 506.

Common Udi: Common Udi $*čäli$.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 335, 379; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150; Mikailov 1967: 201; Dirr 1908: 187, 220.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *balig* 'fish'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 350. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *balig*, dialectal (Quba) *baluy* 'fish'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 25, 238; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *balig*, dialectal (Quba) *baluy* 'fish'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 870, 898; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 71; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *baluk* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Dirr 1913: 140, 237.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150.

Common Tsakhur: The term was borrowed from Azerbaijani *balig*, dialectal (e.g., Quba) *baluy* 'fish'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: XI (addenda), 17; Ibragimov 1978: 125, 163, 187; Makhmudova 2001: 20, 81, 82; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 36, 389; Ibragimov 1978: 204; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 150. The palatalized variant with *-ä-* comes from [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006].

A second (apparently less frequent) term is *muržux* {мурджух} 'fish' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 194, 389] (no examples found).

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87.

Common Rutul: The basic term for 'fish' in Rutul dialects normally represents a borrowing from Azerbaijani *balig*, dialectal (e.g., Quba) *baluy* 'fish'.

The inherited form, which reflects the Proto-Lezgian word for 'fish', is retained in the Shinaz dialect as $\chi^{\delta}at$ {xaIt} 'fish' [Ibragimov 1978: 163].

There also exists a bulk of specific dialectal forms with the meaning 'fish': Ixrek *muržux* (see above), Shinaz *mižuruχ* [Dirr 1912: 11, 160, 199], Muxrek *mižruχ* {мижруχ} [Ibragimov 1978: 187]. These look like loanwords, but the source of borrowing is not identified.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Suleymanov 2003: 38, 201; Shaumyan 1941: 167. The variant in -ʃ is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87. The same in the Usug subdialect: *č'ek* 'fish' [Shaumyan 1941: 167].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 153, 182; Shaumyan 1941: 167.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87], only the loanword *balux* is quoted for 'fish'.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87; Shaumyan 1941: 167.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 201; Shaumyan 1941: 167.

Distinct from the specific Tpig term *balux* 'large fish, any salt-water fish' [Suleymanov 2003: 38] of Azerbaijani origin.

In other subdialects, superseded with a loanword: Tsirkhe, Duldug *balux* 'fish' [Shaumyan 1941: 167].

Common Aghul: Cf. also *č'ek*, *č'ek* 'fish' [Magometov 1970: 72, 74], without dialect specification. Note the ejective dissimilation in the Richa form *č'ek*^y.

In some dialects the inherited term *č'ek* has been superseded with the Azerbaijani borrowing *balig*, dialectal (e.g., Quba) *baluy* 'fish'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87.

For the Khanag subdialect two words are known: the borrowing *bal'urχ*: 'fish (in general)' [Uslar 1979: 605, 1004] and the inherited term *č'ec'* with polysemy: 'small fish / locust' [Uslar 1979: 967, 1004]. Dirr, however, quotes only *č'ec'* 'fish (in general)' [Dirr 1905: 218, 241].

Similarly in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *bal'urχ*: {балурых} 'fish' [Genko 2005: 26]; distinct from inherited *č'ec'* {чечI} with polysemy: 'small fish / locust' [Genko 2005: 180].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87.

For the Khiv subdialect two words are known: the inherited term *č'ič'* {чичI} 'small fish, river fish' [Genko 2005: 181] and the borrowing *bal'ux* {балуҕь} 'salt-water fish' [Genko 2005: 26].

Quite differently in two subdialects of the Eteg cluster: Tinit, Dzhikhtig *χ'ad* {хад} 'fish' [Genko 2005: 168, 223].

Two words for 'fish' exist in Literary Tabasaran: the borrowing *bal'ux* {балуҕь} 'fish' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 76] and the inherited term *χ'ad* {хад} 'fish' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 319] - the difference is unknown.

Common Tabasaran: An unclear situation. Upon first sight, *č'ič'* ~ *č'ec'* (retained in both Northern and Southern Tabasaran) can safely be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'fish'. The external comparison could confirm this solution, since Tabasaran *č'ič'* etymologically corresponds to Aghul (the closest relative of Tabasaran) *č'ek* 'fish' < Lezgian **č'eχ*' [NCED: 333].

On the other hand, local Southern *χ'ad* 'fish' (characteristic of the Eteg group of subdialects [Genko 2005: 223], but also having penetrated in Literary Tabasaran) originates from the best candidate for the status of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'fish': Lezgian **χ'an*: [NCED: 1078]. We suppose that Southern *χ'ad* goes back to the Proto-Tabasaran word for 'fish', whereas the widespread Tabasaran term *č'ič'* ~ *č'ec'* 'fish' reflects later influence on the part of the neighboring Aghul language (this isogloss did not affect the Eteg group of Tabasaran subdialects, which is the most remote from the Aghul area). In such a case the original Proto-Tabasaran meaning of *č'ič'* ~ *č'ec'* could be 'locust', as proved by the Northern Tabasaran polysemy.

In some subdialects, inherited forms tend to be superseded with the borrowing from Azerbaijani *balig*, dialectal (e.g., Quba) *baluy* 'fish'. Northern Tabasaran *balurχ*: is a corruption of the same Azerbaijani word, although the phonetic development is unclear.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 385, 630. Paradigm: *ved* [abs.] / *vet:-r'e-* [obl.] / *vet:-'er* [pl.].

In Literary Lezgi the generic term for 'fish' is *bal'ux* {балуҕь} 'fish' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 58; Gadzhiev 1950: 737; Haspelmath 1993: 482, 519], borrowed from Azerbaijani *balig*, dialectal (e.g., Quba) *baluy* 'fish'. The inherited term *ved* [abs.] / *vet:-r'e* [obl.] {гъед} shifted to the more specific meaning 'large fish' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 93; Gadzhiev 1950: 737] (glossed simply as 'fish' in [Haspelmath 1993: 490, 519]).

Only the loanword is attested in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *bal'ux* 'fish' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 87].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1078. Distribution: An unstable term, superseded by the Azerbaijani loanword in many Nuclear Lezgian lects.

From the distributive point of view, three roots enter into competition.

1) * χ^{an} : [NCED: 1078]. This root is retained in several Nuclear Lezgian languages: Proto-Rutul (attested in Shinaz), Proto-Tabasaran (attested in Eteg), Proto-Lezgi (attested in Gyune). Since * χ^{an} : is descended from the best candidate for the status of the general North Caucasian term for 'fish', we reconstruct this Lezgian root with the meaning 'fish'.

2) * $\chi^{\text{aw}\chi\text{ay}}$ [LEDb: #262]. This root denotes 'fish' in Archi, but 'snail' in Tabasaran; no further etymology. In Proto-Lezgian, it could have denoted 'snail' *vel sim*.

3) * $\text{c}^{\text{w}}\text{i}\text{l}\text{ä}$ - [NCED: 532]. This root denotes 'fish' in Udi, but 'green', 'blue' and 'wet' in Nuclear Lezgian. It can actually be considered the best candidate for Proto-Lezgian 'green' (the shift 'green, blue' > 'fish' seems more natural than *vice versa*).

A fourth inherited root, also attested with the meaning 'fish', is * $\text{c}\text{e}\lambda$ ' [NCED: 333] (the variant * $\text{c}\text{e}\lambda$ ': is apparently unnecessary, because dialectal fluctuations in Aghul and Kryts seem local and late). It means 'fish' in Aghul and, secondarily, in the neighboring Tabasaran dialects (the original Proto-Tabasaran meaning of this root was, quite likely, 'locust'). Its suffixed Kryts cognate means 'green', whereas external North Caucasian *comparanda* suggest the meaning 'lizard' or 'frog'. An unclear situation. Maybe the Proto-Lezgian meaning of * $\text{c}\text{e}\lambda$ ' was indeed 'a k. of reptile' with a later shift to 'green' in Kryts, 'fish' in Aghul and 'locust' in Tabasaran.

In Rutul dialects, the forms *muržux* ~ *mižurux* ~ *mižruχ* 'fish' have no clear origin.

Replacements: {'green' > 'fish'} (Udi), {'a k. of reptile' > 'fish'} (Kryts), {'snail' > 'fish'(?)} (Archi), {'locust' > 'fish'(?)} (Tabasaran). See also notes on 'star'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

30. FLY V.

Nidzh Udi *pur-p-esun* {*пурпесун*} (1), Vartashen Udi *pur-p-esun* {*пурпесун*} (1), Archi *p'arχ:-bo-* (-1), Kryts (proper) *q:=alq'on-* (2), Alyk Kryts *q:=anq^wan-* (2), Budukh *učmi yixə-r-i* {*учми ыыхьари* ~ *йухьари*} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *il^y=eχ-* {*алихас*} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *al^y=iχ-* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *al^y=eχ^w-* {*алехва*} (3), Mukhad Rutul *l=äč-* {*лийчес*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *l=äš-* {*лабийшин*} (4), Luchek Rutul *l=ač-* (4), Koshan Aghul *al=t=wa^č-y-* (5), Keren Aghul *zawulas=ba^č-* (5), Aghul (proper) *hiš-a-* (6), Northern Tabasaran *t'i=ziχ⁻* (3), Southern Tabasaran *t'i=χ⁻* (3), Gyune Lezgi *luw γu-* (7), Proto-Lezgian **ziχ* V(3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 190, 191 (sub *pur* & *purpesun*); Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482; Mobili 2010: 236 (sub *pur* & *purpesun*). In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], there is instead a syncopated form *pur-p-sun* {*пурпсун*}. Polysemy: 'to fall, collapse, to go to ruin / to fly, hover'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 190, 191 (sub *pur* & *purpesun*); Fähnrich 1999: 26; Dirr 1903: 69; Schiefner 1863: 99; Schulze 2001: 308; Starchevskiy 1891: 486. Polysemy: 'to fall, collapse, to go to ruin / to fly, hover'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **pur-p-esun*, formed with the light verb *-p-* 'to say, to do smth. with the mouth; to do smth. (in general)' [Schulze 2005: 565 ff. (3.4.2.2 #15 ff.); Harris 2002: 204 ff.].

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 292, 365; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482; Mikailov 1967: 196; Dirr 1908: 174, 212. According to [Mikailov 1967], with polysemy: 'to fly / to fly up'. Complex verb, formed with the suppletive light verb *-bo-* 'to say'. The root *p'arχ:-* is borrowed from Avar *p'arχ:-ine* 'to flit, flutter, take wing'. The old root for 'to fly' could be retained in the Archi complex verb *p'ar-bo-* 'to stream, fly (of flag); to flash (of lightning)' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 292; Chumakina et al. 2007]. In [NCED: 875] Archi *p'arχ:-* is analyzed as an indigenous form influenced by the Avar verb, but from the formal viewpoint we prefer to treat this as a loanword.

- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482. Initial *q-* is the preverb 'above' [Saadiev 1994: 424].
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 405. Paradigm: *q:=anq^wan-* [imperf.] / *q:=arq'un-* [perf., inv.]. Obviously corresponds to the Kryts proper verb, although morphophonological details are not entirely clear.
- Budukh:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82. Missing from [Meylanova 1984] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Meylanova 1984: 41 (sub *hundur*), 54 (sub *durna*), 157 (sub *čünglele*), etc.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482] quoted as *üčmüš siži* {уьчмуш сизги}. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *uç-mag* (perfect stem *uç-muš-* 'to fly', plus the Budukh verbs *yixə- ~ yixə- / səxə-* 'to be(come)' or *siži-* 'to do').
- Distinct from *pir-pir siži* 'to fly up, take wing', literally 'to make *pir-pir*' [Meylanova 1984: 120]. Further cf. *pir-pir* 'propeller blade; may-bug' [Meylanova 1984: 120].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 210, 213, 247, 391, 649, 869; Ibragimov 1990: 123; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 38. Polysemy: 'to fly / to fly up / to get on (horse, motorcycle)'. Ablaut paradigm: *il^h=eχ-a* [imperf.] / *al^h=iχ-i* [perf.] / *al^h=iχ-as* [fut.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482], the future form is erroneously quoted as *ap=iχ-as* {апихас}.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Dirr 1913: 185, 228. Future stem.
- In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82], however, only the loanword *üčmiš-x-* 'to fly' is quoted, borrowed from the Azerbaijani perfect stem *uç-muš-* (infinitive *uç-mag*) 'to fly', plus the Tsakhur verb *ix-* 'to become'.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Ibragimov 1990: 197. Imperfect stem. Labialization of *χ^w* is quite unclear. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482], the future stem is quoted as *al^h=iχ-*: *al^h=i-w-χ-oz* {аливхоз} (this form of the class 3 does not permit to distinguish between *χ* and *χ^w*).
- Common Tsakhur:** Initial *V^h=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 123; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 157, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 95, 119; Makhmudova 2001: 14, 134; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 482. Polysemy: 'to jump / to fly'. Assimilative alternation *l=äč-* / *l=ič-* within the paradigm. In [Makhmudova 2001], quoted with *-e-* instead of *-ä-*.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 176, 352. Polysemy: 'to jump / to jump to one's feet / to fly'. It must be noted that in [Ibragimov 1978: 194], this verb is quoted as *l=äč-* {лаьйчин} 'to jump'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 81, 82. Polysemy: 'to jump / to fly'.
- Common Rutul:** In the Muxrek dialect, *l=aš-* 'to jump' is attested [Ibragimov 1990: 185, 187].
- Forms with *-č-* and *-š-* are apparently related; the irregular shift *č > š* seems to be due to the expressive nature of the root.
- Initial *l=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82. Imperfective stem. Initial *al=t=* is historically a double spatial prefix [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.], which modifies the suppletive verb 'to go' q.v.
- It must be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 62], Koshan *ƒ=alga-na-* or *ƒ=alga-na-* {гІалганас} (without subdialectal specification) is translated as 'to fly'. Cf. the same verb, modified with another prefix: Burshag *h=alga-na-* 'to run away' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 81; Suleymanov 2003: 62].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82; Magometov 1970: 136. The collocation *zaw-u-las ba^ƒ* 'to go (q.v.) across the sky (*zaw-*)'.
- Gequn Aghul:** Not attested.
- Fite Aghul:** Not attested.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 62. Polysemy: 'to run, run away / to fly'. *Pace* [NCED: 491], may be analyzed as the prefixed stem *h=iš-a-* with the spatial prefix *h=* 'before' (for which see [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.]).
- Common Aghul:** An unstable and poorly documented verb. Proto-Aghul reconstruction is impossible. It should be noted that all attested forms are based on the verbs for 'to go' or 'to run'.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82.
- The same in the Khanag subdialect: *t'=iχ-* 'to fly' [Uslar 1979: 922, 996; Dirr 1905: 206, 232]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *t'=iχ-* {тІибхув} 'to fly' [Genko 2005: 148].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82.
- The same in the Khiv subdialect: *t'=iχ-* {тІирхуьб} 'to fly' [Genko 2005: 149]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *t'=iχ-* {тІибхуьб} 'to fly' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 288].
- Cf. Literary Tabasaran *p'urr ap-* 'to fly up, take wing', literally 'to make *p'urr*' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 256].
- Common Tabasaran:** Initial *t'(V)=* is the intensive spatial prefix.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 499, 616. Two expressions for 'to fly' are quoted by Uslar: *luw γu-*, literally 'to give (q.v.) wing (*luw*)' [Uslar

1896: 499, 616] and *c:aw-ä šu-*, literally 'to go (q.v.) across the sky (*c:aw*)' [Uslar 1896: 580, 616]. The semantic and pragmatic difference is unclear. There is also a parallel construction *c:aw-ä ata-* 'to come flying, to fly here', literally 'to come (q.v.) across the sky' [Uslar 1896: 580].

The same two expressions are used for 'to fly' in Literary Lezgi: *luw gu-* {луw гуn} 'to give wing' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 225; Gadzhiev 1950: 333; Haspelmath 1993: 519] and *c:aw-ay fi-* {цавай фин} 'to go across the sky' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 357; Gadzhiev 1950: 333]. Cf. Literary Lezgi *purr aw'u-* (or *p:urr aw'u-?*) 'to fly up, take wing', literally 'to make *purr*' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 268].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 582. Distribution: The verb 'to fly' cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

The best candidate seems the root **ʔiχV* [NCED: 582], which means 'to fly' in two Nuclear Lezgian languages: Tsakhur, Tabasaran, but got lost in the rest of the lects. External North Caucasian comparison may confirm the Proto-Lezgian reconstruction **ʔiχV* 'to fly'.

The second candidate is the expressive root **pVr-* [NCED: 874]. It is encountered as part of complex verbs in two outliers: Udi ('to fly') and Archi ('to stream, fly (of flag)'); the generic meaning 'to fly' is expressed by the Avar loanword. Cf. also Nuclear Lezgian expressions for 'to fly up, take wing': Budukh 'to make *pir-pir*', Tabasaran 'to make *p'urr*', Lezgi 'to make *purr*', which should rather be analyzed as onomatopoeic. Lezgian **pVr-* also possesses external North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meaning 'to fly', although verbs of the shape *pVr* are rather frequently attested as expressions for 'to fly' among the world's languages, and normally it is impossible to discriminate between etymological cognates and new onomatopoeic formations. For this reason we prefer to exclude Lezgian **pVr-* from the list.

In Kryts, 'to fly' is expressed by the etymologically isolated *=alq'on-* ~ *=anq^wan-* [LEDb: #234].

In Rutul, the old root was superseded with **ʔäčä-*, whose Lezgian cognates, discussed in [NCED: 283], are semantically dubious, but the original Proto-Rutul meaning of this root should be 'to jump', judging by the synchronic Rutul polysemy 'to fly / to jump' (i.e. 'to jump' > 'to fly up' > 'to fly').

In Aghul dialects, the meaning 'to fly' is expressed by various prefixed roots with the original meanings 'to go' or 'to run' (the full collocation 'to go across the sky' = 'to fly' is also attested).

In Lezgi, two collocations for 'to fly' coexist: 'to give wing' and 'to go across the sky'.

In Budukh, superseded with the Azerbaijani loanword.

Replacements: {'to jump' > 'to fly'} (Rutul), {'to go' > 'to fly'} (Aghul), {'to run' > 'to fly'} (Aghul), {'to go across the sky' > 'to fly'} (Aghul, Lezgi), {'to give wing' > 'to fly'} (Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

31. FOOT

Nidzh Udi *tur {mɤp}* (1), Vartashen Udi *tur {mɤp}* (1), Archi *aq* (2), Kryts (proper) *q:il* (3), Alyk Kryts *q:il* (3), Budukh *q:il* {кбул} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:el^y* {квел^л} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *vel^y* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *vel^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *vil* {гбул} (3), Ixrek Rutul *vil* {гбул} (3), Luchek Rutul *vil* (3), Koshan Aghul *lek* (4), Keren Aghul *lak* (4), Gequn Aghul *lek* (4), Fite Aghul *lik* (4), Aghul (proper) *läk* ~ *lek* (4), Northern Tabasaran *lik* (4), Southern Tabasaran *lik* (4), Gyune Lezgi *k^wač* (5), Proto-Lezgian **q:el* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 206; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Mobili 2010: 269. Polysemy: 'leg / foot / paw'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210], however, *tur* is glossed only as 'leg'.

There exists a separate specific Nidzh term for 'foot': *č:il* {чил} 'foot' [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 213] (glossed as 'foot'), [Gukasyan 1974: 256] (glossed as Russian 'нога' (i.e. leg with foot)); missing from the main section of the dictionary. The origin of *č:il* is unclear.

- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 206; Fähnrich 1999: 31; Dirr 1903: 12, 22, 93; Schiefner 1863: 96; Schulze 2001: 325; Starchevskiy 1891: 504. Polysemy: 'leg / foot / paw'.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **tur* 'leg / foot / paw'. Schulze's suspicions [Schulze 2001: 325] that Udi *tur* could be a Georgian loanword are unjustified not only from a sociolinguistic point of view, but also factologically (there is, in fact, no such word as Old Georgian *tur* 'foot').
- Caucasian Albanian:** *tur* 'foot' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-18]. Distinct from *ɛeqal* 'leg' or more specifically 'shank' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22] ("Then came the soldiers, and brake the legs of the first, and of the other").
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 190, 369; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210, 212; Mikailov 1967: 172; Dirr 1908: 126, 215. Polysemy: 'leg (of human) / foot (of human) / hind leg (of animal)'. For the meaning 'leg' cf. "I have broken an arm and leg (*aq*)" [Dirr 1908: 126], "to break a leg (*aq*)" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 191; Chumakina et al. 2007] (sub *áqʼas*).
- Distinct from the bound term *moʔ-ol* 'foot', used in some idiomatic expressions [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 281; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Chumakina et al. 2007]. Etymological evidence [NCED: 309] points to the primary meaning 'support'.
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / step of staircase'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *qil-i qʼän*, literally 'bottom of *qil*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 25, 34, 71, 272, 337, etc. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 88, 226; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / paw'.
- Distinct from the more specific term *ʒerʒ* {чІерчІ} 'shinbone; shin; leg' [Meylanova 1984: 158].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 876, 896; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 216; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210. Polysemy: 'foot / leg' (for the latter meaning cf., e.g., examples with "to break a leg" in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 211, 235; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 142]).
- In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 213], 'foot' is glossed as *mikʼʼi* {мыкІи} - an enigmatic form (cf. *mik* 'dance; kick' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 268]).
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *elʼ* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30]. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *elʼ-in xanʼe*, literally 'bottom of *elʼ*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Dirr 1913: 150, 231. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. The meaning 'foot' can also be expressed as *velʼ-in xanʼe*, literally 'bottom of *velʼ*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 210. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. The meaning 'foot' can also be expressed as *velʼ-inʼ xanʼe*, literally 'bottom of *velʼ*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].
- In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 213], 'foot' is erroneously glossed as *kʼutnʼi* {кІутни}; in fact *kʼutʼnʼi* {кІутʼни} means merely 'end, tip', at least in Literary Tsakhur [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 205].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 132, 196; Ibragimov 1978: 115. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212], 'foot' is erroneously quoted as *vil-di xudʼi* {гІилды хьуды}, which literally means 'of foot' (gen.) + 'front' (adj.).
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 66, 364. Polysemy: 'foot / leg / paw'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *vil-id qʼen*, literally 'bottom of *vil*' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 66].
- In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212], 'foot' is erroneously quoted as *gil* {гІл}, which actually means 'foreleg (of animal)' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 58].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Suleymanov 2003: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 158. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Ablaut paradigm: *lek* [abs.] / *lek-ri* ~ *lik-ri* [erg.] / *lik-ar* [pl.].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *tul:ε lak*, literally 'flat *lak*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Dirr 1907: 133, 178; Shaumyan 1941: 158. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *tul:ε lek*, literally 'flat *lek*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30; Shaumyan 1941: 158. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 158. Apparently with polysemy: 'foot / leg'. Tpig *läk* is glossed by Suleymanov and Shaumyan as Russian "нога", which can mean 'foot', 'leg' or 'foot + leg'. Cf. the following examples for the meaning 'foot': "My foot fell into the mud" [Suleymanov 2003: 68], "Hit the ball with a foot!" [Suleymanov 2003: 104], "My foot stuck in the mud" [Suleymanov 2003: 161, 211], "A snake has crawled near my foot" [Suleymanov 2003: 165], "Don't move your feet quickly" [Magometov 1970: 196 strophe XVII]. However, no unambiguous examples for the

meaning 'leg' have been found.

Two additional (more marginal) words are glossed as 'hora' in [Suleymanov 2003]: *murk* 'hora; hoof' [Suleymanov 2003: 135] and *t'ur?* 'furniture leg; hora (disparaging)' [Suleymanov 2003: 159].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *lik-r-'in k'an*, literally 'bottom of *lik*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *lik ~ lek* 'foot; leg' [Uslar 1979: 842, 999; Dirr 1905: 193, 235]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *lik* {лик} 'foot; leg' [Genko 2005: 114].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. 'Foot' can also be expressed as *lik-r-'in k'an*, literally 'bottom of *lik*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *lik* {лик} 'foot; leg' [Genko 2005: 114]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *lik* {лик} 'foot; leg' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 218].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 474, 619. Polysemy: 'foot / leg'. This is the most generic and basic term, cf. some examples for the meaning 'foot': "I have blisters on my foot (due to chafing boot)" [Uslar 1896: 466], "The dog is lying at its master's feet" [Uslar 1896: 488], "I got my foot wet in this boot" [Uslar 1896: 526], "His foot slipped and he fell" [Uslar 1896: 586], "The boots pinch my feet" [Uslar 1896: 592], etc. A second word for 'foot' is *q'ül* with polysemy: 'foot / dance, dancing' [Uslar 1896: 534, 634], but it is less frequent in the anatomic meaning than *k^wač*. Two examples for *q'ül* 'foot' have been found: "He got under my foot (= I trod on him)", "I kicked him with my foot" [Uslar 1896: 534]. Cf. also the expression *k^wač k'an* 'sole (of the foot)', literally 'bottom of *k^wač*' [Uslar 1896: 471].

The same basic term in Literary Lezgi: *k^wač* {к'вач} 'foot / leg / paw' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 214; Gadzhiev 1950: 426; Haspelmath 1993: 496, 522, 519]. Distinct from literary *q'ül* {к'уль} with polysemy: 'foot / kick / dance, dancing' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 209] (incorrectly glossed as 'leg; dance' in [Haspelmath 1993: 504]).

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *k^wač* 'foot / leg' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 30]. The meaning 'foot' can also be expressed as *k^wač-'in k'an* 'bottom of *k^wač*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 31].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 455. **Distribution:** First of all, it must be noted that the attested basic terms display the polysemy 'foot / leg' in all languages, except for Caucasian Albanian (the latter may be due to chance); the same polysemy should be reconstructed for Proto-Lezgian.

Three Lezgian roots are equal candidates for the status of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'foot / leg' from the distributive point of view: (1) **ya(m)tur* [NCED: 674], meaning 'foot / leg' in Udi; (2) **?aq:* [NCED: 244], meaning 'foot / leg' in Archi; (3) **q:el* [NCED: 455], meaning 'foot / leg' in South and West Lezgian.

Out of these, **ya(m)tur* denotes 'thigh, hip' in Nuclear Lezgian, and its external North Caucasian *comparanda* also point to the meaning 'thigh, hip' [NCED: 674]. Thus, it is natural to posit **ya(m)tur* as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'thigh, hip' and assume the shift 'thigh, hip' > 'foot / leg' in the Udi branch (in Caucasian Albanian this root is attested for 'foot').

The second root, **?aq:* [NCED: 244], is attested with the polysemy 'leg (of human) / foot (of human) / hind leg (of animal)' in Archi and as narrower 'hind leg (of animal)' in some Nuclear Lezgian lects. The most economic solution is to reconstruct its Proto-Lezgian meaning as 'hind leg (of animal)' (with further developments in Archi).

The third competing root is **q:el* [NCED: 455], which is retained in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), where it means 'foot / leg'. Distributively this should be posited as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian term for 'foot / leg', and there is no counter evidence for the same semantic reconstruction on the Proto-Lezgian level.

In East Lezgian, **q:el* was probably superseded with other roots. In Aghul and Tabasaran, 'foot / leg' is expressed by **lāk* [NCED: 755], whose original Proto-Lezgian meaning is likely to have been 'leg bone' (see notes on 'bone'). In Lezgi, the root **k^warč* [NCED: 733] is used for 'foot / leg'; the original meaning of **k^warč* is not entirely clear, but it could be 'heel, sole' (shifted to 'hoof' in Rutul-Tsakhur), as suggested by the external North Caucasian *comparanda*.

Cf. also recent semantic developments into 'foot' in individual lects: 'hoof' > 'foot' in Aghul Proper (*murk*); 'furniture leg' > 'foot / leg' in Aghul Proper (*t'ur?*); 'kick; dance, dancing' > 'foot' in Gyune and Literary Lezgi (*q'ül*). In many Nuclear Lezgian lects, the collocations 'bottom of leg/foot' (Kryts, Tsakhur, Rutul, Tabasaran, Lezgi) or 'flat leg/foot' (Aghul) can also be used for the specific meaning 'foot'.

Replacements: {'thigh, hip' > 'leg / foot'} (Udi, Caucasian Albanian), {'hind leg (of animal)' > 'leg / foot'} (Archi), {'leg bone' > 'leg / foot'} (Aghul, Tabasaran), {'furniture leg' > 'foot / leg'} (Aghul Proper), {'hoof' > 'foot'} (Aghul Proper), {'kick; dance, dancing' > 'foot'} (Lezgi), {'bottom of leg' > 'foot'} (Kryts, Tsakhur, Rutul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'flat leg' > 'foot'} (Aghul), {'heel, sole' > 'leg / foot(?)'} (Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root with polysemy 'foot / leg'. The oblique stem is *qelɪ-.

32. FULL

Nidzh Udi *b=uy* {бyü} (1), Vartashen Udi *b=uy* {бyü} (1), Archi *a:c'u-t:u-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *ɬac'ä-* (1), Alyk Kryts *ɬac'a* (1), Budukh *s=əc'ə* {caɥIa} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *g^y=ac^yi:-n* {гяɥIuüɪn} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *g^y=ac^yi:-n* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *g^y=äc^yiɥi-n^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *ac'i-d* {aɥIɪd} (1), Ixrek Rutul *l=ec'i-d* {лeɥIuɔ} (1), Luchek Rutul *ac'i-d* (1), Koshan Aghul *?=ac'i-r ~ ac'a-r* (1), Gequn Aghul *ac'u-f* (1), Fite Aghul *ac'u-t* (1), Aghul (proper) *?=ac'u-f ~ ac'u-f* (1), Southern Tabasaran *ac'u* {aɥIɥ} (1), Gyune Lezgi *ac'a-* (1), Proto-Lezgian **h^fac'i-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 92; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612; Mobili 2010: 76. Quoted as 'thick, portly; satiated' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241]. Polysemy: 'full / thick, portly / satiated'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 92; Fähnrich 1999: 10; Schiefner 1863: 102; Schulze 2001: 261; Starchevskiy 1891: 494.

Common Udi: Common Udi **buy*, historically = **b=uy* with the fossilized class prefix *b-*; see notes on 'to burn'.

Caucasian Albanian: *bai* 'full; fulfilled, complete, perfect' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-7]; an etymological cognate of the modern Udi term.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612; Dirr 1908: 130. In [Chumakina et al. 2007] (sub *əwɔ'ut:u*) erroneously transcribed with short initial vowels, although vowel length is proven by the sound files. Polysemy: 'full, filled / satiated'. Regular participle from the verb *a:c'a-* 'to fill (trans.) / to be filled / to satiate oneself' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 195; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101; Chumakina et al. 2007; Mikailov 1967: 173; Dirr 1908: 130].

Kryts (proper): NCED: 526. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612] quoted as *ɬac'a-*. This root is also retained in the expression for 'to become filled': *ɬac' xi-* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101] with *xi-* 'to become'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 251, 314, 368.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 78 (sub *kud*). In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], *s=əc'ə* is quoted as 'thick, portly; satiated' (intervocalic geminated *-c'-* is either a typo or the influence of the same sporadic phenomenon of the Azerbaijani language, cf., however, [Aleksiev 1994: 294]). Polysemy: 'full / satiated'. Participle from the verb *s=əc'ə-* {caɥIa} 'to become filled' [Meylanova 1984: 125; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101]. Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Aleksiev 1994: 271 f.].

Distinct from *dulu* {дулу} 'full' [Meylanova 1984: 54], whose application is unknown; borrowed from Azerbaijani *dolu* 'full'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612], 'full' is glossed as *tamamu* {тамаму}, but in fact *tamam* means 'finished; comprehensive' [Meylanova 1984: 132], borrowed from Azerbaijani *tamam* 'full (in abstract sense)', ultimately from Arabic.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 395, 411; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612.

Distinct from *bikiri-n* 'full (in abstract sense), whole; finished' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 870].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: cf. *g^y=ac'i-n* 'satiated' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241].

Mikik Tsakhur: Dirr 1913: 146, 234. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], *g^y=ac^yi:-n* is glossed as 'thick, portly; satiated'. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612], erroneously spelled as *g^y=äciɥi-n^y* {гяцыйин}. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], *g^y=äc^yiɥi-n^y* is glossed as 'thick, portly; satiated'. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'.

Common Tsakhur: Participle from the verb *g^y=ac-* 'to become filled', attested in Mishlesh [Kibrik et al. 1999: 873; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 128] and Mikik [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101]. Initial *g^y=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 120, 198; Makhmudova 2001: 167; Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 179; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612. In [Dirr 1912: 175], the class 3 form *uc'i-d* is also quoted as a separate entry. A prefixless participle from the labile verb *h=ac'*- {ʁaɪɟʁaɟ} 'to fill; to become filled' [Makhmudova 2001: 252].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 179, 375. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 612], erroneously quoted as *l=ec'i-d* {лeцИд}. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'. Participle from the verb *l=ec'*- {лeцИн} 'to become filled' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 179].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241, 294. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'. Participle from an unattested verb (see the Mukhad & Rutul data).

Common Rutul: Shinaz dialect: *l=ac'i-d* 'full' [Dirr 1912: 156].

Initial *l=*, *h=* are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165]. Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Suleymanov 2003: 209; Shaumyan 1941: 139. The prefixless form is from [Shaumyan 1941]; according to [Shaumyan 1941] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], *ac'a-r* displays polysemy: 'full / satiated'.

Suleymanov's *?=ac'i-r* is a regular derivative from the verbs *ac'i-* ~ *?=ac'i-* 'to fill (intrans.); to satiate oneself' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101; Suleymanov 2003: 35, 209; Shaumyan 1941: 139] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] and [Shaumyan 1941], only the prefixless stem is quoted, Suleymanov gives both verbs; incorrectly glossed as 'to fill (trans.)' by Shaumyan). Kibrik & Kodzasov's and Shaumyan's *ac'a-r* 'full' is less clear because of the thematic *-a*.

Keren Aghul: Only the verb *ac'a-* 'to fill (intrans.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 101] and the participle *ac'u-f* 'satiated' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241] are attested.

Cf. in the Usug subdialect the regular participle *ac'u-f* 'full / satiated' [Shaumyan 1941: 139].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 104; Shaumyan 1941: 139; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241. Polysemy: 'full / satiated / thick'. A regular participle from the verb *ac'a-* 'to fill (trans.)' [Dirr 1907: 104].

Fite Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 139; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 209; Shaumyan 1941: 139. The prefixless form is from [Shaumyan 1941]. Polysemy: 'full / satiated'. A regular participle from the verbs *ac'a-* ~ *?=ac'a-* 'to fill (intrans.); to satiate oneself' [Suleymanov 2003: 35, 209; Shaumyan 1941: 139] (probably erroneously glossed as 'to fill (trans.)' by Shaumyan).

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *ac'u-f* 'full / satiated' [Shaumyan 1941: 139].

Common Aghul: Initial *?=* is the spatial prefix 'in' [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.].

Northern Tabasaran: Not attested in any Northern Tabasaran sources. Cf. Dyubek *a-CLASS-c'i* 'satiated' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], which, apparently, possesses the basic meaning 'full'.

Southern Tabasaran: Genko 2005: 21. This is actually a form from the Khiv subdialect. Polysemy: 'full, filled / satiated'. Prosodically distinct from the paronymous Khiv adjective *ac'u* 'stout, portly' [Genko 2005: 21].

The proper Kondik term for 'full' is not documented, cf. Kondik *ac'u* 'satiated' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241], which apparently possesses the basic meaning 'full'.

Common Tabasaran: Participle from the Common Tabasaran verb 'to fill (trans., intrans.): Khyuryuk, Khiv, Literary Tabasaran, etc. *'ac'*- [Genko 2005: 12, 21; Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 45].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 348, 625. Participle from the verb *ac"u-* [imperf.] / *ac'a-* [perf.] 'to fill (intrans.)'. Distinct from Gyune *tuχ* 'satiated' [Uslar 1896: 556, 634], borrowed from Azerbaijani *tox* 'satiated'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *ac"u-y* {aɟʁaɟ} 'full, filled' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 54; Gadzhiev 1950: 583; Haspelmath 1993: 479, 520], participle from the verb *ac"u-* [imperf.] / *ac'a-* [perf.] {aɟʁɪn} 'to fill (intrans.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 54; Haspelmath 1993: 479]. Distinct from the Azerbaijani loanword *tuχ* {тух} 'satiated' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 318; Gadzhiev 1950: 836].

For the Akhty dialect (Khlyut), inherited *ac"u-y* is documented only in the meaning 'satiated' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 241].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 525. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Lezgian lects. The root is originally verbal - 'to be full, to fill (intrans.)'. In all the languages, the adjectival meaning 'full' is expressed by participial formations. Just like the plain verb 'to be full', this root has survived in Archi and the most Nuclear Lezgian languages, but has been lost in Udi and Kryts (where 'to fill (trans.)' is a secondary factitive formation from 'full').

This basic adjective displays the polysemy 'full / satiated' in all or almost all the languages; the same polysemy 'to be full / to be satiated' should be reconstructed for the Proto-Lezgian verb (the Proto-Lezgian development 'full' > 'satiated'). In some Nuclear Lezgian lects the development 'full' > 'thick' is attested as well (Budukh, Tsakhur, Aghul).

Replacements: {'full' > 'satiated'} (Proto-Lezgian), {'full' > 'thick'} (Budukh, Tsakhur, Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, although reconstruction of the initial h^{L} is uncertain (Kryts ʃ could actually be an old prefix with general semantics, the Archi vowel length can be unrelated). Thus, the reconstruction $*ac'i$ is also probable. In Caucasian Albanian-Udi, the fossilized class prefix $b-$ occurs.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with polysemy 'to be full / to be satiated'.

33. GIVE

Nidzh Udi *tad-* {*mað-* ~ *macmIyH*} (1), Vartashen Udi *tad-* {*mað-* ~ *macmIyH*} (1), Archi = λ o- (1), Kryts (proper) *v=uc'n-* (2) / *vu-* (1), Alyk Kryts *v=uc'-* (2) / *vu-* (1), Budukh *yuc'u-* {*üyüIy-*} (2) / *yivð-* {*üviva-*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *h=el-* {*zβuλεc, zβele*} (1) / *h=iw-* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *h=el-* (1) / *h=uw-* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *h=il-* {*zβuλεz*} (1), Mukhad Rutul *CLASS=w=ic'-* {*βvic*} (2) / *CLASS=w-i-r* (1), Ixrek Rutul *CLASS=ic'-* {*βvH*} (2) / *CLASS=w-i-r* (1), Luchek Rutul *CLASS=w=ic'-* (2) / *CLASS=w-i-r* (1), Koshan Aghul *ic'-an-di-* (2) / *i-na-w* (1), Keren Aghul *i-ne* (1), Gequn Aghul *ic'-an-di* (2) / *i-na* (1), Fite Aghul *ic'-ada* (2) / *i-na* (1), Aghul (proper) *ic'-an-di-* (2) / *i-na* ~ *yi-ne* (1), Northern Tabasaran *l=ic'-* (2) / *d='uy-* (1), Southern Tabasaran *t='uw-* ~ *t='uw-* (1), Gyune Lezgi *yu-* (1), Proto-Lezgian $*\text{ʔi}\lambda\text{:i}$ (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 258; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the masdar form is erroneously quoted as *tast:un* {*ʔIactIyH*} for *tast:un* {*ʔactIyH*}. The masdar *tast:un* originates from $*\text{tad-sun}$ with the regular metathesis $ds > st$: (for which see [Maisak 2008a: 151 f.; Schulze 1982: 90; Gukasyan 1974: 258]).

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 258; Fähnrich 1999: 30; Dirr 1903: 40, 58, 69, 71; Schiefner 1863: 95; Schulze 2001: 324; Starchevskiy 1891: 485.

Common Udi: As is traditionally suggested (e.g., [Schulze 2005: 542 (3.4.2.1 #24)]) and now proven by the Caucasian Albanian data, Udi *tad-* is to be analyzed as $*\text{ta=d-}$ with the preverb *ta-* 'thither' and the old root *d-* 'to give'. The latter lost its meaning in modern Udi and currently only functions as a light verb with general semantics [Schulze 2005: 572 ff. (3.4.2.2 #28 ff.)]. In all likelihood, Udi *d-* goes back to $*\text{day-}$ < Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi $*\text{dax-}$ (with the shift $\text{ʋ} > \text{0/y}$ in the intervocalic position before front vowels or before consonants), which was further reanalyzed as $*\text{d-a-}$ and levelled up across the paradigm. Quite a different analysis has tentatively been proposed in [NCED: 1034] (whose authors were naturally not aware of the Caucasian Albanian data): Udi *ta-d-* with the hypothetical root *ta-* 'to give', lacking East Caucasian *comparanda*.

Note also that in Caucasian Albanian the root of the present stem 'to give' is *lux-*, but it did not survive in modern Udi (as opposed to Caucasian Albanian, the Udi present forms are apparently secondary, originating from the infinitive; [Maisak 2008b: 164 ff.; Maisak 2008a: 115]).

Caucasian Albanian: A suppletive paradigm *lux-* (present) / *dax-* (infinitive, past, imperative) with polysemy: 'to give / to deliver, hand over' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44, 45, 51, IV-13]. Besides these, prefixed variants *ta=luxa-* / *ta=dax-* are attested, which are closely synonymous to the plain forms in the palimpsests [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-17]. For the prefix/preverb *ta=* 'thither' see notes on 'to go'.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 267, 356; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 242; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528; Mikailov 1967: 192; Dirr 1908: 200, 207. Complex imperative: $=\lambda'a-ba$ [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 94].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Suppletive paradigm: *v=uc'n-* [imperf.] / *vu-* [perf.] / *vät* [imv.]. In [NCED: 626] the imperfective stem is quoted as *v=ic'in-*. Initial *v=* is the preverb 'near' [Saadiev 1994: 424]. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528. Perfective stem.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 156 ff., 416. Paradigm: *v=uc'-* [imperf.] / *vu(y)-* [perf.] / *vatu* [imv.]. It must be noted that, as opposed to

- Kryts proper, there is no nasal imperfective in this Alyk verb. Authier 2009: 156 ff., 416. Perfective stem.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 74, 210; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528. Suppletive paradigm: *yuc'u-* [imperf.] / *yivə-* [perf.] / *yut-* [inv.]. Initial *y-* may theoretically be the preverb 'across' [Aleksiev 1994: 271].
Distinct from *esi-* (*e-l-si-*) 'to give back, return' [Meylanova 1984: 166; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68]. Meylanova 1984: 74, 210; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Perfective stem.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 74, 77, 877, 893. Supposedly missing from [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528], erroneously quoted as *h=ep-es* {гъепес}. Suppletive paradigm: *h=el^y-e* [imperf.] / *h=iw-o* [perf.] / *h=il^y-e* [fut., inv.] (for the rare thematic *-o* in perf. see [Kibrik et al. 1999: 71] - apparently an important archaism). Kibrik et al. 1999: 877. Perfective stem.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Dirr 1913: 164, 223. Suppletive paradigm: *h=el^y-e-* [imperf., fut.] / *h=uw-a* [perf.]. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Perfective stem.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], erroneously quoted as *h=iy-* {гъиез}. The future stem.
- Common Tsakhur:** Both Tsakhur stems, *h=el^y-e* (imperfective) and *h=iw-o* (perfective), apparently represent one proto-root. Initial *h=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 128, 189; Ibragimov 1978: 85, 87, 101, 107; Makhmudova 2001: 247; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528.
Suppletive paradigm: CLASS=*w=i=l=c'a-r-* [imperf.] / CLASS=*w-i-r* [perf.] / CLASS=*w-i* [inv.]. It must be noted that according to [Ibragimov 1978: 85], the modern imperative form is CLASS=*iy*, where the original root consonant *-w-* was reanalyzed as the class 3 exponent. In [Dirr 1912], the imperfective and perfective stems are quoted with the assimilated sequence *-wu-* instead of *-wi-*. Perfective stem.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 49, 334; Ibragimov 1978: 215; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 528.
Suppletive paradigm: CLASS=*i=r=c'ä-r-* [imperf.] / CLASS=*w-i-r* [perf.] / CLASS=*iy* [inv.]. In [Ibragimov 1978], the imperf. stem is quoted with regular *-a-* instead of *-ä-*. The imperative form is a result of secondary reanalysis, see notes on Mukhad Rutul. Perfective stem.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Imperfective stem.
Suppletive paradigm: CLASS=*w=i=l=c'a-r-* [imperf.] / CLASS=*w-i-r* [perf.] / CLASS=*w-iy* [inv.]. Perfective stem.
- Common Rutul:** The suppletive paradigms generally coincide in all dialects. Note the rare imperfective infix *-l-* in Mukhad and Luchek. Initial *w=* in the imperfective stem (Mukhad, Luchek) seems a rare (or unique) case of the prefix *w=* (cf. the same prefixal morpheme in the Kryts imperfective stem).
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68; Suleymanov 2003: 94.
Suppletive paradigm: *ic'an-di-* [imperf.] / *i-na-w* [perf.] / *i-s* [inf.] / *t-il* [inv.] / *ma=l=ic'a* [prohib.]. Final *-w* in the perfective (aorist) form looks like a fossilized class exponent; *l=* in the prohibitive form is a spatial prefix [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.]. Perfective stem.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Suppletive paradigm: imperf. not attested / *i-ne* [perf.] / *i-s* [inf.] / *t-in* [inv.] / *ma=yc'a* [prohib.].
A somewhat different paradigm in the Usug subdialect: *c'ay-* [imperf.] / *g=i-ne* [perf.] / *c'a-s* [inf.] / *t-in* [inv.] 'to give' [Shaumyan 1941: 147]. Initial *g=* in the perfective form is apparently a rare spatial prefix.
- Gequn Aghul:** Dirr 1907: 113, 171. Suppletive paradigm: *ic'an-di* [imperf.] / *i-na* [perf.] / *e-s* [inf.] / *t-in* [inv.] / *ma=?=ic'an* [prohib.].
Medial *?=* in the prohibitive form is the spatial prefix 'in' [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.]. Perfective stem.
- Fite Aghul:** Magometov 1970: 185. Suppletive paradigm: *ic'ada* [imperf.] / *i-na* [perf.] / *ic'a-s* [inf.] / *t-in* [inv.]. Perfective stem.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 94; Shaumyan 1941: 147. Suppletive paradigm: *ic'an-di-* [imperf.] / *i-na* ~ *yi-ne* [perf.] / *ye-s* [inf.] / *t-in* [inv.]. Perfective stem.
- Common Aghul:** A very irregular verb with three roots: *ic'*, *i-*, *t-*, although the suppletive paradigms generally coincide in the dialects.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Synchronically, a very irregular verb: *d='u=l=y-* ~ *l=ic'* [imperf.] / *du=?uw-* ~ *'ay-* [perf.] / *d='uw-* ~ *y-* [inf.].
Similarly in the Khanag subdialect: *t='u=l=y-* ~ *l=ic'* [imperf.] / *tu=?uy-* ~ *t='uy-* ~ *'ay-* ~ *y-* [perf.] / *t='uy-* ~ *y-* [inf.] / *t='uy* ~ *ča* ~ *čaw* [inv.] 'to give' [Uslar 1979: 655, 920, 992; Dirr 1905: 162, 194, 205, 217, 227].
Similarly in other subdialects: Khyuryuk *l=ic'* [imperf.] / *ay-* [perf.] / *t='uy* ~ *ča* [inv.] / *t='uy* ~ *y-* [inf.] {гъув, тгъугъув} 'to give' [Genko 2005: 40, 146]; Arkit *l=ic'* [imperf.] / *t='uw-* [inf.] {тувув} 'to give' [Genko 2005: 144]. The second imperfective stem.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 68. Regular paradigm.

Similarly in the Khiv subdialect: *t=ʷw- ~ t=ʷw-* {тывыб, тывыб} 'to give' [Genko 2005: 146]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *t=ʷw- ~ t=ʷw-* {тывыб} 'to give' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 282].

Common Tabasaran: Initial *dV= / t= / t=* and *l=* are desemantized spatial preverbs.

Historically, a suppletive verb with two stems: *l=iç-* [imperf.] / *TV=?yç-* [perf.]. This paradigm was totally levelled in Southern Tabasaran and is being currently eliminated in the Northern dialect. The manifold Northern forms with *ç* and *w* (< *ç*) illustrate the complicated reflection of Proto-Lezgian **λ*: depending on the position, see [NCED: 134].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 398, 609. Ablaut and suppletive paradigm: *çu-* [imperf.] / *ça-* [perf.] / *ce* [imv.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *gu-* [imperf.] / *ga-* [perf.] / *ce* [imv.] {гун} 'to give' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 89; Gadzhiev 1950: 157; Haspelmath 1993: 489, 520; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 194]. *Pace* [NCED: 626], the imperative stem is *ce* (i.e. *c^he*), not *ce*, as proved by both Uslar's and Haspelmath's transcription.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 640. Distribution:

This root has survived as the basic equivalent for 'to give' in all Lezgian lects. In Caucasian Albanian and especially in modern Udi, the reflexes of **ʔiλ:i-* are not fully transparent. Following [Schulze 2005: 542 (3.4.2.1 #24); Gippert et al. 2008: II-71], we analyze the Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi paradigm **luç-* [imperf.] / **daç-* [perf.] 'to give' as **lu=ç-* / **da=ç-*, where the original root **ç-* is modified by two unique prefixes *lu=* and *da=* (at least for **lu=ç-* there is an interesting *comparandum* in Khinalug: *lä=k^wi* 'to give'; *lä=* is the Khinalug preverb 'from the speaker'). Due to phonetic mutations and morphological levellings, in modern Udi the paradigm **lu=ç-* / **da=ç-* has been transformed into a unified stem *tad-*, historically *ta=d-*, where *ta=* is the rare prefix 'thither'.

In Proto-Nuclear Lezgian, the paradigm became suppletive, with the additional root **ʔiç'a-* involved: **ʔiç'a-* [imperf.] / **ʔiλ:i-* [perf.]. The original meaning of **ʔiç'a-* is not clear; external North Caucasian comparison suggests something like 'to compensate' [NCED: 626]. It must be noted that in Tsakhur, Lezgi and some Tabasaran dialects, this suppletive paradigm was levelled backwards in favor of the root **ʔiλ:i-*.

Replacements: {'to compensate' > 'to give'(?)} (Proto-Nuclear Lezgian).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular, although reflexes in individual lects are rather complicated.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with the Ablaut grade **ʔoλ:a-*.

33. GIVE

Northern Tabasaran *du=?ʷw-* (1).

References and notes:

Northern Tabasaran: Perfective stem.

34. GOOD

Nidzh Udi *šahat:* ~ *šavat:* ~ *šavat:* ~ *ša:t:* {шагъамI ~ шагъамI ~ шавамI ~ шаамI} (1), Vartashen Udi *šel* {шел} (2), Archi *hib'a-t:u-CLASS* (3), Kryts (proper) *valä* (4), Alyk Kryts *çala* (4), Budukh *çari* {çlapu} (5), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yugu-n* {югун} (6), Mikik Tsakhur *yugu-n* (6), Gelmets Tsakhur *yugu-n^y* {югун^y} (6), Mukhad Rutul *y=iç-di* {üyxðvi} (7), Ixrek Rutul *h=iç-di* {vbyxðvi} (7), Koshan Aghul *iže-r* (8), Keren Aghul *iže-f* (8), Gequn Aghul *iže-f* ~ *iže-f* (8), Fite Aghul *iži-t* (8), Aghul (proper) *iže-f* (8), Northern Tabasaran *iži* (8), Southern Tabasaran *už'u* {yжжy} (8), Gyune Lezgi *qis'e-n* (9), Proto-Lezgian **yuk:i-* (6).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 246; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715; Mobili 2010: 255. Polysemy: 'good / nice, beautiful'.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 248; Mobili 2010: 256; Fähnrich 1999: 29; Dirr 1903: 22, 51, 64, 67, 73, 82, 83, 88, 96; Schiefner 1863: 91; Schulze 2001: 320; Starchevskiy 1891: 495. Consistently transcribed as *šel* {шѐл} in [Dirr 1903]. Distinct from *šavat*: 'nice, beautiful' [Dirr 1903: 7, 36, 85, 95; Schulze 2001: 320; Schiefner 1863: 91] (also [Mobili 2010: 255]).
- Common Udi:** Both terms, *šahat*: ~ *šavat*: and *šel*, are of unknown origin. The relative antiquity of Vartashen *šel* is proven by Caucasian Albanian *šel-ihesun* 'to be good, apt for smth., to suit'. Schulze [Schulze 2001: 320] suspects an Azerbaijani loan in *šel* (< Azerbaijani *gözəl* 'beautiful, nice'; incorrectly quoted as *güzel* 'good, nice' by Schulze), which is unjustified.
- Caucasian Albanian:** *ey* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-14]; perhaps an important archaism (thus [Gippert et al. 2008]). Cf. also another root in *šel-ihesun* 'to be good, apt for smth., to suit' ("it (the salt) is thenceforth good for nothing") [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-33] with the generic verb *ih-esun* 'to be, become' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-19].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 239, 387; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715; Mikailov 1967: 178; Dirr 1908: 151, 225. Regular participle from the stative verb *hib'a* 'to be good' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 239; Chumakina et al. 2007].
- Kryts (proper):** LEDb; Saadiev 1994: 418; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the variant *γälä* is also quoted. Looks like a loanword (the fluctuation *ε* ~ *γ* is particularly irregular, cf. also the Alyk Kryts form *γala*), but the source in unidentified.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 38, 64, 75, etc. See notes on Kryts proper.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 45, 249; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715. Looks like a loanword, but the source has not been identified.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 880, 901; Ibragimov & Nuramedov 2010: 424; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715. Polysemy: 'good / kind / healthy'.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Dirr 1913: 172, 242.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 148; Ibragimov 1978: 69; Makhmudova 2001: 201; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 85, 411; Ibragimov 1978: 201. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 715], erroneously quoted as *y=iχ-di* {йыхды}. Polysemy: 'good / right (spatial)'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Not attested.
- Common Rutul:** Shinaz dialect: *h=iχ-di* {ыхды} 'good' [Dirr 1912: 140; Ibragimov 1978: 152].
Initial *y=* and *h=* are fossilized class 1/4 exponents. Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.
- Koshan Aghul:** Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 143; Magometov 1970: 49, 93.
The same in the other subdialects: Khudig, Arsug *iše-d* 'good' [Magometov 1970: 48, 92, 231 sentence 10, 234 sentence 27]. Cf. Magometov's examples: Khudig "A good man has killed the wolf", "Ibragim is a good boy", Arsug "Nowadays, roads are good".
- Keren Aghul:** Magometov 1970: 105, 144. Cf. Magometov's example: "My hat is good", "Books which I have read are good".
The same in the Usug subdialect: *iže-f* 'good' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].
- Gequn Aghul:** Dirr 1907: 120, 187; Shaumyan 1941: 143. Cf. Dirr's examples: "good man", "good (= tasty) pilau".
- Fite Aghul:** Magometov 1970: 48, 93.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 143. Cf. the examples: "with a good figure" (said of a person) [Suleymanov 2003: 43], "Guseyni is my good friend" [Suleymanov 2003: 118], "I have a good (= interesting) book" [Suleymanov 2003: 178], "good horse" [Magometov 1970: 205 sentences 17-18].
The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Kurag *iže-f* 'good' [Magometov 1970: 49, 94, 122] (cf. Magometov's example for Tsirkhe: "I know that you are a good man").
- Common Aghul:** Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Uslar 1979: 729, 1009; Dirr 1905: 175, 246. The form is actually from the Khanag subdialect; the proper Kondik term for 'good' is unknown. Polysemy: 'good / nice'. Cf. Uslar's and Dirr's examples: "Make this cart good (= repaired)!", "He is a good mullah", "good man", "good water". The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *iži* {ижжи} 'good' [Genko 2005: 74].
Distinct from the more specific Khanag term *χuš* 'good, nice, pleasant' [Uslar 1979: 955, 1009; Dirr 1905: 215, 246] ("a very nice man", "this food is pleasant for me", "nice weather", "welcome!"), borrowed from Azerbaijani *xoš* 'nice'.

Southern Tabasaran: Genko 2005: 151. The form is actually from the Khiv and Tinit subdialects; the proper Kondik term for 'good' is unknown.

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *uʒ'u* {ужуб} 'good' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 293].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 479, 638. Distinct from the more specific Gyune term *iy'er* 'nice, beautiful; good' [Uslar 1896: 439] (according to Uslar's examples, 'nice' is the basic meaning).

The same in Literary Lezgi: *qsa-n* {хъсан} 'good' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 353; Gadzhiev 1950: 917; Haspelmath 1993: 504, 520]. Distinct from literary *iy'er* {иер} 'nice, beautiful; good' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 134; Gadzhiev 1950: 917; Haspelmath 1993: 492] and *q:en'i* {къени} 'kind, good (of person); fully functional, operational' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 186] (incorrectly glossed simply as 'good' in [Haspelmath 1993: 502, 520]).

Final *-n* in *qis'e-n* ~ *qsa-n* is an adjectival suffix, see [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 139 f.]; historically it is a genitive exponent that modifies the substantive stem.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 643. Distribution: A highly unstable word; the Proto-Lezgian term cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The root **yuk-i-* [NCED: 643] denotes 'good' in Tsakhur and 'right (spatial)' in Shinaz Rutul (according to [NCED: 643], based on the unpublished MSU recordings), having been lost in the rest of Lezgian. We prefer **yuk-i-* as the Proto-Lezgian equivalent for 'good' for two reasons. First, it finds reliable North Caucasian cognates with the meaning 'good'. Second, the Caucasian Albanian form *ey* could originate from **yuk-i-*, if we assume the development **-k- > -y-*, as in modern Nidzh Udi (but not in Proto-Udi) [NCED: 125]. The latter argument is, however, weak, since Caucasian Albanian historical phonetics requires additional investigation.

In Rutul, the meaning 'good' is expressed by the root **HVχ:ˀV* [NCED: 620], whose original meaning must have been something like 'kind, beautiful' (this follows from its cognates in other Lezgian languages: 'kind' in Archi, 'handsome, beautiful' in Aghul).

In Lezgi, 'good' is derived from the substantive root **qis(a)* 'part, property' [LEDb: # 48] (cf. its meaning 'goods, possessions' in Archi, 'part' in Aghul).

In Archi, superseded by **p:VhˀV-* ~ **hˀVp:V-* 'big' (see notes on 'big').

In Vartashen Udi, *šel* 'good' apparently originates from the meaning 'good for smth., apt for smth.', as suggested by its Caucasian Albanian cognate.

In Aghul-Tabasaran, 'good' is expressed by **ʔi:V-*, which is missing from the rest of Lezgian (some hypothetical external North Caucasian *comparanda* are proposed in [NCED: 248]).

Etymologically obscure forms include: Nidzh Udi *šahat:* ~ *šavat:* ~ *šavat:* ~ *šat:*, Vartashen Udi *šel*, Kryts *valä* ~ *ɣala*, Budukh *ʕari*.

Replacements: {'big' > 'good'} (Archi), {'kind, beautiful' > 'good'} (Rutul), {'good for smth., apt for smth.' > 'good'} (Vartashen Udi), {'part, property' > 'good'} (Lezgi), {'good' > 'right (spatial)'} (Shinaz Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Tsakhur-Rutul correspondences are regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be good'.

35. GREEN

Nidzh Udi *yäšil* {үәшыл} (-1), Vartashen Udi *gog-in* (-1), Archi *oʔ'ow-t:u-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *č'uk'-ni* (2), Alyk Kryts *č'uk-nu* (2), Budukh *gug* {гуг} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *č'ı'wa-n* {чылван} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *č'ı'wa-n* ~ *č'u'wa-n* (3), Gelmet's Tsakhur *č'ı'wa-n^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *šil-di* {шилды} (3), Ixrek Rutul *šil-di* {шилды} (3), Luchek Rutul *šil-di* (3), Koshan Aghul *ʕaze-r* (4), Keren Aghul *vaze-f* (4), Gequn Aghul *vaze-f* (4), Fite Aghul *vazi-t* (4), Aghul (proper) *vaze-f* (4), Northern Tabasaran *čir'i* (5), Southern Tabasaran *čru* (5), Gyune Lezgi *q:ac:'u* (4), Proto-Lezgian **č'ı'lä-* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 126; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675; Mobili 2010: 293. Cf. also the variant *yešil* in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *yašil* 'green'.

Distinct from *däy(i)* {даьй(и)} 'unripe; raw; green' [Gukasyan 1974: 109; Mobili 2010: 97] (this is, however, not the basic Nidzh term for 'green', according to data in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990; Comrie & Khalilov 2010]).

Vartashen Udi: Dzheiranishvili 1971: 220; Fähnrich 1999: 16; Schiefner 1863: 86; Starchevskiy 1891: 492, 493. Polysemy: 'green / blue' (although in [Dzheiranishvili 1971] glossed only as 'green'). Quoted as *gög* 'green / blue / sky' in [Schulze 2001: 279]. According to Yu. Lander's field records from the Zinobiani (Oktomberi) village on 2011, this is currently the default word for 'green'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani **gög* (> Modern *göy*) 'green / blue / sky'.

Two other (inherited) terms for 'green' found in the sources are:

1) *dχi* {дхи} 'green' [Gukasyan 1974: 114; Mobili 2010: 97].

2) *däy* 'green / blue' [Schiefner 1863: 96; Starchevskiy 1891: 492, 493], 'green' [Fähnrich 1999: 14].

The exact difference between *gog-in*, *dχi* and *däy* is unclear.

Common Udi: Not reconstructible.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested. Cf. *dai* 'wet, marshy (vel sim.)' attested in *dai-χun*^y 'marsh-meadow' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-21, IV-13], which is an etymological cognate of the modern Udi term discussed above. Further postulation of the meaning 'green' for *dai* on the basis of the word *daizde* 'gold' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-73, IV-13] is uncertain.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290, 360; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675; Mikailov 1967: 195; Dirr 1908: 202, 209. Regular participle from the stative verb *o'low ~ u'low* 'to be green' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675. In [NCED: 333] the variant *čuk-nu* is also quoted. The suffix *-nV* is attested in some other nominal stems, but its synchronic semantics and function are unclear.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 67. Apparently a dissimilative variant *č'-k' > č'-k*. Distinct from *kala* 'unripe' [Authier 2009: 68], borrowed from Azerbaijani *kal* 'unripe'.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235. Borrowed from Azerbaijani **gög* (> Modern *göy*) 'green; blue; sky'.

In [Meylanova 1984: 70, 214; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675] 'green' is quoted as *yašil* {яшил}, borrowed from Azerbaijani *yašil* 'green'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 402. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675], erroneously quoted as *č'wa-n* {чыван}. Polysemy: 'green / wet'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675], the word *k'atipe-n* {к'атыпен} is also quoted as a synonym - an error for the presumed *k'atil^{ye}-n* {к'атылен}, cf. Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur below.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *k'atil^{ye}-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Dirr 1913: 214, 226. Polysemy: 'green / wet'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *č'wa-n^y* {чыван^y}. Polysemy: 'green / wet'.

Common Tsakhur: It is unclear how the Proto-Tsakhur term for 'green' should be reconstructed. Tsakhur-Kum *k'atil^{ye}-n* and literary *k'atil^{ye}-n* can represent an archaism, because the development 'wet' > 'green' is attested cross-linguistically, whereas 'green' > 'wet' seems less normal (in this case *č'wa-n* is the Proto-Tsakhur word for 'wet'). On the other hand, *k'atil^{ye}-n* and *k'atil^{ye}-n* are isolated and etymologically obscure forms; therefore, they could reflect a loanword of unknown origin.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 183, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 119; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 303, 342; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 675.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235.

Common Rutul: Shinaz dialect: *šil-di* [Dirr 1912: 183]

Final *-di / -d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Suleymanov 2003: 53; Shaumyan 1941: 191. It must be noted that in both [Suleymanov 2003] and [Shaumyan 1941], this word is quoted as *vaze-r* {гъазер}.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235. The same in the Usug subdialect: *vaze-f* 'green' [Shaumyan 1941: 191].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Dirr 1907: 110, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 191.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235; Shaumyan 1941: 191.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 53; Shaumyan 1941: 191. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe *vaze-f* 'green', Duldug *vazi-f*

'green' [Shaumyan 1941: 191].

Common Aghul: Derived from a substantive, attested as Proper Aghul (Tpig) *uaz* 'green color; green dye; green yarn' [Suleymanov 2003: 53].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *čiri* 'green' [Uslar 1979: 968, 994; Dirr 1905: 218, 229]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *čiri* {чирри} 'green' [Genko 2005: 181].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *čru* {чру} 'green' [Genko 2005: 181]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *čuru* {чурру} 'green' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 339].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 489, 613.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *qac:u* {къацу} 'green' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 183; Gadzhiev 1950: 245; Haspelmath 1993: 501, 520]. Distinct from literary *kal* {кал} 'unripe' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 148; Gadzhiev 1950: 245], borrowed from Azerbaijani *kal* 'unripe'.

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *qac:i* 'green' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 235].

Derived from an old substantive, attested as Gyune *q:az* [abs.] / *qac:-u-* [obl.] 'corn shoots' [Uslar 1896: 484] and Literary Lezgi *q:az* [abs.] / *qac:-u-* ~ *qac:-adi-* [obl.] {къаз} 'green corn shoots' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 175; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 384] (there is also a literary substantive *q:az* [abs.] / *q:az-di-* [obl.] 'green color; green dye; green yarn' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 175; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 384], which possesses more generic semantics, but nevertheless looks like a late back-formation due to secondary -z- in the oblique stem).

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 532. Distribution: An unstable word. Several equivalent (from the distributional point of view) candidates enter into competition. Out of these, we choose **čw:řlã-* [NCED: 532] as the most likely Proto-Lezgian root for 'green'. It retains the basic meaning 'green' in West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul). Note the polysemy 'green / wet' in Tsakhur (implying a recent shift 'green' > 'wet'). In Udi, **čw:řlã-* has produced the basic term for 'fish' (see notes on 'fish'). In Budukh, **čw:řlã-* has shifted to the meaning 'dim, muddy'; in Aghul, to the meaning 'blue'. An important advantage of **čw:řlã-* over its competitors is that **čw:řlã-* possesses good North Caucasian cognates with the meaning 'green'.

In archaic Udi, *dχi* 'green' and *däy* 'green / blue' are likely to have been derived from the verbal root **řätar-* 'to be wet, soaked' [NCED: 277]. Note the additional shift of *däy* to 'unripe; raw' in Nidzh Udi.

In Kryts, 'green' is a suffixal derivation from the root **č'eř* [NCED: 333], whose original meaning is likely to have been 'a k. of reptile', see notes on 'fish'.

In Aghul and Lezgi (this could be either a Proto-East Lezgian feature or a late areal isogloss) 'green' is derived from the substantive **qac:* (oblique **qac:i-*) [NCED: 464], whose original Proto-Lezgian or at least Proto-East Lezgian meaning is unclear: in Aghul, it denotes 'green color; green dye; green yarn', but specifically 'corn shoots' in Lezgi, whereas external North Caucasian comparison suggests the initial meaning 'dirt'.

In Tabasaran, the old root was superseded with **čirV-* [NCED: 554], which originally denoted 'a k. of light color' (cf. its meaning 'blond, red-haired' in Aghul and 'variegated', 'yellow', 'grey' and so on in other groups of the North Caucasian family).

Etymologically unclear forms include: Archi *ořlow* ~ *uřuw* 'to be green' (cf. [NCED: 537]), Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur *kätře-n* 'green'.

In modern Udi and Budukh the old word is superseded with the Azerbaijani loanwords.

Replacements: {'wet' > 'green'} (archaic Udi), {'a k. of reptile' > 'green'} (Kryts), {'dirt' > 'green'} (Aghul, Lezgi), {'a k. of light color' > 'green'} (Tabasaran), {'green' > 'wet'} (Tsakhur), {'green' > 'fish'} (Udi), {'green' > 'dim, muddy'} (Budukh), {'green' > 'blue'} (Aghul), {'green' > 'unripe; raw'} (Nidzh Udi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be green'.

36. HAIR

Nidzh Udi *pop* {non} (1), Vartashen Udi *pop* {non} (1), Archi *č'a:řri* (2), Kryts (proper) *č'er* (2), Alyk Kryts *č'ar* (2), Budukh *č'er* {uřep} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *č'ařr* {uřařp} (2), Mikik

Tsakhur *č'er* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *č'ar* (2), Mukhad Rutul *č'ar* {*чIар*} (2), Ixrek Rutul *č'er* ~ *č'är* {*чIер* ~ *чIар*} (2), Luchek Rutul *č'ar* (2), Koshan Aghul *č'ar* (2), Keren Aghul *č'ar* (2), Gequn Aghul *č'ar* (2), Fite Aghul *č'ar* (2), Aghul (proper) *č'ar* (2), Northern Tabasaran *č'ar* (2), Southern Tabasaran *č'ar* (2), Gyune Lezgi *č'ar* (2), Proto-Lezgian **č'är* (2).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 189; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178; Mobili 2010: 234. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / bristle / (goat's) fur'.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 189; Fähnrich 1999: 26; Dirr 1903: 2, 21, 31, 80; Schiefner 1863: 98; Schulze 2001: 307; Starchevskiy 1891: 497. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / animal's fur'.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **pop* 'human's head hair / animal's fur'
Caucasian Albanian: *iku*⁵ [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-21].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 214, 353; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178; Mikailov 1967: 205; Dirr 1908: 194, 205. Polysemy: 'hair / a single hair'.
 Distinct from *q'am'a-tu* 'woman's hair, long hair' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 301; Chumakina et al. 2007] from *q'am* 'forelock; mane' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 301].
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 78, 178, 180, 205, 286, 300, etc. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / fur (of human or animal)'.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 158, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 892; Ibragimov 1990: 21; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 403. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178], quoted as *č'ar* {*чIар*}. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair'.
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *č'ar* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Dirr 1913: 215, 221.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Ibragimov 1990: 182; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178. In [Ibragimov 1990], the variant *č'är* is also quoted.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 145 (sub *irdi*); Ibragimov 1978: 114. Polysemy: 'hair / a single hair'.
 In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178], 'head hair' is glossed with two synonyms: *č'ar*, *q'ulid* {*чIар*, *кьулид*}. The second word is, in fact, the genitive form of *q'ul* 'head'.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 296, 329; Ibragimov 1978: 191, 194; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 178. Polysemy: 'hair / a single hair'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Suleymanov 2003: 201; Shaumyan 1941: 167. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
 The same in the Usug subdialect: *č'ar* 'hair' [Shaumyan 1941: 167].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Dirr 1907: 153, 170. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42; Shaumyan 1941: 167. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 201; Shaumyan 1941: 167. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair'.
 The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *č'ar* 'hair' [Shaumyan 1941: 167].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'. Distinct from Dyubek *kuš* 'long woman hair (sg., pl.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42].
 The same in the Khanag subdialect: *č'ar* 'hair' [Uslar 1979: 972, 990; Dirr 1905: 218, 225]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *č'ar* {*чIар*} 'hair' [Genko 2005: 185].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair / (goat's) fur'. Distinct from Kondik *kuš* 'long woman hair (sg., pl.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 42].
 The same in the Khiv subdialect: *č'ar* {*чIар*} 'hair' [Genko 2005: 185]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *č'ar* {*чIар*} 'hair'

[Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 341].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 596. Polysemy: 'head hair / a single hair'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *čar* {чар} 'hair' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 377; Gadzhiev 1950: 98; Haspelmath 1993: 485, 520].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *čar* with polysemy: 'hair / goats's fur (pl.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 41, 42].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 378. Distribution: This root is retained as the basic expression for 'head hair / a single hair' in Archi, on the one hand, and in all Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other. Apparently in all the aforementioned languages, this word also denotes 'human body hair'. The polysemy 'human hair / goat's fur' is either a Proto-Nuclear Lezgian feature or a late areal isogloss. External North Caucasian comparison confirms **čar* as the Proto-Lezgian term for 'head hair'.

In Udi, **čar* was superseded with **pVp:V-*, whose original meaning was something like 'soft, fluffy hair' [NCED: 865]. On the contrary, in Caucasian Albanian, 'hair' is expressed by the etymologically obscure stem *iku*¹.

Replacements: {'soft, fluffy hair' > 'hair'} (Udi), {'human hair' > 'goat's fur'} (Nuclear Lezgian).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root with polysemy 'head hair / a single hair'. The oblique stem is **čara-*.

37. HAND

Nidzh Udi *kul* {кyл} (1), Vartashen Udi *kul* {кyл} (1), Archi *kul* (1), Kryts (proper) *χäb* (2), Alyk Kryts *χab* (2), Budukh *χab* {xaб} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χil^y* {xыл'} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *χil^y* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *χil^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *χil* {xыл} (3), Ixrek Rutul *χil* {xыл} (3), Luchek Rutul *χil* (3), Koshan Aghul *χil* (3), Keren Aghul *χil* (3), Gequn Aghul *χil* (3), Fite Aghul *χil* (3), Aghul (proper) *vil* (3), Northern Tabasaran *χil* (3), Southern Tabasaran *χil* (3), Gyune Lezgi *vil* (3), Proto-Lezgian **k^wil* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 137; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207; Mobili 2010: 168. It is not clear from the gloss in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] whether this term denotes 'hand' only, or 'hand / arm'. Quoted only as 'hand' in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207]. Glossed as ambivalent 'рука (= hand + arm)' in [Gukasyan 1974; Mobili 2010].

There also exists a separate term *a'm* {ам} 'arm; wing' [Gukasyan 1974: 58; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 204; Mobili 2010: 115].

Distinct from *maχ'a* {маъхаъ} with polysemy 'handful / palm of hand' [Gukasyan 1974: 172].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 137; Fähnrich 1999: 19; Dirr 1903: 15, 22, 28; Schiefner 1863: 84; Schulze 2001: 290; Starchevskiy 1891: 506. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. Explicitly glossed only as 'hand' in [Schiefner 1863; Fähnrich 1999] (there is no separate term for 'arm' in these two sources), [Schulze 2001] (although the texts from [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] demonstrate the generic meaning 'hand / arm'), and as ambivalent 'рука (= hand + arm)' in [Gukasyan 1974; Dirr 1903].

Distinct from *a'm*, which is translated as 'wing; shoulder; side' in [Schiefner 1863: 76] and incorrectly as 'arm; pole, thills; door wing' in [Schulze 2001: 251] (in fact, the meaning 'arm' is unattested in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902], the only anatomic meaning of *a'm* attested in this source is 'shoulder').

Common Udi: Common Udi **kul* with an irregular paradigm in both dialects: *kul* [abs.] / *k-* [obl.] (the oblique stem is explained by the historically normal loss of *-l-* in the intervocalic position, [NCED: 130]). Cf. Nidzh *köyi* {көйи}, Vartashen *koy* {кой} 'sleeve' [Gukasyan 1974: 136], historically derived from Proto-Udi **kul*.

Caucasian Albanian: *kul* [abs.] / *kul-* ~ *kuy-* [obl.] [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-42]; no expression for 'arm' is attested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 259, 379; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207; Mikailov 1967: 185; Dirr 1908: 159, 220. Suppletive paradigm: *k'ul-* [abs., erg.] / *kur'a* [loc.] / *k'ur-vul* [pl.]. Explicitly glossed as 'hand' in the aforementioned sources (with polysemy: 'hand / door handle').

Distinct from *χol* 'arm / branch (of tree)' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Dirr 1908: 190, 220]. The latter is explicitly glossed as

'arm' in the aforementioned sources. In turn, in [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 333, 379; Mikailov 1967: 200] *χol* is translated as ambivalent 'pyka' (i.e. 'hand + arm'). It is interesting that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26] *χol* is explicitly quoted with the meaning 'arm + hand'.

Note also that in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 204, 207] it is *kul* which is proposed both for 'hand' and 'arm' (*χol* is not quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] at all).

Browsing through available texts clearly suggests that *kul* is the default term for 'hand' in Archi (e.g., "Don't touch it with your hand" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 36] and so on). The only found context for 'arm' contains the word *χol*: "I have broken an arm (*χol*) and leg" [Dirr 1908: 126].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26, 27. Actually, two terms enter into competition: *χāb* and *kil*, and Kibrik & Kodzasov's data is somewhat equivocal. Both *χāb* and *kil* are explicitly treated as generic terms for 'hand + arm' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26], but in the specific entry 'hand (Russian: кисть руки)' only Kryts *χāb* is quoted [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27]. Keeping in mind some peculiarities of this dictionary concerning the discussed anatomic terms (cf., e.g., notes on Archi), we provisionally prefer to assume *χāb* as the default Kryts word for 'hand'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 204, 207] only *χāb* is proposed both for 'arm' and 'hand' (*kil* is not quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] at all).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 55, 68, 82, 118, 120, etc. This is opposed to *kil* 'arm' [Authier 2009: 34, 59, 106, 119], although there are some contexts, where *χab* demonstrates the meaning 'arm': "to break an arm" [Authier 2009: 344].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 143; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27.

According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26], another word for 'hand' is *kil* {кыл} with polysemy: 'arm / hand / sleeve / handle'. An example in [Meylanova 1984: 80] confirms the meaning 'hand' for *kil*: "to take one's hand", literally "getting hand in hand". It seems, however, that *kil* is a statistically less frequent expression for 'hand' than *χab*. Cf. several examples for *χab* 'hand' in [Meylanova 1984: 143] as well as in other sources, e.g., "The stick hurt my hand" [Talibov 2007: 76], "The human right hand is bigger/stronger/longer than the left one" [Talibov 2007: 97, 118, 185], "Mother pulled her child's hand" [Talibov 2007: 181], "A human looks at the face, an animal looks at the hand" [Talibov 2007: 276], "Hand of an arrogant man creates nothing" [Talibov 2007: 283].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 204, 207], *χab* is erroneously quoted as 'arm', whereas 'hand' is erroneously glossed by two "synonyms": *k'urkuč* and *kil*. In fact *k'urkuč* means 'brush, tassel' [Meylanova 1984: 99], and the underlying expression of Comrie & Khalilov's gloss "*k'urkuč*, *kil*" was apparently a genitive construction 'tassel of arm' - a mechanical translation of Russian *ку ты ржу* 'tassel of arm', which is the designation of 'hand' in scientific Russian.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 898; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 373. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207], 'hand' is quoted as *patak* {патак} - an error for *pataχ^f* {патаχ^f} or *pataq^f* {патах^f} (cf. data from other dialects). Apparently the same term is reflected as *part^haq^f* {партях^f} (sic!) 'paw' in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 285].

There also exists a specific term for 'forearm': *guč* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 875; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 124].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *χil^y* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26]. The specific term for 'hand' is *pataχ^f*, with the polysemy: 'paw / hand' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27]. There also exists a specific term for 'arm': *guč* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Dirr 1913: 211, 237. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

The specific term for 'hand' is *pataχ^f*, with the polysemy: 'paw / hand' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27] (in [Dirr 1913: 193] only with the meaning 'paw').

There also exists a specific term for 'arm': *guč* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26]. According to [Dirr 1913], however, *guč* denotes 'forearm' [Dirr 1913: 149], whereas 'upper arm' is expressed as *k'ir* [Dirr 1913: 178] (the exact phonetic shape of the latter word is unknown).

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

The specific term for 'hand' is *pataq^f*, with the polysemy: 'paw / hand' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27]. There also exists a specific term for 'arm': *guč* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 178, 199; Ibragimov 1978: 115, 162; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 275, 389; Ibragimov 1978: 201. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Distinct from *perx* {перхь} with polysemy 'hand / paw' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 207] (this is quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 207] as the only term for 'hand').

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

There also exists a specific term for 'hand': *pelt'* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27] of unclear origin.

Common Rutul: Shinaz dialect: *gäb-aqʹ* 'hand' [Ibragimov 1978: 162], representing the result of secondary semantic development, cf. Khnyukh (subdialect of Mukhad) *gab-aq-an* 'palm' [Ibragimov 1978: 134].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Magometov 1970: 23; Suleymanov 2003: 55; Shaumyan 1941: 191. In [Magometov 1970], transcribed as *χ:il* - an important archaism. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

There also exists a more specific term for 'hand': *gap* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27], which etymologically corresponds to the words for 'palm of hand' in some other Aghul dialects: Gequn *gap*, Fite *gap* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 28]. External Lezgian etymology could confirm that 'palm of hand' is the primary meaning of this word. In Burshag, the meaning 'palm of hand' is expressed analytically as *kalan yiqʹ*, literally 'back (anatomic) of *kaʹl*' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 28].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Distinct from the specific term *bač* 'child's hand' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Dirr 1907: 150, 182; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 55; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Tpig *vil* is glossed by Suleymanov and Shaumyan as Russian "рука", which can mean 'hand', 'arm' or 'hand + arm'. The standard Aghul polysemy 'hand / arm' of *vil* is proved by the following examples: "to run one's hand over the horse" [Suleymanov 2003: 21], "I have five fingers on my hand" [Shaumyan 1941: 54], "There is a bracelet on woman's arm" [Shaumyan 1941: 35].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *χ:il* 'hand, arm' [Uslar 1979: 957, 1004; Dirr 1905: 216, 241]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk, Kumi *χ:il* {*χхил*} 'hand, arm' [Genko 2005: 168].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Paradigm: *χ:il* [abs.] / *χ:l-i* [erg.]. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *χ:il* {*хил*} 'hand, arm' [Genko 2005: 164]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *χ:il* {*хил*} 'hand, arm' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutov 2001: 316].

Common Tabasaran: Note the retention of tense fricative *χ*: in the Northern subdialects.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 386, 630. Polysemy: 'hand / arm'. 'Palm' is expressed analytically as *vilin č'in* 'face of *vil*' [Uslar 1896: 386].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *vil* {*гвил*} 'hand / arm' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 94; Gadzhiev 1950: 735; Haspelmath 1993: 490, 520]. There are also two specific literary terms for 'hand': *kap* with polysemy: 'hand / handful / chunk of bread' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 150] (inaccurately glossed as 'palm of the hand' in [Haspelmath 1993: 494]) and paronymous *kap-aš* 'hand / handful' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 150]. 'Palm' is expressed analytically as *kapan yuqʹ* 'centre of *kap*' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 150].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *χ:il* 'hand / arm' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26]. There is also a specific Khlyut term *kap:-ač* with polysemy: 'paw / hand' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 27].

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 706. Distribution: There are three main roots attested with the meaning 'hand' in Lezgian languages. The data can be summarized as follows:

'HAND'	Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
* <i>kʷil</i> [NCED: 706]	hand/arm	hand	hand/arm	arm / hand / sleeve / handle		elbow (suffixed)	branch, cluster	twig, vine	branch, cluster
* <i>χ:il</i> [NCED: 895]		arm			hand / arm				
* <i>m:aχ:</i> [NCED: 819]	handful / palm of hand		hand/arm	hand			armful	armful	handful

Although there can hardly be any doubt about **kʷil* as the main Proto-Lezgian root for 'hand', the exact details are not entirely clear. The easiest solution is to propose the lexical opposition 'hand' / 'arm' for Proto-Lezgian, despite the fact that such an opposition is atypical for the attested Lezgian lects and that the reconstructed syncretism 'foot / leg' (see notes on 'foot') could contradict the opposition 'hand' / 'arm'. The aforementioned roots can be reconstructed with the following meanings:

- 1) **kʷil* 'hand';
- 2) **χ:il* 'arm';

3) **m:ax:* (metathesized **χ:am:* in Proto-Nuclear Lezgian) 'handful'.

The root **χ:il* was lost in Udi, where **k^wil* acquired the additional meaning 'arm' ('hand' > 'arm'); in Caucasian Albanian, **k^wil* denotes 'hand', but no word for 'arm' is attested.

In the second outlier, Archi, the opposition **k^wil* 'hand' / **χ:il* 'arm' is retained (the third root **m:ax:* was lost).

Apparently, the opposition **k^wil* 'hand' / **χ:il* 'arm' / **χ:am:* 'handful' was still retained in Proto-Nuclear Lezgian as well, but was subsequently eliminated in individual subgroups in different ways.

In Proto-South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), **k^wil* acquired the additional meaning 'arm' ('hand' > 'arm'), whereas the old root for 'arm', **χ:il*, got lost - the same process as in the Udi branch. The root **χ:am:* in the meaning 'hand' seems to have been a relatively recent introduction ('handful' > 'hand'); we suppose that it is an areal isogloss, which is currently affecting Kryts and Budukh dialects. It is very likely that the new term **χ:am:* 'hand' tends to completely supersede the old term **k^wil* in modern Kryts and Budukh. As a result, **χ:am:* acquires the additional meaning 'arm' ('hand' > 'arm'). Note also the development 'arm / hand' > 'sleeve' and 'arm / hand' > 'handle' in Budukh.

In Proto-West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and Proto-East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), the old opposition **k^wil* 'hand' / **χ:il* 'arm' was eliminated in favor of the latter root, i.e., **χ:il* started to denote 'hand / arm' ('arm' > 'hand'). It must be noted, however, that the tree topology and certain semantic shifts (for which see below) suggest that such an elimination was an independent development in Proto-West Lezgian and Proto-East Lezgian or, rather, an areal isogloss, which affected both protolanguages.

The old root **k^wil* 'hand' survived in West Lezgian as the suffixed form 'elbow' (Rutul); such a semantic shift seems, however, somewhat surprising. The anatomic semantics of **k^wil* was lost in Proto-East Lezgian, where this root acquired the meaning 'branch, cluster' (with the further shift > 'twig, vine' in Tabasaran).

External North Caucasian comparison confirms the Proto-Lezgian reconstructions **k^wil* 'hand' [NCED: 706] and **m:ax:* 'handful' [NCED: 819]. As for Proto-Lezgian **χ:il* 'arm', its Lak cognate denotes 'wing' [NCED: 896]; it seems that typologically the semantic shift between 'arm' and 'wing' can occur in both directions.

Finally, some peculiarities should be noted. In Shinaz Rutul and Koshan Aghul, 'hand' can be expressed by the root **k:ap ~ *k:ap:*, whose Proto-Lezgian meaning is likely to have been 'palm of hand' [NCED: 298]. In Tsakhur and Rutul dialects, the words for 'paw' can acquire the specific meaning 'hand'. Udi *kōyi ~ koy* 'sleeve' provides an additional instance for the development 'hand / arm' > 'sleeve'.

Replacements: {'arm' > 'hand / arm'} (West Lezgian, East Lezgian), {'handful' > 'hand'} (Kryts, Budukh), {'palm of hand' > 'hand'} (Shinaz Rutul, Koshan Aghul), {'paw' > 'hand'} (Tsakhur, Rutul), {'hand' > 'hand / arm'} (Udi, Kryts, Budukh), {'wing' > 'arm'(?)} (Proto-Lezgian), {'arm / hand' > 'sleeve'} (Udi, Budukh), {'arm / hand' > 'handle'} (Budukh), {'hand' > 'elbow'} (Rutul), {'hand' > 'branch, cluster' > 'twig, vine'} (East Lezgian).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **k^wil-i-*.

38. HEAD

Nidzh Udi *bul* {бγλ} (1), Vartashen Udi *bul* {бγλ} (1), Archi *k'art'i* (2), Kryts (proper) *q'il* (1), Alyk Kryts *q'il* (1), Budukh *q'il* {квбл} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *kal:ye* {καλλε} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *wuk'ul^y* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *wuq'ul^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *q'ul* {квбл} (1), Ixrek Rutul *huq'ul* {гвквбл} (1), Luchek Rutul *huq'ul* (1), Koshan Aghul *k'il* (1), Keren Aghul *k'il* (1), Gequn Aghul *k'il* (1), Fite Aghul *k'il* (1), Aghul (proper) *k'il* (1), Northern Tabasaran *k'ul* (1), Southern Tabasaran *k'ul* (1), Gyune Lezgi *q'il* (1), Proto-Lezgian **woA'ul* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 93; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185; Mobili 2010: 73. Polysemy: 'head / point, spike', according to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 93; Fähnrich 1999: 11; Dirr 1903: 14, 43, 45, 86, 90, 91; Schiefner 1863: 103; Schulze 2001: 262; Starchevskiy 1891: 498. Polysemy: 'head / beginning / button / north', according to [Schulze 2001] and [Schiefner 1863].

Common Udi: Common Udi **bul* with an irregular paradigm in both dialects: *bul* [abs.] / *b-* [obl.] (the oblique stem is explained by the historically normal loss of *-l-* in the intervocalic position, [NCED: 130]).

Caucasian Albanian: *bul* [abs.] / *bi(y)-* [obl.] 'head / top / beginning / self' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-12].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 257, 355; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185; Mikailov 1967: 184; Dirr 1908: 157, 206. 'Head of man'.

Distinct from *o^hnt* 'head (of woman or animal); head (of onion etc.); top (of mountain); chief, ringleader' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290, 355; Dirr 1908: 171].

The old root for 'head' is retained in the adverb *χ'il-l'i-χ* 'under one's head' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 269] (*-l'i-* is the frequent oblique stem marker [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 16], *-χ* is the sublative ending [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 52]).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185. Paradigm: *q'il* [abs.] / *q'äl-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'head / ear (of wheat etc.)'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 49, 54, etc. Paradigm: *q'il* [abs.] / *q'al-* [obl.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 97, 209; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185. Polysemy: 'head / chief / top (of mountain, tree, etc.) / lid, cover'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 880; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 185; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head'). According to examples in [Kibrik et al. 1999], this is currently the default word for 'human head' in Mishlesh.

Additional synonyms include the inherited *wuk'ul^v* {вук'ул^v} [Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 107] and the borrowed *baš* 'head' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 870] (< Azerbaijani *baš* 'head').

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *wuk'ul* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10]. Distinct from *kal:^{ye}* 'head (of animal)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10], borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Dirr 1913: 144, 223.

Distinct from *kal:^{ye}* 'head (of animal)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10], borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head').

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185.

Distinct from *kal:^{ye}* 'head (of animal)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10], borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head').

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 166, 188; Ibragimov 1978: 114; Makhmudova 2001: 39, 46, 95; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185.

Distinct from *käl:^ä* 'head' [Ibragimov 1978: 123] (without specification) ~ *kel:^e* 'head (of animal)' [Makhmudova 2001: 95], borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head').

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 81, 333; Ibragimov 1978: 197, 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 185.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10.

Distinct from *kal:^e* 'head (of large cattle)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10], borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head').

Common Rutul: Muxrek dialect: *wiq'il* 'head' [Ibragimov 1978: 169, 186].

Borch-Khnov dialect: *yuq'ul* 'head' [Ibragimov 1978: 234, 239, 281]. For the Borch-Khnov dialect, an unclear word *gib^v* {гыпгъ} 'head' is also quoted in [Ibragimov 1978: 228].

All the dialectal forms - *q'ul*, *huq'ul*, *wiq'il*, *yuq'ul* - are etymologically related.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Suleymanov 2003: 126; Shaumyan 1941: 184. The same in the Arsug subdialect: *k'il* 'head' [Shaumyan 1941: 184].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10. The same in the Usug subdialect: *k'il* 'head' [Shaumyan 1941: 184].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Dirr 1907: 130, 171; Shaumyan 1941: 184. Polysemy: 'head / hill'.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10; Shaumyan 1941: 184.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 126; Shaumyan 1941: 184. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *k'il* 'head' [Shaumyan 1941: 184].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *k'ul* with polysemy: 'head / ear (of cereals) / nipple, teat / hill, top (of mountain)'

[Uslar 1979: 800, 992; Dirr 1905: 190, 226]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *k'ul* {к'ул} 'head' [Genko 2005: 112].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *k'ul* {к'ул} with polysemy: 'head / ear (of cereals) / nipple, teat / top (of mountain)' [Genko 2005: 112]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *k'ul* {к'ул} with polysemy: 'head / chief / ear (of cereals) / top (of mountain)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 214].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 528, 608.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *q'il* {к'ил} with polysemy: 'head / chief / ear (of cereals)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 203; Gadzhiev 1950: 144; Haspelmath 1993: 503, 521]. Distinct from the rude word *kel:e* {келле} 'head' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 155; Gadzhiev 1950: 144; Haspelmath 1993: 521], borrowed from Azerbaijani *källä* 'head' (ultimately from Persian *kalla* 'head').

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q'il* with polysemy: 'head / ear (of cereals)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 10].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1041. Distribution: This stem is attested as the basic term in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in all Nuclear Lezgian languages, on the other. The locative form of **woλ'ul* is also retained as the Archi adverb 'under one's head'.

In Archi, **woλ'ul* was superseded by **k^wilt' ~ *k^wilt-* [NCED: 695], which is a good candidate for the status of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'temple'. This word means 'temple' or 'cheek' in Nuclear Lezgian (thus 'temple' > 'cheek'); external North Caucasian comparison could also point to the meaning 'temple'.

Note some specific semantic shifts of **woλ'ul* 'head', reflected as synchronic polysemy in individual lects: 'point, spike' (Nidzh Udi), 'beginning', 'button', 'north' (Vartashen Udi), 'top', 'self' (Caucasian Albanian), 'ear (of cereals)' (Kryts Proper, Northern Tabasaran, Lezgi), 'lid, cover' (Budukh), 'hill' (Gequn Aghul, Tabasaran), 'nipple, teat' (Tabasaran).

The inherited term tends to be superseded with Azerbaijani or Persian loanwords in some Tsakhur, Rutul and Lezgi dialects.

Replacements: {'temple' > 'head'} (Archi), {'head' > 'point, spike'} (Nidzh Udi), {'head' > 'beginning'} (Vartashen Udi), {'head' > 'button'} (Vartashen Udi), {'head' > 'north'} (Vartashen Udi), {'head' > 'top'} (Caucasian Albanian), {'head' > 'self'} (Caucasian Albanian), {'head' > 'ear (of cereals)'} (Kryts Proper, Northern Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'head' > 'lid, cover'} (Budukh), {'head' > 'hill'} (Gequn Aghul, Tabasaran), {'head' > 'nipple, teat'} (Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular, except for the sporadic syncope of the first syllable in some languages.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. Historically **woλ'u-l* with the common nominal *-l*-suffix. If Udi *ber* 'pillow' does indeed originate from **woλ'V-rV* (thus in [NCED: 1041]), the suffix *-l* can be singled out on the Proto-Lezgian level.

39. HEAR

Nidzh Udi *i-bak-sun* {убаксун} (1), Vartashen Udi *i-bak-sun* {убаксун} (1), Archi =*k'o-* (2), Kryts (proper) *ix-* (1), Alyk Kryts *ixa-* (1), Budukh *ixi-* {ухьи-} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:=i:x-* {кбайхьый} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *в=iyx-* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *в=iyx-* (1), Mukhad Rutul *un y=ik-* {ун йикус} (3), Ixrek Rutul *un y=iχ^ξ-* {ун йыИхьИн} (3), Luchek Rutul *un eč^w-* (3), Koshan Aghul *daχ xi-* (4), Keren Aghul *un xa-* (3), Gequn Aghul *un-i xa-* (3), Aghul (proper) *un xa-* ~ *un-i xa-* (3), Northern Tabasaran *yik⁻¹* (2), Southern Tabasaran *yex⁻¹* (1), Gyune Lezgi *wan že-* (3), Proto-Lezgian **ʔeʔi- ~ *ʔeʔi⁻¹* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 127; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664; Mobili 2010: 152.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 127; Fähnrich 1999: 17; Dirr 1903: 16, 18, 53, 55, 63, 65; Schiefner 1863: 78; Schulze 2001: 284;

Starchevskiy 1891: 488.

Common Udi: Common Udi **i-bak-esun*; derived from the root *i* plus the light verb *-bak-* 'to be(come)' [Schulze 2005: 561 f. (3.4.2.2 #10); Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 474]. The Udi verb corresponds to Caucasian Albanian *ih-esun* 'to hear'. Both CA *ih* and Udi *i* go back to Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi **iχ(i)-* with the shift $\chi > h > 0$ in the intervocalic position before front vowels or before consonants. The Udi morpheme *i* is quoted as a separate word with the meaning 'hearing, ability to hear (Russian: слух)' in [Gukasyan 1974: 127; Mobili 2010: 152], although it is unclear whether this *i* can function as an independent item or if it has been extracted from the verb 'to hear' by Gukasyan.

Expressions for 'to hear' and 'to listen' are clearly opposed in modern Udi, as well as in Caucasian Albanian. Verbs for 'to hear' contain the old verbal root **ʔeʔi-* (~ *-ʔi-*): Udi *i-bak-sun*, CA *ih-esun*, both forms regularly without pharyngealization. Expressions for 'to listen' are based on the word for 'ear': Udi *umuχʰ / imuχ laχsun*, lit. 'to put the ear' [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 665; Gukasyan 1974: 166; Starchevskiy 1891: 488], CA *ʕi-biqʰ-esun*, lit. 'to take the ear', normally with pharyngealization (for the Caucasian Albanian secondary *ʕi-* instead of expected ***ʕim-* see notes on 'ear').

Caucasian Albanian: *ih-esun* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-21], a cognate of the Udi term. Distinct from *ʕi-biqʰ-esun* 'to listen to / to obey / to follow, observe, endure, take on' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22], which is based on the secondary morpheme *ʕi* 'ear' (q.v.) plus the light verb *-biqʰ-* 'to seize' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-43, IV-10].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 259, 381; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 233; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664; Mikailov 1967: 185; Dirr 1908: 157, 221.

Distinct from *oy 'ača-* 'to listen; to obey', lit. 'to use the ear' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 287; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 665] and *oʔa-* 'to be silent; to listen' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172. Perfective stem: *ixä-*. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664] erroneously quoted as *iχä-* {ихаб-}. Distinct from *iber q:icn-* 'to listen', literally 'to cover with ears' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 665] 'to listen' is quoted as unclear *lasir-* {ласирджи}.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 245, 409. Distinct from *ibur ki-* 'to listen', literally 'to put ear' [Authier 2009: 198, 216, 312, 363].

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172. Missing from [Meylanova 1984] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Meylanova 1984: 132 sub *tarp*, 133 sub *telfun*, etc.].

Distinct from *ibir q:usu-* {ибир къусу} 'to listen', literally 'to put ear, to cover with ears' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Meylanova 1984: 63; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 665].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664], 'to hear' is incorrectly glossed as *ibira q:usu* {ибира къусу} - an error for *ibir q:usu* 'to listen'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 875, 899; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 210; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664. Ablaut paradigm: *q:=ixʰ-e < *q:=iyxʰ-e* [imperf.] / *q:=ayx-i* [perf.] / *q:=ayxʰ-es* [fut.]. In [Kibrik et al. 1999: 875], the imperf. stem is incorrectly quoted as *q:=ixʰ-e* [imperf.] with short *-i-*; the correct form with *-i-* can be found in examples in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 572, 692].

Distinct from *kʰir gʷaq-* 'to listen; to obey', literally 'ear + to show' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 881; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 127].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172; Dirr 1913: 150, 238. Ablaut paradigm: *ʁ=iyxʰ-e* [imperf.] / *ʁ=ayx-i* [perf.] / *ʁ=ayxʰ-es* [fut.].

Distinct from the expressions for 'to listen': *kʰiri gʷaxq-*, literally 'ear + to show', *kʰiri hel-*, literally 'ear + to give' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664. The future stem.

Common Tsakhur: Initial *ʁ=* (Mishlesh *q:=*) is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 174, 200; Makhmudova 2001: 149, 167, 251. Literally 'sound happens to X' with *un* 'sound' + the suppletive verb CLASS=*ik-* / CLASS=*iš-* / CLASS=*ruʔ-* 'to become' (*y=* is the class 4 exponent). In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664], erroneously quoted as *ul y=iš-* {ул йишин} (literally *ul* 'eye' + 'to become').

Distinct from *un y=iχʰ-* {ун йыхʰыс} 'to hear about, find out (Russian: прослышать)' [Makhmudova 2001: 99], literally *un* 'sound' + the verb *y=iχʰ-* '?'.

Distinct from *q=ac-u-* 'to listen' [Dirr 1912: 153; Makhmudova 2001: 244].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 255, 394; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 664. Literally *un* 'call, appeal' + the verb *y=iχʰ-* '?' (the exact syntactic construction is not documented).

Distinct from $q=\ddot{a}s-u-$ {хъаьсун} 'to listen' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 277, 394].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172. Literally *un* 'sound' + the verb $e\check{c}^w-$ '?' (the exact syntactic construction is not documented).

Distinct from $q=as-i-$ 'to listen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173].

Common Rutul: All the dialects demonstrate an analytic construction with *un* 'sound' and an auxiliary verb. In Mukhad this verb is the common 'to become' ('sound happens to X'), whereas the meanings of Ixrek $y=i\chi^{\check{c}}-$ and Luchek $e\check{c}^w-$ are unknown. Ixrek $y=i\chi^{\check{c}}-$ formally coincides with the verb $y=i\chi^{\check{c}}-$ 'to strike, hit' (see notes on 'to kill'), where $y=$ is a prefix with general semantics, but the semantics of hearing is strange in this case; on the other hand, Ixrek $y=i\chi^{\check{c}}-$ may consist of the class 4 exponent $y=$ attached to the verb $i\chi^{\check{c}}-$ '?'.

Initial $q=$ in the verbs for 'to listen' is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165]. Mukhad $q=ac-u-$ and Ixrek $q=\ddot{a}s-u-$, Luchek $q=as-i-$ are obviously related (for the deaffricativization in Rutul dialects cf. [NCED: 138], although this problem still awaits more detailed research). The Mukhad and Ixrek data point to labialized $*c^w$, thus the link between this Rutul root and Proto-Lezgian $*\gamma asV$ 'to be silent' seems unlikely, *pace* [NCED: 262].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172; Shaumyan 1941: 144. Literally *daχ* 'sound' + the verb *xi-* 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62] (the exact syntactic construction is not documented).

Distinct from $yirk^w$ *alaši-* 'to listen', literally 'heart + to put' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172. Literally *un* 'sound' + the verb *xa-* 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62]. A second synonym for 'to hear', quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], is *un ba^č-*, literally 'sound' + 'to go' (q.v.). The exact syntactic constructions are not documented.

Distinct from *yabur qixa-* 'to listen', literally 'ear + to overtake' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 146, 184; Shaumyan 1941: 144. Literally *un* 'sound' + the verb *xa-* 'to become' [Dirr 1907: 119] (the exact syntactic construction is not documented).

Fite Aghul: Not attested.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 161; Shaumyan 1941: 144. Literally 'sound happens to X' with *un* 'sound' + the verb *xa-* 'to become' (cf. examples in [Shaumyan 1941: 116], [Magometov 1970: 201 sentence 2]). The same in the Tsirkhe and Kurag subdialects: *un xa-* 'to hear' [Shaumyan 1941: 144], [Magometov 1970: 211 sentence 42, 45].

Distinct from two Tpig expressions for 'to listen': *ibur aqixa-*, literally 'ear + to overtake' [Suleymanov 2003: 86], *yirk^w aliyana-*, literally 'heart + to put' [Suleymanov 2003: 26].

Common Aghul: Both of the Aghul analytical expressions for 'to hear' (*daχ xi-*, *un xa-*, literally 'sound happens to X') are innovations of areal origin.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yik-* 'to hear' [Uslar 1979: 751, 1006; Dirr 1905: 166, 242]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk *yik-* {йибкув}, Kumi *yik-* {йикув}, Arkit *ik-* {ибкув} 'to hear' [Genko 2005: 73, 79].

Differently in the Chuvek subdialect: *yix-* {йибхъув} 'to hear' [Genko 2005: 79].

Distinct from the verbs for 'to listen': Khanag $q-iw-iq-$ 'to listen' [Uslar 1979: 809, 1006; Dirr 1905: 192, 242], Khyuryuk $q-iw-iq-$ {хъивикъкъув} 'to listen' [Genko 2005: 171]. These forms look like a compound of *iw* 'ear' q.v. and the verb $iq-$ '?' plus the spatial prefix $q=$ 'behind', which modifies the whole expression. In Dyubek, 'to listen' is simply $q=iq-$ [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173] (i.e. the spatial prefix + the verb), which can be a compression of the aforementioned compound.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 172.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yex-* {ерхъуб} 'to hear' [Genko 2005: 64]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yex-* {ебхъуб} 'to hear' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 154].

Distinct from the verbs for 'to listen': Khiv $q-eb-eq-$ {хъебехъуб} 'to listen' [Genko 2005: 170], Literary Tabasaran $q-p-eq-$ {хъепехъуб} 'to hear' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 324], Kondik $q-eb-eq-$ 'to listen' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173] - apparently a compound of *eb* 'ear' + the verb $eq-$ '?' plus the spatial prefix $q=$ 'behind' (cf. similar expressions in Northern Tabasaran, although the used verbs differ).

More transparent are the analytic expressions for 'to listen', which literally mean 'to put the ear behind': Chara *ib q=ib-* 'to listen' [Genko 2005: 73] (*ib* 'ear' + the Chara verb *ib-* 'to put in' [Genko 2005: 73] + $q=$ 'behind'); Literary Tabasaran *ib q=iw-* {иб хъивуб} 'to hear' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 172] (*ib* 'ear' + the Literary Tabasaran verb *iw-* {ивуб} 'to put in' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 172] + $q=$ 'behind').

Common Tabasaran: Two verbs with the meaning 'to hear' enter into competition here: *yik-* (Northern Tabasaran, except for the Chuvek subdialect, which is located on the border between two dialects, see the map in [Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 12]) and *yex-* (Southern Tabasaran). The external Lezgian comparison speaks in favour of Southern *yex-* as Proto-Tabasaran 'to hear', rather than Northern *yik-*.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 364, 632. Literally 'sound happens to X' with *wan* 'sound; voice' + the suppletive verb *že-* / *xa-* 'to become' [Uslar 1896: 435]. Distinct from Gyune *yab ay'al-* 'to listen', literally 'to string the ear' [Uslar 1896: 328, 443].

Several similar expressions for 'to hear' are documented for Literary Lezgi: *wan že-* / *xa-* {ван хъун}, literally 'sound (*wan*) happens to X' [Gadzhiev 1950: 784; Haspelmath 1993: 510, 521], *wan q:^we-* / *at:a-* {ван агун}, literally 'sound (*wan*) comes to X' [Gadzhiev 1950: 784], *ses q:^we-* / *at:a-*, literally 'sound (*ses*) comes to X' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 291].

Distinct from the literary expressions for 'to listen': *yab gu-* {яб гун}, literally 'to give ear', and *yab akali-* {яб акалун}, literally 'to string/attach the ear' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 35, 399; Gadzhiev 1950: 784; Haspelmath 1993: 480, 522].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 411. Distribution: This stem is retained as the basic verb for 'to hear' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in some Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other. More precisely, **ʔeʔ(:)i-* is to be reconstructed as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian verb 'to hear': it means 'to hear' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Tsakhur and Southern Tabasaran, but shifted to the meaning 'to keep silence' in Rutul. External North Caucasian comparison confirms the meaning 'to hear' for Proto-Lezgian **ʔeʔ(:)i-*.

The second candidate is **ʔi(r)ki(r)-* [NCED: 650], which means 'to hear' in Archi and, surprisingly, in Northern Tabasaran, but got lost in the rest of languages. The exact Proto-Lezgian meaning of this root cannot be established (it should be noted that some of its external North Caucasian cognates also demonstrate the meaning 'to hear'). The Tabasaran situation, when two main dialects possess different verbs for 'to hear' (**ʔeʔ(:)i-* vs. **ʔi(r)ki(r)-*) can only be explained as an independent semantic development **ʔi(r)ki(r)-* 'ʔ' > 'to hear' in Archi and Northern Tabasaran.

In Rutul, Aghul, Lezgi, 'to hear' is expressed by analytic constructions 'sound happens to X' with different words for 'sound' and different auxiliary verbs. This is a late areal isogloss that affected the central part of the Lezgian territory.

Replacements: {'sound happens to X' > 'to hear'} (Rutul, Aghul, Lezgi), {'to hear' > 'to keep silence'} (Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

40. HEART

Nidzh Udi *uk:* ~ *ük:* {*yκI* ~ *yβκI*} (1), Vartashen Udi *uk:* {*yκI*} (1), Archi *ik^w* (1), Kryts (proper) *yik'* (1), Alyk Kryts *yik'* (1), Budukh *yik'* {*üβκI*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yik'* {*üκκI*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *yik^y* (1), Gel mets Tsakhur *yik^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *yik'* {*üκκI*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *yik'* {*üκκI*} (1), Luchek Rutul *yik^y* (1), Koshan Aghul *yirk^w* (1), Keren Aghul *irk^w* (1), Gequn Aghul *irk^w* (1), Fite Aghul *yirk^w* (1), Aghul (proper) *yirk^w* (1), Northern Tabasaran *y'uk'-u* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yuk'* (1), Gyune Lezgi *rik'* (1), Proto-Lezgian **yirk^w* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 212; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219; Mobili 2010: 278.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 212; Fähnrich 1999: 33; Dirr 1903: 88; Schiefner 1863: 79; Schulze 2001: 328; Starchevskiy 1891: 506.

Common Udi: Common Udi **uk:*.

Caucasian Albanian: *hu'k'* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-27]. The alphabetical sign for a pharyngealized vowel *u^f* apparently reflects the influence of the following ejective or the front vowel *ü*.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 245, 380; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219; Mikailov 1967: 182; Dirr 1908: 153, 221.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 373, etc. Note the retention of the archaic paradigm (levelled up in Kryts proper): *yik'* [abs.] / *k'i-y* [gen.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 75, 240; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 879, 899; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 181; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219. Polysemy: 'heart / stone (of fruit)' (the two meanings formally differ in pl. forms).

Distinct from *basir* 'heart (figurative)', *basri* 'heart, breast (figurative), soul' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 66], borrowed from Azerbaijani *bayir* 'liver (anatomic); breast, heart (figurative)'.
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *yik'y* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34]. Polysemy: 'heart / stone (of fruit)'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Dirr 1913: 170, 238.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219. Polysemy: 'heart / stone (of fruit)'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 147, 200; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219. Polysemy: 'heart / soul'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 131, 391; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 219.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34. Polysemy: 'heart / stone (of fruit)'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Suleymanov 2003: 94; Shaumyan 1941: 148.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Shaumyan 1941: 148. The same in the Usug subdialect: *irk^w* 'heart' [Shaumyan 1941: 148].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Dirr 1907: 122, 183.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34; Shaumyan 1941: 148.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 94; Shaumyan 1941: 148. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *yirk^w* 'heart' [Shaumyan 1941: 148].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34. Regular paradigm.

The same in the Khanag subdialect, but with retention of the irregular paradigm: *yuk'* [abs.] / *k'-a-* [obl.] 'heart' [Uslar 1979: 756, 1005; Dirr 1905: 180, 241]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yuk'* [abs.] / *k'-a-* [obl.] [юкI] 'heart' [Genko 2005: 197].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34. Regular paradigm.

The same in other subdialects (sometimes with retention of the irregular paradigm): Khiv *yuk^w* [abs.] / *yuk^w ~ k^w-a-* [obl.] [юкIв], Sirtych *yuk^w* [юкIв], Khoredzh *yik^w* [йикIв], Truf *yik'* [йикI] 'heart' [Genko 2005: 80, 197]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yuk^w* [abs.] / *k^w-a-* [obl.] [юкIв] 'heart' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 357].

Common Tabasaran: Note the retention of the archaic paradigm in some subdialects: *yuk^(w)* [abs.] / *k^(w)-a-* [obl.].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 540, 631.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *rik'* [рикI] 'heart' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 278; Gadzhiev 1950: 762; Haspelmath 1993: 505, 521].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *rik'* 'heart' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 678. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained in its basic meaning in all Lezgian languages.

The following semantic shifts, reflected as synchronic polysemy in individual lects, can be noted: 'stone (of fruit)' (Tsakhur, Rutul), 'soul' (Rutul).

Replacements: {'heart' > 'stone (of fruit)'} (Tsakhur, Rutul), {'heart' > 'soul'} (Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **yirk^we-*.

41. HORN

Nidzh Udi *muq:ʰa* {муъкъаъ} (1), Vartashen Udi *muq:ʰa* (1) / *q:ʰanc*: {къаъниңI} (2), Archi *b'at:-* (3), Kryts (proper) *kāč* (4), Alyk Kryts *karč* (4), Budukh *kərč* {кач} (4), Mishlesh Tsakhur *gač* {гач} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *gač* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *gač* (4), Mukhad Rutul *kač* {кач} (4), Ixrek Rutul *kač* {кач} (4), Luchek Rutul *kač* (4), Koshan Aghul *k'arč* (4), Keren Aghul *k'arč* (4), Gequn Aghul *k'arč* (4), Fite Aghul *k'arč* (4), Aghul (proper) *k'arč* (4),

Northern Tabasaran *k'arč* (4), Southern Tabasaran *k'arč* (4), Gyune Lezgi *karč* (4), Proto-Lezgian **kalc̣ ~ *k'alč ~ *k:alč* (4).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 177; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183; Mobili 2010: 190, 217. In [Gukasyan 1974] quoted with a typo: *müq:ʼa* {муькъаъ}.

Vartashen Udi: Dzheiranishvili 1971: 205, 247; Schiefner 1863: 105; Schulze 2001: 301; Starchevskiy 1891: 506. The word is written with tense *q:* as {мўқынах} in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902: Lk. 1.69], although this Bezhanovs' form was mistranscribed with plain *q* in [Schulze 2001: 301] (with further speculations about such a deglottalization).

The sources vary in this case. Modern dictionaries [Gukasyan 1974: 157; Mobili 2010: 190] quote *q:ʼanc* {къаънци} as the Vartashen term for 'horn', whereas sources of the 19th century show *muq:ʼa*. Apparently there has been a lexical replacement over the course of the last century (note that [Dzheiranishvili 1971] reflects the archaic norm). Vartashen *q:ʼanc* originates from Lezgian **q:ʼa[n]c'(a)* 'hook' [NCED: 462]. We treat both words as synonyms. Gukasyan 1974: 157; Mobili 2010: 190.

Common Udi: Common Udi **muq:ʼa*, derived from *muq:ʼ* 'deer' [Gukasyan 1974: 177; Mobili 2010: 217; Schiefner 1863: 104]. Cf. [Schulze 2001: 301] for some dubious etymological solutions for **muq:ʼa* (in particular, the author unjustifiedly suspects an Arabic loanword here).

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 200, 379; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183; Mikailov 1967: 174; Dirr 1908: 133, 220. Polysemy: 'horn / top (of the head)'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 36, 39, 119, 180. Note retention of the medial consonant cluster, simplified in Kryts proper.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 76, 238; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 28; Ibragimov & Nuramedov 2010: 111; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183. Missing from [Kibrik et al. 1999]. Polysemy: 'horn / corner / edge'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *gač* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Dirr 1913: 145, 237.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 149, 199; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 137, 388; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183. Ablaut paradigm: *kač* [abs.] / *käč-i-l-* [obl.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Suleymanov 2003: 125; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46. The same in the Usug subdialect: *k'arč* 'horn' [Shaumyan 1941: 183].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Dirr 1907: 130, 182; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 125; Shaumyan 1941: 183. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *k'arč* 'horn' [Shaumyan 1941: 183].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 45. Polysemy: 'horn / woman's plait'.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *k'arč* with polysemy: 'horn / woman's plait / handle, grip' [Uslar 1979: 798, 1004; Dirr 1905: 190, 241]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *k'arč* {кларч} 'horn' [Genko 2005: 111].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46. Polysemy: 'horn / woman's plait'.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *k'arč* {кларч} with polysemy: 'horn / woman's plait / handle, grip' [Genko 2005: 111]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *k'arč* {кларч} 'horn' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 213].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 459, 630. Paradigm: *karč* [abs.] / *kirč:-'ini-* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *karč* [abs.] / *křč:-'uni-* [obl.] {карч} 'horn' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 152; Gadzhiev 1950: 730; Haspelmath 1993: 35, 494, 521]. The tense non-aspirated č in the Gyune and Literary oblique stems is explained by the synchronic rule, according to which the lax aspirated *T* yields *T*: after a voiceless segment, see [Haspelmath 1993: 47, 55] (such an interesting example as *karč* / *křč:-'* should be added to Haspelmath's illustrative lists).

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *karč* [abs.] / *krč-a-* [obl.] 'horn' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 46].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 723. **Distribution:** This word has been retained in its basic meaning in all Nuclear Lezgian lects, but has been completely lost in both outliers (Udi, Archi). The following semantic shifts, reflected as synchronic polysemy, should be noted: 'corner, edge' (Tsakhur), 'woman plait; handle, grip' (Tabasaran).

A second candidate is **p:aʎ*: [NCED: 285], which means 'horn / top of the head' in Archi and 'forehead' in Nuclear Lezgian. Since the shift 'top of the head' > 'horn' is typologically more normal than vice versa, we assume that the Proto-Archi meaning was 'top of the head' (correspondingly, the Proto-Lezgian meaning of **p:aʎ*: should be 'top of the head' or 'forehead').

The Proto-Udi substantive 'horn' was derived from **meʎrλ* 'deer' [NCED: 300]. In modern Vartashen Udi, it was superseded with **q:ʎa[n]c(a)*, whose original Proto-Lezgian meaning was 'hook' [NCED: 462].

Replacements: {'deer' > 'horn'} (Udi), {'hook' > 'horn'} (Vartashen Udi), {'top of the head' > 'horn'} (Archi), {'horn' > 'corner, edge'} (Tsakhur), {'horn' > 'woman plait'} (Tabasaran), {'horn' > 'handle, grip'} (Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the unclear fluctuation of the initial stop: **k-* in Kryts, Budukh, Rutul, Lezgi, **k'-* in Aghul, Tabasaran, **k-* in Tsakhur. External North Caucasian comparison proposed in [NCED: 723] speaks in favor of **k'-*.

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

42. I₁

Nidzh Udi *zu {3y}* (1), Vartashen Udi *zu {3y}* (1), Archi *zo-n* (1), Kryts (proper) *zi-n* (1), Alyk Kryts *zi-n ~ zi* (1), Budukh *zi-n {3bH}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *zi {3bl}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *zi* (1), Gelmet Tsakhur *zi* (1), Mukhad Rutul *zi {3bl}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *zi {3bl}* (1), Luchek Rutul *zi* (1), Koshan Aghul *zu-n* (1), Keren Aghul *zu-n* (1), Gequn Aghul *zu-n* (1), Fite Aghul *zu-n* (1), Aghul (proper) *zu-n* (1), Northern Tabasaran *iz'u* (1), Southern Tabasaran *uz'u* (1), Gyune Lezgi *zu-n* (1), Proto-Lezgian **zo-n ~ *zo* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 119, 274, 277; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116; Mobili 2010: 300; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 467. Suppletive paradigm: *zu* [abs., erg.] / *bez-i ~ bez* [gen.] / *za-* [obl.]. The genitive form *bez-i* is from [Gukasyan 1974]; *bez* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], probably a recent syncope of the final vowel.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 119, 274, 277; Dirr 1903: 31; Schiefner 1863: 21; Schulze 2001: 235, 336; Starchevskiy 1891: 667. Suppletive paradigm: *zu* [abs., erg.] / *bez-i* [gen.] / *za-* [obl.].

Common Udi: The suppletive paradigm coincides in both dialects. The genitive form is to be analyzed as **b=ez-i* with the fossilized class prefix and the nominal genitive ending *-i*.

Caucasian Albanian: *zu* [abs., erg.] / *bezi* [gen.] / *za-* [obl.] [Gippert et al. 2008: II-37, IV-16].

Archi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 346, 389; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 125; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 257; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116; Kibrik 1994: 320; Mikailov 1967: 82; Dirr 1908: 27. Suppletive paradigm: *zo-n* [abs.] / *z'a-* [erg., obl.] / *CLASS=is* [gen.] / *CLASS=ez* [dat.].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Saadiev 1994: 420; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116. Paradigm: *zi-n* [abs., erg.] / *zä* [gen.] / *zä-s* [dat.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the absolutive variant *zu-n* is also quoted (an error?).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 43. Paradigm: *zi-n ~ zi* [abs., erg.] / *za* [gen.] / *za-z* [dat.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 192; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Alekseev 1994: 267; Talibov 2007: 119; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116. Paradigm: *zi-n* [abs., erg.] / *zo* [gen.] / *zə-z* [dat.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the absolutive variant *zu-n* is also quoted (an error?).

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 130; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 518; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116. Paradigm: *zi* [abs., erg.] / *yiz-in* [gen.] / *za-s* [dat.].

- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *zi* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Schulze 1997: 37]. Paradigm: *zi* [abs., erg.] / *yiz-in* [gen.].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Dirr 1913: 32. Paradigm: *zi* [abs.] / *za-s-s^{ye}* [erg.] / *yiz-in* [gen.] / *za-s* [dat.].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Schulze 1997: 38; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 518; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116. Paradigm: *zi* [abs.] / *za-s-sa* [erg.] / *zi-ni* [gen.].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 35; Ibragimov 1978: 77, 212; Makhmudova 2001: 169; Alekseev 1994a: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116. Paradigm: *zi* [abs.] / *yiz-di* [gen.] / *za-* [erg., dat.].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 434; Ibragimov 1978: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 116. Paradigm: *zi* [abs.] / *zi-y* [erg.] / *yiz-di* [gen.] / *za-* [dat.].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221. Paradigm: *zi* [abs.] / *iz-di* [gen.] / *za-* [erg., dat.].
- Common Rutul:** In the Borch-Khnov dialect 'T' has the phonetic shape *yi* [Ibragimov 1978: 258], which originates from 'we (incl.)' (see notes on 'we').
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Magometov 1970: 101; Suleymanov 1993: 125. Paradigm: *zu-n* [abs., erg.] / *za-s* [dat.] / *yaz* [gen.].
- The same in the Khudig subdialect: *zu-n* [abs., erg.] / *za-s* [dat.] / *yez* [gen.] 'T' [Magometov 1970: 101].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Magometov 1970: 101. Paradigm: *zu-n* [abs.] / *za-s̄* [erg.] / *zu-s* [dat.] / *ze* [gen.].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Dirr 1907: 19; Magometov 1970: 101. Paradigm: *zu-n* [abs., erg.] / *zi-s* [dat.] / *ze* [gen.].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Magometov 1970: 101. Paradigm: *zu-n* [abs., erg.] / *za-s* [dat.] / *zi ~ zi-t* [gen.].
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 1993: 125; Suleymanov 2003: 85. Paradigm: *zu-n* [abs., erg.] / *za-s* [dat.] / *ze* [gen.].
- Common Aghul:** The historical shape *Vz* of the genitive form is retained only in Koshan; in other dialects the genitive has been levelled after the rest of the paradigm.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Magometov 1965: 170. Paradigm: *iz'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yas* [gen.]_
- The same in the Khanag subdialect: *iz'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yaz* [gen.] 'T' [Uslar 1979: 126; Dirr 1905: 33; Magometov 1965: 170].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221. Paradigm: *uz'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yiz* [gen.].
- The same in the Khiv subdialect: *uz'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yiz* [gen.] {yzy} 'T' [Genko 2005: 151; Magometov 1965: 169]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *uz'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yiz* [gen.] {yzy} 'T' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 432; Zhirkov 1948: 107; Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 56].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 59. Paradigm: *zu-n* [abs.] / *za* [erg., obl.] / *zi ~ zi-n* [gen.].
- The same in Literary Lezgi: *zu-n* [abs.] / *za* [erg., obl.] / *zi* [gen.] {zyn} 'T' [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 150; Haspelmath 1993: 184].
- The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *zi-n* [abs.] / *za* [erg., obl.] / *zi* [gen.] 'T' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 1084. Distribution: Retained as the independent personal pronoun for the 1st p. sg. in all lects except for Borch-Khnov Rutul, where 'T' originates from the personal pronoun 'we (incl.)'.
- Replacements: {'we (incl.)' > 'T'} (Borch-Khnov Rutul).
- Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular.
- The absolutive form is to be reconstructed as **zo-n ~ *zo*. The status of the suffix *-n* is unclear. It is attested in Archi and in most Nuclear Lezgian languages: South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and East Lezgian (Aghul, Lezgi; it must be noted that in Tabasaran **zo(-n)* has not survived, having been levelled after the oblique stem). On the contrary, *-n* is absent from Caucasian Albanian-Udi and West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul). Finally, Alyk Kryts shows synchronic doublets *zi-n ~ zi*. In all these cases the nasal suffix could be explained as influence on the part of the 2nd p. sg. pronoun **p-n* 'thou' q.v., although it must be noted that the external North Caucasian *comparanda* also demonstrate fluctuation between forms with and without *-n*.
- The oblique stem can be safely reconstructed as **za-* (retained in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, Archi and Proto-Nuclear Lezgian).
- It is unclear how we should reconstruct the Proto-Lezgian ergative form. In Caucasian Albanian-Udi and many Nuclear Lezgian lects (Kryts, Budukh, Mishlesh Tsakhur, Ixrek Rutul, Koshan Aghul, Gequn Aghul, Fite Aghul, Proper Aghul), the ergative form coincides with the absolutive one (**zo-n ~ *zo*). On the contrary, in Archi and the rest of Nuclear Lezgian (Mikik Tsakhur, Gelmets Tsakhur, Mukhad Rutul, Luchek Rutul, Keren Aghul, Lezgi), the ergative form is based on the oblique stem **za-* (implying the Proto-Lezgian suffix-free ergative form **za*).
- The genitive stem is to be reconstructed as **CLASS=iz*. The class prefixation has been retained as a living pattern in Archi

and as a fossilized prefix in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, but has been lost in Nuclear Lezgian. In some lects, the old genitive form can be additionally modified with the synchronic genitive suffix: Caucasian Albanian-Udi, Tsakhur (cf. also Rutul). In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), non-Koshan Aghul, Lezgi, the old genitive form was eliminated, having been levelled after the *zV-* pattern of the rest of the paradigm. The irregular voiceless fricative in Archi *CLASS=is* is inexplicable.

Additionally, a specific dative form **CLASS=ez* could be theoretically reconstructed, based on Archi *CLASS=ez* (no traces in other Lezgian languages).

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal root. Suppletive paradigm: **zo-n* ~ **zo* [abs.] / **za-* [obl.] / **CLASS=iz* [gen.] / (?) **CLASS=ez* [dat.].

42. I₂

Nidzh Udi *bezi* ~ *bez* {*бези ~ без*} (1), Vartashen Udi *bezi* {*бези*} (1), Archi *CLASS=is* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yiz-in* {*йизын*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *yiz-in* (1), Mukhad Rutul *yiz-di* (1), Ixrek Rutul *yiz-di* (1), Luchek Rutul *iz-di* (1), Koshan Aghul *yaz* (1), Northern Tabasaran *yas* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yiz* (1), Proto-Lezgian **CLASS=iz* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Genitive form.

Vartashen Udi: Genitive form.

Archi: Genitive form.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Mikik Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Mukhad Rutul: Genitive form.

Ixrek Rutul: Genitive form.

Luchek Rutul: Genitive form.

Koshan Aghul: Genitive form.

Northern Tabasaran: Genitive form.

Southern Tabasaran: Genitive form.

Proto-Lezgian: Genitive form.

43. KILL

Nidzh Udi *be-s-b-esun* {*бесбесун*} (1), Vartashen Udi *be-s-b-esun* {*бесбесун*} (1), Archi =*ača-* (2), Kryts (proper) *q'äy-* (1), Alyk Kryts *q'äy-* (1), Budukh *at'u-* {*амIу-*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *g^y=ik'-* {*з'укIаc*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *g^y=ik'-* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *g^y=ik'-* {*з'укIаз, зукIаз*} (1), Mukhad Rutul *CLASS=iq'-i-r* {*йукьун*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *CLASS=iq'-i-r* {*йукьун*} (1), Luchek Rutul *y=iχ^f-i-r* (4), Koshan Aghul *k'-i-* (1), Keren Aghul *k^y-a-* (1), Gequn Aghul *k'-e-* (1), Fite Aghul *k'-e-* (1), Aghul (proper) *k'-e-* (1), Northern Tabasaran *yik'-* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yik'-* (1), Gyune Lezgi *r=äqⁱ-* (1) / *qⁱ-e-* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔiʔe* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 78; Mobili 2010: 54. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248] 'to kill' is translated as *be-p-sun* {*бепIсун*} -

apparently a typo for *be-s-p:-sun* {бесісны}, the latter originally from syncopated **be-s-b-sun* with the regular development *bs > p:s* (for which see [Maisak 2008a: 149]).

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 78; Fähnrich 1999: 9; Dirr 1903: 2, 70, 96; Schiefner 1863: 101; Schulze 2001: 255; Starchevskiy 1891: 489. In [Dzheiranishvili 1971: 265] 'to kill' is translated as *be-s-p:-esun ~ be-s-b-esun* (the former variant apparently stays for syncopated *be-s-p:-sun* with *bs > p:s*).

Common Udi: Common Udi **be-s-b-esun*. A transitive/causative from *be-s-*, formed with the light verb *-b-* 'to do' [Schulze 2005: 569 ff. (3.4.2.2 #22 ff.)]. As accepted in [NCED: 662], *be-s-* is apparently a contracted form of the infinitive *bi-es* from the verb *bi-esun ~ bi-sun* 'to die' q.v. The change *i > e* is not entirely clear, however.

Caucasian Albanian: A labile verb with the suppletive paradigm: *bil^y-a-* (present, imperative, future) / *p'ur-i-* (past) and polysemy: 'to die / to kill' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44, IV-35]. See notes on 'to die'.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 185; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248; Mikailov 1967: 173; Dirr 1908: 131, 224. The main meaning of this frequent verb is generic: 'to perform an action most typically associated with the given object in the current situation', an additional specific meaning is 'to kill', obj. = human or animal, sg. or pl. For the pl. object cf. examples like "Who can kill them (= two lovers) in the presence of the people?" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 11].

More marginal are two complex causative verbs, which literally mean 'to make to die':

1) *k'is-a-* from the verb *=k'a-* 'to die (sg.)' q.v. Found in some texts, e.g., [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 61, 85, 88]. Apparently used with sg. obj. only.

2) *χ^wis-a-* with polysemy 'to kill / to beat up (obj. = people) / to scold severely, condemn / to wear out' [Chumakina et al. 2007] from the verb *=χ^wi-* 'to die (pl. subj.)'. This is not specified in [Chumakina et al. 2007], but apparently *χ^wis-as* is applied to pl. obj. only.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248. Polysemy: 'to die / to kill'. See notes on 'to die'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 416. Polysemy: 'to die / to kill'. See notes on 'to die'.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171. Missing from [Meylanova 1984] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Meylanova 1984: 26 sub *barut*, etc.].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248] 'to kill' is glossed as *ülum siʔi-* {уълум сийи}, literally 'death' + 'to do', which could be a neologism on the authors' part (note that *ülum* is an error for *ülüm* 'death' [Meylanova 1984: 140]).

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 874, 900; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248. Ablaut paradigm: *g^y=ek'-a* [imperf.] / *g^y=ik'-u* [perf.] / *g^y=ik'-as* [fut.]. Applied to sg. obj.

Distinct from *g^y=at'-* 'to kill (pl. obj.)' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 874; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 118, 126].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171; Dirr 1913: 147, 241. Ablaut paradigm: *g^y=ek'-a* [imperf.] / *g^y=ik'-u* [perf.] / *g^y=ik'-as* [fut.]; note the thematic *-u-* in perf. Applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from *g^y=at'-* 'to kill (pl. obj.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Dirr 1913: 165, 241].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], erroneously quoted as *g^y=i ɛ* {гикъаз}.

Common Tsakhur: Initial *g^y=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41]. The verb *g^y=ik'-* 'to kill (sg. obj.)' contains the same root as 'to die (sg. subj.)' q.v., modified with another prefix; the verb *g^y=at'-* 'to kill (pl. obj.)' contains the same root as 'to die (pl. subj.)', modified with another prefix.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 144, 202; Ibragimov 1978: 121; Makhmudova 2001: 71, 116, 252; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to kill / to die (q.v.)', applied to sg. obj./subj.

Distinct from *CLASS=iṛq'-* / *CLASS=q'irq'-* 'to kill (pl. obj.) / to die (pl. subj.)' [Dirr 1912: 144, 166].

A second candidate is *y=iχ^ɛ-*, glossed as 'to kill' in [Makhmudova 2001: 107] with the example: "Matsay killed his own chicken" [Makhmudova 2001: 176-177]. But the main meaning of *y=iχ^ɛ-* is 'to strike, hit; to wound', as it is glossed in [Dirr 1912: 163] (with examples) and [Ibragimov 1978: 121]; cf also two additional examples: "The raising sun touched (*lit.* struck) the mountain top" [Makhmudova 2001: 73], "Beat the drum!" [Makhmudova 2001: 210].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 405. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to kill / to die (q.v.)'. It must be noted that in the main section of the dictionary [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 131] this verb is only glossed as 'to die', whereas in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 248] 'to kill' is translated as *y=iq'-e h=aʔ-* - causative from *CLASS=iq'-i-r*.

A second candidate is *y=iχ^ɛ-i-r* {йыIхыИн} 'to strike, hit; to wound (with a weapon), kill; to push, shove' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 136, 405], with the example: "We have killed a bear" [Ibragimov 1978: 213].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171. Synchronically irregular verb with three parallel imperfective stems: *y=i=l=χ^ɛ-a-r-* ~

$r=i\chi^{\xi}a-r \sim y=i=r\chi^{\xi}a-r$ [imperf.] / $i\chi^{\xi}i-r$ [perf.]. Note the rare imperfective infix *-l-* and the relict imperfective prefix *r-*; the third imperfective stem is regular. Used both with sg. and pl. obj.

Common Rutul: The Proto-Rutul verb for 'to kill (sg. obj.)' was the labile $=iq^{\cdot}$ 'to die (sg. subj.) / to kill (sg. obj.)'. The verb for 'to die (pl. subj.) / to kill (pl. obj.)', attested in Mukhad and Luchek, is etymologically related, formed with reduplication.

There is a tendency in Rutul dialects to restrict $=iq^{\cdot}$ to the meaning 'to die' and ascribe the meaning 'to kill' to the verb $y=i\chi^{\xi}$ 'to strike, hit', which is derived from $i\chi^{\xi}$ 'to strike, hit' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 102] with the prefix *y=*. This process is currently finished in the Luchek dialect. It must be noted that the semantic development 'to hit' > 'to kill' is normal, whereas *vice versa* is typologically odd.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170; Shaumyan 1941: 183. Synchronically suppletive imperative: *yik'*.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 170. Synchronically suppletive imperative: *yik'*. In [Magometov 1970: 150] transcribed as *k'-e-*

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 130, 186; Shaumyan 1941: 183.

Fite Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 77, 139.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 77, 139. The same in the Kurag subdialect: *k'-i* 'to die; to kill' [Magometov 1970: 139].

Common Aghul: Labile verb with polysemy: 'to kill / to die' in all the dialects.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 171.

Common Tabasaran: Labile verb with polysemy: 'to die (sg. subj.) / to kill (sg. obj.)', further see notes on 'to die'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 529, 636, 637. Imperfective stem. Labile verb with polysemy: 'to die / to kill'; for further notes, see 'to die'. Perfective stem.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 661. Distribution: Preserved in the majority of Lezgian languages. The complete Proto-Lezgian system is reconstructed as $*?i\lambda'e$ 'to die / to kill' (sg.), $*?il\chi^we$ 'to die / to kill' (pl.). Further see notes on 'to die'.

Replacements: {'to perform an action most typically associated with the given object in the current situation' > 'to kill'} (Archi), {'to cut' > 'to kill'} (Budukh), {'to cut' > 'to die / to kill'} (Tsakhur), {'to strike, hit' > 'to kill'} (Rutul).

44. KNEE

Nidzh Udi *k'a'kap:* {κΙαβκΙαβηΙ} (1), Vartashen Udi *ke'k:ep:* {κΙεβκΙεβηΙ} (1), Archi *po'mp* (2), Kryts (proper) *pip* (2), Alyk Kryts *pip* (2), Budukh *pep* {nen} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q'araca* {κβαραυα} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *q'araca* (3), Gel mets Tsakhur *q'araca* (3), Mukhad Rutul *q'waaq'* {κββακβ} (4), Ixrek Rutul *q'waaq'* {κββακβ} (4), Luchek Rutul *q'waaq'* (4), Koshan Aghul *q'uaq'* (4), Keren Aghul *q'waaq'w* (4), Gequn Aghul *q'waaq'w ~ q'uaq'* (4), Fite Aghul *q'waaq'w* (4), Aghul (proper) *q'waaq'w* (4), Northern Tabasaran *q'amq'-a* (4), Southern Tabasaran *q'amq'* (4), Gyune Lezgi *met* (5), Proto-Lezgian $*p'i'mp \sim *p'i'mp'$ (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 141; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212; Mobili 2010: 174.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 141; Fähnrich 1999: 20; Mobili 2010: 174; Schulze 2001: 292. In [Fähnrich 1999: 20] the variant *k'a'kap:* is also quoted. In [Schiefner 1863: 82] quoted as *k'ük:äp*.

Common Udi: Common Udi $*k'a'ka-p:$ with a fossilized plural suffix.

Caucasian Albanian: *l'ek*, attested once in Is. 35.3 [Gippert et al. 2008: VII-23] (missing from the dictionary in [Gippert et al. 2008: IV]). Possesses reliable Lezgian cognates (Lezgian $*l'äk$ 'a part of the leg' [NCED: 755]).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 294, 363; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212; Mikailov 1967: 196; Dirr 1908: 175, 211. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] incorrectly quoted with the variant *po'mr* {πoImp} due to misunderstanding of a peculiarity of the Russian alphabet. Suppletive paradigm: *po'mp* [abs. sg.] / *po'mp-li-* [obl.] / *po't*

[abs. pl.] / *p'o^l-r-čay* [erg. pl.]. As proposed in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 45], could be analyzed as the root *po^f* with nasal reduplication in sg. *po^l-m-p* (a unique pattern for the noun system) and regular plural forms *po^l-t*, *p'o^l-r-čay*.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 22, 35, 40, 49, 174.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 119, 217; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 886, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 223; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *q'araca* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Dirr 1913: 196, 227.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 165, 192; Ibragimov 1978: 114; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 164, 348; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 212.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Suleymanov 2003: 121; Shaumyan 1941: 186.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32. The same in the Usug subdialect: *q^waq^w* 'knee' [Shaumyan 1941: 186].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Dirr 1907: 138, 174; Shaumyan 1941: 186. The more archaic variant *q^waq^w* is from [Dirr 1907]; in [Shaumyan 1941], both forms are quoted; the modern source, [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], gives only *q'uaq'*.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32; Shaumyan 1941: 186.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 121; Shaumyan 1941: 186. The same in the other subdialects: Duldug *q^waq^w*, Tsirkhe *q'uaq'* 'knee' [Shaumyan 1941: 186].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *q'amq'* with polysemy: 'knee / stalk (of cereal)' [Uslar 1979: 880, 995; Dirr 1905: 201, 231]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *q'amq'* {къамкъ} 'knee' [Genko 2005: 105].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *q'amq'* {къамкъ} 'knee' [Genko 2005: 105]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *q'amq'* {къамкъ} 'knee' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 208].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 506, 615. Paradigm: *met* [abs.] / *met⁻ⁱ* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *met* [abs.] / *met⁻ⁱ* [obl.] {met} 'knee' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 237; Gadzhiev 1950: 296; Haspelmath 1993: 498, 522].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *met* [abs.] / *met^{-a}* [obl.] 'knee' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 32].

Proto-Lezgian: LEDb: #230. Distribution: An unstable word. From the distributional point of view, the best candidate is **pⁱmp* / **pⁱmp* which denotes 'knee' in Archi, on the one hand, and in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), on the other. The meaning shifted to 'angle, corner' in Tabasaran and Lezgi. The Proto-Lezgian reconstruction is not entirely clear phonetically and morphophonologically (see below); external North Caucasian etymology of this root is unknown.

The second candidate is **q'amq'* [NCED: 907], which is attested in the meaning 'knee' in some West Lezgian (Rutul) and some East Lezgian lects (Aghul, Tabasaran). Formally, **q'amq'* and **pⁱmp* occur with criss-crossing distribution within Nuclear Lezgian. As in some other cases, we suppose that **q'amq'* in the meaning 'knee' is an areal introduction, shared by some languages (including Proto-Dargi **q^waq^wa* 'knee' in the adjacent Dargi lects!) after the split of Proto-Nuclear Lezgian.

Various replacements occurred in individual languages.

Udi: **k'alk-* (~ -e-, -r-) [NCED: 720], modified with the fossilized plural suffix. The exact meaning of Proto-Lezgian **k'alk-* cannot be established with certainty. Outside Udi, this root is attested as 'calf of leg' (Lezgi) and 'top of boot' (Aghul). The attested meanings suggest something like 'a part of leg between knee and ankle'.

Caucasian Albanian: **lök* [NCED: 755], whose original meaning seems to have been 'leg bone' (shifted to 'bone' q.v. in Archi and into 'foot, leg' q.v. in Tabasaran-Aghul).

Tsakhur: **q'araCay* / **Caraqay* [LEDb: #204], this root means 'shin' in Rutul. Unattested outside West Lezgian.

Lezgi: **wenč:* [NCED: 1042]; this root denotes 'lower corner of sack or bag' in Archi. External North Caucasian comparison points to the primary anatomic semantics ('a part of leg').

Replacements: {'a part of leg between knee and ankle' > 'knee'} (Udi), {'leg bone' > 'knee'} (Caucasian Albanian), {'shin' > 'knee'(?)} (Tsakhur), {'knee' > 'angle, corner'} (Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'knee' > 'stalk (of cereal)'} (Northern Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are not quite regular due to fluctuation of the ejective ~ plain stops: **p-p* in

Archi, Kryts, Budukh ('knee') vs. *p'-p' in Tabasaran, Lezgi ('angle, corner').

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The irregular Archi paradigm suggests that the original shape of the root could be *p'i (- *p'i) with further reduplication.

45. KNOW

Nidzh Udi *a-va-bak-sun* {авабаксун} (1), Vartashen Udi *a-ba-bak-sun* {абабаксун} (1), Archi *s'ini* (2), Kryts (proper) CLASS=*äc'ä-* (1), Alyk Kryts CLASS=*ac'a-ra ša-r-* (1), Budukh *hac'ə-r-* {збацIap-} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur CLASS=*ac'a* {ацIа} (1), Mikik Tsakhur CLASS=*ac'a-x-* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur CLASS=*ac'a-x-* (1), Mukhad Rutul CLASS=*ac'-* {бацIаc, збацIаc} (1), Ixrek Rutul CLASS=*äc'-* {збацIуИун} (1), Luchek Rutul CLASS=*ac'-* (1), Koshan Aghul *aħa xi-* ~ *aħa-r xi-* (3), Keren Aghul *ħu-y-e* (3), Gequn Aghul *ħa-r xa-* (3), Fite Aghul *aχ'i-r xa-* (3), Aghul (proper) *y=aħa-r xa-* (3), Northern Tabasaran *ak'^ha-di x-* (3), Southern Tabasaran *av'^hu š-* (3), Gyune Lezgi *č'i-* (4), Proto-Lezgian **ʔac'a-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 31, 33; Mobili 2010: 15. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727] the noun *a-va* 'knowing' is quoted instead of the verb.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 31; Mobili 2010: 15; Dirr 1903: 16, 78, 81, 83, 90, 91, 92, 95; Schiefner 1863: 75; Schulze 2001: 245; Starchevskiy 1891: 485. Glossed as 'erfahren, bemerken, gewahren' in [Fähnrich 1999: 6].

Common Udi: Common Udi **a-ba-bak-esun*, derived from **a-ba* (Nidzh *ava*, Vartashen *aba*) 'knowing, knowledgeable, competent' [Gukasyan 1974: 31] with the light verb *-bak-* 'to be(come)' [Schulze 2005: 561 f. (3.4.2.2 #10); Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 474]. The adjective **a-ba* contains the common adjectival suffix *-ba*, on which see [Gukasyan 1974: 272; Schulze 2005: 222 f. (3.2.9.1 #7)]; for the sporadic fricativization *b > v* in the Nidzh dialect see [Dzheiranishvili 1971: 277; Maisak 2008a: 150 f.]. In [Gippert et al. 2008: II-76] Nidzh *ava* ~ Vartashen *aba* are not segmented, but incorrectly treated as primary roots originating from Lezgian **ʔac'a-* (with **c' > v/b*).

Caucasian Albanian: *aa-* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-4]. Phonetically, apparently *aʔa-* with ʔ in the place of the lost Lezgian **c'*. Distinct (although in some contexts very close semantically) from the less frequent verb *čal-χ-esun* 'to know, realize' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-36], which corresponds to modern Udi *čal-χ-esun* 'to recognize, know, experience, make the acquaintance of smb.' [Gukasyan 1974: 236; Schulze 2001: 265].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 314, 360; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727. In [Mikhailov 1967: 197; Dirr 1908: 181, 209] and also [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727] 'to know' is quoted as *s'in-ke-*, although the actual meaning of this paronymous complex verb is 'to find out, learn; to recognize; to feel (pain)' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 314].

Distinct from *b'ec'a-* 'to be able to; to know how' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 201].

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 423, 440, 442. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727] quoted as a complex expression with the verb *xi-* 'to become': CLASS=*äc'ä-r xi-*. Apparently used in perfective (aorist) form only.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 249. Deverbal adjective =*ac'a-ra* plus the verb *ša-r-* [imperf.] / *xi-* [perf.] 'to become'.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177. Polysemy: 'to know / to be able'. A complex expression *hac'ə-r yixə-r-* can also be used (participle plus the verb *yixə-* / *saxə-* 'to be(come)'). Missing from [Meylanova 1984: 40], where only the participle *hac'ər* 'knowledgeable, understanding' is quoted.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727] 'to know' is incorrectly glossed as *baladu* {балადу}, which means something like 'to be acquainted (with a person)', cf. [Meylanova 1984: 25].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 67, 868, 894; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 52], quoted as CLASS=*ac'a-x-*, see below.

Distinct from the complex verb CLASS=*ac'a-x-* 'to get to know' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 868] (the second element is the verb *ix-*

'to become').

Distinct from $a\chi^{\text{L}}$ 'to be able to' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 869].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177. The second element is the verb $ix-$ 'to become'. In [Dirr 1913: 138, 226], quoted as the simple stem CLASS= $ac'a-$.

Distinct from Mikik $a\chi^{\text{L}}$ 'to be able to' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 183].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727. The second element is the verb $ix-$ 'to become'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 124, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 120, 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 74. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 727], quoted as CLASS= $ac'-$ {гъацЫн}.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177; Suleymanov 2003: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 146. Polysemy: 'to know / to get to know'. An analytic construction with the verb $xi-$ 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62]. The variant $aha-r$ is from [Suleymanov 2003].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177. Irregular verb with the synthetic present form $huye$; the rest of the paradigm is formed analytically as $ha-r xi-$. The auxiliary verb $xi-$ in Kibrik & Kodzasov's gloss may be an error for $xa-$ = the verb $xa-$ 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62].

The same root in the Usug subdialect: $Ha-r wa^{\text{L}}$ 'to know' [Shaumyan 1941: 146, 197]; the auxiliary verb wa^{L} means 'to go' q.v.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 118, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 146. An analytic construction with the verb $xa-$ 'to become' [Dirr 1907: 119].

Fite Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 146. An analytic construction with the verb $xa-$ 'to become'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 92; Magometov 1970: 202 (sentence 10); Shaumyan 1941: 146. Polysemy: 'to know / to get to know'. An analytic construction with the verb $xa-$ 'to become'.

The same root in the Kurag subdialect: $aHa-y-e \sim y=av^{\text{L}}\ddot{a}-y-e$ [imperf.] / $?=aHa-r xa- \sim aHa-r xa-$ [other forms] 'to know / to get to know' [Magometov 1970: 167, 181, 188, 209 sentence 9]. Magometov's inconsistent transcription of the root fricative is obviously wrong, but the picture is similar to the Keren (Richa) dialect: the synthetic imperfect (presence) and the analytic rest of the paradigm.

The analytic construction in other subdialects: Duldug $aHa-r xa-$, Tsirkhe $a\chi^{\text{L}}a-r xa-$ 'to know; to get to know' [Shaumyan 1941: 146].

Initial $y=$ and $?=$ look like desemantized preverbs.

Common Aghul: A poorly documented verb, both phonetically and paradigmatically. In all the dialects, the proper verbal forms tend to be superseded with the analytic construction $aHa-r$ + the auxiliary verbs 'to become' or 'to go'. The nominal form $aHa-r \sim Ha-r$ represents the old participle or gerund.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: $av^{\text{L}}a x-$ 'to know' [Dirr 1905: 151, 229].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 177.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: $av^{\text{L}}a x-' \sim av^{\text{L}}u x-'$ {авгьяхуб} 'to know' [Genko 2005: 23].

Common Tabasaran: In all dialects the equivalent for 'know' is an analytic construction: the participle from the lost verb av^{L} 'to know' + the suppletive auxiliary verb 'to become', for which see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 191, 193, 594. Literally 'to be-known to X'. The analytic construction with the participle $\check{c}i-r \check{z}e-/xa-$ or simple $\check{c}i \check{z}e-/xa-$ can also be used, literally 'to become ($\check{z}e-/xa-$) known to X'.

Similarly in Literary Lezgi: $\check{c}i-$ with polysemy: 'to know / to know how', literally 'to be-known to X' [Haspelmath 1993: 139, 484, 522]. Used in the imperfective; for the perfective, the analytic construction with the participle $\check{c}i-r xa-$ {чирхун} is used, literally 'to become ($xa-$) known to X' [Gadzhiev 1950: 248; Haspelmath 1993: 139]. Not attested in [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 262. Distribution: Retained as the basic root for 'to know' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in most Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh). It must be noted that in Udi, the verb got lost, whereas the root survived in the suffixed adjective as an element of the complex verb (literally 'to be knowing'). Similarly, the old verb tends to be superseded with the analytic construction *participle* + 'to be(come)' in Nuclear Lezgian. The original meaning of $*\text{?}ac'a-$ shifted to 'to be able to; to know how' in Archi.

In Aghul and Tabasaran, the old root was lost, superseded with $*\text{?}a\chi^{\text{L}}a-$ [NCED: 565] (as in the case of $*\text{?}ac'a-$, the most frequent construction is *participle* + 'to be(come)'). The exact Proto-Lezgian meaning of $*\text{?}a\chi^{\text{L}}a-$ is not clear, apparently

something like 'to get to know, to learn' (cf. its meanings 'teaching, lesson' in Archi, 'to be able to' in Tsakhur).

In some lects, the basic meaning 'to know' is expressed with etymologically obscure roots: Archi (*s'imi*), Lezgi (*č'i-*).

Replacements: {'to know' > 'to be able to; to know how'} (Archi, Budukh).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

46. LEAF

Nidzh Udi *χazal* {хазал} (-1), Vartashen Udi *χazal* {хазал} (-1), Archi *k'ač'i* (1), Kryts (proper) *beš* (2), Alyk Kryts *γarpav* (-1), Budukh *γarpav* {γарпав} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *t^yel^ye* {mIeIe} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *t^yel^ye* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *t^yel^ye* (3), Mukhad Rutul *q'uruq'* {квуркв} (4), Ixrek Rutul *q'uruq'* {квуркв} (4), Luchek Rutul *q'uruq'* (4), Koshan Aghul *c'aw* (5), Keren Aghul *p'ač̣ž* (2), Gequn Aghul *p'ač̣ž* ~ *p'ač̣ž* (2), Fite Aghul *c'ab* (5), Aghul (proper) *c'ab* (5), Northern Tabasaran *k'až-a* (1), Southern Tabasaran *k'až* (1), Gyune Lezgi *beš* (2), Proto-Lezgian **Ač'a* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 218; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402; Mobili 2010: 145.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 218; Fähnrich 1999: 34; Dirr 1903: 15, 38; Schiefner 1863: 85; Schulze 2001: 333; Starchevskiy 1891: 502.

Common Udi: As correctly proposed in [Schulze 2001: 333], an Azerbaijani loanword. Borrowed from Azerbaijani dialectal (Zaqatala) *xazal* 'leaf', literary *xāzāl* 'fallen dry leaves' (ultimately from Persian).

Caucasian Albanian: *zeep* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-36]. The form is not fully reliable and etymologically obscure; it is attested only in the plural meaning 'leaves' = 'foliage'.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 262, 365; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402; Mikailov 1967: 186; Dirr 1908: 160, 212.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 171, 337. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *γarpag* 'leaf'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 69, 220; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402] erroneously quoted as *γarpag* {γарпав}. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *γarpag* 'leaf'.

Distinct from the more specific term *χalat'* {халатI} 'large leaf (e.g., of burdock)' [Meylanova 1984: 144].

Distinct from *beš* {беш} 'bud, gemma' [Meylanova 1984: 28].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 346. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402], 'leaf' is glossed as *γarpav* {γарпав}, borrowed from Azerbaijani *γarpag* 'leaf'.

Distinct from the collective *χazal* {хазал} 'foliage' [Ibragimov 1990: 66], borrowed from Azerbaijani dialectal (Zaqatala) *xazal* 'leaf', literary *xāzāl* 'fallen dry leaves'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *t^yel^ye* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96; Dirr 1913: 206, 229.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 166, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 117; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 166, 352; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 402. Polysemy: 'leaf / petal'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96; Suleymanov 2003: 194. Applied to both trees and herbs.

Distinct from *kiž* 'paper, sheet of paper; letter (message)' [Shaumyan 1941: 183; Suleymanov 2003: 125; Magometov 1970: 152].

It is surprising, however, that in the only Burshag example found for the meaning 'leaf' it is the word *k'iz̄* that is used: "In autumn, leaves fall down from the trees" [Shaumyan 1941: 40].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96. Applied to trees. Distinct from *c'ab* 'leaf of herb' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96] (in [Magometov 1970: 36], apparently erroneously glossed as 'tree leaf').

The same in the Usug subdialect: *p'aʒ̄* 'tree leaf' [Shaumyan 1941: 153]. Distinct from Usug *k'ež̄* 'paper, sheet of paper; letter (message)' [Shaumyan 1941: 183].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96; Dirr 1907: 137, 176; Shaumyan 1941: 153. The variant *p'aʒ̄* is from [Dirr 1907]. Applied to trees.

Distinct from *c'aw* 'leaf of herb' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96].

Distinct from *k'ež̄* ~ *k'iz̄* 'paper, sheet of paper; letter (message)' [Dirr 1907: 130; Shaumyan 1941: 183] (the latter form is from [Dirr 1907]).

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96. Applied to both trees and herbs.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 194. According to Suleymanov's examples, Tpig *c'ab* is applied to both trees and herbs. In [Shaumyan 1941: 153], however, the Tpig word for 'tree leaf' is quoted as *paž̄*.

Distinct from *k'ež̄* 'paper, sheet of paper; letter (message)' [Suleymanov 2003: 125; Shaumyan 1941: 183]. It is interesting, however, that in the only Tpig example found in Shaumyan's work for the meaning 'leaf' the word *k'ež̄* is used: "In autumn, leaves fall down from the trees" [Shaumyan 1941: 40].

Common Aghul: A rather unclear situation here, with three candidates for the meaning 'leaf': *p'aʒ̄*, *c'ab* and *k'ež̄*. The word *c'ab* (*c'aw*) has a cognate in Tabasaran (the closest relative of Aghul): *c'ab* ~ *c'aw* 'herb leaf', suggesting that it is possible to reconstruct the opposition 'tree leaf' vs. 'herb leaf' (*c'ab*) for Proto-Aghul; in such a case the former term would be superseded with the latter one (*c'ab*) in some dialects, where this typologically rare semantic opposition was eliminated.

It is uncertain how the Proto-Aghul word for 'tree leaf' should be reconstructed. Upon first sight, *p'aʒ̄* is the best candidate ('tree leaf' in Keren and Gequn), but first, it should be noted that *k'ež̄*, which everywhere means 'sheet of paper', might be attested in the meaning 'tree leaf' in Koshan and Proper Aghul (if Shaumyan's examples are valid); second, the semantic development 'leaf' > 'sheet (of paper)' is typologically possible, whereas *vice versa* looks odd. These facts could point to *k'ež̄* as the Proto-Aghul term for 'tree leaf'. Both *k'ež̄* and *p'aʒ̄* possess external Lezgian cognates with the meaning 'leaf', but *k'ež̄* seems a more preferable candidate for the status of this basic Proto-Lezgian term. It should be noted that, as plausibly proposed in [NCED: 298], *p'aʒ̄* acquires the shape *p'až̄* in some Aghul dialects under the influence of *k'ež̄*. This can additionally confirm that the main Proto-Aghul word for 'tree leaf' was *k'ež̄*, whereas *p'aʒ̄* denoted some specific kind of leaves.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96. Apparently applied to both trees and herbs.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *k'až̄* with polysemy: 'leaf of tree / sheet of paper / letter (message)' [Uslar 1979: 793, 997; Dirr 1905: 189, 232], opposed to *c'aw* 'plant tops (Russian: ботва)' [Uslar 1979: 959].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *k'až̄* {кIажж} 'leaf of tree' [Genko 2005: 110], as opposed to *c'aw* {цIаѵ} 'leaf of herb, plant tops' [Genko 2005: 176] (the dialectal origin of *c'aw* is not specified by Genko, but phonetically the form is Northern Tabasaran; Khyuryuk is the most probable variant).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96. Apparently applied to both trees and herbs.

Differently in the Khiv subdialect: *k'až̄* {кIажж} with polysemy: 'leaf of tree / paper, sheet of paper / letter (message) / amulet' [Genko 2005: 110], as opposed to *c'ab* {цIаѵ} 'leaf of herb, plant tops' [Genko 2005: 176].

In Literary Tabasaran: *k'až̄* {кIажж} with polysemy: 'leaf / paper, sheet of paper / letter (message) / amulet' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 212] - apparently applied to both trees and herbs; the literary word *c'ab* {цIаѵ} means 'petal' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 331].

Common Tabasaran: The typologically rare opposition *k'až̄* 'tree leaf' / *c'ab* 'herb leaf' is to be reconstructed for Proto-Tabasaran.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 359, 616. Applied to trees (at least).

The same in Literary Lezgi: *p:eš̄* {пеш̄} 'leaf' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 264; Gadzhiev 1950: 336; Haspelmath 1993: 500, 522] (applied to both trees and herbs).

Differently in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *riq'-äy* 'leaf' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 96] (applied to both trees and herbs). Final *-Vy* is a rare desemantized suffix.

In is unclear how the Proto-Lezgi term for 'leaf' should be reconstructed. Note the different treatment of Lezgian **p*: in Gyune (*b*) and Literary Lezgi (*p*).

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 773. Distribution: An unstable word. Three roots enter into competition with each other in this "criss-crossed" situation. Tentatively, we fill the slot with $*\lambda'a\check{c}a$ [NCED: 773], which has the best distribution among the candidates. The root $*\lambda'a\check{c}a$ means 'leaf' in Archi, on the one hand, and in Tabasaran (specifically 'tree leaf') and apparently Proto-Aghul, on the other. Additionally, this root means 'grain' in Udi (< *'husk?'), 'stem, stalk' in Lezgi, Kryts, 'pod, seedpod' in Tsakhur, 'straw' in Budukh (cf. also Rutul $q'a\check{c}$ 'grain' quoted in [NCED], not found in other sources). However, external North Caucasian cognates of Lezgian $*\lambda'a\check{c}a$ are fairly scant and dubious.

The second candidate is $*ri\lambda^{w}$ (reduplicated $*\lambda^{w}iri\lambda^{w}$) [NCED: 784]. It is attested as 'leaf' in Rutul and Akhty Lezgi, but has been lost in the rest of languages (in [NCED], cf. also Budukh *k'uruk* 'bud' is quoted, not found in primary sources). Lezgian $*ri\lambda^{w} \sim *i\lambda^{w}iri\lambda^{w}$ has a weak distribution, and there are no internal reasons to reconstruct this root as the basic Proto-Lezgian term for 'leaf'. Nevertheless, $*ri\lambda^{w} \sim *i\lambda^{w}iri\lambda^{w}$ has very good external North Caucasian cognates that point to the meaning 'leaf'.

The third candidate is $*p:a\check{s}a$ [NCED: 297], attested as 'leaf' in Kryts, Gyune Lezgi, some Aghul dialects (but probably not Proto-Aghul). In Budukh, this stem means 'bud, gemma'. It is unclear how the exact meaning of Proto-Lezgian $*p:a\check{s}a$ should be reconstructed.

In Tsakhur, 'leaf' is expressed by $*t^{w}ela$ [NCED: 1006], whose original Proto-Nuclear Lezgian (and Proto-Lezgian?) meaning was no doubt 'twig, rod' (with a further shift to 'rib' in some lects).

Cf. also *c'ab*, which means specifically 'herb leaf' in Proto-Aghul-Tabasaran (without further etymology?).

Inherited terms for 'leaf' were superseded with Azerbaijani loanwords in Udi, Alyk Kryts, Budukh.

Replacements: {'twig, rod' > 'leaf'} (Tsakhur), {'herb leaf' > 'petal'} (Literary Tabasaran), {'leaf' > 'grain'(?)} (Udi), {'leaf' > 'stem, stalk'(?)} (Lezgi, Kryts), {'leaf' > 'pod, seedpod'(?)} (Tsakhur), {'leaf' > 'straw'(?)} (Budukh).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the dissimilative deglottalization in Aghul and Tabasaran.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is $*\lambda'a\check{c}\check{a}$.

47. LIE

Nidzh Udi *bas-k:-sun* {баскІсун} (1), Vartashen Udi *bas-k:-sun* ~ *bas-k:-esun* {баскІсун} (1), Archi =*aχa-* (2), Kryts (proper) *c=uq'äl-* (3), Alyk Kryts *q:=aq'al-* (3), Budukh *q:=aq'al-* {къакъал, къалкъал} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:il^y=ex-* {къалихъас} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *vil^y=ex-* (4), Mukhad Rutul *l=uk-* {лукус ~ лукас} (5), Ixrek Rutul *ow=l=uk-* {ов лукун} (5) / *k=ut'-* (6), Luchek Rutul *l=uk-* (5), Koshan Aghul *aχ-a-* (2) / *ut:=ark-i-* ~ *ɸ=ark-i-* ~ *q=ark-i-* (7), Keren Aghul *fa=t:=ix-a-* (4) / *a=q=ux-a-* (4), Gequn Aghul *aχ-a-* (2) / *q=ux-a-* (4), Aghul (proper) *a=q=ux-a-* (4), Northern Tabasaran *da=?aq-* (8), Southern Tabasaran *d=?aq-* (8), Gyune Lezgi *q:at=x'i-* (5), Proto-Lezgian $*\lambda a\check{c}\check{a}r-$ (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 71, 93 (sub б ɣ); Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561; Mobili 2010: 49, 74. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep / to fall asleep'. This currently serves as the default expression for 'to sleep' q.v. in Nidzh.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 71, 93 (sub б ɣ); Fähnrich 1999: 8; Schiefner 1863: 100; Schulze 2001: 254; Starchevskiy 1891: 486. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. According to texts in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902], in the past tenses this verb acquires an additional meaning 'to sleep' q.v.; in [Dirr 1903: 42, 43] the masdar is also quoted with the meaning 'to sleep'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **bas-k:-esun* 'to lie; to lie down', formed with the aid of the light verb *-k-* 'to let(?)' [Schulze 2005: 561 f. (3.4.2.2 #14, 21); Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 474]. The synchronic root *bas-* is to be analyzed as **b=as-* with a fossilized class prefix ([NCED: 1038], followed by [Gippert et al. 2008: II-71]). Alternatively (thus [Schulze 2001: 254]) and less likely - as **ba=s-* with the locative preverb *ba(y)-* 'in', for which see [Maisak 2008a: 156; Harris 2002: 69; Schulze 2005: 580 ff. (3.4.3)] (for unknown reasons, this preverb

is glossed as 'down' in [Schulze 2001: 254]).

Caucasian Albanian: The verb *bas-k-* is, in fact, attested only in the past tense with the meaning 'to sleep, to fall asleep' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-8] (the same situation as in archaic Vartashen, see above). This is, however, probably not the basic expression for 'to sleep' q.v.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 194, 365; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 235; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561; Dirr 1908: 129, 212. Perfective stem: *'aχu-*. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'; applied to animated subj. The meaning 'to sleep', proposed in [Mikhailov 1967: 172] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235], is proven by the example "He is still asleep (lit. lying down)" [Chumakina et al. 2007], although this is probably not the default expression for 'to sleep' q.v. In [Mikhailov 1967: 172] *'aχa-* is incorrectly translated as simply 'to sleep'. The same verb is used in the expression for 'to sleep' q.v. (*'aχu-ke-*).

Distinct from *'et:a-* 'to lie (inanimate subj.); to put' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 229].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. Ablaut paradigm: *c=u-l-q'äl-* [imperf.] / *c=uq'ül-* [perf., inv.]. Initial *c=* is the preverb of general semantics, *-l-* is the imperfective infix. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down' (in the aforementioned sources quoted for 'to lie down'; the stative meaning 'to lie' is given in [NCED: 265]).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 139, 393, 405. Ablaut paradigm: *q:=a-l-q'äl-* [imperf.] / *q:=aq'l-* [perf.] / *q:=aq'il* [inv.]. Corresponds to the Kryts proper verb, but modified by another prefix. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 82, 219; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561] the imperfective *l*-infix form is quoted with a typo: *q:alq:al* {кьалкьал} for *q:alq'äl* {кьалкьал}. Polysemy: 'to fall, go sprawling / to lie / to lie down'. Initial *q:=* is the preverb 'out' [Alekseev 1994: 271].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 68, 875; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 211; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. Ablaut paradigm: *q:il^y=ex-a* [imperf.] / *q:al^y=ix-u* [perf.] / *q:al^y=ix-as* [fut.]. Thematic *-u-* in perf. can hardly serve as an unambiguous indication of labialized *-x^w-* in the root. More important evidence for *-x^w-* is the negative masdar class 1/2 *q:il-d^y-e-r-x^wu-y*, quoted in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 211]; it is not clear, however, whether this form is reliable. Cf. the positive masdar 1/2 with plain *-x-* in the same source: *q:al^y-i-r-xi-y*. It is possible theoretically that *-x-* has been levelled across the paradigm after forms of class 3, where *-px^w-* > *-px-* or *-ox^w-* > *-ox-* (a regular dissimilative process), but such forms are not numerous, thus it is strange to regard them as the source of levelling.

Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down' (for the stative meaning cf., e.g., an example in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 220]). Applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from *q:al^y=ak^w-* 'to lie; to lie down' (pl. subj.) [Kibrik et al. 1999: 68, 875; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 211].

In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], *q:il^y=ex-* and *q:al^y=ak^w-* are quoted with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep', which frequently occurs in the Tsakhur dialects, but this is not the Mishlesh case, where 'to sleep' is expressed by a specific verb (q.v.).

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Dirr 1913: 151, 229. Ablaut paradigm: *vil^y=ex-a* [imperf.] / *val^y=ix-u* [perf.] / *val^y=ix-as* [fut.]; note the thematic *-u-* in perf. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. Applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from *val^y=ek^w-* 'to lie; to lie down; to sleep' (pl. subj.) [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Not attested. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561], 'to lie down' is glossed as *sowkamiš-x-* {совкамишхъез}, which looks like an Azerbaijani loanword: the Azerbaijani verbal root *sowka-* + the Azerbaijani perfect suffix *-miš* + the Tsakhur verb *ix-* 'to become', although the actual source of *sowka-* has not been identified (the possible candidate is Azerbaijani *söykä-mäk* 'to lean against, rest against', if one assumes a dialectal development in Azerbaijani into ***sövkä-* 'to lie (down)').

Cf. *val^y=ix-* 'to sleep' q.v.

Common Tsakhur: Initial *v=Vl^y=* (Mishlesh *q:=Vl^y=*) is a double prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 125; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Ibragimov 1978: 32, 120; Makhmudova 2001: 71, 96, 243. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561], erroneously quoted as *l=uχ-* {лухун}. Polysemy: 'to fall (subj. = only human?), go sprawling / to lie'. Cf. an example: "Anuts is lying" [Makhmudova 2001: 71]. In [Dirr 1912: 158], only attested with the meaning 'to fall' (no expressions for 'to lie' are provided by Dirr). Regular paradigm: *l=uk-a-r-* [imperf.] / *l=uk-u-r* [perf.].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561], a second term for 'to lie down' is also quoted: *k=ut'-* {күт'ун} (not found in other sources), on which see below.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 181, 203, 352. A collocation ('to lie, rest'), which consists of the adverb *ow* 'down' and the verb *luk-* 'to fall (subj. = only human?)' with the regular paradigm: *l=uk-ä-r-* [imperf.] / *l=uk-u-r* [perf.].

A second candidate is *k=ut'*- {кырIыа} 'to lie / to be ill' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 148], with the examples: "He (or it?) is lying on the ground", "I have been ill for many days". In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561], 'to lie down' is quoted as *ow k=ut'*- with the same adverb *ow* 'down'.

The difference between *ow l=uk-* and *k=ut'*- is unclear; we treat both as synonyms. Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 148.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88. Regular paradigm: *l=u=r=k-a-r-* [imperf.] / *l=uk-u-r* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. This verb is quoted in the meaning 'to lie down' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], but the lexical opposition 'to lie' : 'to lie down' is atypical for this region; hence, we assume the aforementioned polysemy for Luchek *l=uk-*.

Common Rutul: Shinaz dialect: in [Ibragimov 1978: 163] the verb *k=ut'*- is quoted with the meaning 'to get into bed, lie down into bed'.

It is unclear how the Proto-Rutul verb for 'to lie' should be reconstructed, because the available lexicographic information is very scarce. The widespread verb *l=uk-* rather represents the Proto-Rutul term for 'to fall, go sprawling', which has latter acquired the meaning 'to lie' in some dialects (cf. the analytic Ixrek construction "down + to fall"). On the contrary, *k=ut'*- 'to lie' may be an archaism.

Initial *l=*, *k=* are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].

Pace [NCED: 644], no direct traces of labialized *-k^w*- in *l=uk-* are observed in the available Rutul data (due to the dissimilative delabialization *uk^w > uk*).

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88. Polysemy 'to lie (down) / to sleep (q.v.)'.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], three verbs are quoted as synonyms for 'to lie down' (*scil.* 'to lie'): *aχ-a-*, *ut=ark-i-* and *ɯ=ark-i-*; semantic and pragmatic nuances are unknown. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 141. The two former stems are from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988]; the latter one *q=ark-i-* is from [Shaumyan 1941: 141] (with explicit polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'). Note the Burshag stem *ɤ=ark-i-* 'to sleep' q.v., modified with another prefix.

The same root in the Khudig subdialect: *H=ark-i-* 'to lie' [Shaumyan 1941: 133 f., 149] ("He [the third son of the king] used to lie in ashes") and *q=ark-i-* 'to lie; to lie down' [Shaumyan 1941: 141] ("He lay on the bed").

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], two verbs are quoted as synonyms for 'to lie down' (*scil.* 'to lie'): *fa=t=ix-a-* and *a=q=ux-a-*; semantic and pragmatic nuances are unknown.

A different root in the Usug subdialect: *qa=d=ark-a-* 'to lie; to lie down' [Shaumyan 1941: 141] ("He lay on the bed"). Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 104, 175. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep (q.v.)'. Cf. the example for the stative meaning 'to lie': "We will lie near this she-donkey" [Dirr 1907: 77]. Shaumyan 1941: 141. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

Fite Aghul: Not attested.

Aghul (proper): Shaumyan 1941: 141. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'. Shaumyan's example for the stative meaning: "He lay on the bed". It must be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 35], *a=q=ux-a-* is more specifically translated as 'to lie down for a short time (Russian: прилечь)'. Probably no expressions for the generic 'to lie (animated subj.)' in [Suleymanov 2003].

Differently in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *q=arx-a-* 'to lie; to lie down' [Shaumyan 1941: 141].

Common Aghul: We presume that Koshan and Keren verbs, which are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] for the concept 'to lie down', actually possess the polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down'.

In sum, four or five verbal roots, sometimes modified with various spatial prefixes, are attested in Aghul dialects with the meaning 'to lie (down)': 1) *aχ-a-* 'to lie (down); to sleep'; 2) *=ark-i-* 'to lie (down); to sleep'; 3) *=arx-a-* 'to lie (down); to sleep'; 4) *=ix-a-* 'to lie (down)'; 5) *(a)qux-a-* 'to lie (down)'. The areal isoglosses of polysemy 'to lie / to sleep' and derivation 'to fall' → 'to lie (down); to sleep' are rather strong in Aghul, which makes the reconstruction of the Proto-Aghul verbs for 'to lie' and 'to sleep' difficult.

It seems that the prefixed *=arx-a-* has secondarily acquired the meanings 'to lie' (Tsirkhe subdialect of Proper Aghul) and 'to sleep' (Keren, Proper Aghul, Fite), because the main synchronic meaning of *(=)arx-a-* is 'to fall' [Magometov 1970: 164], and external Lezgian comparison confirms this [NCED: 602].

The root *=ark-i-*, modified with various spatial prefixes, seems to be a recent introduction in the generic meanings 'to lie (down)' (Koshan, Usug Keren) and 'to sleep' (Burshag Koshan). The basic meaning of the prefixless stem *ark-i-* is retained in Burshag Koshan as 'to fall down' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 84]; various verbal prefixed stems from this root in Aghul dialects also demonstrate the semantics of 'falling' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 84; Shaumyan 1941: 137, 138]. This Aghul root originates from Proto-Lezgian **?arkir-* / **?erkir-* 'to fall; to let fall' [NCED: 266].

'TO LIE / TO SLEEP'	Proto-CA-Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
*ʔaq'el- [NCED: 264]			lie	lie					
*ʔet. ^w i- [NCED: 278]					lie				
						k=ut'- lie			
*ʔaqi-(?) [NCED: 264]								lie	
*ʔik. ^w än- (~ -l-) [NCED: 644]									lie

First of all, attention should be paid to two semantic isoglosses, which seriously obscure the picture. The first isogloss is the polysemy 'to lie / to sleep' (usually with the shift 'to lie' > 'to sleep', but not obligatory). It seems ancient, since it affects all of Lezgian (including Caucasian Albanian) as well as some other Dagestian languages. The second isogloss is the derivation 'to fall' > 'to lie' (> 'to sleep'), which affects the Samur territory (Nuclear Lezgian) and seems relatively recent.

Two main candidates for the Proto-Lezgian meanings 'to lie' and 'to sleep' are *ʔ[a]s(:)^win- and *ʔaχär-. Before discussing them in details, some clearly innovative formations should be ruled out.

In the Caucasian Albanian-Udi branch, 'to sleep' can be expressed analytically as 'to be in sleeping', in conjunction with the Common Proto-Lezgian noun *nāwλ' 'dream, sleeping' [NCED: 619]. This formation competes with the verb *bas-k'esun* (< *ʔ[a]s(:)^win-) 'to lie / to sleep' in both Caucasian Albanian and modern Udi, but apparently such an analytical construction is a relatively early innovation of the Caucasian Albanian-Udi branch.

In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), the meaning 'to lie' originates from 'to fall, go sprawling' (cf. synchronic polysemy in Budukh). The original meaning of *ʔaq'el- [NCED: 264] was something like 'to dangle, shake', as follows from the same semantics in Aghul-Tabasaran, on the one hand, and in some other North Caucasian groups, on the other.

In Tsakhur, 'to lie (animated subj.)' is expressed by *ʔet.^wi- [NCED: 278], whose original labile meaning was 'to put / to lie (inanimate subj.)', as follows from its Lezgian cognates. Additionally, this root can acquire the polysemy 'to lie / to sleep' in some Tsakhur dialects.

In Rutul, the original verb for 'to lie' seems to be *k=ut'*, without further etymology. This stem tends to be superseded with the root *ʔik.^wän- (~ -l-) [NCED: 644] 'to fall, go sprawling' in modern Rutul dialects.

In Aghul dialects, the most complicated situation is observed with four or five verbs for 'to lie', three of which are also attested in the meaning 'to sleep'. It seems that the most economic scenario is to reconstruct *ʔaχär- with Proto-Aghul polysemy 'to lie / to sleep'. Other verbs are recent dialectal introductions: *ʔar^ti- [NCED: 602] 'to fall' > 'to lie', 'to sleep'; *ʔarkir- / *ʔerkir- [NCED: 266] 'to fall down' > 'to lie', 'to sleep'; *ʔet.^wi- [NCED: 278] > 'to lie'.

In Tabasaran, 'to lie' is expressed with *ʔaqi- [NCED: 264], whose original meaning could be 'to fall' vel sim., this root looks rather problematic etymologically: *pace* [NCED], Archi =aχa- 'to lie' can be satisfactorily etymologized as *ʔaχär-, whereas Aghul *aqu xa-* 'to lie' should rather be analyzed as prefixed *a=q=ux-a-*.

In Lezgi, *ʔik.^wän- (~ -l-) [NCED: 644] 'to fall, go sprawling' shifted to the meaning 'to lie' (the same development as in Rutul).

Finally, we can return to *ʔ[a]s(:)^win- [NCED: 1037] and *ʔaχär- [NCED: 273]. The first one, *ʔ[a]s(:)^win-, denotes both 'to lie' and 'to sleep' in Caucasian Albanian and Udi. It also survived in two Nuclear Lezgian languages (Tsakhur, Lezgi), where it means 'to sleep'.

The second one, *ʔaχär-, means 'to lie' in Archi (with the synchronic derivative 'to sleep'), but 'to sleep' in the bulk of Nuclear Lezgian.

In such a mirror situation, external North Caucasian comparison should be involved. The external data point to the primary meaning 'to sleep' or 'to dream' for Lezgian *ʔ[a]s(:)^win-, thus we postulate this root as the Proto-Lezgian term for 'to sleep'. This stem acquired the polysemy 'to lie / to sleep' in the Caucasian Albanian-Udi branch (due to the common areal isogloss), but survived as 'to sleep' in some West Lezgian (Tsakhur) and East Lezgian (Lezgi) languages.

On the contrary, Lezgian *ʔaχär- originates from the Proto-North Caucasian root with the meaning 'to fall'. Thus, we postulate *ʔaχär- as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'to lie', assuming the shift 'to fall' > 'to lie' in Proto-Lezgian. It was lost as a verb in the Udi branch after the verb 'to sleep' acquired the polysemy 'to sleep / to lie'. In most Nuclear Lezgian lects, *ʔaχär- primarily meant both 'to sleep / to lie' (the isogloss of polysemy), but currently 'to lie' is normally expressed by various verbs for 'to fall' (a more recent semantic isogloss). Additional evidence for the original meaning 'to lie' is the

Vartashen Udi adjective *b=arχi* 'transversal, horizontal' (< *'lying') [Gukasyan 1974: 71] with the fossilized class prefix. Such a scenario is not straightforward, but seems the most economic one.

Replacements: {'to lie' > 'to sleep'} (Tsakhur), {'to fall' > 'to lie / to sleep'} (Aghul), {'to fall, go sprawling' > 'to lie'} (Kryts, Budukh, Rutul, Lezgi), {'to lie (inanimate subj.)' > 'to lie (animated subj.)'} (Tsakhur, Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with polysemy 'to lie / to lie down'.

48. LIVER

Nidzh Udi *maʿyin=papaš* {маʿйин *nanau*} (1), Vartashen Udi *maʿin=pušʹpuš* (1), Archi *dilʹikʹ* (-1), Kryts (proper) *lähä=lähkän* (2), Alyk Kryts *taχul ~ leha=taχul* (3), Budukh *läqʹ* {лакʹ} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *kʹilʹkʹam* {κΙλʹκΙαμ} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *kʹilʹkʹam* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *qʹalqʹam* (2), Mukhad Rutul *laqʹ* {лакʹ} (2), Ixrek Rutul *leqʹ* {лекʹ} (2), Luchek Rutul *laqʹ* (2), Koshan Aghul *lekʹ* (2), Keren Aghul *lekʹʸ* (2), Gequn Aghul *lekʹʸ* (2), Fite Aghul *likʹʸ* (2), Aghul (proper) *lekʹʸ* (2), Northern Tabasaran *lʹikʹ-i* (2), Southern Tabasaran *kʹarʹu=likʹ* (2), Gyune Lezgi *läqʹ* (2), Proto-Lezgian **lāʿ* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 221. Not found in [Gukasyan 1974; Mobili 2010]. The form *maʿyin papaš* is a collocation: literally 'black entrails', with *papaš* 'entrails, pluck' [Gukasyan 1974: 172, 187].

Vartashen Udi: Fähnrich 1999: 23; Starchevskiy 1891: 505. Confirmed by Yu. Lander's field records from the Zinobiani (Oktomberi) village on 2011. In [Fähnrich 1999], glossed with polysemy: 'liver / kidney' (the latter meaning seems an error). In [Starchevskiy 1891], 'liver' is translated as *maʿin pušʹpuš* or simply *pušʹpuš*. As in the Nidzh case, literally = 'black entrails' with Vartashen *pušʹpuš* 'entrails, pluck' [Gukasyan 1974: 191].

Another term for 'liver' may be *zizam*, which is translated as 'liver, spleen' in [Fähnrich 1999: 35] and only as 'liver' in [Dzheiranishvili 1971: 204, 247] (there is no term for 'spleen' in [Dzheiranishvili 1971]). However, the latter glossing seems erroneous, because *zizam* is consistently glossed only as 'spleen' in other sources [Gukasyan 1974: 118; Mobili 2010: 298; Schiefner 1863: 93; Starchevskiy 1891: 506], and, furthermore, this word originates from the Proto-Lezgian term for 'spleen'.

A third hypothetical candidate for 'liver' is *žigär*, which is glossed in [Schulze 2001: 272] as 'liver; courage', although this is unattested in the direct anatomic meaning in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902]. The Udi word was borrowed from Azerbaijani **žigär* (> Modern *žiyär*) 'liver, lung; courage', ultimately from Persian *žigar* 'liver; courage'. It is interesting that *žigär* {джигар} is quoted in [Gukasyan 1974: 245] as a synonym for a word *tiχʹ* {тиχʹ}, although the entry *tiχʹ* is missing from [Gukasyan 1974]. Additionally, in [Dabakov 2008: 359] there is a word *tiχʹmiχ* {тиχʹмиχ} 'entrails, pluck' (the same term is quoted as *tiχʹmiχ* 'entrails, pluck' in [Mobili 2010: 266]). An unclear situation.

Common Udi: No candidates except for **maʿin papaš ~ pušʹpuš*, literally 'black entrails'. Nidzh *papaš* and Vartashen *pušʹpuš* 'entrails' are obviously related, but details are obscure; this looks like a reduplicated formation or a loanwords from an unknown source.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 221, 373; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 220; Mikailov 1967: 180. Borrowed from Lak *t:ilik* 'liver' (in [Chumakina 2009] labeled only as "perhaps borrowed", without the source).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 220. A collocation, with the literal meaning 'black *lähkän*'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 23, 37, 350. The collocation *leha taχul* literally means 'black *taχul*'.

A second term for 'liver' is *žigar* [Authier 2009: 101], borrowed from Azerbaijani **žigär* (> Modern *žiyär*) 'liver, lung; courage', ultimately from Persian *žigar* 'liver; courage'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 101, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 220] erroneously quoted as *lāk* {лакь}. Can also be expressed as *laša leq*, *laša lāq* {лаҭаԼеқь, лаҭа лакьь}, literally 'black liver', opposed to *luzu lāq* 'lung', literally 'white liver' [Meylanova 1984: 100, 101].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 49; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 205. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 221], erroneously quoted as *k'ip'kam* {кып'кам}. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *k'il'kam* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; Dirr 1913: 178, 233.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 221], 'liver' is enigmatically glossed as *bavir opk'a* {багыр опкя}; the first word could indeed denote 'liver', borrowed from Azerbaijani *baγir* 'liver', whereas the second one is the modern depharyngealized variant of *o'pk'ä* 'lung' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 34].

Mukhad Rutul: Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 221. Not attested in [Dirr 1912]. In [Ibragimov 1978], the variant *liχ'di laq* 'liver' is also quoted, literally 'black *laq*'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 179; Ibragimov 1978: 194. In another passage, Ibragimov transcribes the Ixrek form as *laq^ʕ* [Ibragimov 1978: 222], which seems an error (cf. the Shinaz form below). In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 221], erroneously quoted as *laq* {лакь}.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35. Ablaut paradigm: *laq* [abs.] / *liq'-i-* ~ *laq'-ayi-* [obl.].

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov dialect: *laq* [Ibragimov 1978: 237]. For the Shinaz dialect, the form *laq^ʕ*, with unexpected pharyngealization, is quoted in [Ibragimov 1978: 162].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35; Suleymanov 2003: 128.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35. The same in the Usug subdialect: *lek^y* 'liver' [Shaumyan 1941: 158].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35. In [Dirr 1907: 133], incorrectly glossed as 'lung(?)'.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 158.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *lik* 'liver' [Uslar 1979: 842, 1001] (in [Dirr 1905: 193] *lek* is incorrectly glossed as 'lung'). The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *lik* {ликI} 'liver' [Genko 2005: 115].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35. The collocation *k'ar'u lik* literally means 'black (*k'ar'u* q.v.) clot of coagulated blood'.

In the Khiv subdialect: *lek* ~ *lik* {лекI, ликI} with polysemy: 'liver / lung' [Genko 2005: 114]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *lik* {ликI} 'liver' or *k'ar'u lik* 'black *lik*' = 'liver' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 218] (the collocation *liz'i lik* 'white *lik*' denotes 'spleen').

Common Tabasaran: After the Azerbaijani pattern 'black X' = 'liver' was introduced in Southern Tabasaran, the plain *lik* acquired the meaning 'clot of coagulated blood' in Kondik.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 498, 623.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *leq* {лекь} 'liver' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 223; Gadzhiev 1950: 536; Haspelmath 1993: 497, 522].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *liq* 'liver' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 35].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 586. Distribution: Retained as the basic term for 'liver' in all Nuclear Lezgian languages (except for Alyk Kryts), therefore can be safely reconstructed as 'liver' in Proto-Nuclear Lezgian. External comparison confirms that **läλ* was the Proto-Lezgian term for 'liver' as well.

The Azerbaijani analytical pattern 'black X' = 'liver', as opposed to 'white X' = 'lung', has been introduced in many languages (Udi, Kryts, Budukh, Rutul, Tabasaran).

Under the influence of such a construction, Lezgian **χult:ul* / **χ:ult:ul* 'lung' [NCED: 901] acquired the meaning 'liver' in Alyk Kryts. Similarly, in Southern Tabasaran, **läλ* 'liver' acquired the meaning 'clot of coagulated blood' in isolated use.

In Udi, the old root was superseded with obscure forms *papaš* ~ *puš'puš* (cf. [NCED: 868] sub hypothetical Proto-Lezgian **pVrš:¹⁰* (~ -l-) with the semantics of 'bubble').

In Archi, the word for 'liver' was borrowed from Lak. Additionally, in Udi, Kryts and, perhaps, in some other languages, the Azerbaijani-Persian loanword may occur.

Replacements: {'lung' > 'liver'} (Alyk Kryts), {'liver' > 'clot of coagulated blood'} (Southern Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular, although in Kryts, the form was influenced by the adjective 'black', and in Tsakhur, by the word for 'spleen'.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

49. LONG

Nidzh Udi *boχo-y* {*βοχοϋ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *boχo* {*βοχο*} (1), Archi *'aqa-tu-CLASS* (2) / *l'a:χα-tu-CLASS* (3), Kryts (proper) *φαχ-ti* (1), Alyk Kryts *φαqa* (4), Budukh *φαρχu ~ hapχu* {*zlanxy, zlabxy, zbanxy*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χil^yi:-n ~ χl^yi:-n* {*хылийн*} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *χil^yi:-n* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *χil^yiyi-n^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *χ^hulaχ-di* {*xyllaχdɔɔ*} (3), Ixrek Rutul *χul:iχ-di* {*xylluxdɔɔ*} (3), Luchek Rutul *χuleχ-di* (3), Koshan Aghul *yirχe-r ~ yerχe-r* (3), Keren Aghul *yarχ^he-f* (3), Gequn Aghul *yerχe-f* (3), Fite Aghul *yarχi-t* (3), Aghul (proper) *irχe-f* (3), Northern Tabasaran *yarχ'i* (3), Southern Tabasaran *yarχ'i* (3), Gyune Lezgi *yārβ'i* (3), Proto-Lezgian **h^halχä-* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 90; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584; Mobili 2010: 67. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)'. Note the suffix *-y*.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 90; Mobili 2010: 67; Fähnrich 1999: 10; Dirr 1903: 34; Schiefner 1863: 102; Schulze 2001: 260; Starchevskiy 1891: 493. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **boχo*; originally **b=oχo* with a fossilized class prefix.

Caucasian Albanian: unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 190; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] a corrupted variant *aqa-tu-CLASS* is also quoted. Regular participle from the stative verb *'aqa* 'to be long' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 190]. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)'; widely applicable according to examples in [Chumakina et al. 2007] and [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 190]: "long road", "long street", "long dress", "long beard", "long report".

Another common adjective is *l'a:χα-tu-CLASS* with polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal) / tall (of person)' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 273, 357; Mikailov 1967: 190; Dirr 1908: 164, 207], a participle from the stative verb *l'a:χα* 'to be long, tall' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 273]. It is claimed in [Chumakina et al. 2007] that *l'a:χα-tu-CLASS* in the spatial meaning is applied to horizontal objects only, although examples in [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 273] and [Chumakina et al. 2007] contradict this: "long road", "long fingers", "long neck", "long dress", "long life", "long lesson", "long sound", "tall person".

We prefer to treat both terms as synonyms. Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 273, 357; Mikailov 1967: 190; Dirr 1908: 164, 207.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 69, 119, 250, 366. Infixal class exponents: *φα-CLASS-qa*. Polysemy: 'long (spatial) / long (temporal)'. This looks like the same root as Kryts proper *φαχ-* (< Proto-Lezgian **h^h[al]χV-* [NCED: 420]), but the shift *χ > Alyk q* seems inexplicable.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 39, 42, 211; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584. The variant in *h-* comes from [Meylanova 1984]. Historically *φα-p-χu* with the fossilized infixal class exponent *-p-*.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 373; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *χil^yi:-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Dirr 1913: 211, 224.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584.

Common Tsakhur: Looks like an old masdar in *-y* from the lost stative verb 'to be long'. Note the gemination of *-l-* in the Gelmets and Tsakhur-Kum forms (for which cf. [Ibragimov 1990: 203-204]), influenced by the same sporadic phenomenon in the Azerbaijani language.

Mukhad Rutul: Ibragimov 1978: 118, 234. Polysemy: 'long / high'. In [Dirr 1912: 178, 189], quoted as $\chi^i ila\chi-di$ 'long'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584], 'long' is glossed with the unclear form $q^i a\check{s}-di$ {хъаИшды}.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 273, 336; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 584. Note the gemination of *-l-*, influenced by the same sporadic phenomenon in the Azerbaijani language.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

Common Rutul: An interesting counterpart is observed in the Borch-Khnov dialect: *filiχ-id* 'long' [Ibragimov 1978: 234].

Note the pharyngealization, which is retained only in the Mukhad form (if Ibragimov's transcription is correct). The Rutul root $\chi VIV\chi-$ seems morphologically non-analyzable. Possibly represents a partially reduplicated stem (although the pattern of reduplication is strange).

Final *-di / -d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Suleymanov 2003: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 142. In [Magometov 1970: 170], quoted as *yarχe-r*.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. The same in the Usug subdialect: *yarχe-f* (i.e. *yarχ^ee-f?*) 'long' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Dirr 1907: 124, 172; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 142. The same in the Kurag subdialect: *yarχe-f* 'long' [Magometov 1970: 170].

Common Aghul: Final *-d, -t, -f, -r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yarχⁱ* 'long (spatial, temporal)' [Uslar 1979: 749, 992; Dirr 1905: 179, 227]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yarχⁱ* {ярхи} 'long' [Genko 2005: 200].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yarχⁱ* {ярхи} 'long' [Genko 2005: 200]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yarχⁱ* {ярхи} 'long' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 362].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 448, 610.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *yarχⁱ* {ярғыи} 'long' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 404; Gadzhiev 1950: 175; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 522].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yerrⁱ* 'long' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 550. Distribution: As proposed in [NCED: 550], there were several Proto-Lezgian verbal roots with similar phonetic shapes and close meanings, which partially contaminated in individual languages. Two of them are main candidates for the status of the Proto-Lezgian term '(to be) long'.

The first one is $*[h^i]al\chi\check{a}-$ [NCED: 550], which means 'to be long' (> 'long') in Archi, on the one hand, and 'long' in the bulk of Nuclear Lezgian, on the other: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi). It should be noted that the Tsakhur form is morphologically an old masdar from the lost verb. In Udi and Budukh, however, this root is attested in the meaning 'up, on top'.

The second is $*h^i[a]l\chi V-$ [NCED: 420], whose adjectival derivatives are attested with the meaning 'long' in Udi, on the one hand, and in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), on the other. In Archi and the rest of Nuclear Lezgian, this stem means 'to be high' or 'to rise, raise'.

Two roots mirror each other in this "criss-crossed" situation. External comparison, however, strongly suggests that $*[h^i]al\chi\check{a}-$ [NCED: 550] is to be reconstructed with the Proto-Lezgian meaning 'to be long', whereas $*h^i[a]l\chi V-$ [NCED: 420] meant 'to rise, be high'.

The second Archi verb 'to be long' originates from $*yaq:V-$ [NCED: 275], whose original meaning was '(to be) high' vel sim. In Alyk Kryts, the etymologically unclear word *ƶaqa* 'long' occurs.

Replacements: {'to rise, be high' > 'long'} (Udi, Kryts, Budukh, Archi), {'(to be) long' > 'up, on top'} (Udi, Budukh).

Reconstruction shape: Exact reconstruction of the initial laryngeal is unclear; metathesis of *l* and χ is observed in several lects.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be long'.

50. LOUSE

Nidzh Udi *nec*: {нецI} (1), Vartashen Udi *nec*: {нецI} (1), Archi *n'ac'*: (1), Kryts (proper) *liš* (2), Alyk Kryts *liš* (2), Budukh *liš* {лиш} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *wix^y* {вихъ} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *wix^y* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *wix^y* (2), Mukhad Rutul *lix* {лихъ} (2), Ixrek Rutul *lix* {лихъ} (2), Luchek Rutul *lix^y* (2), Koshan Aghul *net*: (1), Keren Aghul *net*: (1), Gequn Aghul *net*: (1), Fite Aghul *nit*: (1), Aghul (proper) *net*: (1), Northern Tabasaran *n'ic*:-*i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *nic*: (1), Gyune Lezgi *net* (1), Proto-Lezgian **năc'*: (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 180; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160; Mobili 2010: 219.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 180; Fähnrich 1999: 24; Schiefner 1863: 97; Starchevskiy 1891: 497.

Common Udi: Common Udi **nec*:

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 284, 354; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160; Mikailov 1967: 194; Dirr 1908: 170, 205. Paradigm: *nac'* [abs.] / *n'ec*:-*iri* [erg.], see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 28].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 36, 39, 181, 183, 338, 371.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 102, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 39; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 104. Missing from [Kibrik et al. 1999]. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 104], quoted as *wix^y*- (pl. *wix^y-ar* {вихъяр}) with tense *-x^y*-, which seems an error, cf. the plural form *wix^y-ar* {вихъ'ар} in [Ibragimov 1990: 39] and lax *-x^y*- in Mikik. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160], erroneously quoted as *wix* {вихъ}.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *wix^y* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Dirr 1913: 143, 222. Dative: *wix^y-es*, absolutive plural: *wix^y-er*.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160], erroneously quoted as *wix* {вихъ}.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 157, 187; Ibragimov 1978: 116; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 180, 329; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 160.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Suleymanov 2003: 137; Shaumyan 1941: 157. Ablaut paradigm: *net*: [abs.] / *nit*:-*ra* [erg.].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94. The same in the Usug subdialect: *nec* (sic?) 'louse' [Shaumyan 1941: 157].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94; Dirr 1907: 136, 170.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 137; Shaumyan 1941: 157.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 93.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *nic*: 'louse' [Uslar 1979: 871, 991; Dirr 1905: 198, 225]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *nic*: {ници} 'louse' [Genko 2005: 127].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *nic*: {ници} 'louse' [Genko 2005: 127]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *nic*: {ници} 'louse' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 244].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 514, 607. Paradigm: *net* [abs.] / *net*:-*r'e*- [obl.] / *net*:-*'er* [pl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *net* [abs.] / *net*:-*r'e*- [obl.] / *net*:-*'er* [pl.] {нет} 'louse' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 252; Gadzhiev 1950: 104; Haspelmath 1993: 500, 522].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *net* [abs.] / *net*:-*r'a*- [obl.] / *net*:-*'er* [pl.] 'louse' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 94].

In the Usukhchay subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect (Samur group) *net*' shifted to the meaning 'nit' [Meylanova 1964: 225], but the new Usukhchay word for 'louse' is not documented.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 846. **Distribution:** This stem is retained as the root for 'louse' in both of the outliers (Udi, Archi) and in East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), having been lost in the rest of Nuclear Lezgian.

In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), **nūc*: was superseded with **loʃ^(w)* [LEDb: #162]. Further etymology of the latter is unclear. It must be noted that **loʃ^(w)* 'louse' is not a Proto-Nuclear Lezgian replacement, but represents a more late introduction of Proto-South Lezgian and Proto-West Lezgian (perhaps of areal nature).

Replacements: {'louse' > 'nit'} (Doquzpara Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **nVc:-rV-*.

51. MAN

Nidzh Udi *iš-q:ar* {ушк̄ар} (1), Vartashen Udi *išu* {уш} (1), Archi *boš'or* (2), Kryts (proper) *firi* (1), Alyk Kryts *furi* (1), Budukh *furi* {фурь} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *adami*: {адамий} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *adami* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *adami* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *wiy'il* {визьил} (3), Ixrek Rutul *wiy'il-di* {визьилди} (3), Luchek Rutul *wiy'il-di* (3), Koshan Aghul *ile-r* (4), Keren Aghul *idemi* (-1), Gequn Aghul *eremi* (-1), Fite Aghul *edim* (-1), Aghul (proper) *idemi* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *ž^wi* (1), Southern Tabasaran *adm'i* (-1), Gyune Lezgi *t:im* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **š^w:^wi* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 130; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71; Mobili 2010: 155. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Distinct from *ärkäy* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72], borrowed from Azerbaijani *erkäk* 'male (n.), man'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 130; Mobili 2010: 155; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Dirr 1903: 14, 16, 25, 51, 63, 93; Schiefner 1863: 77; Schulze 2001: 286. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. In [Dirr 1903], as in some other cases, consistently transcribed with *š^f* (*iš^fu* {иш^fу}); also sporadically with *š^f* in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902], although the normal spelling is *š*, see [Schulze 2001: 286].

Common Udi: Common Udi **išu* [sg.] / **iš-q:ar-* [pl.]. The plural form is apparently an old compound. Its second element *q:ar* is unattested elsewhere in Modern Udi, but corresponds to Caucasian Albanian *q'ar* 'tribe / clan, kin / nation, people / seed (botanic) (q.v.)' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-30]. The plural stem *iš-q:ar-* spread into singular forms in Nidzh (a normal process for such words), but became lost in modern Vartashen. The most archaic situation is apparently attested in archaic Vartashen, where *iš-q:ar-* is retained for plural (see [Schiefner 1863: 77] and [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902: Mk. 6.44], although in [Dirr 1903: 25] a "regular" paradigm of *išu* is quoted). Contamination with Azerbaijani *kishi* 'man' (as proposed in [Schulze 2001: 287]) is improbable and unnecessary.

Caucasian Albanian: *išu* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-21, 48]. Suppletive paradigm with the following polysemy: *išu* 'man; person' [sg.] / *žin* 'men; people' [pl.], see [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-17, 21, 48].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 205, 367; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71; Mikailov 1967: 176; Dirr 1908: 136, 214. In [Mikailov 1967] quoted as *bəšor*, in [Dirr 1908] - as *bušor*. Polysemy: 'man / husband / master, owner'. Suppletive plural: *ʒel'e* [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 46].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71] quoted as *furi* (an error or the Alyk variant). Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Historically *fi-ri* with the fossilized plural exponent *-ri*.

Distinct from *miy'il* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 31, 39, 68, 69, 74, etc. Specified as 'married man' in [Authier 2009: 30, 34]. The borrowed term *adami* 'person' q.v. can also be used in the meaning 'man', e.g., [Authier 2009: 73].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 143, 222; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Distinct from *vili* ~ *vuli* 'male (n.); stallion' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 69, 220; Meylanova 1984: 34; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 868, 895; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Another loanword, *k^wiši* 'man' (< Azerbaijani *kiši* 'man'), can also be used [Kibrik et al. 1999: 880].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *adami* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59]. Polysemy: 'man / husband'. Distinct from inherited *wiyil* 'husband (said by wife of her husband when addressing him in the 3rd person)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Dirr 1913: 134, 230. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Distinct from the inherited *wiyun-na* ~ *wiyul⁹-na* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71. Polysemy: 'man / husband'.

Common Tsakhur: The term represents the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) word for 'person, human being'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 127, 195; Ibragimov 1978: 26, 42, 115. In [Dirr 1912], quoted with assimilation: *wuyil*. According to [Dirr 1912], polysemy: 'man / husband' ('male (n.)' is expressed by the suffixed *wuyil-di*). According to [Ibragimov 1978], with polysemy: 'male (n.) / man / husband'. In [Makhmudova 2001: 11, 18], 'man; male (n.)' is quoted with a suffixal extension (*wiyil-di*) in sg., and in plain root form (*wiy^l-e*) in pl. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71], erroneously quoted as *wiyil-di* {выгылды}.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 49, 356; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 71. Derived from *wiyil* 'husband' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 49].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59, 220. Polysemy: 'male (n.) / man'. Derived from *wiyil* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59].

Common Rutul: Final *-di* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. Final *-r* is the attributive suffix (fossilized class exponent) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Strictly speaking, Kibrik & Kodzasov's Burshag form *ile-r* 'man' looks either like a recent introduction or an occasional formation, because both in [Shaumyan 1941: 142] and [Suleymanov 2003: 87] *ile-r* is translated as 'male (n.); male (adj.)' (this is the Common Aghul adjective for 'male', see Shaumyan's data), whereas for 'man' it is the wandering loanword that is quoted in these sources: Burshag *armi*, Khudig *almi* 'man; person' [Shaumyan 1941: 143; Suleymanov 2003: 86].

Distinct from Burshag *š^wuy* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Magometov 1970: 23, 39; Suleymanov 2003: 205; Shaumyan 1941: 164] (glossed as 'husband; man' by Suleymanov and Shaumyan; transcribed as *š^wuy* {швуй} by Suleymanov). Cf. the etymological counterparts in other subdialects: Arsug *š^wuy*, Khudig *xüy* 'husband' [Magometov 1970: 39; Suleymanov 2003: 205].

Distinct from Burshag *fuye-r* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. The same loanword in the Usug subdialect: *idemi* 'man' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].

Distinct from the inherited Richa *šuy* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59] and *uq^{ar}-f* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (← *uq^{ar}* 'ram').

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Dirr 1907: 113; Shaumyan 1941: 143. Cf. the example: "If you are a man, stay until he comes in the city" [Dirr 1907: 51].

Distinct from the inherited *šuy* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Dirr 1907: 155; Shaumyan 1941: 164]; glossed as 'husband; man' by Dirr and Shaumyan), *uq^{ar}-f* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] and *ile-f* 'male (adj.)' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59.

Distinct from the inherited *xüy* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59; Magometov 1970: 39; Shaumyan 1941: 164]; glossed as 'husband; man' by Shaumyan) and *ili-t* 'male (n.); male (adj.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 143. The same loanword in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *arami* 'man' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].

Distinct from Tpig inherited *šuy* 'husband' [Suleymanov 2003: 205; Shaumyan 1941: 164]; glossed as 'husband; man' by both Suleymanov and Shaumyan) and *ile-f* 'male (n.); male (adj.)' [Suleymanov 2003: 87; Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Common Aghul: It is likely that *š^wuy* (*šuy*, *xüy*) must be posited as the Proto-Aghul term for 'man (male human being)', with polysemy: 'man / husband'. Synchronically, *šuy* is frequently glossed as 'man; husband' [Dirr 1907; Shaumyan 1941;

Suleymanov 2003], despite the fact that in all found textual examples, *šuy* specifically means 'husband' rather than generic 'man'. Aghul *šuy* also serves as an ethnonymical suffix [Magometov 1970: 89], which also confirms the proto-meaning 'man'.

In modern dialects the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) term has been introduced for the meaning 'man': *idemi* with the rhotacized variant *eremi* (for the rhotacism in Aghul and Tabasaran dialects see [Suleymanov 1993: 69 f.; NCED: 125]), further *armi* and even *almi*. On the contrary, in the Koshan dialect the old word for 'male' (*ile-r*) shifted to the meaning 'man'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. Paradigm: *ž^wi* [abs.] / *ž^wuw-* [obl.]. Distinct from Dyubek *žili* 'male (adj.)', with class exponents: *žil'u-w* {жилув} 'male (n.)', *žil'u-r* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59, 220].

The situation in the Khanag subdialect is almost identical: *ž^wi* [abs.] / *ž^wiw-* [obl.] 'man' [Uslar 1979: 686, 998; Dirr 1905: 168, 234]. Opposed to *žili* 'male (adj.)', with the class exponents: *žil'u-w* 'male (n.)', *žil'u-r* 'husband' [Uslar 1979: 686, 998; Dirr 1905: 168, 234]. The additional Khanag term is *š^wi* [abs.] / *š^wiw-* [obl.] 'husband' [Uslar 1979: 987, 998] (not quoted in [Dirr 1905]).

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *ž^wi* [abs.] / *ž^wiw-* [obl.] {жви} 'man' [Genko 2005: 69]. Opposed to *žili* {жили} 'of male sex', with the class exponents: *žil'u-w* {жилув} 'male (n.)', *žil'u-r* {жилур} 'husband' [Genko 2005: 65]. As in the case of Khanag, there also exists an additional Khyuryuk term for 'husband': *š^wi* [abs.] / *š^wiw-* [obl.] {шви} [Genko 2005: 192].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59. A wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) term. Distinct from inherited Kondik *žili-r* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59].

Somewhat differently in the Khiv subdialect: *žili* {жили} 'of male sex', with class exponents: *žili-b* {жилиб} 'male (n.)', *žili-r* {жилир} 'husband' [Genko 2005: 65] (these forms are not marked by Genko as Khiv due to accidental omission of the plus sign). 'Man' is expressed as Khiv *žili ž^wuw* {жили жув}, literary 'male *ž^wuw*' [Genko 2005: 65]; Khiv *ž^wuw* {жув} also serves as an ethnonymical suffix [Genko 2005: 69]. There exists an additional Khiv term for 'husband': *š^wuw* {шув} - the oblique stem, used only in the expression 'to marry', literally 'to go to the husband' [Genko 2005: 193].

The simplest system is attested in Literary Tabasaran: *žili* {жили} 'male (adj.)', with class exponent: *žili-r* {жилир} with polysemy: 'man / husband' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 163]. The old term *ž^wi* [abs.] / *ž^wuw-* [obl.] {жви} shifted to the meaning 'strong young guy, daring fellow' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 160]; literary *ž^wi* / *ž^wuw-* also serves as an ethnonymical suffix [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 160] and is retained with the meaning 'man' in the compound *ahl'i-ž^wi* 'elderly man' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 49]. Two loanwords with the meaning 'man' are also present in Literary Tabasaran: *adm'i* {адми} 'person (q.v.); man' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 50], ultimately borrowed from Arabic; *erk'ek* {эркек} 'man; male (n.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 356], borrowed from Azerbaijani *erkäk* 'male (n.), man'.

Common Tabasaran: The terms *ž^wi* (obl. *ž^wuw-*) 'man' and *žili-* 'male (adj.); male (n.); husband' can safely be reconstructed for Proto-Tabasaran. The Northern dialect is the most archaic; in the Southern subdialects *ž^wi* 'man' tends to be superseded with *žili-* or with loans.

The Southern absolutive form *ž^wuw* was levelled after the oblique forms (the original paradigm is retained in the Northern dialect).

The main problem is the word *š^wi* (obl. *š^wiw-* ~ *š^wuw-*) 'husband', attested in some Northern and Southern subdialects (see the data above; *š^wi* / *š^wuw-* 'husband' is also mentioned in [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 348] as "dialectal"). Both *ž^wi* 'man' and *š^wi* 'husband' originate from Proto-Lezgian *š^w.wiy 'man', but *š^wi* 'husband' apparently represents a wandering loanword, which ultimately originates from a certain Tabasaran dialect (or even a distinct Lezgian language), where such a reflex of *š^w is regular.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 559, 617. Distinct from inherited *vül* 'husband' [Uslar 1896: 388].

The same loanword in Literary Lezgi: *it'im* {итим} 'man' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 141; Gadzhiev 1950: 370; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 522]. Distinct from inherited *vül* {гъуъл} 'husband' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 95; Haspelmath 1993: 490].

The same loanword in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yet'em* 'man' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59]. Distinct from inherited *χül* 'husband' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59] and borrowed *erk'ek* 'male (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (< Azerbaijani *erkäk* 'male (n.), man').

Lezgi *it'im*, *yet'em* and the syncopated variant *tim* represent a wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) term for 'man; human being'.

The old root for 'man' is retained as a nominal male ethnonymical suffix: Literary *-wi* [abs.] / *-žuw-* [obl.] [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 126; Haspelmath 1993: 106], Yarki *-γü*, Gyune *-gü*, Akhty *-žü* [Meylanova 1964: 330].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 336. **Distribution:** This stem is attested with the meaning 'man' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in some Nuclear Lezgian languages, on the other: West Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Proto-Aghul, Tabasaran. In Lezgi, this root has survived as a male ethnonymical suffix.

In Archi, the meaning 'man' is expressed by **wV(r)š-* [NCED: 1043], which was lost in the rest of Lezgian (although cf. the Caucasian Albanian plural stem *uš-b-o* 'husbands' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-35]). Therefore, its original semantics cannot be established, but external North Caucasian comparison points to the meaning 'male' or, more narrowly, 'bull-calf'.

In Rutul, the root **morλ:il / *uorλ:il* 'male (n.)' [NCED: 830] has acquired the meaning 'man'.

Similarly, in Koshan Aghul and Literary Tabasaran, **š:ˀiy* 'man' was superseded with **λ:ilV-* [NCED: 749], whose original meaning was 'male' at least on the Proto-East Lezgian level.

Superseded with Arabic or Azerbaijani loanwords in Tsakhur, Aghul and Tabasaran dialects.

Replacements: {'male' > 'man'} (Rutul, Koshan Aghul, Literary Tabasaran), {'man' > 'strong young guy, daring fellow'} (Literary Tabasaran), {'man' > 'ethnonymical affix'} (Southern Tabasaran, Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular. Metathesis in Caucasian Albanian-Udi; fossilized plural suffix in West Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh).

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **š:ˀiya-*. It is possible to reconstruct the Proto-Lezgian polysemy 'man / person', see notes on 'person'.

52. MANY

Nidzh Udi *gele* {*келе, геле*} (1), Vartashen Udi *gölö* {*коьлов, зовлов*} (1), Archi *n'a:q'ukan ~ n'o:q'ukan ~ n'o:q'ukun ~ n'a:q'ukun-nu-CLASS* (2), Kryts (proper) *parä* (-1), Alyk Kryts *χayla* (-1), Budukh *läh-ki ~ läh-ki-že* {*лаьхIку ~ лаьхIкудже*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χe-CLASS-ADV.CLASS* {*xeppa*} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *χe-CLASS-ADV.CLASS* (3), Gel mets Tsakhur *χ^áa-CLASS-ADV.CLASS* (3), Mukhad Rutul *bala* {*бала*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *balä* {*балаь*} (4), Luchek Rutul *bala* (4), Koshan Aghul *p:ara* (-1), Keren Aghul *p:ara* (-1), Gequn Aghul *p:ara* (-1), Fite Aghul *p:ara* (-1), Aghul (proper) *p:ara* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *aχ^á=č^{rw}a* (5), Southern Tabasaran *aχ^áu=č^{rw}i?* (5), Gyune Lezgi *giz'af* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔaχ^ái-* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 148, 271, 294; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609; Mobili 2010: 122; Schulze 2001: 279. Polysemy: 'many / much / very'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 148, 271, 294; Mobili 2010: 122; Fähnrich 1999: 17; Dirr 1903: 30, 43, 44, 54, 64, 93, 95, 96; Schiefner 1863: 43, 87; Schulze 2001: 279; Starchevskiy 1891: 491. Polysemy: 'many / much / very'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **gele* or **gölö*. A possible etymology is proposed in [NCED: 410 f.] - a suffixal formation *ge-le* from the Lezgian verb **ʔek:V-* 'to grow' (with the reduction of the first vowel). The root **ʔek:V-* is actually very rarely attested as an independent verb in Lezgian languages, but the parallelism Udi *ge-le* 'many' ~ Tsakhur *gey-CLASS* 'much, very' is important. On the other hand, Udi forms might be borrowed, but no appropriate sources have been revealed up to now (cf. Azerbaijani dialectal *kalan* 'many, numerous'). It is claimed in [Schulze 2001: 279] that the Udi terms were borrowed from Iranian (namely < Kurdish *gala(k)* 'much, very'), which does not seem very likely from a sociolinguistic point of view, since Kurdish linguistic influence on Udi is very modest (if it exists at all) and the idea of a borrowing of such a basic term from Kurdish can hardly be accepted.

Caucasian Albanian: *avel* 'many, much; more; enough' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-7]. Gippert & Schulze's idea [Gippert et al. 2008: II-80, IV-7] that *avel* is borrowed from Armenian *aweli* 'exceeding, superfluous; more' is improbable both from a semantic (the Armenian term does not mean 'many') and sociolinguistic point of view (Armenian influence on Caucasian

Albanian was apparently very weak, since there are only one or two reliable Armenian loans in the known Caucasian Albanian lexicon, see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-80 f.]. Distinct from *hut'un* 'so much, so many' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-27].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 285, 367; Mikailov 1967: 194.

There are three standard ways to express the semantics of 'many' in Archi, and the available sources do not permit to establish the formal difference between them.

1) The uninflected adjective/adverb *n'a:q'ukan* ~ *n'o:q'ukan* ~ *n'o:q'ukun* and inflected adjective *n'a:q'ukun-nu*-CLASS. Browsing through texts suggests that these words are the most frequent expressions for 'many'. That is why we prefer to fill the slot with these forms.

Examples with countable objects: "The king gave many gifts to the children and let them go" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 95]; "Many goods were spent on this" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 104]; "Many of Muha Muhammad's sheep have perished" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 113]; "We have gathered many stones" [Chumakina et al. 2007]; "Many people were killed during the war" [Chumakina et al. 2007]; "Many people have come" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 285]; "There are a lot of partridges around Archiba" [Mikailov 1967: 148]; "There are many birthmarks on her face" [Mikailov 1967: 149]; "When she cries, many tears fall down" [Mikailov 1967: 112].

Examples with uncountable objects: "Her husband just arrived and brought a lot of riches from Azerbaijan" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 46]; "I have plenty of troubles besides this" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 97]; "I have a lot of money" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 117]; "There is plenty of stone in Archiba" [Mikailov 1967: 146]; "In winter there is a lot of snow here" [Mikailov 1967: 149]; "After that, a lot of food appeared before them" [Mikailov 1967: 156, 158]; "We have stayed there for a long time (= much time)" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 106]; "The husband became sad, he was very much worried" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 39]

Two other expressions for 'many' seem statistically less frequent.

2) The stative verb *labχan* 'to be many, be much, be a lot' and the derived adverb *labχan-ši* 'much, many' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 270, 367; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609; Mikailov 1967: 190].

Examples with countable objects:

"To provide many sheep for the state..." [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 117]; "At that time there were many sheep" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 113]; "There are many fruits here" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 270]; "I have more text books than exercise books" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 270]; "many people" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 112]; "The rich man had a few children, whereas the poor man had a lot" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 69].

One example with uncountable objects: "The Russians had much (war) force" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 170-171]

3) The adverb *dun'a:la* ~ *dun'a:lu* 'many, much, often' and the derived adjective *dun'a:la-ti*-CLASS [Chumakina et al. 2007] [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 224; Dirr 1908: 142, 213]. These are probably normally applied to intensive or repetitive actions or abstract objects, as in, e.g., "He was beaten a lot" [Dirr 1908: 142]. Although there is a number of instances with countable objects: "Many houses" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 112]; "Many quarrels", "Many scuffles" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 113, 114]; "[Formerly] there were not many diseases" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 116 f.]; "At that time many poor men were in the *kolkhoz*" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 116]; "Many men", "Many women", "Many rams" [Dirr 1908: 142]. It is claimed in [Chumakina 2009] that Archi *dun'a:lu* is borrowed from Arabic *dunya*: 'earth, world', but this solution is improbable from the semantic point of view.

In one example *n'a:q'ukan* and *dun'a:la* function as virtual synonyms: "We frequently (*dun'a:la*) went to Šura, Džungutay, Kumukh for trading, frequently (*n'a:q'ukan*) went" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 115 f.]

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Saadiev 1994: 419; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609. In [Saadiev 1994] quoted as *para*. Polysemy: 'many, much / very'. A *Wanderwort*, attested in several Lezgian languages with irregular sound correspondences. Apparently a loanword of Iranian origin.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] also a synonym *χayli* 'many' is quoted, borrowed from Azerbaijani *xeyli* 'much, many, quite a lot, quite a few' (ultimately from Persian *xeyli*: 'much; very').

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 107. Glossed as 'many, much, very'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *xeyli* 'much, many, quite a lot, quite a few' (ultimately from Persian *xeyli*: 'much; very').

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 101, 221; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Talibov 2007: 154. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609] quite erroneously quoted as "*kiže, läh*" [кидже, лах]. Polysemy: 'many (countable obj.) / much, a lot of (uncountable obj.) / very'. Cf. such examples as "Many years have passed" [Meylanova 1984: 101], "Brother has a lot of money" [Talibov 2007: 154], etc. Final *-ki* is the adjective suffix [Talibov 2007: 108], *-že* is the adverbial suffix [Talibov 2007: 237].

A close synonym is *χeyli* [хейли] 'many, much' [Meylanova 1984: 146, 221; Talibov 2007: 154], borrowed from Azerbaijani *xeyli* 'much, many, quite a lot, quite a few' (ultimately from Persian *xeyli*: 'much; very').

Distinct from *artux* {артух} 'more; too much' [Meylanova 1984: 21].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 101, 104, 106, 108, 134, 152, 181, 201, 207, 213, 239, 286, 295, 361, 365, 426, 609, 692, etc.; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609. Applied to countable and uncountable objects. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 369], inaccurately glossed as 'more, loudly, high'.

A less frequent word is $\chi^i:l^y\zeta e$ 'many, much (countable & uncountable obj.), enough' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 109, 152], borrowed from Azerbaijani *xeyli-şä* 'much, many, quite a lot, quite a few' (ultimately from Persian *xeyli*: 'much; very').

Cf. also non-frequent g^ye -CLASS ~ g^yey -CLASS {гейб, гейд} 'much; very' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 117, 874, 895; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 112] (applied only to uncountable objects?).

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: χ^a -CLASS-ADV.CLASS-*bi* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233]. Applied to countable objects (final *-bi* is the plural marker; for uncountable objects the simple χ^a -CLASS-ADV is used).

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Dirr 1913: 210, 229. Applied to countable and uncountable objects.

A second candidate is g^ye -CLASS 'many, much (countable & uncountable obj.), very' [Dirr 1913: 146, 229].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: χa -CLASS-ADV.CLASS {хатта}. Applied to countable and uncountable objects.

Common Tsakhur: Tsakhur χ^a - (~ χe -) represents the same root as 'big' q.v.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 124, 194; Ibragimov 1978: 71, 76; Makhmudova 2001: 201, 206; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609. Applied to both countable and uncountable objects. Polysemy: 'many / much / very'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 32, 355, 434; In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 609], quoted as *bala*. Applied to both countable and uncountable objects. Polysemy: 'many / much / very'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Applied to both countable and uncountable objects.

Common Rutul: Term of unclear origin; possibly an Iranian loanword?

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Suleymanov 2003: 141; Shaumyan 1941: 153. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233], *p:ara* is applied to countable objects, distinct from *ac'ina* 'much (uncountable obj.)'. In [Shaumyan 1941: 130-131], however, there is an example where Burshag *p:ara* is applied to an uncountable object: "This merchant had a lot of riches".

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Applied to countable objects. Distinct from *ac'una* 'much (uncountable obj.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Dirr 1907: 28, 137, 176; Shaumyan 1941: 153. According to Dirr's examples, applied to both countable and uncountable objects with polysemy: 'many / much / very': "many houses", "much money", "a very big house". It is noted [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233], however, that *p:ara* is applied only to countable objects, whereas for 'much (uncountable obj.)' the inherited form *ac'una* is used.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Applied to countable objects. Distinct from the inherited *ac'una* 'much (uncountable obj.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 141; Shaumyan 1941: 153. Applied to countable objects. Polysemy: 'many / very'. Distinct from inherited *ac'una* 'much (uncountable obj.)' [Suleymanov 2003: 134 sub *mič*].

Common Aghul: Initial *p:*- in *p:ara* points to a non-inherited form; apparently a loanword of Iranian origin. A *Wanderwort* in this region.

The form *ac'ina* ~ *ac'una* 'much (uncountable obj.)' is the past participle from the verb *ac'-i* ~ *ac'-a* 'to fill (intrans.)' (see the entry 'full').

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Applied to both countable and uncountable objects.

Loanword in the Khanag subdialect: *giz'af* with polysemy: 'many, much, very' [Uslar 1979: 643, 997; Dirr 1905: 45, 160, 233]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *giz'af* {гизаф} 'many, much, very' [Genko 2005: 37].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Applied to both countable and uncountable objects.

Loanword in the Khiv subdialect: *giz'af* {гизаф} with polysemy: 'many, much, very' [Genko 2005: 37]. The second Khiv term is the inherited *ac'-nu* {ацһну} 'many' or 'much' [Genko 2005: 21] - a participle from *ac'*- 'to fill'. Difference between *giz'af* and *ac'-nu* is unknown.

The same loanword in Literary Tabasaran: *giz'af* {гизаф} with polysemy: 'many, much, very' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 99, 429].

Common Tabasaran: Dyubek $a\chi^f$ - $\zeta^{w\ddot{a}}$ and Kondik $a\chi^f u$ - $\zeta^{w\ddot{a}} i?$ contain the adjective $a\chi^f$ - 'big' q.v., whereas the second element is apparently the substantive 'heap', attested as Northern (Dyubek) $\zeta^{w\ddot{a}} e? e$ 'heap, hill' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 193], Southern (Khiv) $\zeta^{w\ddot{a}} e?$ {чъеъ} 'heap, pile' [Genko 2005: 183], - i.e. 'many' as 'a large heap'. Formally, this expression should

be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'many'. Another inherited form is Khiv *'ac'-nu* (literally 'filled'), but its exact meaning - 'many' or 'much' - is unknown. In most dialects the inherited terms were superseded with the loanword *gizaf*, borrowed from Persian *gizaf* 'very much, innumerable, extreme'. In [Magometov 1965: 330], *gizaf* is quoted as the main Tabasaran word for 'many'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 379, 617. Applied to both countable and uncountable objects. Polysemy: 'many / much / very'. Borrowed from Persian *gizaf* 'very much, innumerable, extreme'.

The same loanword in Literary Lezgi: *gzaʃ* {r3aʃ} 'many / much / very' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 86; Gadzhiev 1950: 363; Haspelmath 1993: 253, 489, 522].

Another loanword in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *p:ar'a* 'many' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233] (applied to both countable and uncountable objects). The form is also attested in some other Lezgian languages; probably of Iranian origin.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 511. Distribution: This word is quite prone to borrowing among Lezgian lects. The Proto-Lezgian term cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The best candidate is **ʔaχʰi-* [NCED: 511], which means 'many' in Tsakhur and 'to be enough' in one of the outliers, Archi (CLASS=*aχʰ*); it is also proposed in [NCED] that Budukh *läh-ki* 'many' contains the same root, but the origin of initial *l-* is unclear. In Tsakhur, Tabasaran, non-Koshan Aghul, this root forms the adjective 'big' q.v. - it seems, however, to be a late areal innovation: 'many' > 'big'.

The second candidate, which is actually not significantly weaker than the first one, is **l[a]wχ-* [NCED: 754]. It means 'many' in Archi (although it is not the most basic expression for this meaning) and 'to a large extent' in Lezgi. Both competing roots, **ʔaχʰi-* and **l[a]wχ-*, possess external North Caucasian cognates with the meaning 'many'.

In Tabasaran, 'many' is expressed analytically as 'a large heap'. Additionally, in Khiv Tabasaran, the participle from the verb 'to be full' (**h'ac'i-*) can be used for 'many'.

A morphologically unclear form *n'a:q'ukan* 'many' (with vowel fluctuation) occurs in Archi (cf. the etymological proposal in [NCED: 594]). Caucasian Albanian *avel* 'many' is, likewise, unclear etymologically.

In some lects, 'many' is expressed with words that look like loanwords, although the source of borrowing has not been identified (Iranian?): Udi *gele* ~ *gölö* (cf., however, its etymology proposed in [NCED: 410]), Kryts, Aghul *parä* ~ *p:ara*, Rutul *bala* ~ *balä*.

In Kryts, Tabasaran, Lezgi, only loanwords of Azerbaijani-Persian origin are attested.

Replacements: {'a large heap' > 'many'} (Tabasaran), {'filled' > 'many'} (Khiv Tabasaran), {'many' > 'enough'} (Archi), {'many' > 'big'} (Tsakhur, Tabasaran, non-Koshan Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be many'.

53. MEAT

Nidzh Udi *yeq*: {üekʷ} (1), Vartashen Udi *eq*: {ekʷ} (1), Archi *aʃ* (1), Kryts (proper) *yek* (1), Alyk Kryts *yak* (1), Budukh *yäk* {üak} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *čura* {чупа} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *čuru* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *čuroy* (2), Mukhad Rutul *yak* {üak, як} (1), Ixrek Rutul *yak* {як} (1), Luchek Rutul *yak* (1), Koshan Aghul *yak*: (1), Keren Aghul *yak*: (1), Gequn Aghul *yak*: (1), Fite Aghul *yik*: (1), Aghul (proper) *yak*: (1), Northern Tabasaran *yak'-a* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yik*: (1), Gyune Lezgi *yak* (1), Proto-Lezgian **yaʃ*: (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 121; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303; Mobili 2010: 103. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] quoted with pharyngealization: *yeq*:^f (apparently an error).

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 121; Mobili 2010: 103; Fähnrich 1999: 15; Dirr 1903: 4, 51, 74; Schiefner 1863: 77; Starchevskiy 1891: 504.

Common Udi: Common Udi **yeq*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 188, 368; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303; Mikailov 1967: 171; Dirr 1908: 131, 214.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303. Paradigm: *yek* [abs.] / *yik* [gen.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 39, 55, etc. Paradigm: *yak* [abs.] / *yik* [gen.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 68, 222; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303.

Distinct from various specific terms like *menteš* {ментеш} 'meat of abdomen' [Meylanova 1984: 108], *č'il* {чил} 'dried meat' [Meylanova 1984: 158] and so on.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 895; Ibragimov 1990: 29; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 401], quoted as *čuru* {чурь}.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *čuru* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Dirr 1913: 215, 230.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 146, 195; Ibragimov 1978: 24, 26, 30; Makhmudova 2001: 73; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303. Regular paradigm, analogically levelled after the absolutive form: *yak* [abs.] / *yak-i* [obl.].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 314, 356; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 303. Ablaut paradigm: *yak* [abs.] / *yig-i* [obl.]. Note the gemination of *-g-* - probably an archaism, rather than the influence of the same sporadic phenomenon in the Azerbaijani language.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121. Ablaut paradigm: *yak* [abs.] / *yig-i* [obl.].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Suleymanov 2003: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 147.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121. The same in the Usug subdialect: *yak*: 'meat' [Shaumyan 1941: 147] (erroneously transcribed as *yak*).

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Dirr 1907: 123, 177; Shaumyan 1941: 147. In [Shaumyan 1941], erroneously transcribed as *yak*.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121; Shaumyan 1941: 147.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 147. In [Shaumyan 1941], erroneously transcribed as *yak*.

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug, Kurag *yak*: 'meat' [Shaumyan 1941: 147; Magometov 1970: 206 sentences 11-12] (the Tsirkhe form is erroneously transcribed as *yak* in [Shaumyan 1941]).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yak*: 'meat' [Uslar 1979: 745, 998; Dirr 1905: 178, 234]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yak*: {якк} 'meat' [Genko 2005: 199].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yik*: {йикк} 'meat' [Genko 2005: 79]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yik*: {йикк} 'meat' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 185].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 444, 618. Paradigm: *yak* [abs.] / *yak'-u* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *yak* [abs.] / *yak'-u* [obl.] {як} 'meat' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 402; Gadzhiev 1950: 373; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 522].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yak* [abs.] / *yak'-i* [obl.] 'meat' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 121].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 945. Distribution: Retained as the basic term for 'meat' in all the lects, except for Tsakhur, where *čurV* 'meat' may originate from 'a k. of meat (e.g., beef)', if the comparison with Udi *čur* 'cow' is reliable [LEDb: #197] (without further etymology)._

Replacements: {'beef, meat of cow' > 'meat(?)'} (Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *yoλ':i-.

54. MOON

Nidzh Udi *χaš* {xau} (1), Vartashen Udi *χaš* {xau} (1), Archi *bac* (2), Kryts (proper) *vāz* (2), Alyk Kryts *vaz* (2), Budukh *vəz* {ваз} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *waz* {ваз} (2), Mikik

Tsakhur *waz* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *waz* (2), Mukhad Rutul *waz* {*ba3*} (2), Ixrek Rutul *waz* {*ba3*} (2), Luchek Rutul *waz* (2), Koshan Aghul *waz* (2), Keren Aghul *waz* (2), Gequn Aghul *waz* (2), Fite Aghul *waz* (2), Aghul (proper) *waz* (2), Northern Tabasaran *w'a3-a* (2), Southern Tabasaran *waz* (2), Gyune Lezgi *war3* (2), Proto-Lezgian **wac*: (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 220; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52; Mobili 2010: 143. Polysemy: 'moon / month / light, shine (e.g., of sun)'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 220; Fähnrich 1999: 34; Dirr 1903: 23; Schiefner 1863: 85; Schulze 2001: 333; Starchevskiy 1891: 502. Polysemy: 'moon / month / light, shine (e.g., of sun)'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **χaš* 'light; moon; month'. As suggested by the attested polysemy, the Udi term for 'moon' was derived from 'light' (derivation 'light' > 'moon' is typologically common, whereas *vice versa* is odd). Caucasian Albanian data confirm this solution. Note, however, that Caucasian Albanian-Udi **χaš* 'light' lacks any etymology.

Alternately, it is proposed in [Schulze 2001: 27 f., 333] that *χaš* 'moon' is etymologically unrelated to *χaš* 'light' and represents a phonetic variant of Udi *χač* 'cross' (< Armenian *χač^h* 'cross'). According to Schulze's idea, an old (unattested) Udi term for 'moon / Moon-god' was superseded by a new term for 'cross' (a symbol of Jesus Christ, the second member of the Trinity) in the course of Christianization. Indeed, in many traditions around the world the words for 'sun' and 'moon' are syncretized with names of the Sun and Moon deities, and therefore these terms are potentially subject to replacement with loanwords, as the local cult changes. However, this hypothesis is currently refuted by Caucasian Albanian data. It should be noted that, *pace* [Schulze 2001], such modern Udi words as *χaš-desun* 'to be christened', *χaš-tal* 'priest' etc. do not confirm that *χaš* could mean 'cross' or 'Christ', but represent the same semantics of 'light' (as plausibly pointed out in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-10], these words were created under the influence of the corresponding Georgian Christian terminology).

Caucasian Albanian: *χaš-in* 'bright, shining / moon' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22]. Derived from the substantive *χaš* 'shine, light' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22]. The old Lezgian term for 'moon' is retained as *buz-e* 'month' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-12].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 197, 366; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52; Mikailov 1967: 174; Dirr 1908: 133, 212. Polysemy: 'moon / month / rowan berries'. Archaic paradigm: *bac* [abs.] / *boc-r'o* [erg.], see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 28; Mikailov 1967: 174; Dirr 1908: 133].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52. Paradigm: *vāz* [abs.] / *vāz-il* ~ *vuz-ur* [gen.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 182, etc. Paradigm: *vaz* [abs.] / *vaz-ir* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 32; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52] erroneously quoted as *vez* {*be3*}. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 895; Ibragimov 1990: 19; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 98; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52. Polysemy: 'moon / month / horseshoe' ('moon, month' and 'horseshoe' formally differ in the pl. form). As noted in [Ibragimov 1990] and [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], used with ablaut paradigm: *waz* [abs.] / *wuz-* [obl.] / *wuz-* [pl.]. According to [Kibrik et al. 1999], however, currently the ablaut paradigm was almost eliminated (*wuz-* is retained in the pl. form *wuz-a:r* 'horseshoes').

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *waz* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198]. Polysemy: 'moon / horseshoe'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Dirr 1913: 143, 229. Ablaut paradigm: *waz* [abs.] / *wuz-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'moon / month / horseshoe'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52. Polysemy: 'moon / horseshoe'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 15, 127, 194; Ibragimov 1978: 60, 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 44, 353; Ibragimov 1978: 207; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Suleymanov 2003: 44; Shaumyan 1941: 148. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. The same in the Usug subdialect: *waz* 'moon; month' [Shaumyan 1941: 148].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Dirr 1907: 108, 176; Shaumyan 1941: 148. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Shaumyan 1941: 148.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 44; Shaumyan 1941: 148. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *waʒ* with polysemy: 'moon / month' [Uslar 1979: 620, 997; Dirr 1905: 158, 233]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *waʒ* {baʒʒ} with polysemy: 'moon / month' [Genko 2005: 31].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *waz* {baʒ} with polysemy: 'moon / month' [Genko 2005: 31]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *waz* {baʒ} with polysemy: 'moon / month' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 92].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 365, 616. Paradigm: *warʒ* [abs.] / *wac-r'a-* [obl.] / *warc-'ar* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'moon / month'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *warʒ* [abs.] / *wac-r'a-* [obl.] / *warc-'ar* [pl.] {baʒʒ} 'moon / month' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 72; Gadzhiev 1950: 341; Haspelmath 1993: 510, 523].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *warʒ* [abs.] / *waz-r'a-* [obl.] / *warc-'ar* [pl.] 'moon' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198].

Medial *-r-* in the absolutive form *warʒ* (*warʒ*) is etymologically unclear. As proposed in [NCED: 1044], *warʒ* could represent the old oblique stem (with the metathesis **c-r > r-c*). It should be noted that morphophonologically, the synchronic Lezgi oblique stem *wac-ra-* can be analyzed as {*warc-ra-*} with regular simplification *rCr > Cr* [Haspelmath 1993: 63].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1044. **Distribution:** Retained as the basic term for 'moon' in all the lects, except for Caucasian Albanian-Udi, where **wac-* was lost, superseded with the root for 'light, shine; bright, shining' (the latter, however, lacks any etymology).

Replacements: {'light, shine; bright, shining' > 'moon'} (Caucasian Albanian, Udi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **woc-ra-* ~ **wac-ra-*.

55. MOUNTAIN

Nidzh Udi *b-ur-uχ* {бурyx} (1), Vartashen Udi *b-ur-uχ* {бурyx} (1), Archi *mul* (2), Kryts (proper) *bel* (3), Alyk Kryts *daβ* (-1), Budukh *daβ* {дагβ} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *sɪwa* {сɪва} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *sɪwa* ~ *suwa* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *sɪwa* (1), Mukhad Rutul *sɪw* ~ *suw* {сɪв ~ cyβ} (1), Ixrek Rutul *sɪw* {сɪв} (1), Luchek Rutul *sɪw* (1), Koshan Aghul *su* (1), Keren Aghul *su* (1), Gequn Aghul *su* (1), Fite Aghul *suw* (1), Aghul (proper) *su* (1), Northern Tabasaran *sɪw* (1), Southern Tabasaran *sɪw* (1), Gyune Lezgi *daβ* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **sɪwa* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 95; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32; Mobili 2010: 74.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 95; Fähnrich 1999: 11; Dirr 1903: 22, 27, 29; Schiefner 1863: 102; Schulze 2001: 263; Starchevskiy 1891: 498.

Common Udi: Common Udi **bur-uχ*, with a transparent fossilized plural suffix *-uχ*. As proposed in [NCED: 1053] and now proven by Caucasian Albanian data, *-ur-* is, in fact, to be analyzed as another plural suffix, thus **b(u)-ur-uχ* (for the synchronic Udi plural in *-ur-uχ*, which is normally restricted to monosyllabic roots, see [Schulze 2005: 151 f. (3.2.5.4 #2)]).

Caucasian Albanian: *bu* 'mountain, hill' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-11].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 282, 355; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32; Mikailov 1967: 193; Dirr 1908: 168, 206.

Distinct from *sob* 'alpine pasture used in winter' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 314; Mikailov 1967: 197; Dirr 1908: 181] (according to [Chumakina et al. 2007], the modern meaning is 'field (used as pasture or kept for hay making) that belongs to one family').

Distinct from *moç'or* 'alpine pasture used in summer' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 280] (in [Chumakina et al. 2007] apparently incorrectly transcribed as *moç'or*), although this is glossed as 'mountain; alpine pasture used in summer' in [Mikhailov 1967: 193] and [Dirr 1908: 168].

Distinct from *y'arχ'i* 'pass in mountains, head of mountain pass' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 253], although this is glossed simply as 'mountain' in [Dirr 1908: 155].

Distinct from *q'un* 'shoulder; protruding part of mountain' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 300]; in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32], this term is incorrectly quoted as *qün* ~ *q'un* {хъуьн ~ хълун} 'mountain' (the former variant is a corrupted spelling for {хъуьн} = *q'un*).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32. Polysemy: 'mountain / rock, cliff'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], two loanwords are also quoted as additional synonyms: *dar* 'mountain' (< Azerbaijani *day* 'mountain') and *täpä* 'hill' (erroneously spelled as *tärä* {таъраъ}; < Azerbaijani *täpä* 'hill').

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 49, 85, 87, 88, 94, etc. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *day* 'mountain'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 49, 209; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *day* 'mountain'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 887, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 319. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] the variant *suwa* {сува} is also quoted (the same in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32]).

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *süwa* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; Dirr 1913: 202, 223.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 192; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 18, 41, 47, 52, 84, 102, 103, 170, 188; Ibragimov 1978: 33, 64, 118; Makhmudova 2001: 39, 49. Polysemy: 'mountain / alpine pasture'.

A second term for 'mountain' is *ban* 'mountain; alpine pasture' [Dirr 1912: 14, 17, 18, 84, 103, 124, 188; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 15, 73, 80, 82, 192; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32]. According to Dirr's and Makhmudova's example, both words were equally frequent in the early 20th century, but the inherited *süw* has been almost superseded by *ban* in the modern language.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 235, 333; Ibragimov 1978: 191. Polysemy: 'mountain / alpine pasture used in summer'.

A second term is *ban* 'mountain; slope' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 33, 333; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 32].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191.

Common Rutul: The word *ban*, attested in Mukhad & Ixrek, looks like a recent loanword, although the source has not been identified (cf. Talysh *band* 'mountain, hill'; final clusters such as *-NT* are prohibited in Rutul).

Cf. also two terms with more specific meanings: Khnyukh (subdialect of Mukhad) *bä'l* {баъл} 'rock, cliff', *dahar* {дагъар} 'rock, cliff; precipice' [Ibragimov 1978: 136]; Muxrek *bäl* {баъл} 'rock, cliff' [Ibragimov 1978: 188]; Khnov *dahar* {дагъар} 'rock, cliff' [Ibragimov 1978: 293] (*dahar* is a loanword, see notes on Alyk Kryts 'stone').

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; Suleymanov 2003: 149; Shaumyan 1941: 162. Oblique stem: *süw-*. In [Suleymanov 2003], transcribed as *su* / *süw-*.

The same in the Arsug subdialect: *su* / *süw-* 'mountain' [Shaumyan 1941: 162].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191. Oblique stem: *süw-*.

The same in the Usug subdialect: *su* / *süw-* 'mountain' [Shaumyan 1941: 162].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; Dirr 1907: 142, 171; Magometov 1970: 70. Oblique stem: *süw-*. Dirr transcribes this word as *su* / *süw-*.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191; Magometov 1970: 70; Shaumyan 1941: 162.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 149; Shaumyan 1941: 162; Magometov 1970: 195 strophes VII, X. Oblique stem: *süw-*.

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug, Kurag, Khpyuk *su*, *süw-* 'mountain' [Shaumyan 1941: 162; Magometov 1970: 155, 223 strophe III].

Common Aghul: It is proposed in [NCED: 1053] that the transcription of the Koshan (Burshag) form *su* with tense *s:* is a misspelling in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. This is indeed likely from the etymological point of view, but it should be noted that the tenseness of *s:* is suspiciously confirmed by Dirr's transcription of archaic Gequn, and see also the Tabasaran form *süw*.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *süw* 'mountain' [Uslar 1979: 907, 992; Dirr 1905: 204, 226].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *siw* {сиw} 'mountain' [Genko 2005: 139]. The same in the Kurikh subdialect: *siw* {сиw} 'mountain' [Genko 2005: 222].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191. Paradigm: *siw* [abs.] / *siw-i* [erg.].

Differently in the Khiv subdialect, where two terms are opposed: *siw* {сиw} 'mountain (not big); upland' [Genko 2005: 139]; distinct from Khiv *dav* {дагъ} 'big mountain' [Genko 2005: 57], borrowed from Azerbaijani *day* 'mountain'.

Only the loanword is represented in Literary Tabasaran: *dav* {дагъ} 'mountain' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 138].

Common Tabasaran: Note sporadic tense *s*: in Northern Tabasaran, as well as the Southern (Kondik) ergative *siw-i* - in the case of the etymological lax sibilant, one could rather expect the devoiced vowel in ***siw-i* (on the other hand, it is natural to suppose that ***siw-i* was levelled to *siw-i* after the regular absolutive form *siw*). Cf. also the tense *s*: in some Aghul forms (q.v.).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 400, 609. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *day* 'mountain'.

The same loanword in Literary Lezgi: *dav* {дагъ} 'mountain' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 105; Gadzhiev 1950: 146; Haspelmath 1993: 485, 523]. This is the default term for 'mountain' in the modern language. Distinct from the inherited *suw* {cyw} 'mountain' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 297; Haspelmath 1993: 506, 523], specified by Talibov & Gadzhiev as "poetic".

The same loanword in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *dav* 'mountain' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191]. Distinct from the inherited Khlyut term *siw* 'alpine pasture used in summer' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1053. Distribution: Retained as the basic term for 'mountain' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in most of Nuclear Lezgian languages, on the other: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, archaic Lezgi). Shifted to the meaning 'alpine pasture used in winter' in Archi, but was lost without a trace in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh).

In Archi, the meaning 'mountain' is expressed with **muh^hVI* (~ -ʔ-) [NCED: 834] (lost in the rest of languages), which actually possesses better external North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meaning 'mountain' than **siwa*, but the distribution suggests that the Archi meaning is innovative.

In Kryts, the old word was superseded with **pa^h(a)* (~ -l-) [NCED: 292], whose original meaning is unclear: its only Rutul cognate means 'rock, cliff'.

In many Nuclear Lezgian lects the inherited forms for 'mountain' are superseded with loanwords of Azerbaijani or, possibly, Iranian origin: Alyk Kryts, Budukh, Rutul dialects, Tabasaran dialects, Lezgi.

Replacements: {'mountain' > 'alpine pasture used in winter'} (Archi, Akhty Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular; with metathesis, > **wisa* in Caucasian Albanian-Udi; reflexes of tense **s*: in Aghul and Tabasaran are unclear.

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

56. MOUTH

Nidzh Udi *ž^homo* {жIомo} (1), Vartashen Udi *ž^homo-x* {жIомox} (1), Archi *s:ob* (2), Kryts (proper) *siw* (2), Alyk Kryts *siy* (2), Budukh *siw* {cuβ} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yal^y* {ʔIaλ'} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *yal^y* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *yal^y* (3), Mukhad Rutul *yal* {ʔaλ} (3), Ixrek Rutul *yal* {ʔIaλ} (3), Luchek Rutul *yal* (3), Koshan Aghul *siw* (2), Keren Aghul *sib* (2), Gequn Aghul *siw* (2), Fite Aghul *siw* (2), Aghul (proper) *siw* (2), Northern Tabasaran *'už^w-u* (2), Southern Tabasaran *uš^w* (2), Gyune Lezgi *siw* (2), Proto-Lezgian **s:iw* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 114; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197; Mobili 2010: 159.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 114; Fähnrich 1999: 35; Mobili 2010: 159; Schiefner 1863: 93; Schulze 2001: 337; Starchevskiy 1891: 506. In [Fähnrich 1999: 13, 35] two additional corrupted variants are quoted: *č'omoχ ~ žomoχ*. In [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] the stem variant *ž'omo* is also attested, used synonymously with *ž'omo-χ* (e.g., Mt. 12.34 "For out of the abundance of the heart, the mouth (*ž'omo-n*) speaks", etc.). In [Schulze 2001: 337] Bežanovs' *ž'omo* is interpreted as 'lip', a glossing that is supported neither by Nidzh data (cf. Nidzh plain *ž'omo* 'mouth') nor by textual evidence - there are no words for 'lip' in the canonical Russian Gospel text, from which Bežanovs' text was translated. The normal word for 'lip(s)' is Nidzh *žižir*, Vartashen *žežer* [Gukasyan 1974: 245] (etymologically obscure, somewhat resembling Georgian dial. *t'ut'ur-i* 'lips', Laz *t'imt'vir-i ~ t'imt'vir-i* 'lips').

Common Udi: Common Udi **ž'omo*. The final *-χ* in the Vartashen form is the common plural suffix *-uχ*.

Caucasian Albanian: *ž'umo-q ~ ž'umu-q* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-23]. The final *-q* is the common plural suffix *-uq*.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 316; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197; Mikailov 1967: 198; Dirr 1908: 180, 220. Polysemy: 'mouth / fast (abstinence from food) / edge, end / bank, shore' (the meanings 'mouth' and 'edge; bank' are opposed in oblique forms within the paradigm and, therefore, synchronically represent two different lexemes). Paradigm for the meaning 'mouth': *s:ob* [abs.] / *s:'ob-li* [erg.] / *s:eb'e* [loc.]; the locative forms with the meanings 'edge' and 'bank' are regular: *s:'ob-li-t* or *s:'ob-ta*.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the variant *sūv* is also quoted.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 39, 91, 220, etc. Applied both to humans and animals.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 126, 238; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197.

Distinct from *k'uf* {кIyф} 'mouth (of animal)', which can sometimes be applied to a human (polysemy: 'mouth of animal / toe of shoes / kiss') [Meylanova 1984: 99].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 875, 898; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 128; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197. Polysemy: 'mouth (of human) / mouth (of animal) / mouth (of river)'.

Distinct from *siv* {сIв} with polysemy 'end, point / fast (abstinence from food)' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 314] (the meaning 'fast' points to the old semantics of 'mouth').

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *γal⁹* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Dirr 1913: 150, 237. Polysemy: 'mouth / boot-top, bootleg'.

As follows from Dirr's data, however, the archaic Mikik Tsakhur word for 'mouth' was *siv*. This was glossed as 'mouth' by R. von Erckert (*apud* [Dirr 1913: 201]) in the late 19th century, whereas in the early 20th century, *siv* 'mouth' was retained in the expression for 'fast (abstinence from food)' [Dirr 1913: 199]. According to [Dirr 1913: 201], the synchronic meaning of Mikik *siv* was 'end, edge' already in the early 20th century.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197.

Common Tsakhur: It is very likely that the Proto-Tsakhur term for 'mouth' was *siv* (the development 'mouth' > 'fast' is frequent in Lezgian), which has been recently superseded with *γal* under the influence on the part of Rutul (the original Tsakhur meaning of *γal* is unclear).

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 131, 199; Ibragimov 1978: 62, 115. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197], erroneously quoted as *val* {гвал}.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 87, 389; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 197. In [Ibragimov 1978: 231], quoted as *γal⁹*. Applied to both humans and animals.

Distinct from *siv* {сIв} 'fast (abstinence from food)' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 228] (this meaning points to the old semantics of 'mouth').

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14.

Common Rutul: Cf. the secondary pharyngealization in Borch-Khnov *γä'ḷ ~ γä'ḷ* 'mouth' [Ibragimov 1978: 231]; in [Ibragimov 1978: 237, 282], however, this word is quoted simply as *γäḷ*.

The word *γal* can be formally reconstructed as the Proto-Rutul term for 'mouth', but the attested Ixrek form *siv* 'fast' should point that in Pre-Proto-Rutul *siv* meant 'mouth'. It is also possible that *siv* 'mouth' is attested in the word for 'face': Mukhad *xe-su-m* 'face' [Dirr 1912: 141], Ixrek *xe-si-m* 'face' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 282], if analyze it as a compressed compound **xex-si(w)-m*, literally 'nose' (*xex*) + 'mouth' (thus [NCED: 584]), although the postulated suffix *-m* seems unclear.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Suleymanov 2003: 149; Magometov 1970: 23. In [Magometov 1970], quoted as *siv* - an important archaism.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14. The same in the Usug subdialect: *siv* 'mouth' [Shaumyan 1941: 162].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14. Not attested in [Dirr 1907].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 149; Shaumyan 1941: 162.

Common Aghul: The Keren (Richa) form *sib* with *b* is somewhat strange, because it should point to Proto-Aghul **b* rather than **w* (for the behaviour of Proto-Aghul **b* in modern dialects see notes on 'to go').

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14; Genko 2005: 151.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *uš^w* 'mouth' [Uslar 1979: 936, 1004; Dirr 1905: 211, 241] (note Uslar's plural form *uš^w-ar* with tense *š^w*). This word is opposed to Khanag *muč^muč^č* 'mouth' [Uslar 1979: 864, 1004; Dirr 1905: 197, 241]; according to Uslar' examples, *muč^muč^č* does not denote the anatomic 'mouth' *per se*, but rather 'mouth' as an organ of speech: "His *muč^muč^č* is very loquacious", "He got in trouble due to his *muč^muč^č*", "What comes from one's *muč^muč^č*, hits one in the forehead", etc.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *uš^w* {yшв} 'mouth' [Genko 2005: 158] (erg. *uš^w-un'u*, but note the plural form *uš^w-ar* {yшшвар} with tense *š^w*). This basic term is opposed to Khyuryuk *muč^muč^č* {мучИмучИ} 'mouth' [Genko 2005: 123], which is probably specified by Genko as a "rude word", although theoretically this stylistic gloss may concern only the corresponding Khiv form, for which see below.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *uš^w* {yшв} with polysemy: 'mouth / fast (abstinence from food)' [Genko 2005: 158]. This basic term is opposed to Khiv *muč^muč^č* {мучИмучИ} 'mouth' [Genko 2005: 123], which is specified by Genko as a "rude word".

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *uš^w* {yшв} with polysemy: 'mouth / fast (abstinence from food)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 302]. Distinct from the literary *muč^muč^č* {мучИмучИ} 'lip (of animal)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 235].

Common Tabasaran: The default term for all dialects is *uš^w* (*uš^w-*, *už^w-u*). As for the reduplicated *muč^m-muč^č*, it seems that its original meaning was plural: 'lips (of animal)' ← *muč^č* '*lip (of animal)'. In Literary Tabasaran *muč^m-muč^č* acquired the singular semantic 'lip (of animal)', whereas the plain form *muč^č* was retained in the Northern Tabasaran (Khanag, Khyuryuk) expression *muč^č ap^č* 'to kiss', literally 'to make *muč^č*' [Dirr 1905: 197; Genko 2005: 123]. Southern Tabasaran (Khiv) *muč^m-muč^č* as a rude term for 'mouth' fits such a scenario. The most interesting semantic development of *muč^m-muč^č* is observed in Khanag: 'mouth as an organ of speech'.

It should be noted that *muč^č* cannot be postulated as the basic Proto-Tabasaran term for '(human) lip', since the Proto-Tabasaran word with this meaning originates from Proto-Lezgian **k^went^t* 'lip' [NCED: 733] > Northern Tabasaran (Dyubek) *k^want^t-a* 'lip', Southern Tabasaran (Kondik) *k^want^t* 'lip' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 548, 630.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *siw* {сшв} 'mouth' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 292; Gadzhiev 1950: 734; Haspelmath 1993: 506, 523]. This is the default term for 'human mouth' in Literary Lezgi, distinct from *k^wuf* {кИуф} 'mouth (of human and animal), beak, snout' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 218; Haspelmath 1993: 496, 523], whose original meaning was apparently 'mouth of animal' or rather 'beak' (cf. the Akhty data below).

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *siw* 'mouth' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 14]. Distinct from Khlyut *k^wif* 'beak' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 584. Distribution: This stem is retained as the basic root for 'mouth' in Archi, on the one hand, and in the bulk of Nuclear Lezgian languages, on the other: South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), West Lezgian (Proto-Tsakhur and probably Proto-Rutul), East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi).

In Archi, **s:iw* means 'mouth / fast (abstinence from food) / edge, end / bank, shore'; the synchronic regular paradigm of the meanings 'edge; bank' could imply that these meanings are recent Archi introductions. Similarly, this root shifted to the meaning 'edge, end' in Udi (*oš*) as well as in modern Tsakhur (*siw*). In modern West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), **s:iw* is also retained with the meaning 'fast (abstinence from food)' and perhaps in the expression for 'face' (< 'nose' + 'mouth').

In modern West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), the basic term for 'mouth' is expressed with **λ:al* [NCED: 589], whose original meaning is unclear, because this root is not attested in the rest of Lezgian. It must be noted that such a replacement does not seem to be a Proto-West Lezgian feature, but rather represents an areal Rutul-induced introduction. The old root **s:iw* has also survived in Tsakhur and Rutul, see above.

In Caucasian Albanian-Udi, the old root was superseded with **č^wVm-* [NCED: 1103], modified with the fossilized plural suffix; thus, its original meaning could indeed be something like 'lip' or even 'edge'. This root seems to have been lost in the rest of Lezgian, although it is possible that Caucasian Albanian *ž'umo-*, Udi *ž'omo-* 'mouth' are somehow related to Proto-Tabasaran *muč'* 'animal lip(?)' (for which see notes on 'mouth') via metathesis; the affricate correspondence is, however, irregular

In Tabasaran and Lezgi dialects, the basic word for 'mouth' tends to be superseded with certain vulgar forms with the original meaning 'animal lip' or 'beak'.

Replacements: {'animal lip' > 'mouth'} (Tabasaran), {'beak' > 'mouth'} (Lezgi), {'mouth' > 'fast (abstinence from food)'} (Archi, Tsakhur, Rutul, Tabasaran), {'mouth' > 'end, point, edge'} (Udi, Archi, Tsakhur), {'mouth' > 'bank, shore'} (Archi), {'mouth' > 'mouth of river'} (Tsakhur), {'mouth' > 'boot-top, bootleg'} (Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular; Udi and Tabasaran demonstrate the metathesized variant **is^w*.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **s:iwi-*.

57. NAME

Nidzh Udi *ci* {*uIu*} (1), Vartashen Udi *ci* {*uIu*} (1), Archi *c'or* (1), Kryts (proper) *tir* (1), Alyk Kryts *tur* (1), Budukh *tur* {*my*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *do* {*do*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *do* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *do* (1), Mukhad Rutul *dur* {*dy*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *dur* {*dy*} (1), Luchek Rutul *dur* (1), Koshan Aghul *t:ur* (1), Keren Aghul *t:ur* (1), Gequn Aghul *t:ur* (1), Fite Aghul *t:ur* (1), Aghul (proper) *t:ur* (1), Northern Tabasaran *zur* (1), Southern Tabasaran *č^wur* (1), Gyune Lezgi *t'ar* (1), Proto-Lezgian **c^wer* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 234; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769; Mobili 2010: 252.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 234; Fähnrich 1999: 12; Dirr 1903: 51, 95; Schiefner 1863: 89; Schulze 2001: 264; Starchevskiy 1891: 500.

Common Udi: Common Udi **ci*.

Caucasian Albanian: *ci* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-23].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 209, 361; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769; Mikailov 1967: 205; Dirr 1908: 193, 210.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 23, 35, 61, 76, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 136, 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 872, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 154; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *do* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Dirr 1913: 155, 226.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 135, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 102, 345; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 769.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212.

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov dialect: *tur* {*ryp*} [Ibragimov 1978: 227, 233, 282].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Suleymanov 2003: 156; Shaumyan 1941: 165.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212. The same in the Usug subdialect: *t:ur* 'name' [Shaumyan 1941: 165].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212; Shaumyan 1941: 165. Not attested in [Dirr 1907].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 156; Shaumyan 1941: 165. The same in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *t:ur* 'name' [Shaumyan 1941: 165].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *c:ur* 'name' [Uslar 1979: 959, 995; Dirr 1905: 216, 230]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk, Kumi *c:ur* {цур}, Chuvek *č:ur* {ччур} 'name' [Genko 2005: 176, 183].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212.

The same in other subdialects: Khiv *žur* ~ *c:ur* ~ *č:ur* {жур, цур, ччур}, Chara *žur* {жур}, Tinit *zur* ~ *čur* {зур, чур}, Turag *zur* {зур}, Khoredzh *užur* {ужур}, Zildik *č:ur* {ччур} 'name' [Genko 2005: 69, 70, 72, 151, 176, 183]. The variability of the Khiv and Tinit forms is obviously due to Genko's (or his editor M. E. Alekseev's) errors - inaccurate dialect specifications of the entries, but the real picture is undiscoverable.

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *č:ur* {ччур} 'name' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 340].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 561, 613.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *tʷar* {твар} 'name' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 323; Gadzhiev 1950: 263; Haspelmath 1993: 509, 523].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *tʷar* 'name' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 212].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1098. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained in the basic meaning in all attested lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **c:ur-i-*.

58. NECK

Nidzh Udi *ozan* {озан} (1), Vartashen Udi *ozan* {озан} (1) / *q:oq:* {кьокь} (2), Archi *oč'-l'eki* (3), Kryts (proper) *gardan* (-1), Alyk Kryts *gardan* (-1), Budukh *gərdən* {гардан} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *gardan* {гардан} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *gardan* (-1), Gel mets Tsakhur *gardan* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *gardan* {гардан} (-1), Ixrek Rutul *gardan* {гардан} (-1), Luchek Rutul *gardan* (-1), Koshan Aghul *gardan* (-1), Keren Aghul *gardan* (-1), Gequn Aghul *gardan* (-1), Fite Aghul *gardan* (-1), Aghul (proper) *gardan* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *gard'an* (-1), Southern Tabasaran *gard'an* (-1), Gyune Lezgi *gard'an* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **χ^faw* (4).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 182; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 19; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201; Mobili 2010: 228.

Distinct from *q:oq:* {кьокь} 'throat' [Gukasyan 1974: 159; Mobili 2010: 193; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 202] and from *q:iv* {кьигь} 'larynx, throat' [Gukasyan 1974: 157; Mobili 2010: 191; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 202].

Other terms for 'neck' are: *boyun* 'neck' [Mobili 2010: 70] (< Azerbaijani *boyun* 'neck') and *mindov* {миндов} 'neck, shoulder' [Gukasyan 1974: 174; Mobili 2010: 212] (< Azerbaijani dialectal *mindov* 'neck, shoulder').

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 182; Schulze 2001: 305.

Two terms are in competition:

1) *ozan* {озан} 'neck' [Gukasyan 1974: 182; Schulze 2001: 305]; glossed as 'back of the head, back of the neck' ('Nacken') in [Fährnich 1999: 25; Schiefner 1863: 78] and as 'back (anatomical)' (in fact, contextually 'shoulders!') in [Dirr 1903: 19].

2) *q:oq:* {кьокь} 'neck' [Fährnich 1999: 28; Dirr 1903: 16, 23; Schiefner 1863: 80; Starchevskiy 1891: 508]; glossed as 'throat' [Gukasyan 1974: 159] and 'neck, throat' in [Schulze 2001: 314].

In fact, e.g., in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902], both terms function as virtual synonyms for 'neck' and may occur in identical context (like "it would be better for him that a huge millstone be hung around his neck, and that he be sunk in the depths of the sea"). Fährnich 1999: 28; Dirr 1903: 16, 23; Schiefner 1863: 80; Schulze 2001: 314; Starchevskiy 1891: 508.

Common Udi: Common Udi **ozan* 'neck', opposed to **qoq*: 'throat'. It is also possible that there was no single term for 'neck' in Proto-Udi, and this lexical opposition should be reconstructed as **ozan* 'back part of the neck' vs. **qoq*: 'front part of the neck'.

Alternatively, because Udi **ozan* lacks any etymology, one can treat this as a late borrowing from an unknown source and reconstruct **qoq*: as the indigenous Udi term for 'neck; throat'. It must be noted that the Caucasian Albanian verb *q'oq'-esun* 'to ingest, swallow, devour' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-31] points rather to the meaning 'throat' for Udi *qoq*:

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290, 389; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201; Mikailov 1967: 196; Dirr 1908: 173, 226. The second element is *l'eki* 'bone' q.v.; the first one could be the "Proto-Archi" term for 'neck', cf. the substantive *o'č'i* 'collar' and the locative adverb *o'č'ay* 'round the neck' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 155, 379. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 35, 251; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 873, 901; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] as a separate entry, but attested in examples in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 30 sub *ayt'alas*, 87 sub *birčak*].

A second candidate is the inherited term *χ'ow* 'neck; collar' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 371], but the dialectal source of the meaning 'neck' is unknown.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *gardan* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18.

In [Dirr 1913: 141, 243], 'neck' is glossed as another loanword: *bovaz* < Azerbaijani *boγaz* 'throat'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201], 'neck' is glossed as another loanword: *bovaz* {бугъаз} < Azerbaijani *boγaz* 'throat'.

Common Tsakhur: The term *gardan* was ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 129; Ibragimov 1978: 123; Makhmudova 2001: 22; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201.

According to [Makhmudova 2001: 22], *gardan* is applied to humans, whereas the word for 'animal's neck' is *utum-iy*. The latter corresponds to Ixrek Rutul *utum-ay* 'nape, back of the neck (said of humans)' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 257] and Borch-Khnov Rutul *utum-ay* 'person with hunchback' [Ibragimov 1978: 282] ← Borch-Khnov Rutul *utum* 'hump, kyphosis'. The origin of *utum* is unclear.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 50, 415; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 201.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18.

Common Rutul: The term *gardan* was ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Suleymanov 2003: 48; Shaumyan 1941: 189.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18. The same loanword in the Usug subdialect: *gardan* 'neck' [Shaumyan 1941: 189].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Dirr 1907: 109, 188; Shaumyan 1941: 189.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18; Shaumyan 1941: 189.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 48; Shaumyan 1941: 189. The same loanword in the Duldug subdialects: *gardan* 'neck' [Shaumyan 1941: 189].

Common Aghul: The term *gardan* was ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18.

The same loanword in the Khanag subdialect: *yard'an* 'neck' [Uslar 1979: 654, 1010; Dirr 1905: 162, 247]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yard'an* {гъардан} 'neck' [Genko 2005: 40].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18.

The same loanword in the Khiv subdialect: *gard'an* {гъардан} 'neck' [Genko 2005: 36]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *gard'an* {гъардан} 'neck' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 96].

Common Tabasaran: The term *gardan* (*yardan*) was ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 374, 639. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *gardan* 'neck'. Distinct from the inherited Gyune word *χew* with polysemy: 'nape, back of the neck (said of animals) / collar' [Uslar 1896: 574]. Distinct from Gyune *q'am* 'nape (said of human)' [Uslar 1896: 522].

The basic Literary Lezgi term for 'neck' is the loanword *gard'an* {гардан} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 82; Gadzhiev 1950: 94; Haspelmath 1993: 488, 523]. Distinct from the inherited literary word *χew* {хев}, which is glossed as 'neck, nape; collar' in [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 343] and as 'neck; collar' in [Haspelmath 1993: 512, 523]. It is unclear whether *χew* can be applied to humans or only to animals, and whether its actual meaning is 'neck (in general)' or just 'back of the neck', cf. the only example in [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966]: "To get callosities on the neck (said of draft animals)". Distinct from literary *q'am* {къам} 'nape (said of human)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 197].

Two synonymous words for 'neck' are quoted for the Khlyut subdialect of the Akhty dialect in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 18]: inherited *q'am* and borrowed *gard'an*. But for the Qurush dialect of the same Samur group the word *χew* with polysemy: 'neck / collar' is documented in [Ganieva 2008: 224].

The available data are too scant for a Proto-Lezgi reconstruction. The attested inherited terms are *χew* and *q'am*; both of them demonstrate fluctuation between 'neck' and 'nape'.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 894. Distribution: The Proto-Lezgian term for 'neck' cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

Provisionally, we choose **χ'aw* [NCED: 894]. This root means 'collar' in West Lezgian (Rutul, Tsakhur) and East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), although in Tsakhur and Lezgi dialects it is glossed with the additional meaning 'neck' (the default term for 'neck' is a loanword in these dialects).

Other candidates are:

1) Udi *ozan* 'neck', which could be a genitive formation from the Lezgian root **ʔoc-* (?) [LEDb: #201], without further etymology.

2) Archi **Hoč-* [LEDb: #290], retained in the noun 'collar' and the adverb 'round the neck', whereas the synchronic expression for 'neck' is the compound **Hoč-* + 'bone'. This root, however, lacks any etymology.

In Nuclear Lezgian, the default words for 'neck' represent borrowings from Persian or Azerbaijani.

The fact that loanwords are mostly used for such a basic term as 'neck' (Nuclear Lezgi, Udi) could indicate that there was no generic word for 'neck' in Proto-Lezgian as well as Proto-Nuclear Lezgian, but that there were two opposed terms: 'front part of neck' and 'back part of neck'. The situation can be the same as in the case of 'bird' q.v., where the generic term 'small/middle bird' and several names of specific large birds are reconstructible for Proto-Lezgian, whereas in modern lects the recently introduced concept 'bird (in general)' is expressed by Azerbaijani or Iranian loanwords.

If so, Archi **Hoč-* could originally have meant 'front part of neck' in Proto-Archi with a later compound 'front part of neck + bone' for generic 'neck'; a similar opposition can be proposed for Udi (see notes on Udi 'neck'); and finally, **χ'aw* should be reconstructed as 'collar' in Proto-Nuclear Lezgian (with secondary sporadic polysemy 'collar / neck' in some lects).

Replacements: {'throat' > 'neck'(?)} (Vartashen Udi), {'neck-bone' > 'neck'(?)} (Archi), {'neck' > 'collar'(?)} (Rutul, Tsakhur, Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **χ'owa-*.

59. NEW

Nidzh Udi *täzä* {таъзав} (-1), Vartashen Udi *ini* {ину} (1), Archi *mac'a-t:u-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *c'iyä* (1), Alyk Kryts *taza* (-1), Budukh *təzə* {таза} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *c'yē-CLASS-n* {ц'едьн} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *c'yē-CLASS-n* (1), Gelmet's Tsakhur *c'yē-CLASS-n^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *c'in-dī* {ц'инды} (1), Ixrek Rutul *c'in-dī* {ц'инды} (1), Luchek Rutul *c'in-dī* (1), Koshan Aghul *c'eye-r* (1), Keren Aghul *c'aye-f* (1), Gequn Aghul *c'eye-f* (1), Fite Aghul *c'ayi-t* (1), Aghul (proper) *c'eye-f* (1), Northern Tabasaran *c'ey'i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *c'iy'i* (1), Gyune Lezgi *c'ey'i* (1), Proto-Lezgian **c'en-CLASS-ä-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622; Mobili 2010: 265. Polysemy: 'new / fresh / recently'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tüzä* 'new; fresh'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 128; Mobili 2010: 154; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Dirr 1903: 42; Schiefner 1863: 77; Starchevskiy 1891: 494. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'. Resemblance to Azerbaijani *yeni* 'new' is apparently accidental. As in Nidzh, 'new' can also be expressed by the Azerbaijani loanword *tüzä* [Fähnrich 1999: 31; Schulze 2001: 324].

Common Udi: Common Udi **ini*.

Caucasian Albanian: The attributive term is actually unattested. The old Lezgian root is known from the compound verb *en^{yi}-bat-k-esun* 'to be renewed' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-15], literally 'to turn new' with the verb *bat-k-esun* 'to turn around, return' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-7].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 276, 369; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622; Mikailov 1967: 194; Dirr 1908: 166, 215. In [Mikailov 1967: 194] quoted as *măc'a-tu*-CLASS. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622], a corrupted variant *mac'a-d.u*-CLASS is also given. Polysemy: 'new, fresh / bridegroom, bride'. Regular participle from the stative verb *mac'a* 'to be new, fresh'. In [Chumakina 2009] unjustifiedly marked as "probably borrowed", but no source is quoted.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 53, 79, 266, etc. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tüzä* 'new; fresh'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 131, 226; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622. Polysemy: 'new / fresh'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tüzä* 'new'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 896; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 384. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622], erroneously quoted as *c^{ye}-CLASS-n* {цедьн}.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622], the form *t^{yez}e* is also quoted as a synonym, borrowed from Azerbaijani *tüzä* 'new; fresh'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *c^{ye}-CLASS-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Dirr 1913: 213, 231.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 180, 196; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 287, 364; Ibragimov 1978: 203; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 622.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

Common Rutul: Final *-di / -d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Suleymanov 2003: 196; Shaumyan 1941: 167.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. The same in the Usug subdialect: *c'eye-f* 'new' [Shaumyan 1941: 167].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Dirr 1907: 152, 178; Shaumyan 1941: 167.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Shaumyan 1941: 167. In [Shaumyan 1941], transcribed as *c'eyi-t*.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 196; Shaumyan 1941: 167. The same in other subdialects: Tsirkhe *c'eye-f*, Duldug *c'eyi-f* 'new' [Shaumyan 1941: 167].

Common Aghul: Final *-d, -t, -f, -r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *c'ey'i* with polysemy: 'new / fresh' [Uslar 1979: 960, 999] (in [Dirr 1905: 216], glossed only as 'fresh'). The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *c'ey'i* {цлейи} with polysemy: 'new / fresh' [Genko 2005: 177].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *c'ey'i ~ c'iy'i* {цлейи, цлийи} with polysemy: 'new / fresh' [Genko 2005: 177, 178]; a close synonym to the aforementioned inherited term is Khiv *taz'a* {таза} 'fresh; new' [Genko 2005: 141], borrowed from Azerbaijani *tüzä* 'new; fresh'.

The same in Literary Tabasaran: inherited *c'iy'i* {цлийи} 'new' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 333] and borrowed *taz'a* {таза} 'fresh; new' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 275].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 585, 619.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *c'iy'i* {цлийи} 'new' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 362; Gadzhiev 1950: 426; Haspelmath 1993: 523].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *c'iy'i* 'new' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 357. **Distribution:** One of the most stable Lezgian stems, retained with the basic meaning in almost all of the lects. In Nidzh Udi, Alyk Kryts, Budukh, superseded with the Azerbaijani loanword.

Replacements: {'new' > 'fresh'} (Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular. We follow [NCED] and explain the Udi and Nuclear Lezgian forms as **c'en-y-ä-* (with fossilized *-y-*), whereas the Archi form goes back to **c'en-w-ä-* (with further metathesis).

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be new'.

60. NIGHT

Nidzh Udi *šü* {шуб} (1), Vartashen Udi *šu* {шуб} (1), Archi *iš:-* (1), Kryts (proper) *yif* (1), Alyk Kryts *yif* (1), Budukh *yužə-n-žič* {йуджанджидж, йудженджидж} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χ'am* {xam} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *χ'am* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *χ'am* (2), Mukhad Rutul *wiš* ~ *wuš* {ввиш ~ вуш} (1), Ixrek Rutul *yüş* ~ *yuš* {йувиш ~ йуш} (1), Luchek Rutul *wiš* (1), Koshan Aghul *iš:^w* (1), Keren Aghul *ɣuš* (1), Gequn Aghul *žüş* (1), Fite Aghul *üx^y* (1), Aghul (proper) *žüş* (1), Northern Tabasaran *y'iz^w-i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yiš^w* (1), Gyune Lezgi *yif* (1), Proto-Lezgian **žiš:^w* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 249; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Mobili 2010: 258. Distinct from adverbial *üše* {уше} 'at night' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211] (note that in [Gukasyan 1974: 216; Mobili 2010: 282; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640] *üše* is incorrectly glossed simply as 'night').

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 249; Mobili 2010: 258; Fähnrich 1999: 30; Dirr 1903: 14, 95, 96; Schiefner 1863: 91; Schulze 2001: 321; Starchevskiy 1891: 504. In [Fähnrich 1999: 30] the corrupted variant *š'u* is also quoted. Distinct from adverbial *išo-un* 'at night' [Schulze 2001: 287; Schiefner 1863: 77; Dirr 1903: 81] (in [Fähnrich 1999: 18] a corrupted form *iš'o-un*); note that in [Gukasyan 1974: 130, 216; Mobili 2010: 156] *išo* {ишо} is incorrectly glossed simply as 'night'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **šu* ~ **šü* 'night', **išo* 'at night' (both words are etymologically related). In the light of Lezgian etymology, resemblance to Judeo-Tat *šäv* 'night', Persian *šab* 'night' is accidental.

Caucasian Albanian: *šu* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-33].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 249, 370; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640; Mikailov 1967: 183; Dirr 1908: 154, 215. Distinct from the adverb *š:^wi* 'at night' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 320]

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 35, 39, 113, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 73, 226; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640. In [Meylanova 1984: 73, 226] the variant *yužə-n-žič* {йуджанджидж} is also quoted. Suffixal *-n-* is not entirely clear. For the temporal suffix *-žič* cf. *qežen* 'day' ~ *qežen-žič* 'noon' [Meylanova 1984: 86], *rašam ara* 'evening' ~ *rašam ara-žič* 'in the evening' [Meylanova 1984: 120].

Distinct from (although etymologically related to) adverbs 'at night': archaic *yuvu-z* (old dative) and reanalyzed *yuže-n* {йувуз, йуджен} [Meylanova 1984: 73, 226].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 896; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 368; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *χ'am* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Dirr 1913: 209, 231.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *χam* {хам}.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 128, 196; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 11, 22, 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640. Regular paradigm: *wiš* [abs.] / *wiš-e* 'at night' [loc.] / *wiš-bir* [abs. pl.].

- In [Dirr 1912: 162], the word *naχ^f* is also glossed as 'evening, night', but apparently the exact meaning of *naχ^f* is just 'evening', thus in [Ibragimov 1978: 19, 27, 118, 122].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 134, 364; Ibragimov 1978: 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 640. The variant *yüš* comes from [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006]. Regular paradigm: *yüš* [abs.] / *yüš-ür-irä* (sic?) [erg.] / *yüš-e* 'at night' [loc.] / *yüš-bir* [abs. pl.].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two parallel absolutive forms are quoted: *wiš* and *huš*. The rest of the paradigm is suppletive: *wiš-i-r* [erg.] / *huš-bir* [abs. pl.] / *wiš-i-mi-r* [erg. pl.]. It seems that *huš-* represents a borrowing from the neighboring Borch-Khnov dialect.
- Common Rutul:** In the Borch-Khnov dialect 'night' has the phonetic shape *huš* [Makhmudova 2001: 11].
All attested phonetic shapes - *wiš*, *yüš*, *huš* - reflect the same proto-form.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Suleymanov 2003: 216; Shaumyan 1941: 182; Magometov 1970: 23. In [Suleymanov 2003], incorrectly quoted as *iš^w* {ишв}.
The same in the other subdialects: Arslug *iš^w*, Khudig *üx* 'night' [Magometov 1970: 39, 171].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211. In [Magometov 1970: 46], the Richa form is erroneously quoted as *üš*.
The same in the Usug subdialect: *Hüš* 'night' [Shaumyan 1941: 182].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Dirr 1907: 156, 178.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Shaumyan 1941: 182; Magometov 1970: 39. In [Magometov 1970], quoted as *üx*.
- Aghul (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Suleymanov 2003: 216; Shaumyan 1941: 182. In [Suleymanov 2003], quoted as *žuš* {ъ'уш}.
The same in the other subdialects: Kurag *žuš*, Tsirkhe *Hüš*, Duldug *Huž* 'night' [Magometov 1970: 39; Shaumyan 1941: 182].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211; Genko 2005: 79. In [Genko 2005], erroneously quoted as *yiš^w-i*.
The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yiš^w* 'night' [Uslar 1979: 756, 999; Dirr 1905: 180, 235]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yiš^w* {йишшв} 'night' [Genko 2005: 81].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211.
The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yiš^w* {йишшв} 'night' [Genko 2005: 81]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yiš^w* {йишшв} 'night' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 186].
- Common Tabasaran:** Note the retention of tense fricative *š^w* in the Northern subdialects.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 451, 619. Irregular paradigm: *yif* [abs.] / *fe-* ~ *yife-* [obl.] / *f-er* ~ *yif-er* [pl.].
The same in Literary Lezgi: *yif* [abs.] / *fe-* ~ *yife-* [obl.] / *f-er* ~ *yif-er* [pl.] {йиф} 'night' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 146; Gadzhiev 1950: 428; Haspelmath 1993: 494, 523].
Regular paradigm in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yif* 'night' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 211].
For the phonetics cf. Nyutyug (subdialect of the Yarki dialect < Kyuri group) *yüx* [abs.] / *üxü-* ~ *xü-* [obl.] 'night' [Meylanova 1964: 75, 109], Migrakh (subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect < Samur group) *iwi-* [obl.] 'night' [Meylanova 1964: 247].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 524. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained with the basic meaning in all the languages except for Tsakhur.
In Tsakhur, superseded with **χ^f:am* / **χ^f:an*: [LEDB: #211], whose original meaning is likely to have been 'evening' (cf. 'evening' in Aghul & Tabasaran, and 'dimming of eye-sight' in Archi).
Replacements: {'evening' > 'night'} (Tsakhur).
Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for assimilative delabialization and voicing in Budukh. In some lects, the metathesized variant **š^w:i(?)* is attested within the paradigm (Udi *šu* ~ *šü*, Archi adverb *š^w:i* 'at night', perhaps Lezgi oblique *f-* ~ *xü-*).
Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **žiš^w:a-*.

61. NOSE

Nidzh Udi *boχ^fтов* {бoъxмoъгъ} (1), Vartashen Udi *boχ^fтов* {бoъxмoъгъ} (1), Archi *mič* (2), Kryts (proper) *mižel* (3), Alyk Kryts *mažal* (3), Budukh *mežel* {межел} (3), Mishlesh

Tsakhur *qow* {xʁoʁ} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *quš* (5) / *qow* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *qow* (4), Mukhad Rutul *xex* {xʁexʁ} (6), Ixrek Rutul *xex* {xʁexʁ} (6), Luchek Rutul *xex*^y (6), Koshan Aghul *q^huq* (7), Keren Aghul *q^huq* (7), Gequn Aghul *q^weq^w* ~ *q^huq^y* (7), Fite Aghul *q^weq^w* (7), Aghul (proper) *qeq^w* (7), Northern Tabasaran *q^haq* (7), Southern Tabasaran *q^huq* (7), Gyune Lezgi *ner* (3), Proto-Lezgian **muʔel* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 92; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195; Mobili 2010: 71.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 92; Fähnrich 1999: 10; Schiefner 1863: 102; Starchevskiy 1891: 504.

Common Udi: Common Udi **boχ^hmov*; as suspected in [NCED: 1054], this may be a compound with the original meaning 'sheep's tail'.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 281, 370; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195; Mikailov 1967: 194; Dirr 1908: 169, 215. Polysemy: 'nose / beak / toe of footwear / mountain peak, crest' (the latter meaning is opposed to others in some forms within the paradigm). In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195], the variant *mup* {муп} is also quoted; this is an erroneous transmission of Cyrillic cursive handwriting.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195. Polysemy: 'nose / corner'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 37, 49, 85, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 109, 226; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195] erroneously quoted as *meel* {меэл}.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 886, 896; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 378; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *quš* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13. In [Dirr 1913], 'nose' is quoted as *qow*. The relationship between *quš* and *qow* is unclear; for safety, we prefer to treat them as synonyms. Dirr 1913: 182, 231.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195.

Common Tsakhur: It is unclear how the Proto-Tsakhur term for 'nose' should be reconstructed. Both of the attested words - *quš* and *qow* - are etymologically isolated.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 141, 196; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 282, 364; Ibragimov 1978: 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 195.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Suleymanov 2003: 186; Shaumyan 1941: 198.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Dirr 1907: 127, 178; Shaumyan 1941: 198. The more archaic variant *q^weq^w* is from [Dirr 1907].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

Aghul (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13; Suleymanov 2003: 186; Shaumyan 1941: 198. In [Suleymanov 2003], quoted as *q^haq^w* {x^hʁax^hʁ}; in [Shaumyan 1941], as *q^huq^w*.

Common Aghul: Note various dialectal assimilative-dissimilative process in the sequence **q^w-q^w*.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *q^haq* 'nose' [Uslar 1979: 806, 999; Dirr 1905: 235]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *q^huq* {x^hʁax^hʁ} 'nose' [Genko 2005: 174].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13.

The same in other subdialects: Khiv *q^waq^w* {x^hʁoax^hʁʁ}, Tinit *q^haq* {x^hʁax^hʁ} 'nose' [Genko 2005: 174]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *q^huq* {x^hʁoax^hʁ} 'nose' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutzov 2001: 329].

Common Tabasaran: Note various dialectal assimilative/dissimilative processes in the sequence **q^w-q^w*.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 514, 619.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *ner* {нeр} 'nose' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 252; Gadzhiev 1950: 427; Haspelmath 1993: 500, 523].

In the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *il'er* 'nose' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 13], Khuryug *ler ~ iler* 'nose' [Meylanova 1964: 287]. It must be noted that for the Khuryug subdialect of Akhty, the form *t'išk'ap'ilar* 'nose' is also quoted in [Meylanova 1964: 314] - an unclear compound, whose first element is *t'iš* = literary *t'iš* 'muzzle, snout'.

As proposed in [NCED: 826], both Gyune *ner* and Akhty (*i*)*ler* are related, representing the plural formation **il-er* with the fossilized exponent *-Vr*. The shift *l > n* in Gyune *n-er* is irregular, although there are a few parallel cases of such a development.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 825. Distribution: The word is fairly unstable in Lezgian. Three stems are equivalent candidates from the distributive point of view.

1) **mu?el* [NCED: 825]. This stem means 'nose' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and in Lezgi. Formally, this is at least the Proto-Nuclear root for 'nose'. It shifted to 'beak' in Aghul, whereas in one of the outliers - Archi - it denotes 'snot'. We choose **mu?el* as the Proto-Lezgian term for 'nose' because of its North Caucasian cognates with the same semantics.

2) **mu(l)č*: [NCED: 816]. This root is retained only in Archi with polysemy: 'nose / beak / toe of footwear / mountain peak, crest'. External North Caucasian comparison points to the meaning 'edge, tip'. The Proto-Archi development could be either 'edge, tip' > 'nose' > other attested meanings or 'peak' > 'nose'.

3) In Udi, a compound is used in the meaning 'nose'; it could be analyzed as **wV(r)χ-mVr* (~ *p:-*) 'sheep's tail' (thus [NCED: 1045]).

Some local replacements of **mu?el* took place in individual Nuclear Lezgian lects.

In Aghul and Tabasaran, 'nose' is expressed by **q^{wf}aq^w(a)* [NCED: 894]; this stem means 'cheek' in Lezgi, but was lost in the rest of languages; the exact Proto-Lezgian meaning of **q^{wf}aq^w(a)* is unclear. It must be noted that in many Dargi languages, 'nose' is expressed by forms that are not only etymologically cognate with Lezgian **q^{wf}aq^w(a)*, but also fairly close phonetically to the Aghul-Tabasaran forms; thus, the meaning 'nose' could be an areal Dargwa-Aghul-Tabasaran isogloss, if not an early interdialectal borrowing (note that **q^{wf}anq*: is apparently not the Proto-Dargi term for 'nose').

In Rutul, 'nose' is expressed with **t^{ert}* [NCED: 1061]; its Lezgian cognates as well as external North Caucasian comparison point out that the original Proto-Lezgian meaning of **t^{ert}* was 'snot' or 'saliva'.

In Tsakhur dialects, the etymologically obscure forms *qow* and *quš* 'nose' also occur.

Replacements: {'snot' > 'nose'} (Rutul), {'sheep's tail' > 'nose(?)'} (Udi), {'nose' > 'corner'} (Kryts), {'nose' > 'beak'} (Aghul), {'nose' > 'snot'} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for *l > n* in Gyune Lezgi.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

62. NOT

Nidzh Udi *te-* {*me-*} (1), Vartashen Udi *te-* {*me-*} (1), Archi =*t'u* (1), Kryts (proper) *d-ä-CLASS* (1), Alyk Kryts *d-a-CLASS* (1), Budukh *d-ə-CLASS* {*da-*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *d^ye-š* {*deu*} (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *d^yi-?* {*duv*} (1), Mukhad Rutul *di-š* {*duuu*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *di-š* {*duuu*} (1), Koshan Aghul =*da* (1), Keren Aghul =*da* (1), Gequn Aghul =*da* (1), Fite Aghul =*da* (1), Aghul (proper) =*da* (1), Northern Tabasaran *da-r* (1), Southern Tabasaran *da-r* (1), Gyune Lezgi =č (2), Proto-Lezgian **t:V-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Maisak 2008a: 133; Gukasyan 1974: 288; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 483. A verbal proclitic. Cf. the prohibitive proclitic *ma-* {*ma-*} [Maisak 2008a: 134] and the proclitic *nu-* {*ny-*} used with infinite forms [Maisak 2008a: 135].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 288; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 483; Dirr 1903: 75; Schiefner 1863: 29; Schulze 2001: 240. A verbal proclitic. Cf. the prohibitive proclitic *ma-* {*ma-*} and the negative proclitic for the future and optative *nu, nut* {*ny, нyт*}.

Common Udi: Common Udi **te-*, a verbal proclitic.

Caucasian Albanian: *nu-* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-55]. A verbal proclitic, normally used with non-past finite forms. Distinct from the morpheme *te* (particle or proclitic), which is normally used as a negative copula or with verbs in the past tense [Gippert et al. 2008: II-55]. Distinct from the prohibitive proclitic *ma-* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-51]. A fourth, more marginal, negative morpheme is *nu-t* (apparently < *nu + te*) [Gippert et al. 2008: II-52].

Archi: Kibrik 1994: 329; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 89; Mikailov 1967: 138; Dirr 1908: 83. A verbal suffix. Distinct from the verbal suffixes -*di-gi* ~ -*gi*, which express the prohibitive [Kibrik 1994: 332; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 96; Mikailov 1967: 138].

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 425-427. Negation of assertion is expressed by the copula *d-ä*-CLASS or by the simple prefix *d-*. The prohibitive exponent is the prefix *m-* [Saadiev 1994: 429].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 149 ff. Negation of assertion is expressed by the copula *d-a*-CLASS or by the simple prefix *d-*. The prohibitive exponent is the prefix *m-* [Authier 2009: 152].

Budukh: Alekseev 1994: 280; Talibov 2007: 184, 229; Meylanova 1984: 197. Negation of assertion is expressed by the encliticized copula *d-ə*-CLASS in finite forms and the prefix *d-V-* in infinite forms. The prohibitive exponent is the prefix *mV-* [Alekseev 1994: 279; Talibov 2007: 216].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 81-84; Ibragimov 1990: 131, 136; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 523. Negation of assertion is expressed by the prefix *d^y-* ~ *id^y-* or by the encliticized copula *d^ye-š*. The latter (analytic) pattern is more frequent [Kibrik et al. 1999: 81]. The prohibitive marker is the prefix *m-* ~ *im-* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 84].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: negation of assertion is expressed by the prefix *d^ye-* or by the encliticized copula *d^ye-š*; the prohibitive marker is the prefix *mV-* [Schulze 1997: 65].

Mikik Tsakhur: Not attested.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 197. According to [Ibragimov 1990], negation of assertion can be expressed by the prefix *d^y-* ~ *id^y-* or by the copula *d^yi-ʔ*, whereas the prohibitive marker is the prefix *m-* ~ *im-*.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 91 ff.; Alekseev 1994a: 233 ff.; Makhmudova 2001: 146 ff. According to the aforementioned sources, negation of assertion is expressed by the encliticized copula *-di-š* in finite forms, whereas in non-finite forms (e.g., in adverbial participles) negation of assertion is expressed by the prefix *šV-*. In [Ibragimov 1978: 103], the Mukhad system is described in a similar way.

The prohibitive exponent is the prefix *mV-* [Alekseev 1994a: 234; Ibragimov 1978: 103; Makhmudova 2001: 146; Dirr 1912: 91].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 439. In [Ibragimov 1978: 214 ff.], no specific Ixrek peculiarities are described, that is, the Ixrek system of negations is identical to the Mukhad one: *-di-š* in finite forms, *šV-* in non-finite forms, *mV-* in the prohibitive. As noted in [Ibragimov 1978: 197], the prefixal morpheme *šV-* has two variants: *šV-* in the initial position, *-čV-* in the intervocalic position.

Luchek Rutul: Not attested.

Koshan Aghul: See common Aghul notes.

Keren Aghul: See common Aghul notes.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 54 f. See common Aghul notes.

Fite Aghul: See common Aghul notes.

Aghul (proper): See common Aghul notes.

Common Aghul: The system of Aghul negations is described in [Magometov 1970: 148 ff.; Suleymanov 1993: 141 f., 154; Tarlanov 1994: 237 f.; Shaumyan 1941: 109 ff.] with examples from various dialects. The verbal negation of assertion is expressed with the encliticized copula *-da-wa* / *-da-ʔ* / *-da* or with the verbal prefix *dV-*. The verbal prefix *mV-* is the prohibitive exponent. All the aforementioned authors note no principal discrepancies between Aghul dialects.

Northern Tabasaran: Magometov 1965: 293. Verbal affix. After a vowel-final morpheme, the rhotacized variant *-rV-* (< *-da-*) occurs [Magometov 1965: 295].

The same affix in the Khanag subdialect: *da-r* or simplified *da*, in the intervocalic position *-rV-* [Magometov 1965: 291, 295; Dirr 1905: 105 ff.]. The same affix in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *da-r* [Magometov 1965: 293 f.].

Southern Tabasaran: Magometov 1965: 292, 306. Verbal affix. This is actually a morpheme from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik form is unknown.

The same basic morpheme in Literary Tabasaran: *dar* [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 444; Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 69 ff.; Zhirkov 1948: 134 ff.].

Common Tabasaran: The system of Tabasaran negations is described in [Magometov 1965: 290 ff.] with examples from various dialects. The verbal negation of assertion is expressed with the affix *dar*, harmonized *dur / der / etc.* (in Northern Tabasaran it mutates into *rar* or *yar* in some positions; final *-r* can get lost in some forms). Tabasaran *dar* is used as either a prefix or a suffix, depending on the grammatical form. This morpheme originally represents the cliticized negative copula *da-r* with the fossilized class exponent *-r*. In some participle forms the negative exponent is simply *-di* (with the dialectal variants *-ži, -ir, -i*) without the class suffix [Magometov 1965: 305].

In Southern Tabasaran, verbal stems, modified with certain prefixes, create the negated forms via reduplication of the prefix; this is a secondary analogical pattern [Magometov 1965: 301 f.].

The verbal affix (prefix or suffix) *mV* is the Common Tabasaran prohibitive exponent [Magometov 1965: 310 ff.].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 161. According to Uslar's sparse data, the Gyune system is very similar to the modern literary one: suffixal *-č* (or *-či-r* with the additional participle suffix *-r*) in finite forms, and prefixal *t(V)-, t(V)-, d(V)-* in non-finite forms, see below for details. The distribution between *t- ~ t- ~ d-* seems non-existent, with some verbs possessing parallel forms with two of the listed variants; the general system was apparently described during a period of restructuring (see [Uslar 1896: 177-178, 208-210] for the lists of examples). Nevertheless, some patterns can be observed, e.g., verbs with the root ejective consonant normally attach *dV-*.

In Literary Lezgi, the basic verbal negation is the suffix *-č* {ʧ} (or *-či-r*), which is used in finite indicative forms; the second negative exponent is the prefix *t(V)-* {ʧ}, restricted to participle, masdar and infinitive forms; see [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 206 ff.; Alekseev & Sheykhov 1997: 53; Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 582 ff.; Haspelmath 1993: 5, 133, 135]. According to Dm. Ganenkov's p.c., a couple of verbs with the ejective root consonant attach the negative prefix *d(V)-* {ɖ} in the literary language instead of common *t(V)-* {ʧ}, but actually, in natural speech the negative forms of these verbs are normally pronounced with *t(V)-*. It should also be noted that the majority of verbs in Literary Lezgi possess analytic negated forms, derived with the help of cliticized negated auxiliary verbs.

All the dental prefixal exponents, listed above, apparently originate from the main Lezgian negation **tV-*. One can suppose that initially the Gyune variants *t(V)-, t(V)-, d(V)-* were distributed according to the root consonant. As a parallel, cf. the Jaba dialect (Samur group), where two prefixes for non-finite forms coexist: *t(V)-* and *t'(V)-*; according to examples in [Ganieva 2007: 131], *t'(V)-* is attached to the verbs with an ejective root consonant (e.g., *ac'ū* 'to fill' - *t'=ac'ū* 'not to fill'), whereas *t(V)-* is used elsewhere (e.g., *awū* 'to do' - *t=awū* 'not to do'). The consonantal harmony is thus similar to the nominal oblique stem suffix *-č'i- / -č'i- / -č'i- / -ži-*, where the allomorphs are determined by the root consonant in Literary Lezgi [Haspelmath 1993: 63].

In Literary Lezgi, prohibitive is formed with the suffix *-mi* plus the participle suffix *-r* [Alekseev & Sheykhov 1997: 53; Haspelmath 1993: 5, 23].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 404. Distribution: The proclitic **tV-* is retained as the default exponent of negation of assertion in finite verbal forms in Udi, on the one hand, and in most Nuclear Lezgian languages (except for Lezgi), on the other. In Nuclear Lezgian **tV-* is normally attached to the copula, constituting a negative particle.

In Caucasian Albanian, **tV-* is restricted to past (perfective) forms, whereas present (imperfective) forms are negated with the help of the proclitic *nu-* of unclear origin (theoretically possessing some scant cognates in Tsezian).

In Archi, negation of assertion is expressed with the suffixal morpheme *=tu*, which does not regularly correspond to **tV-* from the phonetic point of view. Theoretically, this could be an inner Archi innovation of unknown origin, but it is more likely that Archi *=tu* originates from **tV-* with the change of the morphosyntactical status and irregular glottalization (the expected Archi reflex should be ***dV-* or ***=tV*). Cf. also the possible explanation proposed in [NCED: 404].

In Lezgi, **tV-* is restricted to non-finite forms, whereas the main finite negative exponent is the suffix **čV* [NCED: 1101]. The latter possesses some Lezgian cognates: in Rutul the prefix **čV* expresses negation of assertion in non-finite forms; in Archi, the suffixal chain *-ču-gu* expresses the dubitative mood ('the speaker wishes to know whether the fact is true') [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 91].

The Proto-Lezgian prohibitive exponent can be safely reconstructed as the proclitic **mV-* [NCED: 797]: this morpheme is retained in both Caucasian Albanian-Udi and Nuclear Lezgian. In Archi, however, prohibitive is expressed with the suffix *-di-gi* or simple *-gi*. The origin of Archi *-gi* is not entirely clear, whereas *-di* could be somehow related to the main negative morpheme **tV-*.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the Archi morpheme.

Semantics and structure: Primary auxiliary morpheme.

63. ONE

Nidzh Udi *sa {ca}* (1), Vartashen Udi *sa {ca}* (1), Archi 'os:- (1), Kryts (proper) *sa-CLASS* (1), Alyk Kryts *sa-CLASS* (1), Budukh *sə-CLASS {ca-}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *sa ~ sa-CLASS-l^ye {ca, caλλe}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *sa ~ sa-CLASS-l^ye* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *sa ~ sa-CLASS-l^yä* (1), Mukhad Rutul *sa {ca}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *sä {cab}* (1), Luchek Rutul *sa* (1), Koshan Aghul *s:a-r* (1), Keren Aghul *sa-d* (1), Gequn Aghul *sa-d* (1), Fite Aghul *sa-d* (1), Aghul (proper) *sa-d* (1), Northern Tabasaran *sa-CLASS* (1), Southern Tabasaran *sa-CLASS* (1), Gyune Lezgi *sa* (1), Proto-Lezgian **s:a* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 196, 281; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 485; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598; Mobili 2010: 243.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 196, 281; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 485; Fähnrich 1999: 29; Dirr 1903: 29; Schiefner 1863: 91; Schulze 2001: 315; Starchevskiy 1891: 495.

Common Udi: Common Udi **sa*.

Caucasian Albanian: *sa* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-40, IV-37].

Archi: Kibrik 1994: 341; Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 289; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 119; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 273; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598; Mikailov 1967: 75; Dirr 1908: 43. The class-marked form is suppletive: *s:-^{ey}-CLASS-u*.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598; Saadiev 1994: 435. Class 1: *sa-r*, class 2/3: *sä-b*, class 4: *sä-d*.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 100 ff.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 193; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Alekseev 1994: 280; Talibov 2007: 145; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 154; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 300, 517; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598. The complex forms *sa-CLASS-l^ye* are rarely used.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *sa ~ sa-CLASS-l^ye* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Dirr 1913: 51.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598], quoted as *sa-CLASS-l^ye*.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 48; Alekseev 1994a: 235; Ibragimov 1978: 72; Makhmudova 2001: 189; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 222, 366; Ibragimov 1978: 211. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 598], erroneously quoted as *sa {ca}*.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Suleymanov 1993: 119; Suleymanov 2003: 147; Shaumyan 1941: 50; Magometov 1970: 23, 95. Incorrectly quoted as *sa-r* by Suleymanov.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247. The same in the Usug subdialect: *sa-d* 'one' [Shaumyan 1941: 50; Magometov 1970: 95].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Dirr 1907: 26.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Magometov 1970: 95.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 147; Shaumyan 1941: 50.

Common Aghul: Final *-d*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *sa-CLASS* 'one' [Uslar 1979: 151; Dirr 1905: 42]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *sa-CLASS {cab}* 'one' [Genko 2005: 136].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *sa*-CLASS {caб} 'one' [Genko 2005: 135]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *sa*-CLASS {caб} 'one' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 265; Zhirkov 1948: 91; Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 52 f.].

Common Tabasaran: See [Magometov 1965: 159 ff.] for the dialectal overview. Note the Northern archaic form *sa*-CLASS 'one' with the tense fricative, quoted in [Magometov 1965: 160, 165] without subdialectal specification.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 86. In the non-attributive function, the variant *sa-d* is used.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *sa* {ca} 'one' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 566; Haspelmath 1993: 230] (in the non-attributive function, the variant *sa-d* {caд} is used).

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *sa-d* 'one' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247].

Final *-d* is the old class exponent.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 323. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian words, retained with its original meaning in all the lects.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the metathesis **s:a > *ʔas:* within the Archi paradigm.

Semantics and structure: Primary numeral root.

64. PERSON

Nidzh Udi *amd-ar* {амдар} (-1), Vartashen Udi *adam-ar* {адамар} (-1), Archi *ad'am* (-1), Kryts (proper) *admi* (-1), Alyk Kryts *adami* (-1), Budukh *idmi* {идму} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *insan* ~ *isan* {инсан} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *insan* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *insan* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *edemi* ~ *ädämi* {эдему ~ аьдаьму} (-1), Ixrek Rutul *edemi* {эдему} (-1), Luchek Rutul *edemi* (-1), Koshan Aghul *insan* (-1), Gequn Aghul *insan* (-1), Aghul (proper) *insan* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *erm'i* {эрму} (-1), Southern Tabasaran *edm'i* {эдму} (-1), Gyune Lezgi *ins'an* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **š:ʷiy* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 36; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70; Mobili 2010: 19.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 36; Mobili 2010: 19; Fähnrich 1999: 6; Dirr 1903: 12, 14, 16, 18, 26, 50, 93, 96; Schiefner 1863: 75; Schulze 2001: 246; Starchevskiy 1891: 508. In [Starchevskiy 1891] the variant *amd-ar* is also quoted (cf. the Nidzh form above).

Common Udi: An Oriental (originally Arabic) "Wanderwort" for 'person, human being'. Forms in both dialects contain the fossilized plural suffix *-ar*. Note the vowel reduction and the subsequent metathesis *dm > md* in the Nidzh form.

Caucasian Albanian: *išu* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-21, 48]. Suppletive paradigm with the following polysemy: *išu* 'man; person' (sg) / *žin* 'men; people' (pl.), see [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-17, 21, 48].

The meaning 'person' can also be expressed as *vu-šuy-var*, literally 'living-man's son' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-37] ← *vu* 'living, alive' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-37], *išu-y* 'man; person'-GEN [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-21], *var* 'son' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-37].

Distinct from *q'ar* 'tribe; clan, kin; nation, people; seed (botanic)' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-30].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 186, 388; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70; Mikailov 1967: 171; Dirr 1908: 125, 226. A close synonym of *ad'am* is the word *ins'an* 'person; somebody' (with the latter meaning used only in negative constructions as 'nobody') [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 247, 388; Mikailov 1967: 182; Dirr 1908: 153, 226]. Both words represent Oriental (originally Arabic) "Wanderwort" terms for 'person, human being'.

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 414, 416, 434; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70. An Oriental (originally Arabic) "Wanderwort" for 'person, human being'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 54, 70, 94, etc. See notes on Kryts proper.

- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 64, 250; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70. A second term for 'person' is *insan* {инсан} [Meylanova 1984: 65, 250; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70]. Both words represent wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) terms for 'person, human being'.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 878, 879, 901; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 192 sub *kinmana*].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Dirr 1913: 168, 242.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70.
- Common Tsakhur:** The term represents the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) word for 'person, human being'.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 136; Ibragimov 1978: 42, 124; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70.
A second term for 'person' is *insan* [Dirr 1912: 144], also borrowed.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 308, 413; Ibragimov 1978: 201. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 70], erroneously quoted as *edem*.
A second borrowed term for 'person' is *insan* [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 125], also borrowed.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 59.
- Common Rutul:** Both attested terms represent the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) words for 'person, human being'.
- Koshan Aghul:** Suleymanov 2003: 87. Cf. also another loanword: *armi* 'man; person' [Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 143].
In the Arsug subdialect: *insan* [Magometov 1970: 232 sentences 1-9].
- Keren Aghul:** Not attested. In the Usug subdialect: *idemi* 'person' [Magometov 1970: 219 sentences 4, 6, 17].
- Gequn Aghul:** Dirr 1907: 121, 187.
- Fite Aghul:** Not attested.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 87. Cf. also another loanword: *idemi* 'man; person' [Suleymanov 2003: 86; Magometov 1970: 199 sentences 6, 14, 18, 20; 205 sentence 11].
In the Kurag subdialect: *insan* 'person' [Magometov 1970: 211 sentences 23, 29], *idemi* 'person' [Magometov 1970: 208 sentence 7].
- Common Aghul:** Both of the attested terms (*insan*, *idemi*) represent the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) words for 'person, human being'.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Genko 2005: 196. Not documented in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].
For the Khanag subdialect three loanwords are known: *armi* 'person' [Uslar 1979: 588, 1009; Dirr 1905: 154, 246], *ins'an* 'person' [Uslar 1979: 734, 1009; Dirr 1905: 176, 246], *kas* 'man; person' [Uslar 1979: 779, 1009; Dirr 1905: 183, 246].
The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *armi* {арми} 'person' [Genko 2005: 19], *ins'an* {инсан} 'person' [Genko 2005: 76], *kas* {кас} 'person' [Genko 2005: 83].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Genko 2005: 194. This form is actually from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik term for 'person' is unknown.
In sum, three loanwords are quoted for the Khiv subdialect: *edmi* {эдми} 'person' [Genko 2005: 194], *ins'an* {инсан} 'person' [Genko 2005: 76], *kas* {кас} 'person' [Genko 2005: 83] (this form is not marked by Genko as Khiv due to accidental omission of the plus sign).
The same in Literary Tabasaran: *admi* {адми} 'person; man (q.v.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 50], *ins'an* {инсан} 'person' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 178], *kas* {кас} 'person' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 190].
- Common Tabasaran:** Totally superseded with various loanwords. Two of them, *admi* (~ *edmi* ~ *armi* ~ *ermi*) and *insan*, represent the wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) words for 'person, human being'; for the dialectal rhotacism *d* > *r* see [Magometov 1965: 61]. The third term, *kas*, was borrowed from Persian *kas* 'person'.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 439, 638. A wandering Oriental (originally Arabic) term for 'person, human being'. The second Gyune word for 'person' is *kas* [Uslar 1896: 459, 638], borrowed from Persian *kas* 'person'.
The same loanwords for 'person' in Literary Lezgi: *ins'an* {инсан} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 139; Gadzhiev 1950: 927; Haspelmath 1993: 492, 524], *kas* {кас} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 152; Gadzhiev 1950: 927; Haspelmath 1993: 494].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 336. Distribution: Hardly reconstructible, because inherited forms were completely superseded with wandering terms of Arabic or Persian origin in all the lects except for Caucasian Albanian. In Caucasian Albanian, the meaning 'person' is expressed with the same word as 'man' (< Proto-Lezgian *s:^wiy 'man' q.v.) or with the "poetic" expression 'living-man's son'. We follow formal evidence and reconstruct Proto-Lezgian *s:^wiy with polysemy 'man / person'. Further see notes on 'man'.

On the other hand, the overwhelming amount of cases with borrowed terms for 'person' could point to the fact that Proto-Lezgian lacked a separate lexical item with this meaning. See similar situations with 'bird' and 'neck'.

65. RAIN

Nidzh Udi *ava-la* {агъала} (1), Vartashen Udi *ava-la* {агъала} (1), Archi *χ:el* (2), Kryts (proper) *čebi-ž* (3), Alyk Kryts *čebi-ž* (3), Budukh *məf* {маф} (4), Mishlesh Tsakhur *g^y=ov*i*:* {гъгуй} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *g^y=ov*i*:* (1), Gel mets Tsakhur *g^y=evu-y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *h=uva-l* ~ *uva-l* {гъгъал} (1), Ixrek Rutul *h=uva-l* {гъгъал} (1), Luchek Rutul *h=uva-l* (1), Koshan Aghul *uša-l* (1), Keren Aghul *uva-l* (1), Gequn Aghul *uva-l* (1), Fite Aghul *uva-l* (1) / *marf* (4), Aghul (proper) *uva-l* (1), Northern Tabasaran *marx* (4), Southern Tabasaran *marx* (4), Gyune Lezgi *marf* (4), Proto-Lezgian **ʔoq:^wa-l* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 34; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61; Mobili 2010: 20. In [Mobili 2010: 20] the syncopated form *avla* is also quoted.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 34; Fähnrich 1999: 7; Dirr 1903: 50, 79; Schulze 2001: 246. In [Schieffner 1863: 75] and [Starchevskiy 1891: 498] a syncopated variant *av-la* 'rain' is quoted.

Common Udi: Common Udi **ava-la*, derived from the old verbal root 'to rain' with the Proto-Lezgian suffix *-l*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 340, 357; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61; Mikailov 1967: 201; Dirr 1908: 189, 207.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61. A substantivized form of the adjective *čeb* 'wet' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 242].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 37, 40, 51, etc. See notes on Kryts proper.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 105, 211; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 874, 893; Ibragimov 1990: 101, 206. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 115], the Literary Tsakhur term is quoted as *g^y=ov*u*-y* {гъгуй} with polysemy: 'atmospheric precipitation / appearance (e.g., Christ's appearance)' (the same form in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61]).

The second, apparently less frequent term is *uva-l* {угъал} [Ibragimov 1990: 30; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 348], which contains the same root.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *g^y=ov*i*:* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Dirr 1913: 148, 224.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61], quoted as *g^y=ov*u*-y* (an error?).

The second, apparently less frequent term is *uva-l* {угъал} [Ibragimov 1990: 185, 187], which contains the same root.

Common Tsakhur: The term for 'rain' normally represents the synchronic masdar in *-y* from the verb *g^y=ov-* 'to rain, snow' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 874; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 115]. Initial *g^y=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41]. The more archaic formation is *uva-l* (Mishlesh, Gelmets), derived from the same root with the old *-l*-suffix; this form must be reconstructed for Proto-Tsakhur.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 174, 189; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 15, 21, 43, 50, 208; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61. The prefixless variant *uva-l* comes from [Dirr 1912]. In [Ibragimov 1978: 29], the Mukhad variant *y=uva-l* is also attested. Cf. the paronymous verbs *uv-* {угъас} 'to rain' [Ibragimov 1978: 108], *h=uv-* {гъгъас} 'to drizzle' [Makhmudova 2001: 43, 140].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 81, 336; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 61. Cf. the paronymous verb *h=uv-* {гъгъаьрый} 'to rain' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 81].

The second (apparently less frequent) term for 'rain' is *məf* {маф} [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 185].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

Common Rutul: Shinaz dialect: $y=uv\alpha-l$ 'rain' [Dirr 1912: 148]; Borch-Khnov dialect: $y=uv\beta-l$ 'rain' {йугъул} [Ibragimov 1978: 234].

An old derivative from the verbal root 'to rain', retained in Rutul as CLASS= uv - (see notes on Mukhad). Initial $h=y=0=$ are the class 1/4 exponents; final $-l$ is the Proto-Lezgian suffix.

Marginal Ixrek *marf* 'rain' is an innovation, perhaps under the influence of some other Lezgian languages.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Suleymanov 2003: 160; Shaumyan 1941: 145. Cf. the paronymous verb $u\text{f}-a-$ 'to rain' [Suleymanov 2003: 160; Shaumyan 1941: 145].

The same in other subdialects: Arsug $uHa-l$ 'rain' [Shaumyan 1941: 145], Arsug or Khudig uv^w-a- 'to rain' [Suleymanov 2003: 160].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203. The same in the Usug subdialect: $uv\alpha-l$ 'rain' [Shaumyan 1941: 145].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203; Dirr 1907: 145, 172; Shaumyan 1941: 145. Cf. the paronymous verb $uv\alpha-$ 'to rain' [Shaumyan 1941: 145].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203. Two synonyms for 'rain' are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]: $uv\alpha-l$ and *marf*; the difference is unknown. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 160; Shaumyan 1941: 145. Cf. the paronymous verb $uv-a-$ 'to rain' [Suleymanov 2003: 160; Shaumyan 1941: 145].

Common Aghul: An old derivative from the verbal root 'to rain', retained in some Aghul dialects as uv^w-a- or $uv-a-$ (with the dialectal dissimilation $uC^w > uC$, on which see [Magometov 1970: 26]). Final $-l$ is the Proto-Lezgian suffix.

Marginal Fite *marf* 'rain' is an innovation under the influence on the part of the Tabasaran language.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203. Distinct from the more specific Dyubek term $c'aw-ul$ 'drizzle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203] $< *c'ay-ul < *c'ad-ul$.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *marx* 'rain' [Uslar 1979: 847, 993; Dirr 1905: 194, 227]. Distinct from Khanag $c'al:$ or $c'al:-ur$ 'drizzle' [Dirr 1905: 216], glossed as 'dew' in [Uslar 1979: 959]. Khanag $c'al:- < *c'ad-l-$, cf. in Northern Tabasaran: Kumi $c'ar-ul$ 'dew; a drop' $< *c'ad-ul$ [Genko 2005: 177], in Southern Tabasaran: Tinit $c'ad-al$, Khiv $c'ud-al$ 'a drop' [Genko 2005: 176, 178].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *marx* {мархъ} 'rain' [Genko 2005: 117]. Distinct from Khyuryuk $c'al:-ur$ {цаллур} 'dew' [Genko 2005: 177], for which see above.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *marf* {марф} 'rain' [Genko 2005: 117]. Distinct from the more specific Khiv terms: čig {чиг} 'drizzle' [Genko 2005: 181], χmul {χмул} 'autumn rain' [Genko 2005: 165].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *marx* {мархъ} 'rain' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 224].

Common Tabasaran: Cf. the old verb for 'to rain', which is retained as Northern (Khanag) $wuq:-l$ {вубкъув} 'to rain, snow' [Genko 2005: 33], Southern (Khiv) $uv-$ {утъуб} 'to rain' [Genko 2005: 151].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 502, 610. Cf. the verb q^w-a- 'to rain, snow' [Uslar 1896: 494].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *marf* {марф} 'rain' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 231; Gadzhiev 1950: 178; Haspelmath 1993: 498, 525]. This is the basic term for 'rain' in the literary language. A second, more rare word with the meaning 'rain' is $q^w\alpha-l$ {къвал} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 184; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 401] (not found in other sources). Cf. the verb $q^w\alpha-$ {къун} 'to rain, snow' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 193; Gadzhiev 1950: 253; Haspelmath 1993: 502].

In the other dialects of the Kyuri group: Qurah (Kyuri group) $q^w\alpha-l$ 'rain' [Meylanova 1964: 169].

In the Samur group: Khlyut (subdialect of Akhty) $yuq:a-l$ 'rain' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 203], Khuryug (subdialect of Akhty) $q^w\alpha-l$ 'rain' [Meylanova 1964: 302, 315], Migrakh (subdialect of the Doquzpara) $q^w\alpha-l$ 'rain' [Meylanova 1964: 262], Jaba $q:o-l$ 'rain' [Ganieva 2007: 122, 133], Qurush $q^w\alpha-l$ 'rain' [Ganieva 2008: 67, 144].

But in the Quba group: Yargun *marf* 'rain' [Babalievya 2007: 60, 68, 79, 91].

The common form $q^w\alpha-l$ and Khlyut $yuq:a-l$ are derived from the verb for 'to rain' (see above) with the rare and archaic suffix $-l$. External comparison suggests that this deverbative noun must be posited as the Proto-Lezgi word for 'rain', whereas Gyune/Quba *marf* in the generic meaning 'rain' represents an innovation of areal origin. The Khlyut form $yuq:a-l$ is, however, morphologically suspicious; maybe it represents a borrowing from the neighboring Mukhad dialect of Rutul, cf. Mukhad $h=uv\alpha-l \sim uv\alpha-l \sim y=uv\alpha-l$ 'rain' q.v. (if the Rutul shift $q: > v$ is a late process).

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1010. Distribution: Attested as the basic term for 'rain' in Udi, on the one hand, and in many Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and the most East Lezgian lects (Aghul, Lezgi).

This is a Proto-Lezgian derivative from the verb *ʔoq:^wa- 'to rain' with the suffix *-l, which forms deverbative abstract nouns [Alekseev 1985: 108 f.]. The verb *ʔoq:^wa- 'to rain' was retained in West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi). It should be noted that in modern Tsakhur dialects, it is the synchronic masdar from this verb that is mostly used for 'rain', whereas *ʔoq:^wa-l is obsolete.

A second candidate is *mart^w [NCED: 795], which is the basic term for 'rain' in Tabasaran, Fite Aghul, Ixrek Rutul, Gyune Lezgi (a Tabasaran-induced areal innovation), on the one hand, and in Budukh, on the other (apparently an independent introduction). The original meaning of *mart^w is unclear; outside of the aforementioned Nuclear Lezgian lects, it is attested in Archi as 'foam', whereas external comparison points to the meaning 'a k. of cloud'.

In Archi, the deverbative formation for 'rain' was replaced with *χ:^fäl [LEDb: #307], whose Proto-Lezgian meaning is likely to have been 'sky': this stem means 'sky' in West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul) and in Proto-Archi, as suggested by the Archi locative adverb χ:^fol'o 'in the sky, up in the air' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 340], which reflects (with Ablaut) the archaic oblique stem of χ:^fel (χ:^fel in the secondary meaning 'rain' possesses a regular paradigm).

In Kryts, 'rain' is expressed by the synchronically substantivized adjective 'wet' (*č'äp: [NCED: 385]).

Replacements: {'to rain' > 'rain'} (Common Lezgian), {'sky' > 'rain'} (Archi), {'wet' > 'rain'} (Kryts).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Deverbative noun.

66. RED

Nidzh Udi č'ōč'ā {ч'о́ч'а} (1), Vartashen Udi č'ōč'ā {ч'о́ч'а} (1), Archi y'a^fan-nu-CLASS (-1), Kryts (proper) iri (2), Alyk Kryts iuru (2), Budukh al {al} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur č'ara-n {ч'а́ран, ч'а́ран} (3), Mikik Tsakhur č'era-n (3), Gelmets Tsakhur č'ara-n^y (3), Mukhad Rutul ir-dī {ирд́и} (2), Ixrek Rutul ir-dī {ирд́и} (2), Luchek Rutul ir-dī (2), Koshan Aghul ire-r (2), Keren Aghul ire-f (2), Gequn Aghul ire-f (2), Fite Aghul iri-t (2), Aghul (proper) ire-f (2), Northern Tabasaran ir'i (2), Southern Tabasaran ür'u (2), Gyune Lezgi yar'u (2), Proto-Lezgian *ʔiri- ~ *ʔiri- (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674. In [Gukasyan 1974: 241] and [Mobili 2010: 91], quoted without pharyngealization: č'ōč'a {ч'о́ч'а} (apparently an error on Gukasyan's part, repeated by Mobili). According to Dm. Ganenkov's p.c., the correct variant is č'ōč'ā.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 241; Fähnrich 1999: 14; Schiefner 1863: 90; Schulze 2001: 267. In [Fähnrich 1999], correctly quoted with pharyngealization: č'ōč'ā. In [Gukasyan 1974: 241], apparently quoted erroneously as č'ōč'a {ч'о́ч'а} (see notes on Nidzh Udi). The exact phonetic nature of affricates can hardly be established from old records of Schiefner and the Bežanovs (note that Bežanovs' {ч'о́ч'а} (Mt. 16.2) is incorrectly transcribed as č'ōč'ā in [Schulze 2001: 267]).

Common Udi: Common Udi *č'ōč'ā.

Caucasian Albanian: A good candidate is č'ōč'ā [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-29], which renders the word 'purple' in Jo. 19.5, but it should be noted that the passage is damaged and the reading is not reliable.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 255, 364; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674; Mikailov 1967: 184; Dirr 1908: 156, 211. Quoted as ya^fan-nu-CLASS in [Mikailov 1967]. A regular participle from the stative verb y'a^fan 'to be red', borrowed from Lak ya^ft-ul- 'red' (as proposed in [NCED: 541], probably from some Lak dialect that possessed not the -ul-, but the -an-suffix); in [Chumakina 2009] labeled only as "perhaps borrowed" without the source.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. An adjective in -i. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674], quoted as ürü-ž - a reformed stem in -u with further vowel harmony i-u > ü-ü; -ž is a class exponent. The term irä-ž 'blood' q.v. is derived from this adjective.

Both in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674], the loanword *q:irmizi* is also quoted as a synonym (< Azerbaijani *girmizi* 'red').

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 67, 112, 265. A reformed stem in *-u*, see notes on Kryts proper (Alyk *iu* normally corresponds to *ü* of other dialects).

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 18, 218; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *al* 'red, vermilion, purple'.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234], 'red' is glossed as *q:irmizi*, which is translated as 'dark red' in [Meylanova 1984: 93] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *girmizi* 'red').

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 871, 894; Ibragimov 1990: 83, 88; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 403; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674. It must be noted that *č̣ara-n* comes from [Kibrik et al. 1999], whereas in [Ibragimov 1990; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the word is consistently transcribed with pharyngealization: *č̣ʰara-n* (ч̣ʰаṛан). According to Kodzasov's report [Kibrik et al. 1999: 19], *č̣ara-n* is one of the instances of the so-called epiglottalization (emphatic palatalization) - a specific prosodic feature of Mishlesh Tsakhur, not studied in detail yet and therefore not noted in Kibrik et al.'s transcription. Epiglottalized *č̣ara-n* is incorrectly treated as a pharyngealized form by Ibragimov and other authors.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *č̣ara-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Dirr 1913: 215, 228.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 145, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 119; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 126, 349; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 674.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Common Rutul: Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Suleymanov 2003: 88.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ire-f* 'red' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Dirr 1907: 122, 175; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 88. The same in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *ire-f* 'red' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Common Aghul: Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *eri* 'red' [Uslar 1979: 684, 996; Dirr 1905: 168, 232]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *eri* {эри} 'red' [Genko 2005: 196]; distinct from Khyuryuk *elw'en* 'light red' [Genko 2005: 194]. The latter term was borrowed from Azerbaijani *älwan* 'many-colored, gaily colored' or from Persian *alwan* 'of various colors' (ultimately of Arabic origin).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

The same in the Tinit subdialect: *iri* {ири} 'red' [Genko 2005: 77]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ür'u* {уьру} 'red' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 305].

Somewhat differently in the Khiv subdialects, where, according to Genko's glosses, *ür'u* {уьру} means specifically 'dark red, brown-red' [Genko 2005: 159], as opposed to *elw'en* 'light red' [Genko 2005: 194] (the latter term is a loanword, see notes on Northern Tabasaran).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 446, 615.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *yar'u* {яры} 'red' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 405; Gadzhiev 1950: 315; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 525].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *eri* 'red' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 519. Distribution: This stem is attested with its basic meaning in the bulk of Nuclear Lezgian lects (Kryts, Rutul, Aghul, Rutul, Lezgi), although it has been lost without a trace in both of the outliers (Udi, Archi). In Budukh, it was superseded with Azerbaijani loanwords in the meaning 'red', but retained in the substantivized expression for 'blood' q.v. In Tsakhur, the etymologically obscure word *č̣ara-* (**č̣ärä-?*) 'red' occurs.

In Udi, the word for 'red' is *č̣'äč̣'a*. An etymologically isolated (in Lezgian) adjective, whose Lezgian protoform could be **č̣:Vč̣:V-* [NCED: 348]. The Udi stem is incorrectly derived from the reduplicated **č̣:ar-č̣:ar-* (with further connection to the Tsakhur term) in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-72].

Since in Archi, '(to be) red' is expressed with the Lak loanword, Nuclear Lezgian **ʔiri-* and Udi **č:Vč:V-* appear to be equal candidates for the status of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'red' from the distributive point of view. External North Caucasian comparison, however, speaks in favor of **ʔiri-* [NCED: 519]. It should be noted that, as proposed in [NCED: 348], **č:Vč:V-* could possess some scant Andian *comparanda* that also mean 'red'.

Replacements: {'red' > 'blood'} (Kryts, Budukh).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for some assimilative-dissimilative vowel fluctuations in Tabasaran and Lezgi.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be red'.

67. ROAD

Nidzh Udi *yaq:* {*üakʷ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *yaq:* {*üakʷ*} (1), Archi *d'eq:*^ʃ (1), Kryts (proper) *riχ* (2), Alyk Kryts *riχ* (2), Budukh *riχ* {*pux*} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yaq:*^ʃ {*üaIχʷ*, *üaIχxʷ*-} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *yaq:*^ʃ (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *yiq:*^ʃ (1), Mukhad Rutul *raq*^ʃ {*paIχʷ*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *raq*^ʃ {*paIχʷ*} (1), Luchek Rutul *raq*^ʃ (1), Koshan Aghul *raq:*^ʃ (1), Keren Aghul *raq:*^ʃ (1), Gequn Aghul *req:*^ʃ (1), Fite Aghul *raq:*^ʃ (1), Aghul (proper) *räq:* ~ *req:* (1), Northern Tabasaran *r'aq:*^ʃ-*a* (1), Southern Tabasaran *raq:*^ʃ (1), Gyune Lezgi *räq* (1), Proto-Lezgian **rãq:*^ʃ(1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511; Mobili 2010: 290.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 124; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Dirr 1903: 16, 21, 63, 72, 84, 85, 92, 93, 94; Schiefner 1863: 105; Schulze 2001: 283; Starchevskiy 1891: 498.

Common Udi: Common Udi **yaq:*.

Caucasian Albanian: *l'raq'* 'road, way, path; journey' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-24]; an etymological cognate of the Udi term with a different treatment of initial Lezgian **r-*.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 221, 357; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511; Mikailov 1967: 180; Dirr 1908: 141, 207.

Distinct from *šahr'a* 'wide road, highway' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 317], borrowed from Avar *šahr'a* 'highway'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511. Paradigm: *riχ* [abs.] / *riχ-a* ~ *riχ* [gen.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 45, 104, 203, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 121, 211; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511.

Distinct from *žirva* {джыргъа} 'pathway (narrow road)' [Meylanova 1984: 58], borrowed from Azerbaijani dialectal (Quba) *žirya*, literary *žiyir* 'pathway'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 879, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 180; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *yaq:*^ʃ. [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Dirr 1913: 169, 224.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: abs. *yeq* {йехъ}.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 167, 189; Ibragimov 1978: 20-21, 54, 118; Makhmudova 2001: 49; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511. Ablaut paradigm: *raq*^ʃ [abs.] / *ri Ğ* ~ *riq*^ʃ [obl.].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 215, 336; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 511. Ablaut paradigm: *raq*^ʃ [abs.] / *riq:*^ʃ-*i-rä* [erg.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189. Ablaut paradigm: *raq*^ʃ [abs.] / *riq:*^ʃ-*i-r* [erg.].

Common Rutul: Note the loss of tense articulation of *-q-* in Mukhad.

- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Suleymanov 2003: 142; Shaumyan 1941: 159. The same in the other subdialects: Arsug, Khudig *räq:^f ~ raq:^f* 'road' [Magometov 1970: 231 sentence 10, 236 sentence 22; Shaumyan 1941: 159].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189. The same in the Usug subdialect: *räq:^f* 'road' [Magometov 1970: 219 sentences 9, 23; 220 sentence 30; Shaumyan 1941: 159].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Dirr 1907: 140, 172.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.
- Aghul (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189; Shaumyan 1941: 159; Magometov 1970: 205 sentences 10, 17, 19. The latter form is from [Magometov 1970]. In [Shaumyan 1941], incorrectly quoted as *räq*.
It is interesting that in [Magometov 1970: 205 sentence 15] this word is quoted as *räq:^f* in the collocation *mašini-n räq:^f* 'highway' - apparently a cultural borrowing from another Aghul dialect. Likewise in [Suleymanov 2003: 142], 'road' is quoted with pharyngealization: *raq:^f* {ракъ}.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.
The same in the Khanag subdialect: *raq:^f* 'road' [Uslar 1979: 894, 993; Dirr 1905: 202, 227]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *raq:^f* {рякъ} 'road' [Genko 2005: 135].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189.
The same in the Khiv subdialect: *raq:^f* {рякъ} 'road' [Genko 2005: 135]. Distinct from the more specific Khiv terms: *riχ* {риχ} 'path, narrow road; fence, railings' [Genko 2005: 133] and *ülč'i* {уълчи} 'big road' [Genko 2005: 159] (the latter is of Turkic origin).
The same in Literary Tabasaran: *raq:^f* {рякъ} 'road (in general); path, narrow road' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 264]; distinct from the more specific term *riχ* {риχ} 'path, narrow road; fence, railings' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 261].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 538, 610. Paradigm: *räq* [abs.] / *räq'-i-* ~ *req'-i-* [obl.].
The same in Literary Lezgi: *req* [abs.] / *req'-i-* [obl.] {рехъ} 'road' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 277; Gadzhiev 1950: 183; Haspelmath 1993: 505, 525].
The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *räq* [abs.] / *räq'-i-* [obl.] 'road' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 189].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 603. Distribution: Retained with the basic meaning in all the lects (including Caucasian Albanian), except for South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh).
In South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), this was superseded with the phonetically similar root **riχ* [NCED: 606]. The exact original meaning of **riχ* is unclear, because outside South Lezgian, it seems attested only in Tabasaran with the specific meaning 'path, narrow road; fence, railings'.
Replacements: {'road' > 'journey'} (Caucasian Albanian).
Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.
Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **riq:^f-i-*.

68. ROOT

Nidzh Udi *tum* ~ *tüm* {тум} (1), Vartashen Udi *tum* {тум} (1), Archi *m'arχ:u* (-1), Kryts (proper) *kuk* (-1), Alyk Kryts *kuk* (-1), Budukh *kuk* {кук} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *kok* {кок} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *kok-* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *kok* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *ɸ^wab* {ɸ^wаб} (2), Ixrek Rutul *ɸ^wab* {ɸ^wаб} (2), Luchek Rutul *ɸ^wab* (2), Koshan Aghul *marʔ* (3), Keren Aghul *marq^{wf}* (3), Gequn Aghul *märʔ* (3), Fite Aghul *marʔ* (3), Aghul (proper) *märʔ* (3), Northern Tabasaran *ʒuw* (4), Southern Tabasaran *č'iw* (4), Gyune Lezgi *duw'ul* (5).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 206; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 98; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401; Mobili 2010: 268. Polysemy: 'root / lineage, kin, clan / bottom'. The palatalized variant *tüm* comes from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 206; Fähnrich 1999: 31; Schiefner 1863: 95; Schulze 2001: 325; Starchevskiy 1891: 501. Polysemy: 'root / lineage, kin, clan / bottom'. In [Schulze 2001], *tum* is glossed as 'root; seed; gender', although in the texts from [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] this word means only 'root (the underground part of tree/plant)', but not 'seed' q.v. and not, *a fortiori*, 'gender'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **tum*. Originally borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms, but the semantic derivation 'seed' > 'root' seems to be inner Udi, therefore we treat *tum* 'root' as a full-fledged item (further see notes on Proto-Lezgian 'seed').

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 277, 363; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401; Mikailov 1967: 192; Dirr 1908: 166, 211. Borrowed from Lak *marχ:a ~ marχ:ᵂa* 'root' (in [Chumakina 2009] labeled only as "perhaps borrowed" without the source).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *kök* 'root'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 212, 381. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *kök* 'root'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 78, 218; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *kök* 'root'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 20: 41, 144; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 194; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999]. In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], quoted as *kok* [abs.] / *kok-* [obl.] instead of the expected ***kok-* [obl.]. Polysemy: 'root / skein (of thread)'.

A second term for 'root', apparently inherited, comes from [Ibragimov 1990: 20, 37]: *miɬʎi ~ muɬʎi* (semantic nuances are unknown).

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *kok* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97]. Polysemy: 'root / skein (of thread)'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Dirr 1913: 174, 227. Polysemy: 'root / skein (of thread)'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401. Polysemy: 'root / skein (of thread)'.

Common Tsakhur: The term *kok* was borrowed from Azerbaijani *kök* 'root'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 132, 192; Ibragimov 1978: 117; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 65, 349; Ibragimov 1978: 198.

A second term for 'root' is *kuk* {кук} [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 147, 349] ~ *kük* {күк} [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 401], borrowed from Azerbaijani *kök* 'root'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Suleymanov 2003: 131.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97. The same in the Usug subdialect: *mārH* 'root' [Shaumyan 1941: 151].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Dirr 1907: 134, 175; Shaumyan 1941: 151.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

Aghul (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97; Suleymanov 2003: 131; Shaumyan 1941: 151. In [Suleymanov 2003], quoted with *-a-*.

Common Aghul: The Keren (Richa) form *marq^ʷ* is irregular (one could expect something like ***marq^ʷ* with the ejective uvular or even ***marʔ ~ **marʕ*). It is proposed in [NCED: 827] to treat Richa *marq^ʷ* as the result of contamination with another, poorly attested Proto-Lezgian root (**marq^ʷ*), but we prefer to regard Richa *marq^ʷ* as a sporadic phonetic deviation.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *ǰiw* 'root' [Uslar 1979: 693, 996; Dirr 1905: 169, 231]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *ǰiw* {жжив} 'root' [Genko 2005: 67].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *čiw* {ччив} 'root' [Genko 2005: 182]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *čiw* {ччив} 'root' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 340].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 408, 615. Distinct from *pun* {пун} with polysemy: 'root / lower part, base / fortune, property' [Uslar 1896: 521], which is ultimately borrowed from Persian *bun* 'root (botanic); basis, foundation'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *duw'ul* {дувул} 'root' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 114; Gadzhiev 1950: 309; Haspelmath 1993: 486, 525]. This is the default literary term for 'root'. Distinct from the Iranian loanword *pun* {пун} with polysemy: 'root / stump, stub / lower part, base / fortune, property' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 268; Gadzhiev 1950: 309]. Distinct from the more specific inherited term *čaraχ^w* {чIарaχ} 'small root' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 377].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *diw'il* 'root' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97]. Distinct from the more specific Khlyut term *čaraχ^w* 'small root' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97].

Proto-Lezgian: Not reconstructible.

Distribution: A highly unstable term, frequently superseded with loanwords. We prefer not to reconstruct the Proto-Lezgian root at all. The following inherited forms are attested in Nuclear Lezgian lects; all these roots are equal candidates for the status of the Proto-Lezgian term for 'root'.

1) **malq*^{wf} [NCED: 809], meaning 'root' in Aghul. The only Lezgian cognate is the word for 'sprout, shoot; nail, stud' in Archi (it could be tempting to connect this root to the not entirely clear Mishlesh Tsakhur word *miɬ^lʲi ~ miɬ^lʲi* 'root' via metathesis *lQ > Ql*, but the uvular and vowel correspondences are irregular). Since the meaning shift between 'root' and 'sprout' is typologically possible in both directions, the original meaning of Proto-Lezgian **malq*^{wf} cannot be established. External North Caucasian comparison rather points to the semantics of 'sprout'.

2) **λ:iw(a)* [NCED: 571], meaning 'root' in Tabasaran, isolated in Lezgian, but possesses Avaro-Andian cognates with the meaning 'root'.

3) **q:^wap:* [NCED: 464], meaning 'root' in Rutul, lost in the rest of Lezgian. Possible external North Caucasian *comparanda* mean 'pit' or 'foundation, base'.

4) Lezgi *duw'ul*, without etymology.

In other lects, inherited forms were superseded with loanwords: Archi (< Lak), Kryts, Budukh, Tsakhur (< Azerbaijani). In Udi, 'root' is expressed with the form *tum* which originally meant 'seed', ultimately borrowed from the Azerbaijani or Iranian word for 'seed' q.v.

Finally, it should be noted that in [NCED: 827], there is a Proto-Lezgian root **marq*^w, based on Archi *maq* 'stake, picket' and Keren Aghul (Richa) *marq*^{wf} 'root' (with irregular pharyngealization). This root does indeed possess good North Caucasian cognates with the meaning 'root', but the internal Lezgian data are insufficient for reconstruction, since the Keren Aghul (Richa) form can hardly be separated from other Aghul words for 'root', which originate from **malq*^{wf} (see above).

Replacements: {'seed' > 'root'} (Udi).

69. ROUND

Nidzh Udi *k:ank:oroγ* {*κΙανκΙοροϋ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *k:ak:anik:* {*κΙακΙανικΙ*} (1), Archi *guk:i-t:u-CLASS* (-1), Kryts (proper) *gurgu-m* (1), Alyk Kryts *bembeleg^wat'a* (2), Budukh *gungu-r-t'i ~ gungu-lu-t'i* {*γунγуртIu*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *gɪl^ʷgɪl^ʷe-n* {*гыл'гылен*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *gɪrgara-n* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *top-x^ʷil^ʷi-n^ʷ* (3), Mukhad Rutul *ruk-ud* {*pyγbyd*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *gɪrg-i-n-di* {*гыргынды*} (1), Luchek Rutul *ruk-u-d* (4), Koshan Aghul *al=arc-ni-r* (5) / *t'a'rlič* (6), Keren Aghul *gilg-e-n-f* (1), Gequn Aghul *gilg-e-n-f ~ girg-e-n-f* (1), Fite Aghul *gug-mi-t* (1) / *al=urcu-t* (5), Aghul (proper) *gɪrg-e-n-f* (1), Northern Tabasaran *c^hi=gurgu-mi* (1), Southern Tabasaran *gerg-m'i* (1), Gyune Lezgi *el=q:^we-γ* {*элкъвей*} (4), Proto-Lezgian **gɪrg^wV* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 139, 271; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 594; Mobili 2010: 172. Another term for 'round' is *q:uruc:* {*кърурц*} [Gukasyan 1974: 162; Mobili 2010: 196], semantic nuances as well as etymology are unknown.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 139, 271; Mobili 2010: 172; Fähnrich 1999: 20. Glossed as 'circle (n.)' in [Schiefner 1863: 82]. Cf. *kak:ay* with a strange gloss: 'a round object, whose size is less than normally', in [Mobili 2010: 171].

Common Udi: Common Udi **kank:*- with the cluster simplification in Vartashen. Different suffixal formations in the dialects, although morphological details are not entirely clear.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 232, 364; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593; Mikailov 1967: 177. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted with a typo: *g'uki-tu*-CLASS. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. A regular participle from the stative verb *g'uki* 'to be round', probably borrowed from Lak *kurki*- 'round' (cf. notes in [NCED: 438]; in [Chumakina 2009] labeled as "clearly borrowed from Lak *kuki* 'round'", although such a form seems non-existent in Lak). Reasons for the cluster simplification *Vrk:V > Vk:V* in Archi are not clear, but note that in archaic Archi the medial cluster was still retained: *gurki*, *gurki-tu*-CLASS '(to be) round' [Dirr 1908: 138, 211].
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 68. Quoted without semantic specification; morphologically and etymologically unclear.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 37; Alekseev 1994: 283. In [Meylanova 1984: 79, 219], additional forms *kungu-lu-ti ~ kungu-r-ti* (кунгулутти, кунгуртти) 'round' are also quoted (the only forms in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593]), which could be errors or expressive variants. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'.
Note that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236] 'round' is glossed as *q'uq'al*, not found in other sources (for this form see [NCED: 933]).
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 874, 895; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 125. The meaning 'round 2D' is attested [Kibrik et al. 1999: 627].
In [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 121], the variant *gongal^{ye}* is also quoted.
In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593], 'round' is glossed as *girgira-n* - apparently the Tsakhur-Kum form, see below.
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *girgira-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236]. The exact application is not specified; apparently, 'round 2D / 3D'.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. The exact application is not specified; apparently, 'round 2D / 3D'.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593. The exact application is not specified; apparently, 'round 2D / 3D'. Derived from the noun *top-*, attested with the meaning 'ball' in the Mishlesh dialect [Kibrik et al. 1999: 888] and Literary Tsakhur [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 341] or 'wheel' in the Mikik dialect [Dirr 1913: 204], borrowed from Azerbaijani *top* 'ball; hub (of wheel)'. The morphological derivation, however, seems to be inner Tsakhur (the second element *-x^yil^{yi}-n^y* from the verb *ix-* 'to become?'), therefore we treat *top-x^yil^{yi}-n^y* 'round' as a full-fledged item.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 29, 168, 193; Ibragimov 1978: 118, 225; Makhmudova 2001: 182; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593. Examples for 'round (3D)' have been found in [Dirr 1912]: "round stone", "round (= plump) woman".
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 58, 350; Ibragimov 1978: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 593. This is quoted by Ibragimov as the basic Ixrek term for 'round' (without discrimination between the '2D' and '3D' meanings?).
Two additional (apparently less frequent) words for 'round' are quoted by Dzhamalov & Samedov, but without any specifications: 1) *руву-ди* [ругъуды] [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 217]; 2) *tup-di* [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 248]. The latter seems to reflect internal Ixrek derivation from an unattested **tup* 'ball', borrowed from Azerbaijani *top* 'ball' (the same is observed in Gelmets Tsakhur *top-x^yil^{yi}-n^y* 'round').
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.
- Common Rutul:** Borch-Khnov: *girg-i-n-id* {гыргыныд} [Ibragimov 1978: 284].
The stem *girg-i-n-*, retained in Ixrek and Borch-Khnov, must be posited as the Proto-Rutul expression for 'round (2D/3D)'. This is confirmed by external comparison.
The stem *ru*-CLASS-*v-* 'round' is a Mukhad-Luchek innovation (marginally attested in Ixrek), derived from a verbal root which is attested as Mukhad *рув-* 'to become round' [Makhmudova 2001: 182, 243], Ixrek *рув-* 'to walk around, hang around' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 217], Ixrek *v=urv-* 'to turn (intrans.)' (initial *v=* is a prefix with general semantics). The initial consonant *r-* in *рув-* belongs to the root, but can sometimes become contaminated with the class 1/2 exponent *r=*.
Final *-di / -d* is the attributive suffix.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Meaning: 'round 3D'. Probably dissimilated from **al=arc-ri-r* - a regular past participle from the verb 'to turn', see common Aghul notes.
Distinct from *ta'rlič*, which is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236] for the meaning 'round 2D'. There also exists a third Burshag term: *c'ek^w* 'round' [Shaumyan 1941: 189] (glossed simply as 'round'); actually it seems to be an error on the part of Shaumyan, because this form is to be read as the substantive *c'ek^w* 'skein, hank' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 145].
Cf. in other subdialects: Arslug or Khudig *kurš-ne-d*, *al=alc-ni-d* 'round' [Suleymanov 2003: 51] (both glossed simply as 'round', application and exact dialectal provenance are unknown). Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Meaning 'round 2D'.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Suleymanov 1993: 65. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. Cf. the paronymous substantive *gilgen* 'circle (кыр)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236].

The same in the Usug subdialect: *gilg-e-n-f* 'round' [Shaumyan 1941: 189] (glossed simply as 'round', application is unknown).

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Suleymanov 1993: 65; Dirr 1907: 109, 175; Shaumyan 1941: 189. The former form is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] as 'round 3D' and in [Suleymanov 1993] without specifications; the latter one is from [Dirr 1907] and [Shaumyan 1941] with an example for 'round 2D': "round table" [Dirr 1907: 109].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236; Shaumyan 1941: 189. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], meaning 'round 3D'; in [Shaumyan 1941], quoted without semantic specifications. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. Meaning 'round 2D'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 65; Suleymanov 2003: 51; Shaumyan 1941: 189. Glossed simply as 'round', application is unknown. Cf. the paronymous substantive *girgen* 'skein, hank; rag ball' [Suleymanov 2003: 51; Shaumyan 1941: 189].

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe *gurg-e-n-f*, Khpyuk *gilg-e-n-f* [Shaumyan 1941: 189; Suleymanov 1993: 65] - both glossed simply as 'round', application unknown; Kurag *gilg-e-n-* 'round 3D' [Magometov 1970: 206 sentence 21] ("round stone").

Common Aghul: The semantic opposition 'round 3D' / 'round 2D' is highly atypical for Dagestanian languages. The emergence of such an opposition is obviously a recent innovation of the Koshan, Fite, and possibly some other dialects of Aghul.

The non-Koshan dialects retain the basic Proto-Lezgian root **girg^wV-* 'round (3D, 2D)' [NCED: 438], although its phonetical reflexes are rather unstable and irregular (as in other Lezgian languages as well). Koshan *k:urɬ-ne-d* 'round' may theoretically continue the same Proto-Lezgian root **girg^wV-* 'round'.

In Koshan and Fite the past participles from the verb 'to turn' have been introduced for 'round 3D' (Koshan *al=arc-ni-r ~ al=alc-ni-d*) and 'round 2D' (Fite *al=urcu-t*). The proper verbal stem is attested as Koshan *al=arc-ana-* 'to turn (trans., intrans.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 82; Suleymanov 2003: 27], Keren (Usug) *al=urc-a-* 'to turn (trans.)' [Shaumyan 1941: 137], Gequn *al=urc-a-* 'to go round smth.' [Dirr 1907: 101], Proper Aghul (Tpig) *al=urc-a-* 'to turn (trans.)' [Shaumyan 1941: 137; Suleymanov 2003: 27] (*al=* is an old spatial prefix).

Koshan (Burshag) *t'a'rlič* 'round 2D' is an obscure form.

Final *-d, -t, -f, -r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236. The accent pattern indicates that the form is a recent compound, although the first element *c'i=* is unclear.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *c'i=gurgu-mi* 'round' [Dirr 1905: 161, 232] (not found in [Uslar 1979]). Plain stem in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *gurgu-m'i* {гургуми} 'round' [Genko 2005: 38].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *gerg-m'i* {гергми} 'round' [Genko 2005: 37]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *gerg-m'i* {гергми} 'round (2D, 3D)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 98].

Common Tabasaran: Apparently with polysemy: 'round (2D, 3D)' in all the dialects.

Gyune Lezgi: Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 393; Gadzhiev 1950: 320; Haspelmath 1993: 525. This is actually the Literary Lezgi word; the proper Gyune term for 'round' is not documented in [Uslar 1896]. Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. Participle from the literary verb *el=q^we-* {элкъвуйн} 'to turn (intrans.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 393; Haspelmath 1993: 487] = Gyune *äl=q^we-* 'to turn (intrans.)' [Uslar 1896: 352] (*Vl=* is an old spatial prefix).

The same participle in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *el=q^wä-y* 'round 3D/2D' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 236].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 438. Distribution: This stem is retained with the basic meaning in Udi, on the one hand, and in almost all Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other. Normally, the polysemy 'round 3D / round 2D' is observed, although some Aghul dialects introduce the lexical opposition 'round 3D' / 'round 2D'.

In Aghul dialects and Lezgi, 'round' ('3D/2D', '3D' or '2D') represents a synchronic participle from the verb 'to turn': **ilcal* [NCED: 649] or **iirq^wä-* (~ *-b^w-*) [NCED: 650]. Similarly in some Rutul dialects (Mukhad, Ixrek, Luchek), 'round' is synchronically derived from the verb 'to be round; to walk around, hang around': the same Proto-Lezgian root **iirq^wä-* (~ *-b^w-*), as in Lezgi, but with slightly different synchronic meaning.

In Gelmets Tsakhur, Ixrek Rutul, 'round' is derived from the noun for 'ball' or 'wheel'.

Etymologically unclear forms include Nidzh Udi *q:uruc-*, Alyk Kryts *bembele ğat'a*, Koshan Aghul *t'a'rlič*.

In Archi, superseded with the Lak loanword.

Replacements: {'ball; wheel' > 'round'} (Gelmets Tsakhur, Ixrek Rutul), {'to turn' > 'round'} (Aghul, Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Particular correspondences are not regular, especially in the case of the medial resonant. Despite this, most of the listed forms can hardly be kept apart from each other.

Semantics and structure: Primary nominal or stative verbal root with polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'.

70. SAND

Nidzh Udi *q:um* {κβυμ} (-1), Vartashen Udi *ša* {ша} (1), Archi *s'arsi* (2), Kryts (proper) *q:um* (-1), Alyk Kryts *q:um* (-1), Budukh *q:um* {κβυμ} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:um* {κβυμ} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *q:um* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *q:um* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *šim* ~ *šum* {шум} (1) / *sec'* {сец} (3), Ixrek Rutul *q:um* {κβυμ} (-1), Luchek Rutul *q:um* (-1), Koshan Aghul *q:um* (-1), Keren Aghul *q:um* (-1), Gequn Aghul *q:um* (-1), Fite Aghul *q:um* (-1), Aghul (proper) *q:um* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *gum* (-1), Southern Tabasaran *bum* (-1), Gyune Lezgi *q:um* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **š:äm* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 161; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31; Mobili 2010: 196. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'. A second term for 'sand' quoted in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31] is *šum* {шум}, which at first sight looks like an etymological retention, but is, in fact, a graphical confusion between Nidzh *q:um* and Vartashen *ša* (Dm. Ganenkov, p.c.).

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 246; Mobili 2010: 196, 254; Fähnrich 1999: 29; Schiefner 1863: 91; Starchevskiy 1891: 505. According to [Fähnrich 1999], with polysemy: 'sand / road metal'. In [Schulze 2001: 315] only the Azerbaijani loan *q:um* is quoted.

Common Udi: Common Udi **ša*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 313, 373; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31; Mikailov 1967: 197. Specified as 'sand, very fine gravel' in [Chumakina et al. 2007].

Distinct from *qum* 'sand; down, small feathers' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 298, 373; Mikailov 1967: 203], specified as 'seaside sand' in [Chumakina et al. 2007]. In the meaning 'sand' represents an Azerbaijani loanword.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.

Alyk Kryts: G. Authier, pers. com. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 91, 230; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 876, 897; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 220; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *am* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31.

Common Tsakhur: The word *q:um* was borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 183, 197; Ibragimov 1978: 118. The assimilated variant *šum* is attested in [Dirr 1912] as well as in [Ibragimov 1978: 138] (as a toponymical element); glossed by Dirr as 'sand, fine gravel'. In [Ibragimov 1978: 118], two Mukhad synonyms are quoted for 'sand': *šim* and *sec'*. In [Makhmudova 2001] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], only the latter word has been found. Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 28; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 158, 372. It must be noted that in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 31], 'sand' is glossed as *sec'* {сец}.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov: *šü'm* ~ *šum* 'sand' [Ibragimov 1978: 229, 231] (with secondary pharyngealization). Cf. also Khnyukh (subdialect of Mukhad) *šum* 'shale' or 'schistose sandstone' (Russian: 'сланец') [Ibragimov 1978: 136].

External Lezgian comparison suggests that the Proto-Rutul term for 'sand' was **šim*, retained in the Mukhad and Borch-Khnov dialects. The Mukhad (and Ixrek?) word *sec* 'sand' is of unknown origin. Ixrek and Luchek *q:um* was borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Suleymanov 2003: 117; Shaumyan 1941: 188.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

For the Usug subdialect, two words are glossed as 'sand' in [Shaumyan 1941: 160, 188]: borrowed *q:um* and inherited *rug*. The difference between the two terms is unknown.

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199; Dirr 1907: 129, 180; Shaumyan 1941: 188.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 117; Shaumyan 1941: 188.

Common Aghul: In all dialects the Azerbaijani loanword has been introduced in the meaning 'sand' (*q:um* < Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'), except for Usug Keren, where the inherited *rug* 'sand' is attested instead. Usug *rug* represents the Common Aghul word for 'dust' (shifted to 'earth' in some Aghul dialects, see notes on 'earth'). Theoretically, one can reconstruct Proto-Aghul **rug* with polysemy: 'dust / sand', but alternatively, this could be an Usug innovation or even an inaccurate gloss on the part of Shaumyan.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

The same loanword in the Khanag subdialect: *q:um* 'sand' [Uslar 1979: 831, 1001] (not attested in [Dirr 1905]); distinct from Khanag *sims* {симс} 'gravel' [Uslar 1979: 908]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *q:um* {къум} 'sand' [Genko 2005: 102]; distinct from Khyuryuk *sims* {симс} 'coarse (i.e. river) sand' [Genko 2005: 139].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199.

The same loanword in the Khiv subdialect: *q:um* {къум} 'sand' [Genko 2005: 102]. Distinct from the more specific Khiv terms: *sims* {симс} 'coarse (i.e. river) sand' [Genko 2005: 139] and *šim* {шим} 'shale sand, hazel (used to cover the roof)' [Genko 2005: 190].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *um* {гъум} 'sand' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 115]; distinct from *sims* {симс} 'coarse (i.e. river) sand' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 271] and *šim* {шим} 'gruss' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 350].

Common Tabasaran: In all the dialects the basic term represents a borrowing from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'. Common Tabasaran *sims* 'coarse (i.e. river) sand' also looks like a loanword, although the source is unclear. In contrast, Southern *šim* 'shale sand, gravel' is an inherited form.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 494, 623. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'. Distinct from inherited Gyune *šim* 'gravel, coarse sand' [Uslar 1896: 602, 623]

The same loanword in Literary Lezgi: *q:um* {къум} 'sand' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 193; Gadzhiev 1950: 534; Haspelmath 1993: 502, 525]. Distinct from inherited *šim* {шим} 'gruss' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 385].

The same loanword in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q:im* 'sand' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 199]. Khlyut *im* < *um* is a late process, cf., e.g., inherited *gim* 'smoke'.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 340. Distribution: Inherited words for 'sand' were almost totally superseded with the Azerbaijani loanword in Lezgian lects, although **šäm* is retained with the basic meaning 'sand' in Vartashen Udi and Rutul (Mukhad, Borch-Khnov). This root is also attested in many Nuclear Lezgian lects in such specific meanings as 'road metal', 'coarse sand'. Formally, available Nuclear Lezgian evidence allows us to reconstruct Proto-Lezgian **šäm* with polysemy: 'sand / fine gravel / road metal'.

In Keren Aghul (Usug), **ruk*: 'dust' [NCED: 603] can secondarily acquire the meaning 'sand'.

Etymologically unclear forms for 'sand' are Archi *s'arsi*, Mukhad Rutul *sec*.

Replacements: {'dust' > 'sand'} (Keren Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root, perhaps with polysemy: 'sand / fine gravel / road metal'. The oblique stem is **š:imV-*.

71. SAY

Nidzh Udi *neχ-* {*nex-*} (1) / *p-* (3), Vartashen Udi *eχ-* {*ex-*} (2) / *p-* (3), Archi *bo-* (3) / *wa-r-* (3), Kryts (proper) *l=u-* (3) / *l=ip-* (3), Alyk Kryts *l=i-yi* (3) / *l=ip-* (3), Budukh *yu?u-* {*üyuby-*} (3) / *yipə-* {*übyna-*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *eh-* {*əzbec, uəzbec*} (3) / *iwh-* (3), Mikik Tsakhur *ih-* (3) / *uwh-* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *ih-* {*uzbez*} (3), Mukhad Rutul *CLASS=ux-* {*zbyxbyc*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *CLASS=ux-* {*zbyxbyh*} (4), Luchek Rutul *CLASS=ux-* (4), Koshan Aghul *k'-a-* (5) / *p-una-* (3), Keren Aghul *ak-a-y-* (6) / *p-una-* (3), Gequn Aghul *ak-a-* (6) / *p-una-* (3), Fite Aghul *ak-a-* (6) / *ip-una-* (3), Aghul (proper) *ak-a-y-* (6) / *p-una-* (3), Northern Tabasaran *k'-* (7) / *p-* (3), Southern Tabasaran *k'-* (7) / *p-* (3), Gyune Lezgi *l=uh'u-* (3), Proto-Lezgian **ʔiʔʷi-* (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Maisak 2008a: 108-110; Maisak 2008b: 163; Schulze 2005: 539 (3.4.2.1 #22). In [Gukasyan 1974: 188; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765; Mobili 2010: 232] only the masdar *pesun* {*песун*} is quoted.

According to [Maisak 2008a: 108 ff., 149], the verb has a suppletive paradigm: *ne(χ)-* (present) / *(u)p-* (infinitive) / *up-* (imperative) / *p-* (past) / *uk-* (future). In the present forms the variant *ne-* is normally used, when it is followed by a group of clitical markers that contains a person exponent; in other cases, the variant *neχ-* is used (T. Maisak's p. c., see also [Maisak 2008a: 109, 149]). The variant *neχ-* is apparently primary, whereas *ne-* demonstrates secondary reduction.

The infinitive variants *up-* and *p-* are distributed as follows: *p-* in the infinitive *p-es* and, as a doublet, in the masdar *p-es-un*; the variant *up-* is used in the masdar *up-s-un* and in the oblique stem of the infinitive *up-s-* [Maisak 2008a: 108 f.]. Perfective stem.

Vartashen Udi: Schiefner 1863: 29-32, 98; Dirr 1903: 52, 58, 69; Schulze 2005: 539 (3.4.2.1 #22); Schulze 2001: 307. A suppletive paradigm: *eχ-* (present) / *p-* (infinitive) / *up-* (imperative) / *p-* (past) / *uk-* (future). Perfective stem.

Common Udi: The general suppletive pattern is the same in both dialects, although some important details differ. The main difficulty is in the discrepancy between present tense roots Nidzh *neχ-* and Vartashen *eχ-*, which do not correspond to each other. Currently, we do not see any phonetic or morphological way to compare these morphemes etymologically. It must be noted that it is possible to propose some Lezgian *comparanda* for Vartashen *eχ-*, but probably not for Nidzh *neχ-*.

The reconstruction of Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi paradigm is a more intricate question, because both *neχ-* and *eχ-* lack cognates in known Caucasian Albanian lexicon.

On one hand, the Udi present (*neχ-*) looks like a pure archaism, since this is the only Udi verb whose present tense forms are not derived from the infinitive [Maisak 2008a: 109] (on the secondary origin of the modern Udi present pattern see [Maisak 2008b: 169 ff.]).

On the other hand, the Caucasian Albanian present stem *uk'-a-* directly corresponds to the modern Nidzh conjunctive *uk'-a-*, cited, e.g., in [Maisak 2008b: 206 (ex. 92)] (the hypothesis that the modern Udi conjunctive with thematic *-a-* originates from the old present has perspicaciously been proposed in [Maisak 2008b: 208 ff., 216] and is now proven by Caucasian Albanian data).

In the light of the latter, the modern Udi present tense morphemes (*neχ-*) look like a recent innovation that superseded old *uk-* in the present forms, whereas *uk-* is still retained in the conjunctive and the *al*-participle (on the basis of which the future tense is formed in modern Udi).

In fact, the situation is quite unclear. Note also a likely hypothesis that in the verb system the general proto-opposition was imperfective (= present) with thematic *-a-* vs. perfective (= past) with thematic *-i-* (or *-e-*?) [Maisak 2008b: 208].

Another issue to be discussed is the variation of the morphemes *up- ~ p-*, which are used for the infinitive, past and imperative both in Caucasian Albanian and modern Udi. It must be noted that the distribution of the variants with and without *u-* is not fully the same in Caucasian Albanian, Nidzh and Vartashen. In the light of the Caucasian Albanian data,

it is natural to suppose that the modern Udi infinitive-masdar forms with *p-* (*p-es*, *p-esun*) are secondary (these are probably leveled up after the past stem *p(e)-*).

Thus, we have at least three archaic verbs with the fluctuation between *uC-* and *CV-* within the paradigm, namely:

- 1) 'to die/kill' q.v.: *up-* infinitive, 'death, dying' (CA) / *p'u-r-* past stem (CA, Udi);
- 2) 'to eat' q.v.: *uk-* present, infinitive, imperative, future stem (CA, Udi) / *ka(y)* past stem (CA, Udi);
- 3) 'to say': *up-* infinitive, imperative (CA, Udi) / *p(e)-* past (CA, Udi).

It is obvious that we deal with the remnant of some kind of ablaut: $*V_1CV$ in the infinitive, imperative and present(?) (> CA-Udi *uC-*) vs. $*V_2CV$ in the past (> CA-Udi *CV-* with reduction of the initial vowel). For Ablaut in Proto-Lezgian, see some preliminary observations in [NCED: 166 ff.]. Out of several supposed patterns the best traced one is $*i$ (the infinitive and terminative stems, *scil.* perfective) vs. $*ā$ (the durative stem, *scil.* imperfective). This could be the Caucasian Albanian-Udi case, although Proto-Lezgian TMA oppositions as well as segmental vocalic reconstruction have not yet been sufficiently elaborated.

Summing up, the following Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi suppletive paradigm for 'to say' can be reconstructed with relative safety: $*uk'-a-$ (imperfective) / $*up-$ (infinitive, imperative) / $*p(e)-$ (perfective). The origin as well as the paradigmatic status of the modern present roots, Nidzh *neχ-*, Vartashen *eχ-*, are obscure.

Caucasian Albanian: *uk'-a-* (~ *k'-*) (present, *al-* participle) / *up-* (infinitive, imperative) / *p-* (past) [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44, 51, IV-35].

The present stem appears in two variants: *uk'-a-* and *k'-a-*. The general distribution is as follows: *uk'-a-* in plain forms / *k'-a-* as a second root in verbal compounds (although with minor exceptions in both directions). Obviously, *uk'-* is the original variant, whereas *k'-* represents a secondary syncope of the first vowel (apparently caused by vowel contraction at the morpheme boundaries).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 204, 380; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765; Mikailov 1967: 175; Dirr 1908: 135, 221.

As described in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 71; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 242; Chumakina et al. 2007], a suppletive verb: *bo-* [inf., perf.] / *war-* [imperf.] / *ba* [inv.]. We treat *bo-* and *wa-r-* as synonyms (although both synchronic roots are etymologically related). Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 204, 380.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765. Synchronically suppletive verb: *l=u-r-i* [imperf.] / *l=ip-* [perf., inv.] / *m=uʔu* [prohib.]. We treat *lu-* and *lip-* as synonyms (although both synchronic morphemes are etymologically related). The initial *l=* is a fossilized prefix. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765. Perfective stem.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 154, 416. Paradigm: *l=i-yi* [imperf.] / *l=ip-* [perf., inv.] / *m=iʔu* ~ *m=iyu* [prohib.]. See notes on Kryts proper. Authier 2009: 154, 416. Perfective stem.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148. Missing from [Meylanova 1984] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Meylanova 1984: 71 sub *yersiz*].

Synchronically suppletive verb: *yuʔu-r-* [imperf.] / *yipə-* [perf., inv.] / *yu-mo-ʔu* [prohib.]. We treat *yuʔu-* and *yipə-* as synonyms (although both synchronic morphemes are etymologically related). Initial *y-* could theoretically be the prefix 'across' [Alekseev 1994: 271].

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765], 'to say' is incorrectly glossed as *haraq'ar-* {харақар}, which in fact means 'to tell, speak' [Meylanova 1984: 149; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 149]. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148. Perfective stem.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 873, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 175; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *e-y-h-e* [imperf.] / *iwh-o* [perf.] / *eh-es* ~ *iwh-es* [fut.] / *iwh-e* [inv.].

Distinct from *yišon-(h)aʔ-* 'to tell, speak' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 880], a formation from *yišo* 'a k. of poem' with the verb *(h=)aʔ-* 'to do' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 58 f.]. Perfective stem.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Dirr 1913: 160, 223. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *i-y-h-e-* [imperf.] / *uwh-a* [perf.] / *eh-e-* [fut., inv.].

Distinct from *yušen-(h)aʔ-* 'to tell, speak' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Dirr 1913: 172] from *yuše* 'word' [Dirr 1913: 172] with the verb *(h=)aʔ-* 'to do'. Perfective stem.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765. Only the future stem *ih-ez* is attested.

- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 176, 200; Ibragimov 1978: 32, 74, 94, 106, 120; Makhmudova 2001: 98, 146, 150, 160, 207, 210, 211, 247. Ablaut paradigm: $r=ux-u-r-$ [imperf.] / CLASS= $ux-u-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= ix [imv.] / $ma=r=ux$ [prohib.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765], erroneously quoted as $ix-$ {уьхьун}. Polysemy: 'to say / to sing'.
The same apophonic root is attested with various prefixes: $v=axu-$ {гъахьуц} 'to say smth. to another person to impart it to a third person' [Makhmudova 2001: 120], $q=uxu-$ 'to retell' [Ibragimov 1978: 121].
Distinct from durative CLASS= $alg-$ {гъалгас} 'to talk' [Dirr 1912: 123; Ibragimov 1978: 119 f.; Makhmudova 2001: 244].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 83, 392; Ibragimov 1978: 217, 221; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 765. Paradigm: $r=ux-u-r-$ [imperf.] / CLASS= $ux-u-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= ux [imv.].
Distinct from durative CLASS= $alg-$ 'to talk' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 71; Ibragimov 1978: 217].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148. Paradigm: $r=ux-u-r-$ [imperf.] / CLASS= $ux-u-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= $ux-u-y$ [imv.] / $ma=r=ux$ [prohib.].
Distinct from durative CLASS= $alg-$ 'to talk' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148].
- Common Rutul:** The original root is $=ux^w-$ (as proved by the thematic $-u-$ in the imperfective stem), although the imperative and prohibitive forms have been secondarily delabialized in the modern dialects (a common Rutul process of the delabialization of verbal roots).
Initial $r=$ is the imperfective exponent.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Magometov 1970: 228 sentences 7, 9, 13. Suppletive stem: $k-a-$ [imperf.] / $p-una-w$ [perf.] / ip [imv.] / $p-a-$ [inf., prohib.]. The imperfective stem is missing from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], but attested in the Burshag text from [Magometov 1970]. The imperfective stem $k-a-$ 'to say' is also attested in the Arsug and Khudig subdialects, see [Magometov 1970: 230 sentences 9, 10; 234 sentences 17, 18; 236 sentences 6, 12; 236 sentences 17, 25].
Distinct from Burshag $w=a\chi^w-a-$ 'to speak' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Suleymanov 2003: 56]. Perfective stem.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148; Magometov 1970: 184. Suppletive paradigm: $av-a-$ [imperf., prohib.] / $p-una-$ [perf.] / $p-a-$ [inf.] / up [imv.].
In the Usug subdialect: $v-a-$ [imperf.] / $av-a-$ [inf.] 'to say' [Suleymanov 1993: 147; Shaumyan 1941: 156].
Distinct from Richa $vurv-a-$ 'to speak' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148]. Perfective stem.
- Gequn Aghul:** Dirr 1907: 137, 183. Suppletive paradigm: $av-a-$ [imperf., prohib.] / $p-una-$ [perf.] / $p-a-$ [inf.] / up [imv.].
Distinct from $vurv^w-a-$ 'to speak' [Dirr 1907: 111]. Perfective stem.
- Fite Aghul:** Magometov 1970: 185. Paradigm: $av-a-$ [imperf.] / $up-una-$ [perf.] / $up-a-$ [inf.] / up [imv.] / $up-a \sim av-a$ [prohib.]. Perfective stem.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 139; Shaumyan 1941: 156. Suppletive paradigm: $av-a-y-$ [imperf.] / $p-una-$ [perf.] / $p-a-$ [inf.] / up [imv.].
Distinct from Trig $vurva-$ 'to speak' [Suleymanov 2003: 56]. Perfective stem.
- Common Aghul:** The Koshan and non-Koshan dialects differ as to the imperfective stem: Koshan $k-a-$ / non-Koshan $av-a-$. The Lezgian etymology of both imperfective roots is not entirely clear.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148. Suppletive paradigm: $k'-$ [imperf.] / $p-$ [perf., inf.]. Distinct from Dyubek $gaf-ar ap'$ 'to speak', literally 'to make words' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148].
The same in the Khanag subdialect: $k'-$ [imperf.] / $p-$ [perf., inf.] / yip [inf.] 'to say' [Uslar 1979: 876, 1005; Dirr 1905: 200, 242]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: $k'-$ [imperf.] / $p-$ [perf., inf.] / yip [imv.] {пыв} 'to say' [Genko 2005: 129]. Perfective root.
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148. Suppletive paradigm: $k'-$ [imperf., inf.] / $p-$ [perf., inf.] / yip [imv.]. Distinct from Kondik $gaf-ar ap'$ 'to speak', literally 'to make words' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 148].
The same in the Khiv subdialect: $k'-$ [imperf., inf.] / $p-$ [perf.] / yip [imv.] {кӀыб} 'to say' [Genko 2005: 112]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: $k'-$ [imperf., inf.] / $p-$ [perf., inf.] / yip [imv.] {кӀыб, пыв} 'to say' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 214, 254]. Perfective root.
- Common Tabasaran:** Except for some fluctuations in the infinitive form, the suppletive paradigms are identical in all the dialects.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 499, 632. Ablaut paradigm: $l=uh'u-$ [imperf.] / $l=ah'a-$ [perf.] / $l=ah$ [imv.]. Initial $l=$ is a fossilized prefix. Distinct from two Gyune verbs for 'to speak': $lek^w'en-$ / $lek^w'in-$ [Uslar 1896: 498, 608] and $gaf-ar-$ [Uslar 1896: 376, 608] - the latter is historically a complex verb 'to do words', consisting of $gaf-ar$ 'words' and $ey'i-$ / $aw'u-$ 'to do'.
The same in Literary Lezgi: $l=uh'u-$ [imperf.] / $l=ah'a-$ [perf.] / $l=ah \sim l=aha$ [imv.] {лутъун} 'to say' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 225; Gadzhiev 1950: 769; Haspelmath 1993: 497, 525; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 21]. Distinct from literary $ra\chi'a-$

[imperf.] / *raχ'u-* [perf.] {рахун} 'to speak' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 273; Gadzhiev 1950: 144; Haspelmath 1993: 505, 526; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 146] and *lūk'ün-* {лук'юнун} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 226; Gadzhiev 1950: 144; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 23] - the latter verb is marked as "dialectal" in the dictionaries.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 625. Distribution: This stem is retained as the basic root for 'to say' in all the lects, except for Rutul. The suppletive paradigm of 'to say' with two etymologically different roots for the imperfective and perfective stems is only attested in Caucasian Albanian-Udi and two East Lezgian languages: Aghul, Tabasaran. In these languages, **ʔiʔ^wi-* is restricted to the perfective stem, whereas the imperfective stems contain various roots that differ even within dialects of one language (because of this, there are no reasons to postulate the suppletive opposition between perfective and imperfective stems for Proto-Lezgian).

In Caucasian Albanian, the imperfective root is **ʔilk^wan* [NCED: 634], whose original meaning was 'to talk, speak' *vel sim*.

In Udi, two present (imperfective) roots are attested: *neχ-* (Nidzh), *eχ-* (Vartashen), whose etymological origin is unclear. Formally, Vartashen *eχ-* can be compared to the scantily attested Nuclear Lezgian verb **ʔerχ^wa* 'to ask; to read' [NCED: 604].

In Tabasaran, the root **ʔeλ^wV* [NCED: 413] acquired the imperfective function within the paradigm 'to say'. The exact protomeaning of **ʔeλ^wV* cannot be reconstructed, 'a k. of verbum dicendi'.

In Aghul, two different roots were introduced for the imperfective stem: *k-a-* (Koshan dialect), *av-a-* (non-Koshan dialects). Their etymology is not entirely clear.

Finally, in Rutul, **ʔiʔ^wi-* 'to say' was totally superseded with **ʔot^wa-* [NCED: 1011], whose original meaning was 'to be silent' *vel sim*. as proved by both the Lezgian cognates and the external North Caucasian *comparanda*. The direct shift 'to be silent' > 'to say' does not seem possible; thus, the hypothetical chain 'to keep silent' > 'to listen' > 'to cause to listen' > 'to say', proposed in [NCED], appears to be a good solution.

Replacements: {'to be silent' > 'to say'} (Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular, although reflexes in individual languages are seriously tangled because of the class infix **p-*, which is especially typical for the perfective variant of the root. Caucasian Albanian-Udi *-p-* can be either the direct reflex of **ʔ^w* (thus [NCED]) or rather a trace of the same infix.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

72. SEE

Nidzh Udi *ak-sun* {акIcyн} (1), Vartashen Udi *ak-sun* {акIcyн} (1), Archi =*aku-* (1), Kryts (proper) *irqi-* (2), Alyk Kryts *irqi-* (2), Budukh *irqi-* {урхви-} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:=až-* {кваджес} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *v=ež-* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *v=až-* (3), Mukhad Rutul *h=ag^w-* {гвазвас} (1), Ixrek Rutul *v=äg^w-* {гвабгун} (1), Luchek Rutul *h=ag^w-* (1), Koshan Aghul *raq:^f-a-* (2), Keren Aghul *ag^w-a-* (1), Gequn Aghul *ag^w-a-* (1), Fite Aghul *ag^w-a-* (1), Aghul (proper) *ag^w-a-* (1), Northern Tabasaran *ac:^f-¹* (2), Southern Tabasaran *raq:^f-¹* (2), Gyune Lezgi *ak:^wa-* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔak:^wä-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 40; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668; Mobili 2010: 25.

Distinct from *beβ^f-sun* {беβгьсун} 'to look; to look after' [Mobili 2010: 56; Dabakov 2008: 349].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 40; Fähnrich 1999: 6; Dirr 1903: 53, 81; Schiefner 1863: 75; Schulze 2001: 247. In [Fähnrich 1999: 6] and [Starchevskiy 1891: 484], the variant *ak-sun* is also quoted.

Distinct from *beβ^f-sun* 'to look, observe' [Schiefner 1863: 101; Schulze 2001: 257].

- Common Udi:** Common Udi **ak-esun* 'to see' as opposed to **bek^l-esun* 'to look' (historically **b=ek^l-* with the fossilized class prefix). The complex verb 'to find' is based on the ablated variant of the latter root: Nidzh *b=ab^l-ap-sun*, Vartashen *b=ob^l-ap-sun* [Gukasyan 1974: 74] (*-ap-* is a light verb with general semantics; note the assimilative labialization *a > o* in Vartashen).
- Caucasian Albanian:** *ak-esun* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-5]. Distinct from *bek-esun* 'to look' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-8] (with the preverb *če=* this means 'to hope, expect, wait').
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 187, 353; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668; Mikailov 1967: 171; Dirr 1908: 125, 204.
- Distinct from *s=ak-a-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174] (*s=* is apparently an old prefix).
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Saadiev 1994: 428; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668.
- Distinct from *k=ösi-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174] (*k=* is a prefix).
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 409.
- Distinct from *ika-* 'to look' [Authier 2009: 302].
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 66, 206; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668.
- Distinct from *irhü-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 875, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 208; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668. According to [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], with an ablaut paradigm in Literary Tsakhur: *q:=ež-e* [imperf.] / *q:=až-i* [perf.] / *q:=až-es* [fut.]; but for Mishlesh, a non-ablaut paradigm *q:=až-* (*q:=až-e-* [imperf., fut.] / *q:=až-i* [perf.]) is recorded in [Kibrik et al. 1999].
- It should also be noted that in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] some forms are quoted that can point to old labialized *-ž^w-* (masdar 1/4 *q:-až^w-i*: {къаджвий}, neg. masdar 1/4 *q:-id-e-ž^w-i*, 2 *q:-id-e-y-ž^w-i*), although the perfective stem is *q:-až-i*, not ***q:-až-u*.
- Distinct from *il^y=ak-* 'to look' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 878] (*il^y=* is a prefix).
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Dirr 1913: 150, 221. Ablaut paradigm: *ɤ=ež-e* [imperf.] / *ɤ=až-i* [perf.] / *ɤ=až-es* [fut.].
- Distinct from *il^y=ak-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174] (*il^y=* is a prefix).
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Ibragimov 1990: 46; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668. The future stem *ɤ=až-ez* is attested, as well as the variant *ɤ=ež-* in the negative future (*ɤ=id=ež-ez*) [Ibragimov 1990: 197].
- Common Tsakhur:** Note sporadic *-ž^w-* in Mishlesh. Initial *ɤ=* (Mishlesh *q:=*) is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 122, 187; Ibragimov 1978: 90, 119; Makhmudova 2001: 17, 250; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668. Paradigm: *h=a-r=g^wa-r- ~ h=ag^wa-r-* [imperf.] / *h=ag-u-r* [perf.].
- Distinct from *g=aq-* {гэхъас} 'to look' [Ibragimov 1978: 96, 97] (apparently an error for expected ***g=aq-* {гэхъас}).
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 61, 327. Paradigm: *ɤ=äg^w-ä-r-* [perf.] / *ɤ=äg-u-r* [perf.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 668], quoted with an error.
- Distinct from *g=eq-* {гекъкъын} 'to look' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 52]; the same verb is quoted in [Ibragimov 1978: 197, 214] as *g^y=aq-* {г'эхъас} 'to look' (apparently an error for expected ***g^y=aq-* {г'эхъас}).
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173. Paradigm: *h=a-r=g^wa-r-* [perf.] / *h=ag-u-r* [perf.].
- Distinct from *g=aq-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174].
- Common Rutul:** Initial *h=, ɤ=, g=* are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173; Suleymanov 2003: 15; Shaumyan 1941: 140; Magometov 1970: 229 sentences 8, 14. All the sources quote this root with tense *qⁱ*, except for [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], where the lax (aspirated) *qⁱ* is transcribed. The external Lezgian comparison also speaks in favour of the tense uvular [NCED: 547]. Apparently a typo in Kibrik & Kodzasov's dictionary.
- The same in other subdialects: Arsug, Khudig *raqⁱ-a-* 'to see' [Magometov 1970: 234 sentence 36; 236 sentence 39; 237 sentence 49; Shaumyan 1941: 140].
- Distinct from Burshag *liv-a-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174; Suleymanov 2003: 183].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ag^w-a-* 'to see' [Shaumyan 1941: 140].
- Distinct from *χu=t:=urf-a-* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174].
- Gequn Aghul:** Dirr 1907: 99, 169; Shaumyan 1941: 140. Infixed imperfective stem: *a-r-g^w-a-*.
- Distinct from *qa=d=urf-a-* 'to look' [Dirr 1907: 131, 184].

Fite Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 140.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 15; Shaumyan 1941: 140. Infixed imperfective stem: *a-r-g^w-a-*.

The same in other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *ag^w-a-* 'to see' [Shaumyan 1941: 140].

Distinct from Tpig *qu=t=urf-ana-* 'to look' [Suleymanov 2003: 183].

Common Aghul: The Koshan dialect (*raq^f-a-* 'to see') is opposed to the non-Koshan ones (*ag^w-a-* 'to see'). The Koshan (Burshag) etymological cognate for the latter verb is *ug-a- ~ ag^w-a-* 'to seek' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 66]. Although both of the meanings ('to see' and 'to seek') can theoretically originate from one root for 'to watch' *vel* sim., the external Lezgian etymology suggests that the Proto-Aghul verb for 'to see' was *ag^w-a-*, whereas *raq^f-a-* originally expressed a controlled action, such as 'to look, watch'. The shift of the Koshan verb *raq^f-a-* to the meaning 'to see' was influenced on the part of the Tabasaran language (q.v.), where the same semantic development occurred. It is interesting that in the Kryts-Budukh subbranch the etymological cognates of Aghul *raq^f-a-* also demonstrate the meaning shift to generic 'to see' - apparently an independent innovation.

Note the rare case of retention of the Lezgian imperfective infix *-r-* in the Gequn and Proper Aghul imperfective stem *a-r-g^w-a-* (cf. [Suleymanov 1993: 138 f.]).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173. Distinct from Dyubek *liy⁻* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *aq^f-¹* 'to see' [Uslar 1979: 595, 990; Dirr 1905: 152, 225]; distinct from Khanag *liy⁻* 'to look' [Uslar 1979: 839, 1006; Dirr 1905: 193, 242].

In the Khyuryuk subdialect the paradigm is synchronically suppletive: *raq^f-¹* [imperf.] / *aq^f-¹* [perf., inf.] {аьбкьюв} 'to see' [Genko 2005: 22]; distinct from Khyuryuk *liy⁻* {либггуб} 'to look' [Genko 2005: 114].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 173. Distinct from Kondik *liy⁻* 'to look' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 174].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *raq^f-¹* {рякьюб} 'to see' [Genko 2005: 135]; distinct from Khiv *liy⁻* {лиггуб} 'to look' [Genko 2005: 114]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *raq^f-¹* {рякьюб} 'to see' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 263]; distinct from literary *liy⁻* {либггуб} 'to look' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 217].

In the Khoredzh subdialect: *arq^f-¹* {аьркью} 'to see' [Genko 2005: 24].

Common Tabasaran: Both shapes, *AQ-* (Northern) and *RAQ-* (Southern), are etymologically related and originate from the metathetical variants **ARQ-* and **RAQ-* respectively (< Lezgian **?arq^f:¹ä-*). The cluster **RQ* was simplified in Northern Tabasaran, but retained in the Southern (Khoredzh) form *arq^f-¹*, unless it is to be analyzed as *a-r-q^f-¹* with the fossilized class infix *-r-*. The Northern (Khyuryuk) suppletive paradigm *raq^f-¹* / *aq^f-¹* might be the most archaic; in the rest of the subdialects one of the variants has spread across the paradigm.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 330, 606. Paradigm: *ak^w-a-* [imperf.] / *ak^w-u-* [perf.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *ak^w-a-* [imperf.] / *ak^w-u-* [perf.] {акун} 'to see' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 36; Gadzhiev 1950: 86; Haspelmath 1993: 480, 526; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 56] (in [Haspelmath 1993] incorrectly quoted as *ak^w-a-*). Distinct from two literary verbs for 'to look': *kil'ig-* {килигун} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 158; Gadzhiev 1950: 788; Haspelmath 1993: 494, 522; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 354] and *tam'aš-* {тамашун} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 305; Gadzhiev 1950: 788; Haspelmath 1993: 507, 522; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 241] - the latter is historically a complex verb 'to do showing', consisting of the Persian-Azerbaijani loanword *tamaša* 'performance, show' and *iy'i-* / *aw'u-* 'to do'.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 255. Distribution: This stem is retained as the basic root for 'to see' in both outliers (Caucasian Albanian-Udi and Archi) and in some Nuclear Lezgian lects: Rutul, non-Koshan Aghul, Lezgi. In Tabasaran and Koshan Aghul, **?ak^w:¹ä-* shifted to the meaning 'to search' (a Tabasaran-induced isogloss), whereas in Tsakhur, this acquired the meaning 'to show' (in Tsakhur, 'to see' is expressed with an etymologically obscure root, whose protoform could be **?ač:V-* [LEDb: #207]). In Luchek Rutul, **?ak^w:¹ä-*, modified with another prefix, also means 'to find': *aq=ag^w-* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 67].

The second root, well attested with the generic meaning 'to see', is **?arq^f:¹ä-* [NCED: 547]. It means 'to see' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), on the one hand, and in Tabasaran and Koshan Aghul, on the other. Apparently we deal with two independent Nuclear Lezgian shifts (the latter case represents a Tabasaran-induced isogloss). The exact meaning of **?arq^f:¹ä-* is not entirely clear, but actually, this is the best candidate for the basic Proto-Lezgian verb, denoting controlled action ('to look'), because **?arq^f:¹ä-* is reflected as 'to look' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi (*b=ev^f-*; also as 'to find' in Udi), on the one hand, and in Rutul (*g=aq^f-*), on the other.

A second, weaker, candidate for 'to look' is **?akV-* / **?okV-* [NCED: 598], which is attested as 'to look' in Archi and in Alyk Kryts. In other Nuclear Lezgian, **?akV-* / **?okV-* means 'to find' (Kryts Proper, Tsakhur), 'to search' (Aghul), 'to ask' (Rutul).

In Proto-East Lezgian, the old root for 'to look' (**ʔarqːä-* or **ʔakV-* / **ʔokV-*) was superseded with **liλ:[a]* [NCED: 209]. This stem is attested as 'to look' in Koshan Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi, but was lost in the rest of Lezgian languages.

In non-Koshan Aghul, **liλ:[a]* was replaced with certain prefixed forms, whose root is reconstructed as **ʔVrʔ(:)wVn* in [NCED: 1031]; this Aghul root lacks Lezgian cognates, but may possess external North Caucasian *comparanda*.

Finally, in individual Nuclear Lezgian lects, several verbs for 'to look' are attested, whose etymology is not entirely clear: Kryts (proper) *k=ösi-*, Budukh *irhä-*, Tsakhur *il^y=ak-*.

Replacements: {'to look' > 'to see'(?)} (Kryts, Budukh, Tabasaran, Koshan Aghul), {'to see' > 'to search'} (Tabasaran, Koshan Aghul), {'to see' > 'to show'} (Tsakhur), {'to see' > 'to find'} (Luchek Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

73. SEED

Nidzh Udi *cil* {*цул*} (1), Vartashen Udi *cil* {*цул*} (1), Archi *ʔ:win-* (2), Kryts (proper) *tum* (-1), Alyk Kryts *tum* (-1), Budukh *tum* {*myM*} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *toχum* {*moxyM*} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *d^yen^ye* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *d^yen^ye* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *suk* {*cyκ*} (3), Ixrek Rutul *tuχum* {*myxyM*} (-1), Luchek Rutul *tuχum* (-1), Koshan Aghul *tum* (-1), Keren Aghul *tum* (-1), Gequn Aghul *tum* (-1), Fite Aghul *tum* (-1), Aghul (proper) *tum* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *tum* (-1), Southern Tabasaran *tum* (-1), Gyune Lezgi *fin* (2), Proto-Lezgian **ʔ:win* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 233; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391; Mobili 2010: 251.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 233; Fähnrich 1999: 11; Schiefner 1863: 89; Schulze 2001: 265. There are two additional words, glossed in [Schulze 2001] as 'seed': *bit:un* 'seed' [Schulze 2001: 138 fn. 5, 259] and *tum* 'root; seed; gender' [Schulze 2001: 325]. However, neither of them means 'seed (botanic)' in the texts included in [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] (for *tum* see notes on Udi 'root' and Proto-Lezgian 'seed').

Common Udi: Common Udi **cil*. Apparently a Proto-Lezgian word, see [Alekseev 2008: 317]. Schulze proposes that the Udi term was borrowed from Old Armenian *čiwł* ~ *čil* 'branch, bough; stump, stock, stem; finger' (thus [Schulze 2001: 265]) or Old Armenian *c^het* 'tribe, caste, race, branch' (thus [Gippert et al. 2008: II-68]). Both hypothetical sources of borrowing are unlikely, from semantic and sociolinguistic points of view.

Caucasian Albanian: *q^har* with polysemy 'tribe / clan, kin / nation, people / seed (botanic)' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-30]. Cf. also *ruš* 'clan, kin, posterity / fruit' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-37], which is not attested in the meaning 'seed (botanic)' *pace* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-68] (because of the initial *r-*, *ruš* should be a borrowing from unknown source).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 345, 380; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391; Mikailov 1967: 191. Polysemy: 'seed / sperm'. Paradigm: *ʔ:win* [abs.] / *ʔ:un:-i* [erg.] / *ʔ:un:-i-t* [loc.]. Oblique forms like *ʔ:un:i* could alternatively be analyzed as *ʔun-* + the common oblique suffix *-li* (with the regular assimilation *nl > n:*), but this suffix is always unaccented [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 16 f.], which is not the case here. An unclear situation, because Lezgian and North Caucasian comparison strongly predicts the lax *-n-*.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 263. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 136, 239; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111. Polysemy: 'seed / clan, kin'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391] 'seed' is incorrectly glossed as *k'ap* {к'ап} and *c'ic'* {ц'иц'и}, which actually mean 'stone (of fruit, berry)' [Meylanova 1984: 98] and 'small black seeds in rice' [Meylanova 1984: 151] respectively.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 343. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *toxum* 'seed'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391], 'seed' is quoted as *tum* (another Azerbaijani loanword).

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *d'en'ə* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111]. Polysemy: 'seed / a grain'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *dänä* '(a) grain'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111. Polysemy: 'seed / a grain'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *dänä* '(a) grain'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111. Polysemy: 'seed / a grain'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *dänä* '(a) grain'.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391], 'seed' is quoted as *tum* (another Azerbaijani loanword).

Mukhad Rutul: Ibragimov 1978: 223, 225; Makhmudova 2001: 48; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391.

It should be noted that in [Dirr 1912: 173, 202], 'seed' is quoted as *tom* (borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms).

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 391; Ibragimov 1978: 223, 225. It must be noted that in [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 249] *tuxum* is glossed only as 'clan, kin'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *toxum* 'seed (botanic); sperm; posterity'.

A second term for 'seed' is *tum* {тум} with polysemy: 'clan, kin / seed (botanic)' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 248]. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 391], 'seed' is erroneously quoted as *suk*, which actually means 'wheat; grain' in Ixrek [Ibragimov 1978: 205, 225].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *toxum* 'seed'.

Common Rutul: The Proto-Rutul term for 'seed' cannot be reconstructed with certainty, because Mukhad *suk* 'seed' seems a recent introduction (not yet noted in [Dirr 1912]), derived from the meaning 'grain', cf. Khnyukh Rutul (subdialect of Mukhad) *suk* 'grain' [Ibragimov 1978: 136], Shinaz Rutul *suk* 'grain' [Dirr 1912: 171], Ixrek Rutul *suk* 'wheat; grain' [Ibragimov 1978: 205, 223, 225], Luchek Rutul *suk* 'a grain' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111], Borch-Khnov Rutul *suk* 'a grain' [Ibragimov 1978: 292], further to Tsakhur *suk* 'wheat' [Dirr 1913: 203].

Cf. also the old root for 'seed', which is retained as Borch-Khnov *xin* {хьин} 'wheat' [Ibragimov 1978: 283], Ixrek *xin-čə* {хьинчə} 'beverage of barley flour (home brew)' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 282].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; Suleymanov 2003: 11; Shaumyan 1941: 172.

Distinct from Burshag *dil* 'stone (of fruit)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 109].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111. The same loanword in the Usug subdialect: *tum* 'seed' [Shaumyan 1941: 172].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111; Shaumyan 1941: 172. Not attested in [Dirr 1907].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111.

Distinct from Fite *dil* 'stone (of fruit)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 109].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 11; Shaumyan 1941: 172. Polysemy: 'seed (botanic) / clan, kin'.

Common Aghul: The Aghul word was borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms. The form *dil* can be posited as the Proto-Aghul term for 'stone of fruit'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111. Distinct from Dyubek *dil* 'stone (of fruit)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 109].

The same loanword in the Khanag subdialect: *tum* 'seed; grain' [Uslar 1979: 916, 1005]; distinct from inherited *dil* 'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)' [Uslar 1979: 668, 1005] (neither of the words is attested in [Dirr 1905]).

Similarly in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *tum* {тум} 'seed; grain' [Genko 2005: 144]; distinct from inherited *dil* {дил} 'seed' [Genko 2005: 60]; the difference between the two terms is not specified by Genko, but, most likely, *dil* denotes specifically 'seed (of vegetable, berry), stone', since the Russian gloss "семя" possesses both meanings.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111.

The same loanword in the Khiv subdialect: *tum* {тум} with polysemy: 'seed / grain / ferment (for milk)' [Genko 2005: 144]; distinct from Khiv *cil* {цил} 'seed' [Genko 2005: 176], the difference between the two terms is not specified by Genko, and in reality *cil* should rather denote 'seed (of vegetable, berry), stone' (see notes on the Khanag and Khyuryuk subdialects above). It must be noted that phonetically Khiv *cil* is apparently a borrowing from Lezgi *cil* 'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)', rather than an etymological counterpart of inherited Northern Tabasaran *dil*, see [Genko 2005: 233].

Similarly in Literary Tabasaran: *tum* {тум} with polysemy: 'seed / grain / ferment (for milk)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 283]. Distinct from literary *dil* 'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 148], which could, in fact, be a Northern form.

Common Tabasaran: The Tabasaran word *tum* was borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 568, 634. An important archaism which synchronically competes with *tum* 'seed (botanic) / posterity' [Uslar 1896: 555, 634], borrowed from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from the corresponding Iranian terms. Distinct from Gyune *cil* 'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)' [Uslar 1896: 582].

The basic term for 'seed' in Literary Lezgi is the loanword *tum* {тум} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 315; Gadzhiev 1950: 761; Haspelmath 1993: 508, 526], although the inherited word *fin* {фин} 'seed' also exists [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 335]. Distinct from literary *cil* {цил} 'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 358; Haspelmath 1993: 483].

Only the loanword in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *tim* 'seed' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 111]. Khlyut *im* < *um* is a late process, cf., e.g., inherited *gim* 'smoke'. Distinct from Khlyut *cil* 'stone (of fruit)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 109].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1021. Distribution: Retained as the basic term for 'seed' in Archi, on the one hand, and in one Nuclear Lezgian language (Lezgi), on the other. This word is also attested in Rutul with the meaning 'wheat' or 'barley' and in Kryts with the meaning 'flax' (Kryts *xin* 'flax' is quoted in [NCED: 1022]). From the distributional point of view, **t:in* is the best candidate for the status of Proto-Lezgian 'seed'. External North Caucasian comparison supports such a reconstruction.

In Udi, **t:in* was superseded with the form *cil*. Its Nuclear Lezgian cognates imply the Proto-Lezgian stem **t:il* with the original meaning 'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)' (> Gyune Lezgi *cil* 'id.', Northern Tabasaran *dil* 'id.', Aghul *dil* 'id.'). see [Aleksiev 2008: 317].

In Caucasian Albanian, the word *q'ar* is attested for 'seed' with polysemy: 'tribe / clan, kin / nation, people / seed (botanic)'. Its only Lezgian cognate is the second component of the Udi compound *iš-q'ar* 'men' (where *iš* is the singular form 'man' q.v.). The original meaning of Caucasian Albanian-Udi *q'ar* is not clear; it should be noted that the shift 'tribe, clan' > 'seed (botanic)' does not seem normal, whereas the opposite direction of semantic development is quite common.

In Mukhad Rutul, *suk* 'seed' is a recent introduction; the Proto-Rutul meaning of *suk* was apparently 'grain, a grain'.

In the bulk of Nuclear Lezgian lects, 'seed' is expressed with forms that have the general shape of *tum*, *tuxum*, or *dene*. The latter two are transparent Azerbaijani loanwords, whereas *tum* requires additional comments.

The most widespread shape of the word for 'seed' in Lezgian is actually *tum*, which means 'seed' in Nuclear Lezgian, but 'root' q.v. in Udi. Apparently proceeding from this fact (the semantic opposition between the Nuclear Lezgian and Udi meanings could be explained as a result of semantic evolution during long separate language development) and from some East Caucasian *comparanda* (first and foremost, Proto-Nakh **tfum* 'corn-cob; core of a plant'), the authors of [NCED] postulate the Proto-Lezgian term **tum(a)* 'seed' and, further, the Proto-East Caucasian root **th^w ʃnV* 'seed', considered to be an early borrowing from Iranian (Proto-Iranian **taukman* ~ **tauxman* 'seed', Avestan *taoxman* 'seed; kin', Persian *tuxm* 'seed; sperm; egg', etc.). As a particular result of this, there are two closely synonymous terms in Modern Azerbaijani: *toxum* 'seed (botanic); sperm; posterity' and *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity'. The former represents a borrowing from Persian *tuxm* 'seed; kin', whereas the latter was borrowed from Lezgian languages. See [NCED: 991 f.]. Such a scenario faces several difficulties:

1) the hypothetical Proto-East Caucasian **th^w ʃnV* 'seed' is too scantily attested in known languages, and its presumed original meaning 'seed' is only retained in Lezgian;

2) it is hard to reconstruct the Proto-Lezgian term for 'seed' because of the "criss-crossed" situation where two roots enter into competition: **t:in* (Archi, Lezgi) and **tum(a)* (various Nuclear Lezgian lects);

3) both Azerbaijani words, *tum* and *toxum*, possess a number of derivative stems and do not look like recent introductions;

4) the normal direction of lexical borrowing is Azerbaijani/Iranian → Lezgian, but not *vice versa*. This particularly concerns the terms for 'seed' in Lezgian, which frequently represent Azerbaijani loanwords (*toxum*, *dänä*). The idea of borrowing of such a term from Lezgian into Azerbaijani is unlikely not only sociolinguistically, but also economically;

5) there are phonetically similar words for 'seed' in the neighboring Modern Iranian languages: Judeo-Tat, Muslim Tat *tum* 'seed (botanic)', Talysh *tüm* 'seed (botanic); seedling; clan, kin'. These forms regularly originate from Iranian **taukman* ~ **tauxman*, there is no need to treat them as Lezgian or Azerbaijani loanwords.

In the light of these points, the following scenario seems more likely:

1) both Azerbaijani *toxum* 'seed (botanic); sperm; posterity' and *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' have been borrowed from Iranian languages; the former is a Persian loanword (Persian *tuxm* 'seed; sperm; egg'), the latter is more recent, originating from Judeo-Tat, Muslim Tat *tum* 'seed (botanic)' or Talysh *tüm* 'seed (botanic); seedling; clan, kin' (note that in Northern Talysh the sound *ü* has a free variant *u*, thus it is not difficult to deduce Azerbaijani *tum* from Talysh). It is proposed in [Schulze 2001: 325] that the shape *tum* emerged as an inner Azerbaijani contraction of *toxum*, but such a solution is *ad hoc*;

2) Lezgian words for 'seed' of the shape *tum* originate from Azerbaijani *tum* 'seed (botanic); posterity' or directly from modern Iranian *tum* 'seed (botanic)';

3) Udi *tum* 'root (botanic); lineage, kin, clan; bottom' originates from the same source, although the semantic shift 'seed' > 'root' is an internal Udi innovation. The new Udi word for 'seed', *cil*, has been developed from the term for 'stone of fruit'.

Replacements: {'stone (of fruit), seed (of vegetable, berry)' > 'seed'} (Udi), {'grain, a grain' > 'seed'} (Mukhad Rutul), {'tribe, clan' > 'seed'} (?) (Caucasian Albanian).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular except for the tense *n*: in Archi (which could be the result of secondary morphological reanalysis).

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root in Proto-Lezgian, but a deverbative in Proto-North Caucasian (the starting point is the verb 'to sow'). The oblique stem is not reconstructible.

74. SIT

Nidzh Udi *arc-esun* {арцесун} (1), Vartashen Udi *arc-esun* {арцесун} (1), Archi *q^he^hyq^hi-* (2), Kryts (proper) *äs=q^wan-* (2), Alyk Kryts *as=q^wan-* (2), Budukh *aq^ol-* {алкъол-, акъул-} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *g^y=i:ʔar* {гюъарас} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *g^y=iyar* ~ *g^y=uʔor* (3), Gelmet's Tsakhur *g^y=iʔor-* (3), Mukhad Rutul *s=uq^w-* {сукъуц ~ сукъас} (2), Ixrek Rutul *s=iq^h-* {сикъун} (2), Luchek Rutul *s=iq^w-* (2), Koshan Aghul *a=wq^h-a-* (2), Keren Aghul *iq^w-a-* (2), Gequn Aghul *iq^w-a-* (2), Fite Aghul *üq^w-e-* (2), Aghul (proper) *eq^w-a-* (2), Northern Tabasaran *de=ʔeʔ-* (3), Southern Tabasaran *č=eʔ-* (3), Gyune Lezgi *az=^huq^h-* (2), Proto-Lezgian **ʔiq^wä-* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 48; Mobili 2010: 33. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. There exists also the syncopated masdar *arst:un* {арстун} [Gukasyan 1974: 47; Mobili 2010: 33; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560], which originates from **arc-sun* with the regular development *Cc-s* > *Cst*: (see [Maisak 2008a: 151 f.]).

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 48; Fähnrich 1999: 6; Dirr 1903: 55, 59, 60, 69, 71, 90; Schiefner 1863: 76; Schulze 2001: 249; Starchevskiy 1891: 488. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **arc-esun*. As is accepted in [NCED: 282] (now followed by [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44]), the medial *-r-* in **arc-* is to be interpreted as a fossilized durative/iterative infix infiltrated into the original root **ac-*. Caucasian Albanian data confirm this analysis.

In [Schulze 2001: 249], the stem *arc-* is unlikely analyzed as **ar-* 'to come (the past tense)' + **c* 'to sit' (i.e. 'to sit' < **he came and sat down*'), based on an incorrect analysis of the Nidzh masdar *arst:un* (< **ar-d-sun*, according to Schulze, but in fact regularly from **arc-sun*, see above).

- Caucasian Albanian:** A synchronically suppletive paradigm: *arec-a-* (present) / *ac-ar-* (past) 'to sit / to sit down' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-7]. The element *-r(e)-* in the present stem is a durative/iterative infix, the suffix *-ar-* is the past stem of the light verb *-ar-* 'came', see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-44].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 303; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560; Mikailov 1967: 97; Dirr 1908: 175, 221. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down / to stay, remain / to live (in general)'. Synchronically, a very irregular paradigm [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 74; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 243], although all the variety of forms apparently originates from one archaic root.
- As plausibly proposed in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 74 fn. 52], can be analyzed as the relict preverb *q'a* 'down' (cf. the adverb *q'a-tu* 'down there' etc.) plus the verb *'oqi-* *'to sit', which lost its generic semantics in Modern Archi and narrowed its original meaning to 'to get onto a horse; to ripen' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 288]. Alternatively and less likely it is possible to treat *q'e'yqi-* as a reduplicated formation from the same verb *'oqi-*, thus [NCED: 648].
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Saadiev 1994: 431, 434; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560. Initial *ās-* is apparently a fossilized rare spatial preverb. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Distinct, however, from paronymous *q=uq'n-* 'to sit down' [Saadiev 1994: 433] with the preverb *q=* 'above, down'.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 408. Paradigm: *as=q^wan-* [imperf.] / *as=q^wa-* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. It must be noted that in the Alyk verb the secondary suffix *-n-* is still restricted to the imperfective stem, whereas in Kryts proper it spread across the paradigm.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 19; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Ablaut paradigm: *a-l-q'ol-* [imperf.] / *aq'ul-* [perf.] with the durative infix *-l-* in imperfective.
- Both sources quote this verb as 'sit down', but the stative meaning 'to sit' is proved by textual examples, e.g., [Meylanova 1984: 95 sub *q'anik*; Talibov 2007: 79], etc. Also glossed as stative 'to sit' in [Meylanova 1984: 197; Talibov 2007: 229].
- In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560], 'to sit' is glossed as *gišeži* {гiшеджи}, which in fact is the aorist form *q:iše-ži* {кбишеджи} from the verb *q:=iše-* ~ *q:=iši-* 'to get onto a horse; to get on smth.' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88; Meylanova 1984: 89]. Apparently Comrie & Khalilov's *gišeži* 'to sit' is a mechanical citation of {Gišeži} - the first form quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 88] in the list of Budukh forms sub 'to get onto a horse' (actually, initial {G-} denotes *q-* in Kibrik & Kodzasov's transcriptions).
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 65, 875, 898; Ibragimov 1990: 31; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 126; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560. Irregular ablaut paradigm: *g^y=i:ʔar* < **g^y=i-y-ʔar* [imperf.] / 1/4 *g^y=uʔur*, 2/3 *g^y=iʔir* [perf.] / 1/4 *g^y=uʔar-as*, 2/3 *g^y=iʔar-as* [fut.] / *g^y=uʔr-e* [imv.]. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
- Distinct from the rare verb *g^y=iχ-* {гiхac} 'to sit down' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 874; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 119] (the only example found: "The eagle sat down on the rock" [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 119]) and the frequent *il^y=eχ-* {алихac} 'to get on (horse, motorcycle); to fly (q.v.)' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 869; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 38].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Dirr 1913: 147, 238. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], the ablaut paradigm is adduced with contracted forms: 1/2/4 *g^y=iyar* [imperf.] / 1/4 *g^y=u-r-* [perf., fut.]. In [Dirr 1913: 147-148], the archaic non-contracted stems with *-ʔ-* are quoted: 1 *g^y=uʔor* [imperf.] / 1 *g^y=uʔar-as* [fut.] / 1 *g^y=uʔor-e* [imv.]. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Ibragimov 1990: 197; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560. The following forms are attested: fut. 2(?) *g^y=iʔor-az* [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560] / imv. 1 *g^y=uʔr-a* [Ibragimov 1990: 197].
- Common Tsakhur:** Initial *g^y=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 172, 200; Ibragimov 1978: 95, 121; Makhmudova 2001: 73, 96, 209, 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560. Archaic paradigm in [Dirr 1912]: *s=uq^l-u-r-* [imperf., perf.] / *s=uq^w-a* [imv.]; innovative paradigm in the modern sources: *s=uq^l-a* [imv.]. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 229, 389; Ibragimov 1978: 194. Paradigm: *s=iq^l-u-r-* [imperf., perf.] / *s=iq^l-as* [inf.] / *s=iq^l-ä* [imv.]. It should be noted that in [Ibragimov 1978: 194], an archaic infinitive form *s=iq^w-as* with *-q^w-* is quoted. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 560], erroneously quoted as *s=uq^l-* {cyкьун}. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87. Paradigm: *s=i-r=q^w-a-r-* [imperf.] / *s=iq^l-u-r-* [perf.] / *s=iq^w* [imv.]. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. This verb is quoted with the meaning 'to sit down' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], but the lexical opposition 'to sit' : 'to sit down' is atypical for this region, thus we assume the aforementioned polysemy for Luchek *s=iq^w-*.
- Common Rutul:** Note the secondary loss of labialization of *q^w* in the Modern Mukhad and Ixrek paradigms, due to analogical levelling after the regular perfective form *s=iq^l--u-*.

Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Suleymanov 2003: 217; Shaumyan 1941: 142. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Initial *a=* (< *ʔa=*) is a spatial prefix [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.].

The same in the Arsug subdialect: *a=yq^w-a-* 'to sit' [Magometov 1970: 232 sentences 1, 9; Suleymanov 1993: 138; Suleymanov 2003: 217].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87; Magometov 1970: 189. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'.

The same in the Usug subdialect: *uq'-a-* 'to sit' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 121, 183; Shaumyan 1941: 142. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Infixated imperfective stem: *i-r-q^w-a-*.

Fite Aghul: Magometov 1970: 227 sentence 4; Suleymanov 1993: 138. In [Shaumyan 1941: 142], erroneously quoted as *iq^w-a-*.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 217; Shaumyan 1941: 142. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Infixated imperfective stem: *e-r-q^w-a-*.

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *iq^w-a-*, Khpyuk *uq'-a-* 'to sit' [Suleymanov 1993: 138; Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Common Aghul: Note the rare case of retention of the Lezgian imperfective infix *-r-* in the Gequn and Proper Aghul imperfective stem *V-r-q^w-a-* (cf. [Suleymanov 1993: 138 f.]).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *d=eʔ-* 'to sit, sit down' [Uslar 1979: 665, 1005; Dirr 1905: 164, 242]. Cf. the class 2 form *d=ep'-* < **d=e-b-ʔ-*. The Khanag prefixless verb *eʔ-* possesses a more specific meaning: 'to sit in smth., sit down in smth. (e.g., in cart, boat, nest)' [Uslar 1979: 684]. Distinct from Khanag *d=us-*, glossed as 'to stand (said of thing) / to squat, sit squatting (said of human) / to sit (said of bird)' in [Dirr 1905: 165], as 'to kneel / to stand (said of thing or animal)' in [Uslar 1979: 672].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *d=eʔ-* ~ *d=eʔy-* {депЮв, деюв} 'to sit' [Genko 2005: 59]. Distinct from Khyuryuk *d=us-* {дубсуб} 'to kneel' [Genko 2005: 61].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 87. Two Kondik verbs are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] as synonyms for 'to sit down': *č=eʔ-* and *d=us-*, the difference is not explicated. Apparently *d=us-* means specifically 'to sit down', whereas *č=eʔ-* possesses a more generic meaning, see Common Tabasaran notes.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *č=e-* ~ *č=e-* {чеуб, ччеуб} 'to sit, sit down' [Genko 2005: 180]. Cf. another verb with a more specific meaning in the Eteg subdialect: *d=us-* {дусуб} 'to sit down' [Genko 2005: 63].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *d=e-* {деуб} 'to sit, sit down' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 146, also 52 sub *aywan*, 249 sub *parta*, etc.]. Distinct from literary *d=us-* {дубсуб} with polysemy: 'to stand smth. vertically (e.g., pole) / to squat down / to sit down (dialectal)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 150].

Common Tabasaran: We presume that Tabasaran verbs which are quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988] for the concept 'to sit down' actually possess polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down', although it is very likely that Kibrik & Kodzasov's Kondik *d=us-* means only 'to sit down', as proven by data from other Southern subdialects.

Initial *d(V)=*, *č=* ~ *č=* are spatial prefixes.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 329, 634. Polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down'. Initial *az=* is a spatial prefix.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *ac=uq'-* {ацукъун} 'to sit / to sit down' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 54; Gadzhiev 1950: 764, 766; Haspelmeth 1993: 479, 526; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 98].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 647. Distribution: Retained as the basic root for 'to sit, to sit down' in Archi, on the one hand, and in most Nuclear Lezgian lects, on the other. This root was lost in Udi and Tsakhur, whereas in Tabasaran, it survived as Khiv *ut'=uq'-* 'to squeeze in(to); to prop up' [Genko 2005: 157], Literary *ut'=uq'-* 'to stick in, sink in' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 300].

In Caucasian Albanian-Udi, the root for 'to sit / to sit down' is *ac-*. As proposed in [NCED: 281], this form originates from **ʔos:V-*, which is also attested in Tabasaran as *d=us-* 'to squat (down), sit squatting; to sit down; to kneel'. For the sporadic affricate reflexes of the Proto-Lezgian tense fricatives in Udi see [NCED: 146]; Tabasaran lax *s* is, however, irregular in any case (the expected Northern Tabasaran reflex of **s:* is *s:*). Such phonetic deviations, together with scant attestation of this root among Lezgian languages, makes the reconstruction of **ʔos:V-* highly dubious. We prefer to regard Caucasian Albanian-Udi *ac-* and *us-* as unrelated forms, whose etymology is unclear.

In Tsakhur and Tabasaran, the old root for 'to sit' was superseded with **ʔeʔ^(w)Vr-* [NCED: 409] - apparently an independent development in two individual Nuclear Lezgian languages. The exact original meaning of **ʔeʔ^(w)Vr-* is

unknown, because it seems lost in all other Lezgian lects; external North Caucasian comparison points to semantics of 'sitting' or similar states.

Replacements: {'to sit' > 'to stay, remain' > 'to live (in general)'} (Archi), {'to sit' > 'to squeeze in(to); to prop up'} (Khiv Tabasaran), {'to sit' > 'to stick in, sink in'} (Literary Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the *-n* and *-l* root extensions in Kryts and Budukh, respectively. The following Ablaut grades are attested in various languages: *ʔiq^wä- / *ʔäq^wä- / *ʔoq^wä-.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with polysemy: 'to sit / to sit down' (this polysemy is retained in all or almost all the lects).

75. SKIN

Nidzh Udi *t:ol* {*mIol*} (1), Vartashen Udi *t:ol* {*mIol*} (1), Archi *qal* (2), Kryts (proper) *leʃ* (3), Alyk Kryts *ʃič* (4), Budukh *läʃ* {*lavɔI*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:ek^wa* {*къека*} (5), Mikik Tsakhur *vek^wa* (5), Gelmets Tsakhur *q'abix* {*кьабых*} (6), Mukhad Rutul *liʃ* {*лив*} (3) / *q:idiq'* {*кьидикь*} (7), Ixrek Rutul *q'idiq'* {*кьидикь*} (7), Keren Aghul *χam* (8), Gequn Aghul *q'areq'* (7), Aghul (proper) *χam* (8), Northern Tabasaran *q'iriq'* (7), Southern Tabasaran *χam* {*хам*} (8), Gyune Lezgi *χam* (8).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 210; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 177; Mobili 2010: 275. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 210; Fähnrich 1999: 32; Schiefner 1863: 94; Schulze 2001: 327; Starchevskiy 1891: 501. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **t:ol*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested. Cf. *t'ol* 'hide (of sheep, goat)' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-40].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 177; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 295, 363; Mikailov 1967: 202. Polysemy: 'human skin / peel (of fruit)'; in [Dirr 1908: 162] only with the meaning 'peel, shell, bark'; in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 97] apparently only with the meaning 'peel' (but there are no terms for 'human skin' in [Dirr 1908] and [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]). Distinct from various terms for 'hide', see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40 f.; Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 145, 160]. In the 19th century probably with polysemy: 'skin / bark / peel', see notes on 'bark'.

It has been proposed by S. A. Starostin that Archi *qal* was borrowed from Avar *q:al* 'peel, shell, bark', but this scenario requires additional investigation. In any case, the meaning shift 'peel, bark' > 'skin' seems to be an inner Archi development; therefore, we treat *qal* 'skin' as a full-fledged item.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 41; NCED: 756. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of large cattle'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 177] 'skin, hide' is glossed as *vič* {*гвич*}, which is an incorrect spelling for *ʃič* {*гич*} 'hide of small cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 229, 264, 268, etc. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 101, 217; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 41; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 177. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of large cattle'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 33; Kibrik et al. 1999: 876; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 216. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of small cattle'. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 177], erroneously quoted as *q:eka* {*къека*}.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: Not attested, cf. *ek^wa* 'hide of small cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40; Dirr 1913: 150, 227. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of small cattle'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 177. Polysemy: 'bark (q.v.) / skin'. The word is borrowed from Azerbaijani *gabig* 'bark; shell', but it seems that the meaning 'skin' is an inner Gelmets development, therefore, we treat *q'abix* 'skin' as a full-fledged item (note that in principle the form is not very reliable, since it is attested only in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010]).

Cf. *kek^{wa}* 'hide of small cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 157, 192; Ibragimov 1978: 186. Quoted as the generic term for 'skin' in [Dirr 1912] and [Ibragimov 1978: 186], although in [Ibragimov 1978: 143, 222] Mukhad *li?* is specified as 'hide' or 'hide of large cattle'. Ibragimov 1978: 114, 117. According to Ibragimov's glosses, this seems to be the generic term for both human and animal skin (polysemy: 'skin / water-skin'), although in [Dirr 1912: 165] *q'idiq'* is translated as 'hide of ram'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 166, 348; Ibragimov 1978: 197, 222. Polysemy: 'human skin / animal hide / water-skin' (note that in the main section of the dictionary [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006] *q'idiq'* is glossed only as 'hide').

Luchek Rutul: Not attested.

Common Rutul: Muxrek dialect: both *li?* and *q'idiq'* are glossed as 'skin' without additional specifications [Ibragimov 1978: 186]; Shinaz dialect: *lā?* 'hide' [Ibragimov 1978: 143]; Borch-Khnov dialect: *li?* 'skin' without additional specifications [Ibragimov 1978: 237, 239].

A poorly documented term; it is unclear how the Proto-Rutul word for 'skin' should be reconstructed.

Note the dissimilation *q' > q-* in Mukhad *q'idiq'*.

Koshan Aghul: Not attested.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40. Polysemy: 'human skin / goat hide'.

Distinct from *q'adiq'* 'sheep hide' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40; Dirr 1907: 138, 174. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of small cattle'.

Fite Aghul: Not attested.

Aghul (proper): Shaumyan 1941: 186. Shaumyan does not provide the dialectal provenance, but apparently the quoted form is Тpig. Missing from [Suleymanov 2003].

Distinct from *q'udaq'* 'sheep hide' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40; Shaumyan 1941: 186].

Common Aghul: A poorly documented term; it is unclear how the Proto-Aghul word for 'skin' should be reconstructed.

Northern Tabasaran: Uslar 1979: 886, 995; Dirr 1905: 201, 231. This form is actually from the Khanag subdialect, not Dyubek. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide of small cattle or wolf'. The same in the Khyuryuk and Kumi subdialects: *q'iriq'* (къирикъ) 'skin; hide of small cattle' [Genko 2005: 107].

The proper Dyubek term for 'human skin' is unknown; cf. Dyubek *q'iyiq'-i*, which is glossed only as 'hide of small cattle' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40] and 'hide of ram' in [Genko 2005: 106] (erroneously quoted as *q'iyiq'* by Genko).

Southern Tabasaran: Genko 2005: 163. This form is actually from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik term for 'human skin' is unknown. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide (of goat and wild animals)'. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *хам* {хам} 'human skin / hide (e.g., of donkey)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 313].

Distinct from Kondik *vīʒiq'* 'hide of small cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40], Tinit *q'idiq'* 'skin (not specified), hide' [Genko 2005: 106] (quoted by Genko as *q'idiya?* {къидия?}, apparently a typo for {къидикъ}).

Common Tabasaran: It is unclear how the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'human skin' should be reconstructed: *q'idiq'* (Northern dialect *q'iriq'*) or *хам* (Southern dialect).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 570, 614. Polysemy: 'human skin / hide (e.g., of goat, wolf)'. Distinct from *qür* 'epidermis (of animal or snake)' [Uslar 1896: 482], *li* 'hide of large cattle' [Uslar 1896: 499], *tumaʒ* 'dressed hide (of goat or ram)' [Uslar 1896: 555] (the latter is borrowed from Azerbaijani *tumaʒ* 'morocco').

The same in Literary Lezgi: *хам* {хам} 'human skin / animal hide' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 340; Gadzhiev 1950: 294; Haspelmath 1993: 511, 526; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 326]. Distinct from literary *ли* {ли} 'hide of large cattle' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 224].

Cf. in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *qciq'* 'hide of small cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 40], *li?* 'hide of large cattle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 41].

Proto-Lezgian: Not reconstructible.

Distribution: Various terms for 'human skin' normally display the polysemy 'human skin / a k. of animal hide' in attested Lezgian 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.

In a couple of cases, the synchronic meaning 'human skin' originates from 'bark'. Thus, in Gelmets Tsakhur, *q'abiχ* 'bark / skin' was borrowed from the Azerbaijani term for 'bark'; similarly, Archi *qal* 'human skin / peel (of a fruit) / bark' could theoretically be borrowed from the Avar term 'peel, bark'.

Replacements: {'animal hide' > 'human skin'} (passim in Lezgian), {'bark' > 'human skin'} (Gelmets Tsakhur, Archi?).

76. SLEEP

Nidzh Udi *bas-k-sun* (1), Vartashen Udi *nep:-aχ-e-sun* {*непIахесун*} (2), Archi *'aχu-ke-* (3), Kryts (proper) *aχar-* (3), Alyk Kryts *aχar-* (3), Budukh *aχar-* {*архар-, ехур-*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:=i:san-* {*къийсан-*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *vil^y=ex-* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *val^y=ix-* {*ъалихъаз*} (4), Mukhad Rutul *s=aχ-* {*сахас*} (3), Ixrek Rutul *s=aχ-* {*сахын*} (3), Luchek Rutul *s=aχ-* (3), Koshan Aghul *aχ-a-* (3) / *ƒ=ark-i-* (5), Keren Aghul *ƒ=arx-a-* (6), Gequn Aghul *aχ-a-* (3), Fite Aghul *ƒ=arx-a-* (6), Aghul (proper) *ƒ=arx-a-* (6), Northern Tabasaran *gaʔ='aχ-* (3), Southern Tabasaran *a:χ-'* (3), Gyune Lezgi *k=us'u-* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔas^win-* ~ **ʔas^win-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Dm. Ganenkov & T. Maisak, p.c.; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep / to fall asleep'. For lexicographic and morphological information see notes on 'to lie'. According to the textual corpus of the UdiLang project (<http://udilang.narod.ru/index.html>), the verb 'to lie' is the most frequent and default expression for 'to sleep' in Modern Nidzh.

There also exists a specific archaic expression *nep:-aχ-e-sun* {*непIахесун*}, which is translated as 'to sleep, to fall asleep' in [Gukasyan 1974: 179; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235; Mobili 2010: 219]. However, according to T. Maisak (p.c.), the complex verb *nep:-aχ-e-sun* rather means 'to fall asleep', whereas for the stative meaning 'to sleep, be asleep' the lexicalized adverb *nep:-aχ-*, modified with personal exponents and other verbal clitics, is used as predicate.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 179; Dirr 1903: 20, 46; Schulze 2001: 302. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to fall asleep'. Glossed only as 'to fall asleep' in [Fähnrich 1999: 24; Schiefner 1863: 97; Starchevskiy 1891: 485]. The verb *bas-k-esun* 'to lie' can also be used in the meaning 'to sleep', see notes on 'to lie'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **nep-aχ-PERSON*, **nep-aχ-e-sun*, containing the Nidzh-Vartashen noun *nep:* 'dream; sleeping' [Gukasyan 1974: 179] and the light verb *-e-* 'to become' [Schulze 2005: 562 ff. (3.4.2.2 #11 ff.); Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 474]. As was plausibly proposed in [Schulze 2001: 302], *-aχ* is the dative-2 ending, modifying the noun *nep:*; Caucasian Albanian data support this solution. On the contrary, in [NCED: 273] *-aχ-* is interpreted as a verbal root, originating from the Proto-Lezgian verb **ʔaχär-* 'to sleep'; such an analysis should currently be rejected. In any case, synchronically *nep:* is the main meaningful morpheme in this verbal stem.

Caucasian Albanian: *nep'-aq bu-*, literally 'to be (*bu-*) in sleeping (*nep'-aq*)', *-aq* is the dative-3 ending, modifying the noun *nep'* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-32]. The verb *bas-k-esun* 'to lie' can also be used in the meaning 'to sleep', see notes on 'to lie'.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 194, 382; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235; Dirr 1908: 129, 222. Formed with the perfective stem of the verb *'=aχa-* 'to lie' q.v. [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 102] and the light verb *=ke-* 'to become' [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 100 ff.; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 78]. The literal meaning of *'aχu-ke-* is something like 'to become lying'. The plain verb *'=aχa-* 'to lie' can also be used in the meaning 'to sleep', see notes on 'to lie'. *Pace* [NCED: 264], *'=aχa-* 'to lie' and *'aχu-ke-* can hardly represent two etymologically different roots.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 405.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 21, 242; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235. Ablaut paradigm: *a-r-χar-* [imperf.] / *eχir-* [perf., inv.]; *-r-* is the imperfective infix. Polysemy: 'to sleep / to fall asleep'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 875; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 210. Ablaut paradigm: *q:=i:san-* < **q:=iysan-* [imperf.] / *q:=aysin* [perf.] / *q:=aysan-as* [fut.].

Distinct from *q:il^y-ex-* 'to lie' q.v.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Dirr 1913: 151, 239. Polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'. See notes on 'to lie'. Applied to sg. subj.

Distinct from *Ɂalʷ=ekʷ*- 'to lie; to lie down; to sleep' (pl. subj.) [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235. The future stem is *Ɂalʷ=ix-az*; other forms are unknown.

Common Tsakhur: The external Lezgian etymology suggests that Mishlesh *q:=i:san-* reflects the Proto-Tsakhur verb 'to sleep', whereas the primary meaning of *Ɂilʷ=ex-* (Mikik, Gelmets) was 'to lie, lie down (sg. subj.)'; afterwards, this verb underwent the areal isogloss of polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep'.

Initial *q:=* and double *Ɂ=Vlʷ=* are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 125; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 169, 201; Ibragimov 1978: 121; Makhmudova 2001: 16, 97, 244; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235. Paradigm: *s=a=r=χ-a-r-* [imperf.] / *s=aχ-i-r* [perf.].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 222, 397; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 235. Paradigm: *s=a=r=χ-ä-r-* [imperf.] / *s=aχ-i-r* [perf.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169. Paradigm: *s=a=r=χ-a-r-* [imperf.] / *s=aχ-i-r* [perf.].

Common Rutul: Initial *s=* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Suleymanov 2003: 54. Polysemy: 'to lie (down) / to sleep'.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], two verbs are quoted as synonyms for 'to sleep': *aχ-a-* and *Ɂ=ark-i-*; semantic and pragmatic nuances are unknown. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169; Suleymanov 2003: 54; Shaumyan 1941: 190. Note Burshag *=ark-i-* 'to lie (down)' q.v., modified with other prefixes.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169.

The same in the Usug subdialect: *Ɂ=arx-a-* 'to sleep' [Shaumyan 1941: 190].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 104, 184; Shaumyan 1941: 190. According to [Dirr 1907], polysemy: 'to lie / to lie down / to sleep'.

Fite Aghul: Shaumyan 1941: 190. Erroneously quoted as *Ɂ=arχ-a-* by Shaumyan.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 54; Shaumyan 1941: 190.

The same in the Duldug subdialect: *Ɂ=arχ-a-* 'to sleep' [Shaumyan 1941: 190] (apparently an error for *Ɂ=arx-a-*).

Differently in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *aχ-a-* 'to sleep' [Shaumyan 1941: 190].

Common Aghul: The prefixless verb *aχ-a-* is the likeliest Proto-Aghul term for 'to sleep' (retained in this meaning in Burshag Koshan, Gequn as well as the Tsirkhe subdialect of Proper Aghul), perhaps with polysemy: 'to lie / to sleep' (as in Burshag Koshan and Gequn). Other attested verbs for 'to sleep' are secondary prefixed formations on the basis of verbal roots for 'to fall'. Further see notes on 'to lie'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169.

The same root in the Khanag subdialect: *aχ-* 'to sleep' [Uslar 1979: 570, 1006; Dirr 1905: 155, 243]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *aχ-* {аҗыв, ахыв} 'to sleep' [Genko 2005: 12] (tense *χ*: {xx} is Genko's typo under the influence of the following entry).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 169. Morphologically *a=aχ-*.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *aχ-* {axyб} 'to sleep' [Genko 2005: 21]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *aχ-* {аҗыв} 'to sleep' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 45].

Common Tabasaran: Initial *a?(V)=* (i.e. *a=?(a)=*), *a=* (i.e. *?a=*) are spatial prefixes.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 466, 633. Ablaut paradigm: *k=us'u-* [imperf.] / *k=is'a-* [perf.] / *k=us'us* [redupl. imv.]. Initial *k=* is a spatial prefix.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *k=su-* [imperf.] / *k=sa-* [perf.] / *k=sus* [redupl. imv.] {ксуһ} 'to sleep; to fall asleep' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 164; Gadzhiev 1950: 806; Haspelmath 1993: 495, 526; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 365].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1037. Distribution: Retained in the Caucasian Albanian-Udi branch and two Nuclear Lezgian languages: Tsakhur, Lezgi. Further see notes on 'to lie'.

Replacements: {'to lie' > 'to sleep'} (Tsakhur), {'to fall' > 'to lie / to sleep'} (Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular; the root is poorly attested, therefore, the exact shape of the protoform cannot be reconstructed: the first vowel (**a?*) and the sibilant tenseness are unclear. Note the fossilized class prefix *b=* in Caucasian Albanian-Udi.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root.

77. SMALL

Nidzh Udi *mic:ik* {*мицИкI*} (1), Vartashen Udi *kic:i* {*κIицIи*} (2), Archi *t'i-t:u-CLASS* (3), Kryts (proper) *silä* (4), Alyk Kryts *silä* (4), Budukh *mik'e* {*микIe*} (5), Mishlesh Tsakhur *k'il'yi-n* {*κIылиn*} (6), Mikik Tsakhur *k'il'yi-n* (6), Gelmets Tsakhur *k'il'yi-n'y* (6), Mukhad Rutul *k'a?-di* {*κIаьды*} (6), Ixrek Rutul *k'a-di* {*κIады*} (6), Luchek Rutul *k'i?-di* (6), Koshan Aghul *ic'i-r* (7), Keren Aghul *bic'i-f* (7), Gequn Aghul *bic'i-f* (7), Fite Aghul *bic'i-t* (7), Aghul (proper) *bic'i-f* (7), Northern Tabasaran *bič'.w'i* ~ *bič'.w'i* (7), Southern Tabasaran *bic'i* (7), Gyune Lezgi *β^wač'i* (8), Proto-Lezgian **k'ǰ?wV* (6).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Dabakov 2008: 356; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583; Mobili 2010: 212; Schiefner 1863: 104. Polysemy: 'small (in size) / younger'.

Distinct from *mal* {*мал*} 'few, a few' [Gukasyan 1974: 169; Mobili 2010: 205]; Gukasyan and Mobili gloss this as 'small; a few', although the Azerbaijani translation and examples cited point to the meaning 'few, a few' (in [Gukasyan 1974: 271], however, *mal* is quoted as a Nidzh counterpart of Vartashen *kic:i* 'small'); glossed as 'few, a little' in [Schulze 2001: 296b]; glossed as 'wenig' in [Schiefner 1863: 104] (thus a Nidzh-Vartashen form); this cannot be a recent borrowing from Russian *maliy* 'small', *malo* 'a few' because of the presence of Caucasian Albanian *mal* 'small'.

Distinct from the less generic term *χuri* ~ *χuru* {*хури, хуру*} 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' [Gukasyan 1974: 226; Mobili 2010: 152; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] (an Azerbaijani loanword?).

Distinct from marginal *p:atar* {*ᄎᄎᄎᄎ*} 'small, little; a few' [Gukasyan 1974: 192; Mobili 2010: 238] (application of this adjective is unknown) < Modern Georgian *p'atar-a* 'small'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 143, 271; Mobili 2010: 174; Fähnrich 1999: 20; Schiefner 1863: 82; Schulze 2001: 292. A close synonym is more rare (or archaic?) *kic:ke* [Fähnrich 1999: 20; Schiefner 1863: 83; Schulze 2001: 292].

In fact, there also exists the word *mic:ik* 'small' [Fähnrich 1999: 23; Starchevskiy 1891: 493], which corresponds to the Nidzh term.

Common Udi: An unclear situation. Nidzh-Vartashen *mic:ik* is etymologically obscure, whereas Vartashen *kic:ke* is compared to Lezgian and North Caucasian words for 'puppy' in [NCED: 692]. It is quite unclear, however, whether the semantic shift 'puppy' > 'small' is possible.

A different solution is proposed in [Schulze 2001: 292]. According to Schulze, Vartashen *kic:ke* was borrowed from Persian *kučak* 'small; young' (which, in fact, originates from a certain descendant of Turkic **kičük* 'small'); afterwards, the final consonant of *kic:ke* was reanalyzed as the Iranian diminutive suffix *-k* and loped off; the word *kic:i* emerged as a result of this transformation. First, it should be noted that, from a phonetic point of view, Azerbaijani *kičik* 'small' (< Proto-Turkic **kičük*) could be a more appropriate source of borrowing of the Udi word (although the substitution Azerbaijani *č* > Udi *c* seems illogical). Next, in the case of morphological re-analysis of a loanword, this process is normally based on the grammatical patterns of the target language; re-analysis according to the grammatical patterns of the source language is typologically quite rare. Furthermore, Schulze explains the Nidzh (in fact Nidzh-Vartashen) form *mic:ik* as the second element of an unattested rhyming reduplication ***kic:ik-mic:ik*, which seems *ad hoc*. We prefer to treat both Nidzh-Vartashen *mic:ik* and Vartashen *kic:i* as unetymologizable formations of unknown origin.

Caucasian Albanian: A good candidate is *mal* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-29], which is attested in the meaning 'a few' (Jo. 6.7 "Two hundred pennyworth of bread is not sufficient (*mal*) for them"), as temporary 'a little while' (Jo. 12.35, etc.), in the meaning 'young, junior' (Mt. 10.42 "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones (*mal*) a cup of cold water only", Mk. 15.40 "Mary the mother of James the Less (*mal*) and of Joses, and Salome") and in the following context, which is the most significant: Mt. 5.19 "Whosoever therefore shall break one of these least (*mal*) commandments, and shall teach so, he shall be called the least (*mal*) in the kingdom of heaven". No other candidates for generic 'small' are known from the palimpsests.

- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 326, 366; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583; Mikailov 1967: 199; Dirr 1908: 185, 213. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], there is also a corrupted variant *t'i-du*-CLASS {тиддут}. Regular participle from the stative verb *t'i* 'to be small'. Widely applicable.
- Distinct from the less generic and less frequent term *muq^hu* '(to be) small in size, fine (Russian: мелкий)' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 282].
- Distinct from *hok'o* 'small' [Chumakina et al. 2007] and *hok'o-tu*-CLASS [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 243, 366; Chumakina et al. 2007] (both are apparently rare, at least the latter is considered a nursery word).
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583.
- Distinct from the less generic term *gügül*, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 69, 71, 72, 204, 287, 298, 311, 393. Widely applicable. A close synonym is *sink'ala* [Authier 2009: 69, 119, 180, 356]. The semantic difference between two adjectives is unclear, but the former is less frequent according to examples in [Authier 2009].
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 109, 220; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583. Polysemy: 'small, little / a little, a few'.
- Distinct from the less generic term *gərmə* {грамма} 'small in size (Russian: мелкий), fine' [Meylanova 1984: 35; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] (an Azerbaijani loanword?).
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 881, 895; Ibragimov 1990: 45; 53; 82; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 205; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583. Polysemy: 'small / younger'.
- The second, less generic and less frequent term is *χuru-n* ~ *χoru-n* 'shallow; small (in size); younger' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 890] (not found in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]; an Azerbaijani loanword?).
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *k'in^hi-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237]. Occasional assimilation < **k'il^hi-n*. Distinct from the less generic term *χuru-n*, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] (an Azerbaijani loanword?).
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Dirr 1913: 178, 229. Polysemy: 'small / younger / a few'. Cf. examples for the meaning 'small': "There is a flowing small spring" [Dirr 1913: 20], "small garden" [Dirr 1913: 25], "The young one must keep silent, when elders speak" [Dirr 1913: 32], "small man, small woman, small horse, small house" [Dirr 1913: 178], "Your small village is very small" [Dirr 1913: 210].
- Distinct from the less generic term *χuru-n*, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] (an Azerbaijani loanword?). According to the data in [Dirr 1913], *χuru-n* is an infrequent term, and the two attested examples point to the meaning 'young' rather than 'small': "small/young snakes" [Dirr 1913: 127, 130], "Children of my friends are still young/little" [Dirr 1913: 212].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583], apparently erroneously quoted as *k'il^hi-n^h*.
- Distinct from the less generic term *χuru-n^h*, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237] (an Azerbaijani loanword?).
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 152, 194; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 183. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583], quoted as *k'a-di* {κ'аады}. Polysemy: 'small / younger'.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 169, 353. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 583], quoted as *k'a-di* {κ'аады}. Polysemy: 'small / younger'.
- Distinct from the less generic term *žul-di* 'small in size (Russian: мелкий), fine, comminuted' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 109].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.
- Distinct from the less generic term *žul-di*, glossed as 'small in size (Russian: мелкий)' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].
- Common Rutul:** Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Magometov 1970: 170. In [Suleymanov 2003: 42], however, this Burshag adjective is quoted as *wic'i-r*.
- Cf. the forms from other subdialects: Arsug *uc'i-d* 'small' [Magometov 1970: 231 sentences 2, 19], Khudig *ac'i-d* 'small' [Magometov 1970: 48] (both forms are also quoted in [Suleymanov 2003: 42] without subdialectal specification).
- In [Shaumyan 1941: 155], Burshag, Arsug and Khudig words for 'small' are quoted as *uc'i-r*, *uc'i-d*, but this seems to be an inaccuracy.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. The same in the Usug subdialect: *bic'i-f* 'small' [Shaumyan 1941: 155].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Dirr 1907: 107, 176; Shaumyan 1941: 155. Polysemy: 'small / younger'.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Magometov 1970: 51; Shaumyan 1941: 155.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 42; Shaumyan 1941: 155. Polysemy: 'small / younger'. The same in the Duldug and Kurag subdialects: *bic'i-f* 'small' [Shaumyan 1941: 155; Magometov 1970: 49].

Note the form in the Tsirkhe subdialect: *ic'i-f* 'small' [Magometov 1970: 214 sentence 18; Shaumyan 1941: 155].

Common Aghul: The relationship between forms with *b-* (the bulk of the dialects) and without *b-* (all Koshan subdialects and the neighboring Tsirkhe subdialect of Proper Aghul) is unclear. The inconsistency of the forms in three Koshan subdialects is also rather suspicious.

Nevertheless, all the aforementioned forms are most probably related. It is possible that *b-* is an old fossilized class exponent, absent in Koshan, cf. [NCED: 287].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Genko 2005: 30. The variant with lax *-č^w* is from [Genko 2005].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *bic'i* with polysemy: 'small / younger' [Uslar 1979: 615, 997; Dirr 1905: 158, 233]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *bic'i* {бицИи} with polysemy: 'small / younger' [Genko 2005: 30].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *bic'i* {бицИи} with polysemy: 'small / younger' [Genko 2005: 30]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *bic'i* {бицИи} with polysemy: 'small / younger' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 87].

Common Tabasaran: Labialization of the Dyubek affricate č^w ~ č^w is etymologically unclear.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 384, 616. Polysemy: 'small / younger'. Distinct from the less generic Gyune term *k:ül'ü* 'small in size, fine' (Russian: мелкий) [Uslar 1896: 456].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *в^wеç'i* {гъвечИи} 'small / younger' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 93; Gadzhiev 1950: 345; Haspelmath 1993: 490, 526]. This is the most generic and frequent term for 'small' in the literary language. Distinct from *bic'i* {бицИи} 'small, tiny' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 66; Haspelmath 1993: 483] (may actually be a borrowing from Aghul-Tabasaran *bic'i* 'small' q.v.) and *k:ül'ü* {кульуь} 'small, tiny' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 169; Haspelmath 1993: 495].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *в^wаç'i* 'small' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237]. Distinct from the less generic Khlyut term *č:ül'ü*, glossed as 'small in size' (Russian: мелкий) in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 726. **Distribution:** This word is very unstable. The Proto-Lezgian terms cannot be reconstructed with certainty. Cf. the following roots attested in individual languages with the meaning 'small'.

k'it^wV-* [NCED: 726]: this root means 'small' in Rutul and probably in Tsakhur, if Tsakhur *k'il'it^w* is indeed to be analyzed as suffixed *k'i-l'it^w* (not a productive pattern). It is proposed in [NCED] to compare **k'it^wV-* with the Archi nursery word *hok'o* 'small' via metathesis, but the Archi reflex of the laryngeal is quite irregular (the expected Archi form should be *hok'o*). Cf. also the Budukh adverb *k'ibe-k'ibe* 'a bit' [Meylanova 1984: 98] (if to be analyzed as suffixed *k'i-be*).

t'i-* [NCED: 1001]: the Archi stative verb 'to be small', it is also attested in Lezgi as the adverb *t'i-mil* 'a few'. As proposed in [NCED], the Nidzh Udi form *t:ilin* with the presumable meaning 'small', attested in the expression *t:ilin k:äšä* 'little finger' [Gukasyan 1974: 209] ('little finger' is normally expressed as 'small' + 'finger' among the Lezgian languages), might contain the same root **t'i-*. This could be decisive evidence for the reconstruction of Proto-Lezgian **t'i-* 'small', but the morphological analysis of the Udi form as *t:i-li-n* with a double suffix does not seem reliable (the suffix *-li-* is very rare, if it exists at all). Synchronically, Udi *t:ilin k:äšä* looks like a genitive compound 'finger (*k:äšä*) of *t:il*' (for this morphological pattern see [Schulze 2005: 131 (3.2.2.3 #5)]). The meaning of the hypothetical *t:il* is, however, unclear; it cannot be a cognate of Proto-Nuclear Lezgian **t'il* (~ *-o-*) 'finger' [NCED: 1002], because the Udi form is expected to be *tul* in such a case.

**s:ilä-* [NCED: 963]: means 'small' in Kryts; its Proto-Lezgian meaning was 'light (in weight)'.

**mik^wV-* (~ *-e-*) [NCED: 821]: means 'small' in Budukh; its Proto-Lezgian meaning could be 'young' (as suggested by the Rutul cognate and external North Caucasian *comparanda*).

The Aghul and Tabasaran terms for 'small' go back to **pacV-y* [NCED: 287], whose original meaning could indeed have been 'goatling' or 'small sheep' (retained in Lezgi, Rutul, Tsakhur). Thus, the development 'goatling' > 'small' is to be postulated for Aghul-Tabasaran (it should be noted that the Koshan Aghul forms without the initial labial are inexplicable).

In Udi and Caucasian Albanian, etymologically unclear terms *micik*, *kici*, *mal* are attested in the meaning 'small'. Vartashen Udi *kici* 'small' is compared to Proto-Lezgian **kic* / **c'ik* in [NCED: 692], whose original meaning was 'puppy'; the shift 'puppy' > 'small' could be the same as in Aghul-Tabasaran ('goatling' > 'small').

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *kum* 'smoke' [Uslar 1979: 787, 993; Dirr 1905: 185, 228]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *kum* {кум} 'smoke' [Genko 2005: 89].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *kum* {кум} 'smoke' [Genko 2005: 89]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *kum* {кум} 'smoke' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 203].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 398, 610.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *gum* {гум} 'smoke' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 88; Gadzhiev 1950: 191; Haspelmath 1993: 489, 526].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *gim* 'smoke' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 207].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 738. Distribution: There are three different Lezgian roots for 'smoke' in the three main branches: Udi, Archi and Nuclear Lezgian. From the distributional point of view, these are equal candidates, but the Udi root possesses reliable North Caucasian *comparanda* with the same basic meaning, thus, **kun:* can be safely posited as the Proto-Lezgian term for 'smoke'. The vocalic development in Udi (*kuin*) is indeed somewhat strange, but this can hardly discredit the proposed etymology. Lezgian **kun:* shifted to the meaning 'dust' in Archi, (*gun*) having been lost in Nuclear Lezgian.

In Archi, the meaning 'smoke' is expressed with **ɾ^wiq:* [NCED: 251], an isolated form within Lezgian, but with external North Caucasian *comparanda* in the meaning 'fumes, stink'.

In Proto-Nuclear Lezgian, **kun:* was superseded with **λuma* (~ **λ^wi-*) [NCED: 590], which is retained with the meaning 'smoke' in all Nuclear Lezgian lects. Its original Proto-Lezgian meaning cannot be established, because it was lost in Udi and Archi, but external North Caucasian comparison suggests semantics of 'wind' or 'air'.

Replacements: {'smoke' > 'dust'} (Archi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the Udi diphthong.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

79. STAND

Nidzh Udi *čur-p-sun* {чурпсун} (1), Vartashen Udi *čur-p-esun* (1), Archi =*oci-* (2), Kryts (proper) *q:=at'äl-* (3), Alyk Kryts *q:=at'al-* (3), Budukh *q:=at'əl-* {къамIал, къалтIал-} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *il^y=ozar* ~ *il^y=oz^war* {улӕӕзар-} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *ul^y=ozar* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *ul^y=ozar-az* (2), Mukhad Rutul *l=uz-* {лызас} (2), Ixrek Rutul *l=uz-* {лызун} (2), Luchek Rutul *χ^fi_β=iχ-* (4), Koshan Aghul *a=ɬ=z-a-* (2), Keren Aghul *β=uz-a-* (2), Gequn Aghul *β=uz-a-* (2), Aghul (proper) *β=uz-ana-* (2), Northern Tabasaran *di=ɾ'iG-* (5), Southern Tabasaran *di=yi_β-'* (5), Gyune Lezgi *aq:^w=^laz-* (2), Proto-Lezgian **ɾec:^wär-* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. In [Gukasyan 1974: 238, 239] and [Mobili 2010: 85] quoted as *čur-p-esun*, *čur-d-esun* 'to stop moving'.

Vartashen Udi: Fähnrich 1999: 12; Dirr 1903: 49; Schiefner 1863: 88; Starchevskiy 1891: 489. Schulze [Schulze 2001: 266, 267] incorrectly treats *čur-p-esun* as causative 'to make stand' and *čur-d-esun* as intransitive stative 'to stand', although the situation in the texts from [Bezhanov & Bezhanov 1902] is exactly inverse.

Distinct from *ayz-esun* {айзесун} 'to stand up' [Gukasyan 1974: 38; Fähnrich 1999: 6].

Common Udi: Common Udi **čur-p-esun*; formed with the light verb *-p-* 'to say, to do smth. with the mouth; to do smth. (in general)' [Schulze 2005: 565 ff. (3.4.2.2 #15 ff.); Harris 2002: 204 ff.]. Apparently related to *čur-e-sun* 'to walk' (see notes on 'to go'), but semantic details are uncertain.

- Caucasian Albanian:** *bur-esun* with polysemy 'to stand (of humans, things) / to be at hand / to be, remain / to remain, stay / to dwell' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-12]. As plausibly analyzed in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-45, IV-12], this is a secondary verb based on the nominal form *huri* 'having come to be' (< **bu-ar-i*), a stative past participle from the generic verb *bu-* 'to be' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-11].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 287, 383; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 239; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561; Dirr 1908: 172, 222. In [NCED: 1025] erroneously quoted as =*oc:i-*. Polysemy: 'to stand (animated subj.) / to stop moving / to cultivate land'.
Distinct from the nursery word *vet'-bo-* 'to stand' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 311, 383; Chumakina et al. 2007] (complex verb, formed with the suppletive light verb *-bo-* 'to say').
Distinct from = $\chi^i a-$ 'to stand up; to grow; to be in heat (of animals)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 337, 354] and *y'ati* = $\chi^i a-$ 'to stand up' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 254, 354] (*y'ati* 'up').
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. Initial *q-* is the preverb 'above' [Saadiev 1994: 424].
Distinct from *q=uzur-* 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85].
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 240, 406.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 82; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Ablaut paradigm: *q=a-l-t'əl-* [imperf.] / *q=et'il-* [perf., imv.]; *q=* is the preverb 'out' [Alekseev 1994: 271], *-l-* is the imperfective infix. Polysemy: 'to stand (animated subj.) / to stop moving'.
In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561], 'to stand' is incorrectly glossed as the analytic form *авти уихар* (агъми йихъар), which, in fact, means 'to stand face to face, to say smth. right to smb.'s face' [Meylanova 1984: 16].
Distinct from *q=uzar-* [imperf.] / *q=uzur-* [perf.] 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85; Meylanova 1984: 91, 208].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 878; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 179; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. Ablaut paradigm: *il^y=o-y-zar* ~ *il^y=o-y-z^war* [imperf.] / *il^y=ozur* [perf.] / *il^y=ozar-as* [fut.]. Polysemy: 'to stand (animated & inanimate subj.) / to stand up / to stop moving'; for the stative meaning cf. examples in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 107; Kibrik et al. 1999: 117; Kibrik et al. 1999: 302], etc. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], the form is quoted with an error.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86; Dirr 1913: 184, 239. Ablaut paradigm: *ul^y=o-y-zar* [imperf.] / *ul^y=ozir* [perf.] / *ul^y=ozar-es* [fut.]. Applied to animated & inanimate subj.
Distinct from Mikik *ozaq-Vx-* 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85] (the second element could be the auxiliary verb *e:xe-* [imperf.] / *ixa-* [perf.] 'to become' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 62]).
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. The future stem.
- Common Tsakhur:** Labialized *-z^w* is still retained in some forms in the Mishlesh dialect, namely, imperf. class 2 *il^y-e-y-z^war* ~ *il^y-e:-z^war* [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 179; Kibrik et al. 1999: 878], fut. class 2 ~ *il^y-e:-z^war-as* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 878], but in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 179] the latter form is already delabialized: *il^y-e-y-zar-as*. In Mikik the delabialized *-z-* was totally levelled under the influence of the frequent forms with the regular development *oC^w > oC*, *bC^w > bC*.
Initial *V^y* is a prefix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 123; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 158, 201; Ibragimov 1978: 97; Makhmudova 2001: 140; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. Paradigm: *l=uz-u-r* [imperf., perf.] / *l=uz-a* [imv.]. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 181, 399; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 561. Paradigm: *l=u=r=z-ä-r-* [imperf.] / *l=uz-u-r* [perf.]. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Paradigm: $\chi^i i_B=i=r=\chi^i a-r-$ [imperf.] / $\chi^i i_B=i\chi^i i-r-$ [perf.]. Distinct from Luchek *l=uz^w* 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85].
- Common Rutul:** External Lezgian etymology suggests that the Luchek root is an innovation in the meaning 'to stand'.
Initial *l=* and $\chi^i i_B=i$ are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 95; Alekseev 1994a: 227; Makhmudova 2001: 165].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86; Suleymanov 2003: 55. Distinct from Burshag *v=az^w-a-* 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85], although both synchronic roots are apparently related etymologically.
The same in the Khudig subdialect: *a=H=z-a-* 'to stand' [Shaumyan 1941: 191].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Distinct from Richa *va=yš-a-* 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85].
The same in the Usug subdialect: *v=uz-a-* 'to stand' [Shaumyan 1941: 191].
- Gequn Aghul:** Dirr 1907: 110. Infixed imperfective stem: *v=u-r-z-a-*. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'.
- Fite Aghul:** Not attested.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 55; Shaumyan 1941: 191. Infixed imperfective stem: $\nu=ur-z-an-$. Polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up / to stop moving'.

Common Aghul: Initial $a=$ ($< ?a=$), $\nu=$ and $\text{ʃ}=\text{}$ are spatial prefixes [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.].

Note a rare case of retention of the Lezgian imperfective infix $-r-$ in the Gequn and Proper Aghul imperfective stem $\nu=ur-z-a-$ (cf. [Suleymanov 1993: 138 f.]).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Morphologically $di=?i-$ CLASS- ϵ . Distinct from Dyubek $\text{ʃ}i:\text{ʒ}^w-$ [imperf.] / $a=?u\text{ʒ}^w-$ [perf.] 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85].

The same in the Kumi subdialect: $di=yiq-$ {дийикъув} 'to stand' [Genko 2005: 60].

A different pattern in the Khanag subdialect: $di=\nu=i\text{ʒ}^w-$ [imperf.] / $du=\nu=u\text{ʒ}^w-$ [perf., inf.] with polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up / to stay at rest' [Uslar 1979: 673, 1007; Dirr 1905: 164, 243]. The change $u > i$ in the imperfective stem is synchronically regular, see [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 34 f.] for the same ablaut in Dyubek.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: $di=\nu=i\text{ʒ}^w-$ [imperf.] / $du=\nu=u\text{ʒ}^w-$ [perf.] {дугъубжъув} with polysemy: 'to stand / to stay at rest' [Genko 2005: 61].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 86. Distinct from Kondik $\nu u=d=u\text{ʒ}^w-$ 'to stand up' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 85].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: $di=yi\nu-$ {дийибгъуб} 'to stand; to stop moving' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 147].

Differently in the Khiv subdialects: $\nu u=d=u\text{ʒ}^w-$ {гъудужъуб} 'to stand; to stand up' [Genko 2005: 44]. Cf. Khiv $du=\nu=u\text{ʒ}^w-$ {дугъубжъуб} 'to stop moving' [Genko 2005: 61].

Common Tabasaran: Initial $d(V)=$, $\text{ʃ}(V)=/\nu(V)=$ are spatial prefix.

Formally, it is possible to reconstruct the Proto-Tabasaran opposition $=?i \epsilon$ ($=yiv-$) 'to stand' / $=i\text{ʒ}^w-$ ($=u\text{ʒ}^w-$) 'to stand up' (retained in Dyubek and Kondik, but secondarily lost in favor of the latter root in most of the other dialects). External Lezgian comparison suggests, however, that $=i\text{ʒ}^w-$ ($=u\text{ʒ}^w-$) should be rather reconstructed with Proto-Tabasaran polysemy 'to stand / to stand up'; if so, Dyubek and Kondik $=?i \epsilon$ ($=yiv-$) 'to stand' is a late introduction.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 334. Polysemy: 'to stand (normally applied to the animated subject) / to stop moving / to stay at rest'. Distinct from Gyune $q:=ar'av-$ 'to stand up' [Uslar 1896: 487, 607].

The same in Literary Lezgi: $aq:=az-$ {акъвазун} with polysemy: 'to stand (applied to the animated subject) / to stop moving / to stay at rest' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 38; Gadzhiev 1950: 822; Haspelmath 1993: 481, 527; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 58]. Distinct from literary $q:=ar'av-$ {къарагъун} 'to stand up' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 180; Gadzhiev 1950: 111; Haspelmath 1993: 501; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 394].

For the phonetics cf. Migrakh (subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect < Samur group) $q:=uc:(V)-$ 'to stand' [Meylanova 1964: 258], Khuryug (subdialect of the Akhty dialect < Samur group) $q:=uc:(V)-$ 'to stand' [Meylanova 1964: 315].

Initial $aq:=$, $q:=$, $q=$ are old spatial prefixes.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1025. Distribution: As opposed to 'to lie' q.v. or 'to sit' q.v., where the stative meaning 'to lie' ('to sit') is normally expressed with the same verb as the active 'to lie down' ('to sit down'), the meanings 'to stand' and 'to stand up' appear to be rather frequently distinguished through lexical means among Lezgian languages.

Nevertheless, the Proto-Lezgian root $*\text{ʔ}ec:=\text{ʔ}ar-$ [NCED: 1025] can be assuredly reconstructed with polysemy: 'to stand / to stand up'. Actually, the isogloss of lexical discrimination between the two meanings seems to be a recent areal innovation among Lezgian languages, because newly introduced verbs with the specific meaning 'to stand' or 'to stand up' almost never coincide between languages.

The root $*\text{ʔ}ec:=\text{ʔ}ar-$ [NCED: 1025] is retained with polysemy 'to stand / to stand up' in some Nuclear Lezgian languages: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), Aghul and perhaps in Proto-Tabasaran (although the latter is not certain). In one of the outliers - Archi - as well as in Lezgi, the original meaning was narrowed to 'to stand'. On the contrary, $*\text{ʔ}ec:=\text{ʔ}ar-$ was narrowed to 'to stand up' in the second outlier - Udi - and in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh). Similarly, the best formal solution for Proto-Tabasaran would be to reconstruct $*\text{ʔ}ec:=\text{ʔ}ar-$ with the narrow meaning 'to stand up'.

The new verbs for 'to stand' are:

1) $*\text{ʔ}Vt'VL-$, attested in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) as 'to stand', lacking further etymology;

2) in Udi, the etymologically obscure root $\text{ʃ}ur-$ is used for the verb 'to stand' (formally the same root as in the Udi verb 'to walk');

3) in Caucasian Albanian, 'to stand' is derived from the generic verb 'to be'.

The new verbs for 'to stand up' are:

1) *ʔiχ:a- [NCED: 575]; this root means 'to stand up' in Luchek Rutul (theoretically, such a meaning could be reconstructed for Proto-Rutul) and in one of the outliers - Archi. The root *ʔiχ:a- was lost in the rest of Lezgian lects, so its Proto-Lezgian meaning is not reconstructible. Formally, the match between Archi and Rutul could yield the Proto-Lezgian root for 'to stand up', but we consider the available data too scant for such a reconstruction. Apparently Archi and Luchek Rutul represent independent innovations;

2) *yaq:V- [NCED: 275], attested as 'to stand up' in some Tabasaran dialects (formally this should be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran verb 'to stand up'); the original Lezgian meaning of *yaq:V- was '(to be) high';

3) Etymologically, not entirely clear are Mikik Tsakhur *ozaq-Vx-* 'to stand up' and Lezgi *q=ar'ak-* 'to stand up'.

Replacements: {'to be' > 'to stand'} (Caucasian Albanian), {'to be high' > 'to stand'} (Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root with polysemy 'to stand / to stand up'.

80. STAR

Nidzh Udi *muč:ʔuli* {мучули} (1), Vartashen Udi *qabun* {хъабун} (2), Archi *χ:ʔol'oš=qʔan* (3), Kryts (proper) *hăč'* (3), Alyk Kryts *hač'* (3), Budukh *hač'* {хIачI} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χʔanʔe* {хаIне} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *χʔanʔe* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *χʔanʔe* (3), Mukhad Rutul *χʔad-ey* ~ *χʔad-iy* {хIаIдуй} (3), Ixrek Rutul *χʔad-ey* {хIаIдуй} (3), Luchek Rutul *χʔad-ey* (3), Koshan Aghul *ħar* (3), Keren Aghul *ħad* (3), Gequn Aghul *ħad* (3), Fite Aghul *χʔad* (3), Aghul (proper) *ħad* (3), Northern Tabasaran *χʔay* {хяӡ} (3), Southern Tabasaran *χʔaž* (3), Gyune Lezgi *ved* (3), Proto-Lezgian *χ:ʔan:a ~ *χ:ʔan: (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 176, 262; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53; Mobili 2010: 214.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 262; Fähnrich 1999: 27; Schiefner 1863: 85; Schulze 2001: 309; Starchevskiy 1891: 499.

Common Udi: Both attested forms (Nidzh *muč:ʔuli* and Vartashen *qabun*) are obscure morphologically and isolated etymologically. Caucasian Albanian data suggest that they must be relatively recent innovations.

In [Schulze 2001: 299] it is tentatively proposed to derive *muč:ʔuli* from the Udi substantive *mi* 'cold, frost' ('star' as 'cold (light)'), but this is problematic from the morphologic point of view and seems impossible typologically.

In [Schulze 2001: 309] *qabun* is *ad hoc* segmented as *qa-b-un* and connected to the basic Lezgian term for 'star': *χ:ʔan:a [LEDb], which is impossible phonetically.

Caucasian Albanian: *χalʔum* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22]. The final *-m* looks like a fossilized plural exponent. This term probably continues Proto-Lezgian *χ:ʔan:a 'star'. It must be noted that the *l*-like value of sign #22 (currently transliterated as *lʔ*) is established with relative assurance, see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-13]. The development of Lezgian **n*: > Caucasian Albanian *lʔ* is somewhat surprising (note that Lezgian **n*: > Udi *n*), although not impossible.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 340, 360; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53; Mikailov 1967: 202; Dirr 1908: 190, 209. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] an incorrect variant with initial *χʔ*- is also quoted. The first element is adverbial *χ:ʔol'o-š* 'from above, from the sky' (-š is the relative ending).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 39, 341.

Budukh: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. In [Meylanova 1984: 40, 214] this word is quoted as *hač'* {гъачI} - apparently an error (repeated in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53]).

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 894; Ibragimov 1990: 23; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *χʔanʔe* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Dirr 1913: 209, 226.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: $\chi an^{\nu}e$.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 177, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 27, 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53. The non-assimilated variant with *-e-* comes from [Dirr 1912].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 271, 342; Ibragimov 1978: 194; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 53.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198.

Common Rutul: Final *-ey* is a common nominal suffix with general semantics [Ibragimov 1978: 65].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Suleymanov 1993: 69; Suleymanov 2003: 65; Shaumyan 1941: 180.

The same in the other subdialects: Arsug, Khudig *Had* 'star' [Suleymanov 1993: 69].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. The same in the Usug subdialect: $\chi^{\nu}ad$ 'star' [Shaumyan 1941: 180].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Dirr 1907: 118, 173; Suleymanov 1993: 57, 69; Shaumyan 1941: 180.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Suleymanov 1993: 57; Shaumyan 1941: 180.

Aghul (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Suleymanov 1993: 57; Suleymanov 2003: 65; Shaumyan 1941: 180.

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe $\chi^{\nu}ar$, Duldug, Khpyuk *Had* 'star' [Suleymanov 1993: 57, 69; Shaumyan 1941: 180].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198; Genko 2005: 168.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: $\chi^{\nu}ar$ 'star' [Uslar 1979: 956, 994; Dirr 1905: 216, 229]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk $\chi^{\nu}ar$ {ххяр}, Chuvek $\chi a\check{s}$ {хажж} 'star' [Genko 2005: 162, 168].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198. Paradigm: $\chi^{\nu}a\check{s}$ [abs.] / $\chi^{\nu}a\check{s}-li$ ~ $\chi^{\nu}a\check{s}-ri$ [erg.].

The same in other subdialect: Khiv $\chi^{\nu}a\check{s}$ {хежж, хяжж}, Turag $\chi^{\nu}ad$ {хяд} 'star' [Genko 2005: 164, 168]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: $\chi^{\nu}ad$ {хяд} 'star' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 319].

Differently in two subdialects of the Eteg cluster: Tinit, Dzhikhtig $\check{c}iz$ {чиз} 'star' [Genko 2005: 186].

Common Tabasaran: Southern dialectal $\check{c}iz$ is of unclear origin.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 384, 613. Paradigm: *ved* [abs.] / *vet-r'e-* [obl.] / *vet-er* [pl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *ved* [abs.] / *vet-r'e-* [obl.] / *vet-er* [pl.] {гвед} 'star' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 93; Gadzhiev 1950: 243; Haspelmath 1993: 490, 527].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut $\chi\ddot{u}d$ [abs.] / $\chi\ddot{u}d-r'a-$ [obl.] / $\chi\ddot{u}t-er$ [pl.] 'star' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 198].

Proto-Lezgian: LEDb: #97. Distribution: This stem is retained as the basic term for 'star' in all lects (apparently including Caucasian Albanian), except for Udi and some Tabasaran dialects.

In Udi, two etymologically obscure forms for 'star' occur: *muč^huli*, *qabun*. In Southern Tabasaran (Tinit, Dzhikhtig), 'star' is denoted with $\check{c}iz$, whose origin is likewise unclear.

The reconstruction of the Proto-Lezgian $*\chi^{\nu}an:a \sim *\chi^{\nu}an$: seems unproblematic, but the fact that $*\chi^{\nu}an:a \sim *\chi^{\nu}an$: lacks any external North Caucasian cognates is suspicious.

Actually, Proto-Lezgian $*\chi^{\nu}an:a \sim *\chi^{\nu}an$: looks like a derivative stem from the Proto-Lezgian substantive $*\chi^{\nu}an$: 'fish' q.v. [NCED: 1078]. Cf. the data from two dialects, where both Proto-Lezgian terms survived: Shinaz Rutul $\chi^{\nu}at$ (< $*\chi^{\nu}ad$), Gyune Lezgi *ved* 'fish' vs. Common Rutul $\chi^{\nu}ad-ey$, Gyune Lezgi *ved* 'star'.

Theoretically, it is possible to hypothesize a Proto-Lezgian mythologem, according to which stars are considered "sky fishes". The modern Archi complex expression for 'star' might be a clue to such a reconstruction: $\chi^{\nu}ol'o\check{s}-q^{\nu}an$, literally 'q^{an} from above / from the sky'. In modern Lezgian lects, 'fish' is a very unstable word (as opposed to 'star'); this could be explained as the result of later attempts to avoid the homonymy 'star' / 'fish' already after the myth of "sky fishes" had disappeared. If so, the data from Eteg Tabasaran are particularly interesting, because Eteg is the third dialect among Lezgian languages which retains the old term for 'fish' (Tinit, Dzhikhtig $\chi^{\nu}ad$), but it is exactly in Eteg where the old term for 'star' has been superseded with the unclear word $\check{c}iz$.

Replacements: {'fish' > 'star'(?)} (Proto-Lezgian).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for dissimilative q^{ν} (for expected χ^{ν}) in Archi and ejectivevization of the final consonant in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh); note also the somewhat strange reflex $*n:$ > l^{ν} in Caucasian Albanian. The direct stem with the final vowel $*\chi^{\nu}an:a$ (a rare nominal type) is reconstructed on the basis of the Tsakhur form $\chi^{\nu}an^{\nu}e$ [NCED: 171]; on the other hand, Tsakhur may represent the same suffixal formation as Rutul $\chi^{\nu}ad-ey$ (with the loss of *-y* in Tsakhur).

Semantics and structure: Nominal stem, maybe of denominative nature. The oblique stem is *χ:^fan:ä-.

81. STONE

Nidzh Udi ž^fe {жIев} (1), Vartashen Udi ž^fe {жIев} (1), Archi č^fel'e (2), Kryts (proper) χud (3), Alyk Kryts *dahar* (4), Budukh *q:aye* {κβαυε} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:aye* {κβαε} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *q:aye* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *q:ayä* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *duχ-ul* {δυχυλ} (3), Ixrek Rutul *duχ-ul* {δυχυλ} (3), Luchek Rutul *dahar* (5), Koshan Aghul *ɤ^wan* (6), Keren Aghul *ɤ^wan* (6), Gequn Aghul *ɤ^wan* (6), Fite Aghul *ɤ^wan* (6), Aghul (proper) *ɤ^wan* (6), Northern Tabasaran *gan* (6), Southern Tabasaran *ɤ^wan* (6), Gyune Lezgi *q:^wan* (6), Proto-Lezgian **q:^wan* (6).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 114; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50; Mobili 2010: 158. Paradigm: ž^fe [abs.] / ž^fen-en [erg.].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 114; Fähnrich 1999: 35; Schiefner 1863: 92; Schulze 2001: 337; Starchevskiy 1891: 500. Paradigm: ž^fe [abs.] / ž^fen-en [erg.].

Common Udi: Common Udi *ž^fe [abs.] / *ž^fen- [obl.].

Caucasian Albanian: ž^fe [abs.] / ž^fen- [obl.], see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-14, 23, IV-18].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 214, 361; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50; Mikailov 1967: 206; Dirr 1908: 195, 210. Glossed as 'middle-sized stone' in [Chumakina et al. 2007]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], the word *q^wen* is also quoted as a synonym of č^fel'e, although in fact *q^wen* means 'rock (i.e. cliff etc.)' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 300; Chumakina et al. 2007]; this is apparently due to an incorrect translation of the English entry title 'stone, rock' as Russian 'камень, скала', although *rock* is simply the modern American equivalent of *stone*.

Distinct from *q^wan* with polysemy 'large flat stone / large frying pan' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 298; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50.

Distinct from a more specific term *dahar* 'big stone' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201] (ultimately of Persian origin, see notes on Alyk Kryts).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 38, 173, 183, 216, 222, 258, 316, 326, etc. According to examples, with polysemy: 'stone in general or middle-sized / big stone, boulder / rock, cliff'. A *Wanderwort* attested in Lezgian (see individual notes on 'stone' and 'mountain'), Dargwa, Khinalugh, dialectal Azerbaijani etc. most commonly with the meaning 'big stone, rock, cliff'. Ultimately borrowed from Persian *dahar* 'grotto, cavern, cleft in a mountain' (the semantically closest form is Lezgi *dahar* 'cavern, deep cleft in a mountain'). Despite the foreign origin of the word, the meaning shift 'big stone, cliff' > 'stone in general' seems an independent inner Alyk development; therefore, we treat *dahar* 'stone' as a full-fledged Alyk item.

Distinct from inherited Alyk *χud* 'rock, cliff' [Authier 2009: 25, 39, 81].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 82, 216; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50. A generic term. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gaya* 'rock, cliff; big stone', dial. 'stone in general'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 875, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 208; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50. According to [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], with polysemy: 'stone in general or middle-sized / big stone, boulder / rock, cliff'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *aye* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Dirr 1913: 195, 227.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50], quoted as *q:aye*.

Common Tsakhur: The term was borrowed from Azerbaijani *gaya* 'rock, cliff; big stone', dial. 'stone in general'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 135, 192, also 32, 119 sub *a* 'to be', 157 sub *lä?* 'to pick up', 168 sub *ruku-d* 'round', 171 sub *sil-di* 'light in weight'; Ibragimov 1978: 43, 67, 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50.

A second candidate is *q:at* {къат}, quoted in [Ibragimov 1978: 118] as a synonym for *duxul*, but not observed in other sources.

A third candidate is *c^war*, glossed as 'stone, small stone, gravel' in [Dirr 1912: 37, 179, 192], but, judging by Dirr's examples, this word seems more rare and marginal.

Cf. also non-inherited *dahar* '(building) stone' [Ibragimov 1978: 27, 29, 118].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 103, 346.

A second candidate is *dah^har* {даІгъаІр} 'stone' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 95, 346] (with the only example: "large stones"), ultimately borrowed from Persian (see notes on Alyk Kryts). The difference between *duxul* and *dah^har* is unclear; it is possible that *dah^har* specifically denotes a large stone.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 50], several specific terms are incorrectly quoted as synonyms for generic 'stone'.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201. A generic term, representing a *Wanderwort* of Persian origin (see notes on Alyk Kryts), although the meaning shift to 'stone in general' seems an independent inner Luchek development; therefore, we treat *dahar* 'stone' as a full-fledged Luchek item.

Distinct from inherited *duxul* 'small stone' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201] and *q:at* 'pebble' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202].

Common Rutul: Khnyukh dialect (subdialect of Mukhad): *q:at* 'stone', *dahar* 'rock, cliff; precipice' [Ibragimov 1978: 136]. Muxrek dialect: *duxul* 'stone' [Ibragimov 1978: 186]. Borch-Khnov dialect: *duxul* 'stone (in general)', *dahar* 'rock, cliff' [Ibragimov 1978: 293].

The distribution suggests that *duxul* is the Proto-Rutul term for 'stone' (historically *dux-ul* with the archaic suffix *-l*).

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Suleymanov 2003: 54; Shaumyan 1941: 192. In [Magometov 1970: 229 sentence 7], incorrectly transcribed as *v^wan*.

The same in the Arsug subdialect: *H^wan* 'stone' [Suleymanov 1993: 54].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201. The same in the Usug subdialect: *v^wan* 'stone' [Shaumyan 1941: 192].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Dirr 1907: 110, 174; Shaumyan 1941: 192.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201; Magometov 1970: 227 sentences 20-21; Shaumyan 1941: 192.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 54; Shaumyan 1941: 192. The same in the other subdialects: Duldug, Kurag, Khpyuk *v^wan* 'stone' [Shaumyan 1941: 192; Magometov 1970: 206 sentences 25, 27; 224 sentence 44].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *q:an* 'stone (in general)' [Uslar 1979: 818, 995]; note, however, that in [Dirr 1905: 186, 230] Khanag *q:an* is quoted only in the expression *niq-r-in q:an* 'tombstone' (*niq* 'tomb, grave'). According to [Dirr 1905: 161, 230], the generic Khanag term for 'stone' is *varz*, which is glossed as 'rock, cliff' in [Uslar 1979: 651] - perhaps a natural semantic rebuilding during the 2nd half of the 19th century between Uslar's and Dirr's records.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *q:an* {къан} 'stone' [Genko 2005: 99]; distinct from Khyuryuk *varz* {гъарзз} 'rock, cliff' [Genko 2005: 41].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201.

The same in the Tinit subdialect: *q:^wan* {къоан} 'stone' [Genko 2005: 101] (phonetically rather a Northern Tabasaran form!).

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *v^wan* {гъван} 'stone' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 110]; distinct from literary *varz* {гъарз} 'rock, cliff' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 108].

Two terms for 'stone' are documented for the Khiv subdialect: *varz* {гъарз} with polysemy: 'stone / rock, cliff / stony slope / precipice' [Genko 2005: 41] and *v^wan* {гъоан} 'stone' [Genko 2005: 43]. The difference is unknown.

Common Tabasaran: **q:^wan* can be safely reconstructed as the generic Proto-Tabasaran term for 'stone', although in some dialects this is currently being superseded by *varz* / *varz* 'rock, cliff'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 490, 614.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *q:^wan* {къван} 'stone' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 184; Gadzhiev 1950: 278; Haspelmath 1993: 503, 527].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q:^wan* 'stone (in general)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201]. Distinct from the Khlyut more specific term *kert:^wex* 'formless stone' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 201].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 490. Distribution: A rather unstable word. There are four candidates for the Proto-Lezgian term for 'stone', with more or less equal distribution:

1) **q:ʷan* [NCED: 490]. This is the generic term for 'stone' in East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), but denotes 'large flat stone; large frying pan' in Archi (*qʷan* [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 298; Chumakina et al. 2007]). External North Caucasian *comparanda* point to the meanings 'flat stone' or 'large stone';

2) **χut:* (~ **χ:-*) [NCED: 428]. This root denotes 'stone' in Kryts proper and Rutul (Rutul suffixed and metathesized *duχ-ul*), but 'rock, cliff' in Alyk Kryts. In [NCED: 428], Kryts proper *χud-il* 'tomb-stone' is also quoted (directly corresponds to Rutul *duχ-ul* 'stone'), but this Kryts form is not attested in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 191]. The root is not attested in the rest of Lezgian. Its external North Caucasian *comparanda* (if correct) point to the meaning 'grave, tomb';

3-4) in both of the outliers, etymologically obscure forms are attested: Udi-Caucasian Albanian *ž'e* (which implies Proto-Lezgian **č:en* ~ *-ä-* ~ *-n:*) and Archi *č'el'e*.

Provisionally, we fill the Proto-Lezgian slot with **q:ʷan*.

It must be noted that in Tabasaran dialects, **q:ʷan* tends to be superseded with the form *varz* in the meaning 'stone'; the Proto-Tabasaran meaning of *varz* apparently was 'rock, cliff'.

In Alyk Kryts and Luchek Rutul, the Persian loanword *dahar* is attested with the late semantic development 'big stone, rock, cliff' > 'stone (in general)'.
In Budukh and Tsakhur, inherited terms were superseded with Azerbaijani loanwords.

Replacements: {'big stone, rock, cliff' > 'stone'} (Alyk Kryts, Luchek Rutul), {'rock, cliff' > 'stone'} (Tabasaran dialects).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is not reconstructible.

82. SUN

Nidzh Udi *beβʰ* {*βeβzβ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *beβʰ* {*βeβzβ*} (1), Archi *barq* (1), Kryts (proper) *virak* (1), Alyk Kryts *varak* (1), Budukh *virak* {*βurazβ*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *werik* {*βerβzβ*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *wirik* (1), Gel mets Tsakhur *wirik* (1), Mukhad Rutul *wirik* {*βurβzβ*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *wirik* {*βurβzβ*} (1), Luchek Rutul *wirik* (1), Koshan Aghul *raʃ* (1), Keren Aghul *raβ* (1), Gequn Aghul *raβ* (1), Fite Aghul *raβ* (1), Aghul (proper) *raβ* (1), Northern Tabasaran *r'iG-i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *rik* (1), Gyune Lezgi *raβ* (1), Proto-Lezgian **wiraq:* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 78; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52; Mobili 2010: 56.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 78; Fähnrich 1999: 9; Dirr 1903: 64, 85; Schiefner 1863: 101; Schulze 2001: 257; Starchevskiy 1891: 507.

Common Udi: Common Udi **beβʰ*.

Caucasian Albanian: *bʰeβ* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-11].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 199, 382; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52; Mikailov 1967: 174; Dirr 1908: 133, 222. Paradigm: *barq* [abs.] / *berq-¹e* [erg.].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 36, 49, 182, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 34, 242; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 899; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 104; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *wireβ* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Dirr 1913: 143, 238.

Gel mets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 127, 201; Ibragimov 1978: 118. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52], erroneously quoted as *wirik* {*виригъ*}.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 48, 396; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 52.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Suleymanov 2003: 142; Shaumyan 1941: 159. The same in the Khudig subdialect: *raʃ* 'sun' [Shaumyan 1941: 159].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Magometov 1970: 136. The same in the Usug subdialect: *raʃ* 'sun' [Shaumyan 1941: 159].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Dirr 1907: 139, 184; Shaumyan 1941: 159.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197; Shaumyan 1941: 159.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 142; Shaumyan 1941: 159. The same in other subdialects: Tsirkhe *räʃ*, Duldug *riʃ*, Kurag *raʃ* 'sun' [Shaumyan 1941: 159; Magometov 1970: 210 sentence 22].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *riq*: 'sun' [Uslar 1979: 896, 1006] (in [Dirr 1905: 203, 242], quoted as *reʃ* 'sun' - either actually a form from some Southern Tabasaran subdialect or the beginning of the phonetic process *q*: > *ʃ* in Khanag during the 2nd half of the 19th century between Uslar's and Dirr's records).

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *riq*: {рикъ} 'sun' [Genko 2005: 133].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *riʃ* ~ *reʃ* {ригъ, регъ} 'sun' [Genko 2005: 132]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *riʃ* {ригъ} 'sun' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 260].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 536, 633. Paradigm: *raʃ* [abs.] / *räq*-'ini- [obl.] / *raq*-'ar [pl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *raʃ* [abs.] / *raq*-'ini- [obl.] {рагъ} 'sun' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 270; Gadzhiev 1950: 798; Haspelmath 1993: 504, 527].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *raʃ* [abs.] / *req*-'ina- [obl.] / *raq*-'ar [pl.] with polysemy: 'sun / sunny days (pl.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 197].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1051. **Distribution:** One of the most stable lexical items, retained with the basic meaning 'sun' in all Lezgian lects. Proto-Lezgian **wiraq*: possesses perfect North Caucasian *comparanda*, therefore, W. Schulze's analysis is not only *ad hoc* morphologically, but also unnecessary [Schulze 2001: 257].

Replacements: {'sun' > 'sunny day (pl.)'} (Akhty Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences are regular, although the original bisyllabic structure tends to be simplified in many languages.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem could be **wiriq*:V-.

83. SWIM

Nidzh Udi *üzmiš-sun* {узъмьшсун} (-1), Vartashen Udi *üzmiš-b-esun* (-1), Archi *ʔan-a-* (1), Kryts (proper) *üzmiš xi-* (-1), Alyk Kryts *šina ar-* (-1), Budukh *üzmi yixə-r-i* {узъми йьхьару ~ йухьару} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yuzgʷi haʔ-* {юзгу гьауӀ} (-1), Mikik Tsakhur *yüzmiš-x-* (-1), Gelmets Tsakhur *uzmiš-x-* (-1), Mukhad Rutul *xed haʔ-* {хьед гьаъхас} (1), Ixrek Rutul *xed haʔ-* {хьед гьаъкъьын} (1), Koshan Aghul *sirnaʔ aqʷa-* (-1), Gequn Aghul *samah aqʷa-* ~ *sameh aqʷa-* (-1), Aghul (proper) *salaw aqʷa-* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *č'uč'urufan ap'* (2), Southern Tabasaran *sirn'aw ap'* {сирнав апӀуб} (-1), Gyune Lezgi *sirn'aw-* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔän: ʔaʔa(r)-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479. Mophophonologically = *üzmiš-b-sun* with cluster simplification *šbs* > *šs* (see [Maisak 2008a: 148 f.]).

Vartashen Udi: Schulze 2001: 330.

Common Udi: Borrowed from Azerbaijani *üz-mäk* (perfect stem *üz-miš-*) 'to swim', plus the Udi light verb *-b-* 'to do'.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 342, 373; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479. A complex verb, consisting of *t:an* 'water' q.v. and the light verb *-a-* 'to do' [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 100 ff.; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 78].

In [Dirr 1908: 188, 217] 'to swim' is quoted as {xwa-κ}, which should be interpreted as something like $\chi^{w}ak' \sim \chi^{w}ak'$ - apparently the same verb as $\chi^{w}ak'a-$ 'to walk around looking for something' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 339; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 235; Chumakina et al. 2007].

Kryts (proper): LEDb. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *üz-mäk* (perfect stem *üz-miš-*) 'to swim', plus the Kryts verb *xi-* 'to become'.

Alyk Kryts: G. Authier, pers. com. Borrowed from Iranian (ultimately to Persian *šinā* 'swimming'), plus the Alyk verb *ar-* 'to do'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 25 sub *batmi*, 50 sub *dayazža*, etc. Applied to humans and swimming birds. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479], quoted as *üzmiš si'i* {узмиш сѣи}. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *üz-mäk* 'to swim' (the perfect stem *üz-miš-*, the substantive *üz-mä*), plus the Budukh verbs *yixə-* / *səxə-* 'to be(come)' or *si'i-* 'to do'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 425. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479], 'to swim' is quoted as *hu'zmiš-x-* {гъуЗмишхъес} - another borrowing from Azerbaijani. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999].

Mikik Tsakhur: Dirr 1913: 172, 233.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479.

Common Tsakhur: All of the forms represent borrowings from Azerbaijani. Usually it is the Azerbaijani perfect stem *üz-miš-* (infinitive *üz-mäk*) 'to swim' with the Tsakhur verb *ix-* 'to become'. In Mishlesh the source is the Azerbaijani noun *üz-gü* 'being afloat' (from the same root *üz-* 'to swim') with the Tsakhur verb (*h=*)*a?*- 'to do'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 141, 197; Makhmudova 2001: 249; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 282, 372; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 479.

Luchek Rutul: Not attested.

Common Rutul: In all dialects, the meaning 'to swim' is expressed with the analytic construction *xed* 'water' + (*h=*)*a?*- (/ *h=äq?*-) 'to do'.

Koshan Aghul: Suleymanov 2003: 148.

Keren Aghul: Not attested. Cf. in the Usug subdialect: *sarnaw q'a-* 'to swim' [Shaumyan 1941: 161].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 141, 180; Shaumyan 1941: 161.

Fite Aghul: Not attested.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 148; Shaumyan 1941: 161.

Common Aghul: Analytic constructions with the auxiliary verb (*a*)*q'a-* 'to do' are found in all the dialects where the term is attested. Apparently, the nouns *sirnav*, *salaw*, *samah* represent various corrupted transmissions of Iranian forms, cf. Persian *šinaw*, *šinah*, *šina*: 'swimming' (+ *kardan* 'to do' = 'to swim'), Talysh *sinow* 'swimming' (+ *karde* 'to do' = 'to swim').

Northern Tabasaran: Usalar 1979: 975. The expression actually stems from the Khanag subdialect; the proper Dyubek term for 'to swim' is unknown. Literally *č'uč'urufan* 'swimming' + *ap-* 'to do'. This expression is applied to humans and animals, but not to fishes or boats.

For the Khyuryuk subdialect only the noun *č'uč'urufan* {чүчүруфан} 'swimming' is documented [Genko 2005: 187].

Southern Tabasaran: Genko 2005: 139. This expression actually stems from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik term for 'to swim' is unknown. Literally 'swimming' + 'to do'.

Differently in the Tinit subdialect: *lep'e yeb-* {лепе ебуб} 'to swim', literally 'wave' + 'to hit, beat' [Genko 2005: 114].

There also exists a more complex expression: *lep'e kada-uri v'av-* {лепе ккадаури гъягъюб} 'to swim' [Genko 2005: 114], literally 'to go (*v'av-*), clearing away (*kada-*) the wave (*lep'e*)'; Genko's note is not quite certain, but apparently this is a Khiv form.

Two expressions are found in Literary Tabasaran: *sirnav ap-* {сирнав апюб} 'to swim', literally 'swimming' + 'to do' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 272]; *lep'e yiw-* {лепе йивуб} 'to swim', literally 'wave' + 'to hit, beat' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 217].

Common Tabasaran: The Proto-Tabasaran term is not reconstructible. Southern *sirnav* 'swimming' is a phonetically corrupted transmission of the corresponding Iranian terms (see notes on Aghul); *lepe* 'wave' is ultimately borrowed from Azerbaijani *lāpā* 'small wave'; the origin of Northern *č'uč'urufan* is unclear - maybe an onomatopoeic word ('swimming' as 'splashing').

Gyune Lezgi: Usalar 1896: 549, 623. Historically a complex verb 'to do swimming', consisting of *sirnav* 'swimming' (an Iranian loanword, see notes on Aghul) and *ey'i-* / *aw'u-* 'to do'.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *sirnav aw'u-* or compressed *sirnav-* {сирнав авун, сирнавун} 'to swim' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 294; Gadzhiev 1950: 539; Haspelmath 1993: 527].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 1060. Distribution: Barely reconstructible. For the most part, only analytic expressions for 'to swim' are attested in Lezgian languages; the main element that carries the lexical meaning ('swimming' or, rarely, 'wave') represents an Azerbaijani or Iranian loan in most of the lects. Expressions for 'to swim' with non-borrowed elements are:

- 1) Archi analytic *t:an-a-* 'to do water';
- 2) Rutul analytic *xed ha?* 'to do water', an exact parallel to the complex verb in Archi;
- 3) the verb 'to walk around looking for something' in archaic Archi;
- 4) Northern Tabasaran *č'uč'urufan ap-* 'to do *č'uč'urufan*'; perhaps onomatopoeic.

We follow the formal Archi-Nuclear Lezgian (Rutul) match and reconstruct the virtual idiom **t:än: ?a?ar(r)-* 'to do (*?a?ar-*) water (**t:än:*)' [NCED: 257, 1060] as the Proto-Lezgian expression for 'to swim', although it is very probable that Archi and Rutul formations represent late and independent introductions.

Replacements: {'to do water' > 'to swim'} (Archi, Rutul), {'to beat a wave' > 'to swim'} (Southern Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Analytic expression NOUN + AUXILIARY VERB.

84. TAIL

Nidzh Udi *ož'il ~ ož'ul* {*ожИуьл ~ ожИул*} (1), Vartashen Udi *ož'il* {*ожИуьл*} (1), Archi *oč* (1), Kryts (proper) *ži* (1), Alyk Kryts *žiy* (1), Budukh *ži-bir* {*джибур*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *bi't:ʷ-* {*бѳлм'*} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *bi't:ʷ-* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *bi't* (2), Mukhad Rutul *žibir ~ žubur* {*джибур ~ джубур*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *žibir* {*джибур*} (1), Luchek Rutul *žibir* (1), Koshan Aghul *ruž* (1), Keren Aghul *ruž* (1), Gequn Aghul *ruž* (1), Fite Aghul *riüḡ^y* (1), Aghul (proper) *ruž* (1), Northern Tabasaran *riž^w-i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *riž^w* (1), Gyune Lezgi *t:um* (-1), Proto-Lezgian **hirc̣:ʷ ~ *žirc̣:ʷ* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 182; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183; Mobili 2010: 224; Schiefner 1863: 78. The labialized variant *ož'ul* comes from [Gukasyan 1974] and [Mobili 2010].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 182; Mobili 2010: 224; Dirr 1903: 2, 96; Schiefner 1863: 78; Starchevskiy 1891: 508. In [Fähnrich 1999: 25] three variants are quoted: *ožil, ož'il, ož'il* (all seem corrupted).

Distinct from *t:unt:uz* 'bird's tail, rump' [Fähnrich 1999: 32].

Common Udi: Common Udi **ož'i-l*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 25; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 290, 387; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183; Mikailov 1967: 196; Dirr 1908: 173, 225.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183. Paradigm: *ži* [abs.] / *žiy-* [obl.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 35, 39, 55, 350, 379. This is glossed as 'fatty tail' in [Authier 2009: 39], but simply as 'tail' in [Authier 2009: 35, 55]; examples confirm the generic status of *žiy*: "One who wants to get fish should put his tail (*žiy*) on ice" (a proverb) [Authier 2009: 350], "the point of the (bull calf) tail (*žiy*) is white" [Authier 2009: 379]. According to G. Authier's pers. com., *žiy* is the default term for 'tail' in Alyk.

There exists another word for 'tail': *qač*, quoted only once in [Authier 2009: 39]. According to G. Authier's pers. com., this is a rare specific term, which denotes 'long, lean tail containing bones'. Alyk *qač* resembles the basic Khinalugh term *q'až* [abs.] / *q'ač-* [obl.] 'tail' (note that, first of all, the normal direction of borrowing is Lezgian > Khinalugh).

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 57, 249; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183. Final *-bir* is a fossilized plural exponent. Polysemy: 'tail (of animal) / fatty tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle, haft / toady'.

- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 870, 901; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 97. Applied both to beasts and birds. Paradigm: *biⁱt^y* [abs.] / *biⁱt^y-* [obl.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183], the absolutive is quoted as *biⁱt* {быт}; note that this depalatalized variant is also attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999], e.g., [Kibrik et al. 1999: 822].
- Distinct from *žik'ri* 'tail of cloven-hoofed animal, horse's tail' (sic?) [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 161] and *a^rrd* 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк); fatty meat' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 62] (the latter is borrowed from Azerbaijani *ard* 'back part of body'). Ibragimov & Nurmamedov's gloss 'tail of cloven-hoofed animal, horse's tail' for *žik'ri* looks suspicious, because this word means 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк)' (a very different meaning) in Mikik and Gelmets, whereas in Mishlesh 'horse's tail' is denoted by generic *biⁱt^(y)*, see examples in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 822].
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *biⁱt* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26]. Distinct from *a^rrd* 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *ard* 'back part of body').
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Dirr 1913: 142, 241. Polysemy 'tail / handle'. Paradigm: *biⁱt* [abs.] / *biⁱt^y-e-* [obl.].
- Distinct from *žik'ri* 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк); handle' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Dirr 1913: 158, 228] and from *a^rrd* 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26] (the latter is borrowed from Azerbaijani *ard* 'back part of body').
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted (with the compensatory palatalization of *-t^y*): *biⁱt^y* {быт^y}.
- Distinct from *žik'ri* 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк); handle' and *a^rrd* 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26] (the latter is borrowed from Azerbaijani *ard* 'back part of body').
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 137; Ibragimov 1978: 25, 34, 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183. Polysemy: 'tail (in general) / fat tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle'.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 107, 410. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 183], erroneously quoted as *žibir* {джыбыр}. Polysemy: 'tail (in general) / fat tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle / hanger-on, stooge'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Polysemy: 'tail / handle'.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Suleymanov 1993: 63; Suleymanov 2003: 144; Shaumyan 1941: 160. The same in other subdialects: Arsug *ruž*, Khudig *riüg^y* 'tail' [Suleymanov 1993: 63].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Magometov 1970: 216 sentence 10. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ruž* 'tail' [Shaumyan 1941: 160].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Dirr 1907: 140, 187; Suleymanov 1993: 63; Shaumyan 1941: 160. In [Dirr 1907], two variants are quoted: *ruž* ~ *ruž*.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26; Suleymanov 1993: 63.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 144; Shaumyan 1941: 160. Polysemy 'tail (in general) / fat tail of sheep (курдюк)'. The same in the other subdialects: Duldug, Tsirkhe, Khpyuk *ruž* 'tail' [Suleymanov 1993: 63; Shaumyan 1941: 160].
- Common Aghul:** According to [Shaumyan 1941: 160] and [Suleymanov 1993: 63], with polysemy: 'tail (in general) / fat tail of sheep (курдюк)' in all dialects.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Polysemy 'tail / handle'. The same in the Khanag subdialect: *riž^w* with polysemy: 'tail / fat tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle' [Uslar 1979: 896, 1009; Dirr 1905: 203, 246]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *riž^w* {рижъ} with polysemy: 'tail / handle' [Genko 2005: 133].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26. Polysemy: 'tail / handle'. The same in the Khiv subdialect: *ruž^w* {ружъ} with polysemy: 'tail / fat tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle' [Genko 2005: 134]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *riž^w* {рижв} with polysemy: 'tail / fat tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle / hanger-on, stooge' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 260].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 559, 637. Polysemy: 'tail / handle'. As proposed in [Haspelmeth 1993: 508], the word is most likely ultimately borrowed from Persian *dum* 'tail'. The same loanword in Literary Lezgi: *t:um* {тум, ттум} with polysemy: 'tail / fat tail of sheep (курдюк) / handle / confederate' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 315; Gadzhiev 1950: 912; Haspelmeth 1993: 508, 527]. The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *t:im* 'tail' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 26]. Khlyut *im* < *um* is a late process, cf., e.g., inherited *gim* 'smoke'.
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 529. Distribution: Retained as the basic term for 'tail' in Udi, Archi and most of the Nuclear Lezgian lects: South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Rutul, Aghul, Tabasaran. In Tsakhur, **hirč^w* (~ *ʔ-) was narrowed to the specific meaning 'fat tail of sheep (курдюк)' (if we deal with the same etymological root in the Tsakhur form *žik'ri*, because the second element *-k'ri* as well as the entire morphological analysis are unclear).

In Tsakhur, 'tail' is expressed with the etymologically obscure form *bⁱt^u*.

In Lezgi, apparently an Iranian loanword is used for 'tail'.

Replacements: {'tail' > 'handle, haft, grip'} (Budukh, Tsakhur, Rutul, Tabasaran), {'tail' > 'toady, hanger-on'} (Budukh, Rutul, Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for some peculiarities: metathesis (**Hirč.^u* > **rič.^u*) in Aghul and Tabasaran, and elimination of the direct stem in favor of the oblique one with subsequent reduction of the first syllable (Kryts, Budukh, Rutul, Tsakhur).

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **Hirč.^ut-*.

85. THAT

Nidzh Udi *te* {*mIe*} (1) / *šo* {*uo*} (4), Vartashen Udi *te* {*mIe*} (1), Archi *to*-CLASS (1), Kryts (proper) *lä* (2), Alyk Kryts *la* (2), Budukh *a=la* {*ala*} (2) / *a-la* {*ala*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *še-n* ~ *ho:=še-n* {*шен, гвōшен*} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *še-n* (4), Mukhad Rutul *ti* {*mu*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *ti-n-dī* {*тундв*} (1), Koshan Aghul *ti-me* (1), Keren Aghul *ti* (1), Gequn Aghul *te* (1), Fite Aghul *ti* (1), Aghul (proper) *te* (1), Northern Tabasaran *du-mu* (5), Southern Tabasaran *du-mu* (5), Gyune Lezgi *a=t^ua* (1) / *a-t^ua* (3), Proto-Lezgian **tV*(1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 276, 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 469; Schulze 2008. Gukasyan 1974: 276, 279.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 276; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 469; Schulze 2008; Schulze 2001: 326; Starchevskiy 1891: 668.

Common Udi: According to [Gukasyan 1974: 276, 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 469; Schulze 2008; Schulze 2005: 237 ff. (3.2.9.3), 447 ff. (3.3.7.1)], the underlying Nidzh-Vartashen system of demonstrative attributive pronouns was ternary: **me* [proximal] / **ka* [medial] / **te* [distal]. This opposition is attested in both of the modern dialects:

Nidzh *mo* / *ko* / *šo* ~ *te* (both forms *šo* and *ta* are used in the absolute, whereas only *te* is used in other cases);

Vartashen *me* / *ka* / *te*.

On the other hand, it is calculated in [Schulze 2008: 255 ff.; Schulze 2005: 237 ff. (3.2.9.3)] that the medial demonstrative attributive *ka* is used significantly less frequently than proximal *me* and distal *te* both in Nidzh and Vartashen texts. Thereby it is possible to analyze this as a system with the basic binary opposition **me* 'this' / **te* 'that'.

The Nidzh attributive pronoun *šo* is probably secondary in the attributive function. The normal function of both Nidzh *šo* ~ *šo-no* and Vartashen *še-no* ~ *šo-no* is the non-attributive pronouns '(s)he, it, they' [Gukasyan 1974: 276, 277].

Caucasian Albanian: Demonstrative attributive pronouns in the Swadesh function are too poorly documented in the palimpsests (cf. [Schulze 2008: 303 ff.; Gippert et al. 2008: II-38]).

For the sake of lexicostatistics, the list in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-66] fills the slot 'this' with *-me* and the slot 'that' with *-t^e-*, *-še-*. In actuality, *-t^e-* is a suffixal morpheme, added to the oblique stem of the neuter anaphoric pronoun [Gippert et al. 2008: II-38] and, accordingly, to nominal referentialised forms [Gippert et al. 2008: II-29]; *-š-* is found only in the damaged adverbial form *ešol-oqoc* 'from this side' and in the adverb *e-še* '(t)here(?)' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-38, IV-15] (in fact, the interpretation of the latter form is also quite uncertain, cf. [Gippert et al. 2008: VII-90 fn. 70]). In turn, *-me* is apparently found only in the proximal adverb *e-me* 'here' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-38, IV-15].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 323; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 124; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 263; Kibrik 1994: 319; Mikailov 1967: 93; Dirr 1908: 29. Refers to an object far from the speaker and addressee.

As described in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 124] and [Kibrik 1994: 319], the system of Archi demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary (excluding the vertical oriented forms): *ya*-CLASS 'this (near the speaker)' / *y^a-mu*-CLASS 'this (near the addressee)' / *to*-CLASS 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. Since the basic lexicon *per se* is not only anthropocentric, but eventually egocentric, we prefer to assume that the basic system is binary: *ya*-CLASS 'this' (near the speaker) / *to*-CLASS

'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. It should be noted that, according to [Dirr 1908: 29], these two are statistically the most frequently used demonstrative pronouns.

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 420. According to [Saadiev 1994: 420], the basic system of demonstrative (Saadiev's "deictic") attributive pronouns is binary: *li* 'this' / *lä* 'that'. According to [Saadiev 1994: 420 f.], there exists another set of deictic pronouns: *u*-CLASS 'this' / *ä*-CLASS 'that'. The difference between *li* / *lä* and *u*-CLASS / *ä*-CLASS is not explicated by Saadiev, but, since the pronouns of the latter set agree in class, it is likely that these are used independently, not attributively.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 62 f. According to the description and examples in [Authier 2009: 62 f.], the same binary system of demonstrative attributive pronouns as in Kryts proper: *lu* ~ *ha=lu* 'this' / *la* ~ *ha=la* 'that'. Optional *ha=* is a Common Lezgian deictic emphatic stem.

Budukh: Talibov 2007: 121 f.; Meylanova 1984: 18, 192.

According to reports in [Talibov 2007: 121 f.] and [Meylanova 1984: 192], the Budukh system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is apparently ternary: *ulu* ~ *olu* 'this (near the speaker)' / *al-am* ~ *am* 'this (near the addressee)' / *ala* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. The medium member (*al-am* ~ *am* 'this near the addressee') seems marginal, and we prefer to exclude it from the list.

Kryts cognates suggest that Budukh stems *ulu* 'this' and *ala* 'that' are to be analyzed as compounds *u-lu*, *a-la*. In each case both morphemes represent meaningful elements. It should be noted, however, that in substantivized forms (i.e. modified by class-prefixes) the second morphemes can be omitted, thus *u*-CLASS ~ *u-lu*-CLASS 'this' / *a*-CLASS ~ *a-la*-CLASS 'that' [Talibov 2007: 122; Meylanova 1984: 192].

In [Alekseev 1994: 267 f.], the demonstrative pronouns are confused: *ala* is erroneously quoted for 'this', *ulu* - for 'that'. Talibov 2007: 121 f.; Meylanova 1984: 18, 192.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 133 ff.; Ibragimov 1990: 106; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 519.

According to [Kibrik et al. 1999; Ibragimov 1990] and [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010], the Mishlesh and Literary Tsakhur system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *i-n* 'this (near, here)' / *ma-n* 'that (there)' / *še-n* 'that (far away)' (or *ha=y-n* / *ha=ma-n* / *ho:=še-n* with the emphatic proclitics *ha-* 'here' and *ho-* 'there'). Browsing through texts in [Kibrik et al. 1999] suggests that *ma-n* (*ha=ma-n*) probably means 'this', but it is difficult to make a definite choice between *i-n* (*ha=y-n*) and *ma-n* (*ha=ma-n*), so we treat them as synonyms for 'this'.

ma-n also functions as a personal pronoun of the 3rd p.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: according to [Schulze 1997: 39], the system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *i-n* 'this (near, here)' / *ma-n* 'that (there, visible)' / *še-n* 'that (far away, invisible)'. Semantic and pragmatic nuances are unknown, however.

Mikik Tsakhur: Dirr 1913: 35 ff. According to [Dirr 1913], the Mikik system of demonstrative attributive pronouns is ternary: *i-n* 'this' / *ma-n* 'this' / *še-n* 'that' (with the emphatic variants *ha=y-n*, *ha=ma-n*). We treat *i-n* and *ma-n* as synonyms for 'this'.

ma-n also functions as a personal pronoun of the 3rd p.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Not attested.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 38; Ibragimov 1978: 81; Makhmudova 2001: 170; Alekseev 1994a: 225.

It is not easy to understand all the nuances of the Mukhad system of demonstrative attributive pronouns, based on the aforementioned sources. Apparently the basic opposition is binary: *mi* 'this' / *ti* 'that'. Both pronouns can be additionally supplemented with the emphatic morpheme *he-*: *he=mi* / *he=ti*.

There also exists, however, a third pronoun *ha* {ᵛᵃ} (with the variant *ha-d*, where the final element seems to be a fossilized class exponent), which is used as both the personal pronoun of the 3rd p. '(s)he, it, they' and the demonstrative attributive pronoun. The exact meaning of the demonstrative *ha* is not entirely clear. In [Alekseev 1994a: 225], *ha* is glossed as 'this, that'; in [Ibragimov 1978: 81], as 'that (distal deixis)'; on the contrary, in [Makhmudova 2001: 170] *ha* is explained as 'that (near the addressee)'. In any case, *ha* is, apparently, rarely used in the attributive meaning; according to [Dirr 1912: 38], the most frequent function of *ha* is the 3rd p. pronoun '(s)he, it, they'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 435.

Dzhamalov & Samedov do not provide much information, but, apparently, the Ixrek system is the same as the Mukhad one: *mi-di* 'this' / *ti-n-di* 'that', plus *ha-di*, which normally means '(s)he, it, they', but can also be used as the demonstrative attributive 'that'. The final *-di* is the attributive suffix; *-n-* in *ti-n-di* 'that' originates from the oblique stem.

Luchek Rutul: Not attested.

Koshan Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 128, 130. Binary system on the horizontal axis: *mi-me* 'this' / *ti-me* 'that'. Additional members are *gi-me* 'that (below)' and *li-me* 'that (above)'.

Similarly in the Arsug subdialect: *mi-m* 'this' / *ti-m* 'that' / *gi-m* 'that (below)' / *li-m* 'that (above)' [Suleymanov 1993: 128, 130].

Similarly in the Khudig subdialect: *me-d* 'this' / *ti-m* 'that' / *gi-m* 'that (below)' / *li-m* 'that (above)' [Suleymanov 1993: 128, 130; Suleymanov 2003: 132].

Keren Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 59, 61. Binary system on the horizontal axis: *mi* 'this' / *ti* 'that'. Additional members are *gi* 'that (below)' and *li* 'that (above)'.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 21; Suleymanov 1993: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 59, 61. Binary system on the horizontal axis: *me* 'this' / *te* 'that'. Additional members are *ge* 'that (below)' and *le* 'that (above)'.

Fite Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 128. Binary system on the horizontal axis: *mi* 'this' / *ti* 'that'. Additional members are *gi* 'that (below)' / *li* 'that (above)'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 128; Suleymanov 2003: 153; Shaumyan 1941: 59, 61. Binary system on the horizontal axis: *me* 'this' / *te* 'that'. Additional members are *ge* 'that (below)' and *le* 'that (above)'.

Common Aghul: As described in [Magometov 1970: 109 ff.; Suleymanov 1993: 128 ff.; Shaumyan 1941: 59 ff.], the basic quaternary system of demonstrative pronouns 'this' / 'that' / 'that (below)' / 'that (above)' coincides in all dialects (in the subdialects of Koshan they are supplemented with the enclitics *-m(e)* or *-d* of pronominal origin). In all the dialects these basic pronouns can be modified with the emphatic proclitic *ha=* [Suleymanov 1993: 128]. The word *te ~ ti* 'that' is also normally used as the personal pronoun of the 3rd p. 'he, she, it, they'.

It is reported in [Suleymanov 1993: 129] that in many dialects the pronouns 'that', 'that (below)' and 'that (above)' can be modified with the iconic proclitic *o:= ~ ho:= ~ wo:=* (depending on the dialect), which expresses distal deixis, e.g., Keren *ho:=ti* 'that (far horizontally)' / *ho:=gi* 'that (far below)' / *ho:=li* 'that (far above)'. Apparently these forms are rare and marginal.

Northern Tabasaran: Magometov 1965: 178. According to Magometov's data, the Dyubek system of attributive deictic pronouns on the horizontal axis is binary: *mu ~ mu-mu* 'this' / *du-mu* 'that'. Two additional "vertical" members are *žu-mu* 'that (below)' and *q:u-mu* 'that (above)'.

In the Khanag subdialect, the "horizontal" system can be more complicated, being extended with the third member *tu*. Uslar describes the Khanag "horizontal" system as ternary: *mu* 'this (near the speaker)' / *du-m'u* 'this (near the addressee)' / *tu-m'u* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. The analysis is actually not quite correct, as follows from Uslar's own remark: "This explanation of *mu* / *du-m'u* / *tu-m'u* is undoubtedly right, because it has been adopted from various sources. But Tabasaran speakers themselves pay little attention to such semantic nuances in the natural speech" [Uslar 1979: 136]. Apparently Uslar implies that the opposition between *du-m'u* and *tu-m'u* is in fact desemanticized.

According to [Dirr 1905: 37 f.], however, the Khanag "horizontal" system is binary: *mu (~ mu-mu)* 'this' / *du-mu (~ tu-mu ~ du ~ tu)* 'that'. See Common Tabasaran notes on this controversy.

As described in [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 124] and [Kibrik 1994: 319], the system of Archi demonstrative attributive pronouns on the horizontal axis (i.e., excluding the vertical oriented forms) is ternary: *ya*-CLASS 'this (near the speaker)' / *y'a-mu*-CLASS 'this (near the addressee)' / *to*-CLASS 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. According to [Dirr 1908: 29], *ya*-CLASS / *to*-CLASS are statistically the most frequently used demonstrative pronouns. We prefer to assume that the basic Archi system is binary: *ya*-CLASS 'this' (near the speaker) / *to*-CLASS 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'; in turn, the complex demonstrative *y'a-mu*-CLASS 'this (near the addressee)' looks like a recent formation, created for some specific semantic or pragmatic nuances.

Two additional "vertical" members are *gu-d'u* 'that (below)', *vu-d'u* 'that (above)' [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 124; Kibrik 1994: 319].

Southern Tabasaran: Magometov 1965: 178-179. This word is actually from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik pronoun is unknown.

According to Magometov's data, the Khiv system of attributive deictic pronouns on the horizontal axis is binary: *mu* 'this' / *du-mu (~ ha-t-mu)* 'that'. On the variant with *-t-* (*ha-t-mu*) see Common Tabasaran notes. Two Khiv "vertical" pronouns are: *k:u-mu* 'that (below)' / *vu-mu* 'that (above)' [Magometov 1965: 178].

The Literary Tabasaran "horizontal" system is also binary: *mu* 'this' / *du-mu* 'that', as described in [Zhirkov 1948: 98 ff.]. According to Zhirkov, "vertical" pronouns 'that (below)' / 'that (above)' were lost. On the contrary, in [Khanmagomedov &

Shalbuzov 2001: 151, 282, 433] the literary "horizontal" system is evasively described as *mu* 'this' / *t-mu* 'that' with the third member *du-mu* 'that' (difference between *t-mu* and *du-mu* is not explicated).

Common Tabasaran: In all the dialects the aforementioned deictic pronouns can be additionally modified with the emphatic pronominal proclitic *ha=* [Magometov 1965: 178; Zhirkov 1948: 101; Dirr 1905: 37].

It is possible that the Proto-Tabasaran system of attributive deictic pronouns on the horizontal axis was indeed ternary, as it is described by Uslar for the Khanag subdialect: **mu* 'this (near the speaker)' / **du* 'that (near the addressee)' / **tu* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. In all the dialects, the absolutive forms of the two latter members are secondarily modified with the desemantized morpheme *-mu*, i.e. *du-mu* and *tu-mu*.

In fact, however, the third member *tu* (or *tu-mu*) seems very rare and marginal in the described Tabasaran dialects. In [Dirr 1905: 37 ff.], the forms *tu* and *tu-mu* 'that' is noted only in parentheses as a variant of *du(-mu)*; in [Magometov 1965: 176 ff.], only the emphatic form *ha-t-mu* 'exactly that' is observed; no forms with the morpheme *t(u)* are quoted in [Zhirkov 1948: 98 ff.].

Thus, according to the dialectal overview in [Magometov 1965: 176 ff.], the common Tabasaran basic opposition on the horizontal axis is currently binary: *mu* 'this' / *du-mu* 'that'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 69, 70. According to [Uslar 1896: 69 ff.], the Gyune system of attributive deictic pronouns on the horizontal axis is binary: *i* 'this (near the speaker)' / *a* 'this (near the addressee)' / *a-t'a* 'that (far from the speaker and addressee)'. Two additional "vertical" members are *a-b'a* 'that (below)' and *wa-n'i* 'that (above)'.

The Literary Lezgi system has been semantically transformed: *i* 'this' / *a* 'that' / *a-t'a* 'yonder' / *a-b'a* 'that (below)' / *wi-n'i* 'that (above)' [Alekseev & Sheykhov 1997: 46; Haspelmath 1993: 190] (somewhat differently in [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 156]). As noted in [Haspelmath 1993: 190], however, only *i* 'this' and *a* 'that' are frequent in the modern literary language, other pronouns are marginal. Thus the Literary Lezgi system is, in fact, binary.

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 993. Distribution: The Proto-Lezgian system of the demonstrative pronouns can hardly be reconstructed in all details. It is particularly unclear whether the system was binary - 'this' / 'that' - or ternary: 'this' / 'that (near)' / 'that (far)'. Nevertheless, some general considerations can be proposed. The main data on the pronouns on the horizontal axis are summarized as follows (synchronically basic forms are bold-faced as opposed to statistically marginal ones):

'THIS/THAT'	Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
<i>*mV</i> [NCED: 842]	<i>me this</i>	<i>ya-mu that (near)</i>		<i>a-m that (near)</i>	<i>ma this</i>	<i>mi this</i>	<i>me this</i>	<i>mu this</i>	
<i>*tV</i>	<i>te that (far)</i>								<i>t'a that (far)</i>
<i>*tV</i> [NCED: 993]		<i>to that (far)</i>				<i>ti that</i>	<i>ti that</i>	<i>tu that</i>	
<i>*dV</i> [NCED: 404]								<i>du that</i>	
<i>*kV</i>	<i>ka that (near)</i>								
<i>*ʔi</i> [NCED: 214]		<i>y-a this</i>			<i>i this</i>				<i>i this</i>
<i>*lV</i> [NCED: 775]			<i>li this</i> <i>lā that</i>	<i>u-lu this</i> <i>a-la that (far)</i>					
<i>*šV-</i> [LEDb: #187]					<i>še that</i>				
<i>*ha-</i> [NCED: 486]						<i>ha that</i>			
<i>*ʔa</i> [NCED: 218]				<i>a-la that (far)</i>					<i>a that (near)</i>
<i>*ʔu</i> [NCED: 222]				<i>u-lu this</i>					

The demonstrative pronoun of proximal deixis 'this' can be assuredly reconstructed as **mV* [NCED: 842]: this function was retained in Udi and many Nuclear Lezgian languages (Tsakhur, Rutul, Aghul, Tabasaran). In Archi, this root forms the secondary pronoun of medial deixis *ya-mu* 'near the addressee'.

Reconstruction of the distal deixis pronoun 'that' is more complicated. As one can see, forms that originate from virtual **tV* and virtual **tV* are in complementary distribution among languages. Thus, it is reasonable to suppose that these go back to a single protoform with occasional sound irregularities (this is not rare in grammatical morphemes). External comparison suggests that the original shape should be **tV* [NCED: 993]; if so, we deal with secondary tenseness in Udi and secondary ejection in Lezgi (both cases are probably iconically conditioned). The pronoun **tV* (~ **tV*) is the obvious candidate for the status of the Proto-Lezgian pronoun 'that' (this function was retained in Udi, Archi and the most of Nuclear Lezgian lects).

It should be noted that in [NCED: 404], the ejective forms in Udi (*te*) and in Lezgi (*ta*) are included into the entry **dV*. First, this is not likely due to the aforementioned considerations. Second, evidence for the Proto-Lezgian demonstrative morpheme **dV* is relatively weak: this is the basic Tabasaran pronoun *du* 'that' and the second element of the Archi vertical pronoun *gu-d'u* 'that (below)', *ku-d'u* 'that (above)'. Other descendants of **dV*, listed in [NCED: 404], should be excluded: Kryts *ā-d*, Budukh *a-d* 'that' (used independently), where *-d* is in fact a synchronic class exponent; apparently in Rutul *ha ~ ha-d* '(s)he, it, they', the final *-d* represents the same fossilized grammatical morpheme.

Note also that it is theoretically possible to reconstruct **tV* (~ **tV*) as the specific pronoun of distal deixis 'that (far)'. In such a case, **ʔi* [NCED: 214] is the main candidate for the Proto-Lezgian pronoun of medial deixis 'that (near)'.

To sum up, the Proto-Lezgian system of the demonstrative pronouns in the horizontal row can be reconstructed as binary **mV* 'this' / **tV* 'that' or (with less certainty) ternary **mV* 'this' / **ʔi* 'that (near)' / **tV* 'that (far)'.

The totally restructured South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) system probably originates from the old "vertical" demonstrative pronouns, thus in [NCED: 775].

The morpheme **ha-* [NCED: 486] is the Common Lezgian pronominal emphatic "augment" (thus Rutul *ha* 'that' may in fact originate from **ha-ʔa*). The original Proto-Lezgian status and exact function of other demonstrative morphemes listed above are not clear.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular except for (iconic?) ejection/tenseness in Udi and Lezgi and vowel fluctuation among various lects (perhaps of contracted origin).

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal root.

86. THIS

Nidzh Udi *mo* {*mo*} (1), Vartashen Udi *me* {*me*} (1), Archi *ya-CLASS* (2), Kryts (proper) *li* (3), Alyk Kryts *lu* (3), Budukh *u=lu ~ o=lu* {*улу ~ олу*} (3) / *u-lu ~ o-lu* {*улу, олу*} (4), Mishlesh Tsakhur *i-n ~ ha=y-n* {*иn, збайн*} (2) / *ma-n ~ ha=ma-n* {*ма ~ зьаман*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *i-n ~ ha=y-n* (2) / *ma-n ~ ha=ma-n* (1), Mukhad Rutul *mi* {*ми*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *mi-di* {*миди*} (1), Koshan Aghul *mi-me* (1), Keren Aghul *mi* (1), Gequn Aghul *me* (1), Fite Aghul *mi* (1), Aghul (proper) *me* (1), Northern Tabasaran *mu ~ mu-mu* (1), Southern Tabasaran *mu* (1), Gyune Lezgi *i* (2), Proto-Lezgian **mV* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 276; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 469; Schulze 2008.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 276; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 469; Schulze 2008; Schulze 2001: 298; Starchevskiy 1891: 668.

Common Udi: Common Udi **me*. See notes on 'that'.

Caucasian Albanian: see notes on 'that'.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 255; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 124; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 263; Kibrik 1994: 319; Mikailov 1967: 93; Dirr 1908: 29. Refers to an object near the speaker; see notes on 'that'.

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 420. See notes on 'that'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 62. Simple *lu* or complex *ha=lu*. See notes on 'that'.

Budukh: Talibov 2007: 121 f.; Meylanova 1984: 139, 192. See notes on 'that'. Talibov 2007: 121 f.; Meylanova 1984: 139, 192.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 133 ff.; Ibragimov 1990: 106; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 519. See notes on 'that'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: see notes on 'that'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Dirr 1913: 35 ff. See notes on 'that'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Not attested.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 38; Ibragimov 1978: 81; Makhmudova 2001: 170; Alekseev 1994a: 225. See notes on 'that'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 435. See notes on 'that'.

Luchek Rutul: Not attested.

Koshan Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 128, 130. See notes on 'that'.

Keren Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 59, 61. See notes on 'that'.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 21; Suleymanov 1993: 128; Shaumyan 1941: 59, 61. See notes on 'that'.

Fite Aghul: Suleymanov 1993: 128. See notes on 'that'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 128; Suleymanov 2003: 132; Shaumyan 1941: 59, 61. See notes on 'that'.

Northern Tabasaran: Magometov 1965: 178. See notes on 'that'.

Southern Tabasaran: Magometov 1965: 178. This word is actually from the Khiv subdialect; the proper Kondik pronoun is unknown. Further see notes on 'that'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 69, 70. Meaning 'this (near the speaker)'. See 'that' for further notes.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 842. Distribution: See notes on 'that'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences are regular, except for vowel fluctuation among various lects.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal root.

87. THOU₁

Nidzh Udi *hu-n* {ɬbyH} (1), Vartashen Udi *u-n* {yH} (1), Archi *u-n* (1), Kryts (proper) *vu-n* ~ *vi-n* (1), Alyk Kryts *vu-n* (1), Budukh *vi-n* {bɬH} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *vu* {ɬby} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *vu* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *vu* (2), Mukhad Rutul *wi* {bɬ} (1), Ixrek Rutul *vu* {ɬby} (2), Luchek Rutul *wi* (1), Koshan Aghul *wu-n* (1), Keren Aghul *wu-n* (1), Gequn Aghul *wu-n* (1), Fite Aghul *wu-n* (1), Aghul (proper) *wu-n* (1), Northern Tabasaran *iw'u* (1), Southern Tabasaran *uw'u* (1), Gyune Lezgi *wu-n* (1), Proto-Lezgian **uo-n* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 274, 277; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117; Mobili 2010: 279.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 213, 274, 277; Mobili 2010: 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 467; Dirr 1903: 31; Schiefner 1863: 21; Schulze 2001: 235, 329; Starchevskiy 1891: 667.

Common Udi: A suppletive paradigm is retained in both dialects: **u-n* [abs., erg.] / **vi* [gen.] / **va-* [obl.]. Note the laryngeal prothesis in Nidzh *hun* (not infrequent phenomenon in the Nidzh dialect).

Caucasian Albanian: *vun* [abs., erg.] / *ve:* [gen.] / *va-* [obl.] [Gippert et al. 2008: II-37, IV-39].

Archi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 327, 385; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 125; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 258; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117; Kibrik 1994: 320; Mikailov 1967: 82; Dirr 1908: 27. Suppletive paradigm: *un* [abs., erg.] / *wi-t* [gen.] / *wa-* [obl.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117] *ž'wen* 'you (pl.)' is also quoted for 'you (sg.)' - a loan translation of the Russian honorific construction.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Saadiev 1994: 420; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117. Paradigm: *vu-n* ~ *vi-n* [abs., erg.] / *vaŋa-š* [gen.] / *vä-s* [dat.]. In [Saadiev 1994] the genitive form is quoted as *vä*.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 43. Paradigm: *vu-n* [abs., erg.] / *va* [gen.] / *va-z* [dat.].

- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 192; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Alekseev 1994: 267; Talibov 2007: 119; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117. Paradigm: *vi-n* [abs., erg.] / *vo* [gen.] / *və-z* [dat.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the absolutive variant *vu-n* is also quoted (an error?).
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 130; Ibragimov 1990: 104; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 518; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117. Paradigm: *vu* [abs., erg.] / *yiv-in* [gen.] / *wa-s* [dat.].
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *vu* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Schulze 1997: 37]. Paradigm: *vu* [abs., erg.] / *yiv-in* [gen.].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Dirr 1913: 32. Paradigm: *vu* [abs.] / *wa-s-in* [gen.] / *wa-s-s^{ye}* [erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Ibragimov 1990: 194; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 518; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117. Paradigm: *vu* [abs.] / *yiv^ɛ-in* [gen.] / *wa-s-s^{ye}* [erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.].
- Common Tsakhur:** The Tsakhur absolutive form *wu* 'thou', which is sometimes quoted in secondary literature as a free variant for *vu* (thus, e.g., [Alekseev 1985: 72]), has not been found in the primary sources that are available to us.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 35; Ibragimov 1978: 77, 212; Makhmudova 2001: 169; Alekseev 1994a: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117. Paradigm: *wi* [abs.] / *wi-di* [gen.] / *wa ~ wa-d* [erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 434; Ibragimov 1978: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 117. Paradigm: *vu* [abs.] / *yuk-di ~ yuk-du* [gen.] / *vu-y* [erg.] / *v^{wa}-s* [dat.].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222. Paradigm: *wi* [abs.] / *wi-di* [gen.] / *wa-d* [erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.].
- Common Rutul:** Shinaz dialect: *vu* [abs.] / *wi-di* [gen.] / *vu-ye ~ vu-y* [erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] [Ibragimov 1978: 153; Dirr 1912: 35].
Muxrek dialect: *wi* [abs.] / *wi-di* [gen.] / *wa-d* [erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] [Ibragimov 1978: 177].
Borch-Khnov dialect: *vu* [abs.] / *vu-du* [gen.] / *vu-ž* [erg.] / *v^{wa}-s* [dat.] [Ibragimov 1978: 262].
- One of the most economic scenarios presupposes reconstructing for Proto-Rutul a suppletive paradigm of 'thou' with four stems: **wi* [abs.] / **vu* [erg.] / **yuk-di* [gen.] / *wa-* [dat.]. In Mukhad, Muxrek & Luchek the paradigm was completely restructured after the absolutive and oblique stems *wi* / *wa-*: gen. *wi-di* is a regular synchronic formation on the basis of abs. *wi*, whereas the new ergative form is based on oblique *wa-*. In Borch-Khnov the paradigm, on the contrary, was analogically levelled after the ergative *vu*; oblique *v^{wa}-* represents a hybrid of old **wa-* and the new stem *vu-*. Similarly, the Ixrek paradigm was levelled up after ergative *vu*, but the old genitive *yuk-di* is still retained. The situation in Shinaz is more complicated: apparently the old genitive form was superseded with the new formation based on abs. *wi* (an innovation shared with the Mukhad, Muxrek & Luchek dialects, which surround the Shinaz area, see the map in [Ibragimov 1978: 14]) and subsequently Shinaz abs. *wi* was superseded with the ergative morpheme *vu*.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 101; Suleymanov 1993: 125. Paradigm: *wu-n* [abs., erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] / *yaw ~ yaw-ir* [gen.].
- The same in the Khudig subdialect: *wu-n* [abs., erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] / *yew* [gen.] 'thou' [Magometov 1970: 101].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 101. Paradigm: *wu-n* [abs.] / *wa-s* [dat.] / *we* [gen.].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Dirr 1907: 19; Magometov 1970: 101. Paradigm: *wu-n* [abs., erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] / *we* [gen.].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 101. Paradigm: *wu-n* [abs., erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] / *wi ~ wi-t* [gen.] 'thou'.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 1993: 125; Suleymanov 2003: 47. Paradigm: *wu-n* [abs., erg.] / *wa-s* [dat.] / *we* [gen.].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1965: 170. Paradigm: *iw'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yaw* [gen.]₋
- The same in the Khanag subdialect: *iw'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yaw* [gen.] 'thou' [Uslar 1979: 126; Dirr 1905: 33; Magometov 1965: 170].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222. Paradigm: *uw'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yaw* [gen.].
- The same in the Khiv subdialect: *uw'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yaw* [gen.] 'thou' [Magometov 1965: 169]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *uw'u* [abs., erg., obl.] / *yaw* [gen.] {byy} 'thou' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutov 2001: 432; Zhirkov 1948: 107; Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 56].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 59. Paradigm: *wu-n* [abs.] / *wu-n-a ~ na* [erg.] / *wi-n ~ wi* [gen.] / *wa-* [obl.]. The ergative variant *na* looks like a reduction of the full form *wun'a*.
- The same in Literary Lezgi: *wu-n* [abs.] / *wu-n-a ~ na* [erg.] / *wi* [gen.] / *wa-* [obl.] {byh} 'thou' [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 150; Haspelmath 1993: 184].
- The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *wi-n* [abs.] / *wi-n-a* [erg.] / *wi* [gen.] / *wa-* [obl.] 'thou' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 483, 1014. Distribution: Retained as the independent personal pronoun of the 2nd p. sg. in all lects. The detailed reconstruction, however, is not entirely clear. We prefer to reconstruct the following Proto-Lezgian suppletive

paradigm: **p-n* [abs.] / **bu* [erg.] / **CLASS=ob^(u)* [gen.] / **u-* [obl.], even though none of the known Lezgian lects has preserved this assumed paradigm intact.

In almost all the lects (except for Tsakhur, Rutul), *b*-forms were completely eliminated. The new ergative forms coincide with abs. **p(-n)* or, occasionally, are based on obl. **u-*. The new genitive forms normally represent something like **i-* or **ɣ-*, although in Kryts, the genitive is based on obl. **u-*, whereas Koshan Aghul and Tabasaran *yaw ~ yew* 'of thee' is a hybrid of old **CLASS=ob^(u)* and the *ɣ*-forms. It should be noted that the origin of the common genitive **i-* ~ **ɣ-* is unclear.

The only group in which *b*-forms have survived is West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul). In Tsakhur, the absolutive coincides with the ergative **bu*. Many Tsakhur dialects, however, demonstrate the subsequent secondary derivation of the ergative and genitive forms from obl. **u-*. The Rutul situation is more complicated, although it is possible to derive all the variety of attested Rutul systems from the Proto-Rutul paradigm **wi* [abs.] / **bu* [erg.] / **yub-di* [gen.] / *wa-* [dat.], which directly continues the assumed Proto-Lezgian paradigm.

Note that *pace* [NCED: 483] Nidzh Udi *hun* has nothing to do with **bu-n*, but originates from Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi **wu-n* with the (not infrequent) Nidzh prothesis *h-*.

As in the case of the 1st sg. pronoun T' q.v., the Tabasaran absolutive-ergative-oblique stem *iwu-* represents a hybrid of the old absolutive and genitive forms.

The absolutive form can be safely reconstructed with the nasal suffix: **p-n*. The only lects that lack the nasal element are some Rutul dialects (*wi* for expected ***wi-n*), where we probably deal with influence on the part of erg. *bu* 'thou' and abs. *zi* T'.

Reconstruction shape: Basic correspondences seem regular, although **ɫ* is a very rare Proto-Lezgian phoneme.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal root. The suppletive paradigm: **p-n* [abs.] / **bu* [erg.] / **CLASS=ob^(u)* [gen.] / **u-* [obl.].

87. THOU₂

Nidzh Udi *vi {bu}* (1), Vartashen Udi *vi {bu}* (1), Archi *wi-t* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yib-in {йибъин}* (2), Mikik Tsakhur *wa-s-in* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *yib^ɛ-in* (2), Ixrek Rutul *yub-di* (2), Koshan Aghul *yaw-ir ~ yaw* (1), Northern Tabasaran *yaw* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yaw* (1), Proto-Lezgian **bu* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Genitive form.

Vartashen Udi: Genitive form.

Archi: Genitive form.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Mikik Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Ixrek Rutul: Genitive form.

Koshan Aghul: Genitive form.

Northern Tabasaran: Genitive form.

Southern Tabasaran: Genitive form.

Proto-Lezgian: Ergative form.

88. TONGUE

Nidzh Udi *muz {my3}* (1), Vartashen Udi *muz {my3}* (1), Archi *mac* (1), Kryts (proper) *mez* (1), Alyk Kryts *mez* (1), Budukh *māz ~ mez {мабз ~ мез}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *miz {mu3}*

(1), Mikik Tsakhur *miz* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *miz* (1), Mukhad Rutul *miz* {*муз*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *miz* {*муз*} (1), Luchek Rutul *miz* (1), Koshan Aghul *mez* (1), Keren Aghul *mez* (1), Gequn Aghul *mez* (1), Fite Aghul *miz* (1), Aghul (proper) *mez* (1), Northern Tabasaran *m'il̥z-i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *mel̥z ~ melz* (1), Gyune Lezgi *mez* (1), Proto-Lezgian **melc*: (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 175; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198; Mobili 2010: 216. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 175; Fähnrich 1999: 24; Dirr 1903: 18; Schiefner 1863: 105; Schulze 2001: 301; Starchevskiy 1891: 508. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **muz*.

Caucasian Albanian: *muz* 'tongue; language' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-30].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 275, 389; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198; Mikailov 1967: 192; Dirr 1908: 166, 227. In [Chumakina 2009] unjustifiedly labeled as "probably borrowed from Avar *mac* 'tongue; language'".

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198. Paradigm: *mez* [abs.] / *mez-il ~ miz* [gen.]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the absolutive form *müz* is quoted as a variant.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 49, 94, 278, etc. Paradigm: *mez* [abs.] / *miz* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 107, 252; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 882, 901; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 256; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *miz* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Dirr 1913: 187, 243. Polysemy: 'tongue / language'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 160; Ibragimov 1978: 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 191, 417; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 198.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Suleymanov 2003: 133; Shaumyan 1941: 151. Ablaut paradigm: *mez* [abs.] / *miz-ri* [erg.].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15. The same in the Usug subdialect: *mez* 'tongue' [Shaumyan 1941: 151].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Dirr 1907: 134, 188; Shaumyan 1941: 151.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15; Shaumyan 1941: 151.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 133; Shaumyan 1941: 151. The same in the Duldug subdialect: *miz* 'tongue' [Shaumyan 1941: 151].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *mil̥z* 'tongue' [Uslar 1979: 856, 1010; Dirr 1905: 195, 247]. The same in other subdialects: Khyuryuk, Kumi *mil̥z* {*милзз*} 'tongue' [Genko 2005: 120].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *melz* {*мелз*} 'tongue' [Genko 2005: 119]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *melz* {*мелз*} 'tongue' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 227].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 505, 639. Paradigm: *mez* [abs.] / *mec-i-* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *mez* [abs.] / *mec-i-* [obl.] {*мез*} 'tongue' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 233; Gadzhiev 1950: 962; Haspelmath 1993: 498, 528].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *mez* [abs.] / *mec-'a-* [obl.] 'tongue' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 15].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 802. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained as the basic term for 'tongue' in all lects.

Replacements: {'tongue' > 'language'} (Caucasian Albanian, Udi, Alyk Kryts, Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

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

89. TOOTH

Nidzh Udi *ul-uχ* {*γλγχ*} (1), Vartashen Udi *ul-uχ* {*γλγχ*} (1), Archi *sot:-* (1), Kryts (proper) *sil* (1), Alyk Kryts *sil* (1), Budukh *sil* {*cuλ*} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *s^{yil}yi* {*cuλu*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *s^{yil}yi* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *s^{yil}yi* (1), Mukhad Rutul *sil-ab* {*cbλaδ*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *sil-ab* {*cbλaδ*} (1), Luchek Rutul *sis* (2), Koshan Aghul *selew* (1), Keren Aghul *sileb* (1), Gequn Aghul *selew* ~ *silew* (1), Fite Aghul *silib* (1), Aghul (proper) *sileb* (1), Northern Tabasaran *s^{ilb}-i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *slib* (1), Gyune Lezgi *sas* (2), Proto-Lezgian **sil*: (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 213; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199; Mobili 2010: 279.

Distinct from Nidzh *meran* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17]. In [Gukasyan 1974: 173] quoted as *merun* 'fang of wild boar' (according to Gukasyan, attested in both Nidzh and Vartashen). A term of unclear origin.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 213; Fähnrich 1999: 33; Dirr 1903: 1, 27; Schiefner 1863: 79; Schulze 2001: 329; Starchevskiy 1891: 500.

Common Udi: Common Udi **ul-uχ*, with the fossilized plural suffix *-uχ*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 314, 360; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199; Mikailov 1967: 197. Polysemy: 'tooth / fang'.

Distinct from the specific term *g'a'nži* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 230; Chumakina et al. 2007; Dirr 1908: 137].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199. Paradigm: *sil* [abs.] / *sil-i* ~ *sil* [gen.]. Polysemy: 'tooth / fang'.

Distinct from the specific term *saχ* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 39, 277, 320, etc. Polysemy: 'tooth / fang'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 126, 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199. Polysemy: 'tooth / fang / segment (of garlic etc.)'.

Distinct from the specific term *azu* ~ *azu sil* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17; Meylanova 1984: 18], borrowed from Azerbaijani *azi diši* 'molar' (Budukh phonetics suggests the dialectal variant **azu*).

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 887, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 314; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199.

Distinct from *azi* 'molar' [Ibragimov 1990: 149; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 29], borrowed from Azerbaijani *azi diši* 'molar'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *s^{yil}yi* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16]. Distinct from the specific term *azi* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17], borrowed from Azerbaijani *azi diši* 'molar'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Dirr 1913: 201, 226. Distinct from the more specific terms: *azi* ~ *azu* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17] (ultimately borrowed from Azerbaijani *azi diši* 'molar') and inherited *xayik-in s^{yil}yi* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17], literally 'tooth of *xayik*' (*xayik* '?').

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199. Distinct from the more specific terms: *azu* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17] (ultimately borrowed from Azerbaijani *azi diši* 'molar') and inherited *kokak-in s^{yil}yi* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17], literally 'tooth of *kokak*' (*kokak* '?').

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 171, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 114; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199. Regular paradigm: *sil-ab* [sg.] / *sil-ab-ir* [pl.].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 235, 343; Ibragimov 1978: 222; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 199. Regular paradigm: *sil-ab* [sg.] / *sil-ab-ir* [pl.]. According to examples in [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006], this is the basic term for 'tooth' (final *-ab* is a fossilized plural exponent).

A second candidate is *sis* {сыс} 'tooth' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 236, 343]; no examples have been found, but *sis* is used in the expression for 'to bite' q.v.: *sis haʔ-*, literally 'tooth + to do'.

Distinct from the more specific term *wig:in* {выгыын} with polysemy: 'fang / wedge' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 49].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16. Suppletive paradigm: *sis* [sg.] / *sil-ab-ir* [pl.].

Distinct from the more specific terms: *ʙ^wab-ad sis* 'molar', literally 'tooth of root' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17] and *wigin* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Common Rutul: Khnyukh dialect (subdialect of Mukhad): *sis* [sg.] / *sil-ab-ir* [pl.] 'tooth' [Ibragimov 1978: 128, 134]. Kiche dialect (subdialect of Mukhad): *sil* [sg.] / *sil-ab ~ sil-ab-ir* [pl.] 'tooth' [Ibragimov 1978: 128]. Shinaz dialect: *sis* [sg.] / *sil-ab-ur* [pl.] 'tooth' [Dirr 1912: 171, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 134]. Borch-Khnov dialect: *sil-ab* 'tooth' [Ibragimov 1978: 238].

It seems that the Proto-Rutul term for 'tooth (in general)' should be reconstructed as *sil*; early on, its plural form *sil-ab* spread onto the singular number in all dialects, but currently the new singular form *sil-ab* is being superseded by the unrelated form *sis*. The underlying meaning of *sis* can be 'incisor' or 'canine tooth', because in many Rutul dialects the expression for 'to bite' q.v. is based on this substantive: *sis* + 'to do'.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Shaumyan 1941: 162.

Distinct from *seχ^w* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17] and *kanč:* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16. The same in the Usug subdialect: *silew* 'tooth' [Shaumyan 1941: 162]. Distinct from Richa *seχ^w* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17] and *kanč:* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16; Dirr 1907: 142, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 162. In [Dirr 1907], *silew* is glossed as 'incisor', see notes on common Aghul. Distinct from *seχ^w* 'molar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17; Dirr 1907: 141] and *kanč:* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16. Distinct from *siχ^w* 'molar' and *kanč:* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 70 (sub *ʒačir us*); Shaumyan 1941: 162. The same in other subdialects: Tsrkhe *silew*, Duldug *saliw* 'tooth' [Shaumyan 1941: 162]. Distinct from Tpig *säχ^w* 'molar' [Suleymanov 2003: 149] and *kanč:* 'fang' [Suleymanov 2003: 107].

Common Aghul: Historically *sil-eb* 'tooth' with the fossilized plural exponent. It should be noted that, according to [Shaumyan 1941: 162], in all the dialects *sil-eb* (~ *w*) means specifically 'incisor', not 'tooth (in general)'; the same is proposed for Richa in [Dirr 1907]. Apparently 'incisor' is an inaccurate gloss, cf. the following passages, which prove the generic meaning 'tooth' for *sil-eb* (~ *w*): Tpig 'Foolhardy guys in a small room = teeth' (a riddle) [Shaumyan 1941: 123], Fite 'I have cracked a nut with my teeth' [Magometov 1970: 83].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16. Distinct from Dyubek *šarʙ^f-a* 'molar' and *k^wamč:-a* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *sil'ib* [abs.] / *silb-* [obl.] 'tooth' [Uslar 1979: 908, 994]; in [Dirr 1905: 204, 230], quoted as *selew* [abs.] / *selb-* [obl.] 'tooth' with additional phonetic development *b# > w#*. Distinct from Khanag *šarʙ* or *šarʙ^f* 'molar' [Dirr 1905: 220].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *silib* {силиб} 'tooth' [Genko 2005: 139]; distinct from Khyuryuk *šarʙ* {шаргъ} 'molar' [Genko 2005: 189] (apparently Genko's error for expected ***šarʙ^f* {шяргъ}).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *slib* [abs.] / *sp-* [obl.] < **sb-* < **slb-*. Distinct from Kondik *šarʙ^f* 'molar' and *kanč:* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

The same in the Khoredzh and Chara subdialects: *slib* [abs.] / *sp-* [obl.] 'tooth' [Magometov 1965: 58]; distinct from Chara *šarʙ* {шаргъ} 'molar' [Genko 2005: 189] (apparently Genko's error for expected ***šarʙ^f* {шяргъ}).

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *sil'ib* [abs.] / *silb-* [obl.] {силиб} 'tooth' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 271]. Distinct from two literary terms for 'molar': *saχ^w* {сахъ} 'molar' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 270] and *šarʙ^f* {шяргъ} 'molar' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 353]. Distinct from two literary terms for 'fang': *kanč:* {кканч} with polysemy: 'fang (of wild boar) / high temple (hair)' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 196] (the primary meaning is 'fang') and *k'ir* {к'ир} with polysemy: 'hook / fang' [Khanmagomedov & Shal buzov 2001: 214] (the primary meaning is 'hook').

Differently in the Khiv subdialect: *sars* {capc} 'tooth' [Genko 2005: 137]. Distinct from Khiv *saχ^w* {caxb} 'molar' [Genko 2005: 138] and *kanč* {кканч} 'fang (of wild boar)' [Genko 2005: 92].

Common Tabasaran: At least three Proto-Tabasaran terms can be reconstructed with exact meanings: *silib* 'tooth in general' (historically *sil-ib* with the fossilized plural suffix; note various ways of the reduction of unaccented vowels in individual dialects), *šarβ* 'molar', *kamč-* ~ *kanč-* ~ *kanč* 'fang'. The original meanings and status of Southern *sars* (shifted to 'tooth in general' in Khiv, if Genko's gloss is correct) and *saχ^w* (the second word for 'molar') are unclear.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 546, 613. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *sas* [abs.] / *sar-'a-* [obl.] / *sar-'ar* [pl.]. The oblique morpheme *sar-* originates from the old plural form **ss-ar* < **sis-'ar* < **sas-'ar*. See [Haspelmath 1993: 62] for such a reduction in Literary Lezgi. This analysis is unambiguously proven by the Akhty paradigm *sas* [abs.] / *ss-a-* [obl.] (see below).

Distinct from Gyune *s^waχ* [abs.] / *suχ^w-a-* [obl.] 'molar' [Uslar 1896: 546, 613]. Cf. also Gyune *k'ir*, which is glossed only as 'hook' in [Uslar 1896: 477].

The same generic term in Literary Lezgi: *sas* [abs.] / *sar-'a-* [obl.] / *sar-'ar* [pl.] {cac} 'tooth' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 287; Gadzhiev 1950: 250; Haspelmath 1993: 505, 528] (incorrectly glossed as 'incisor' by Haspelmath). Distinct from literary *s^waχ* [abs.] / *suχ^w-a-* [obl.] {caxb} 'molar' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 288; Haspelmath 1993: 506], *k'ir* {κιιρ} 'hook / fang' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 217] and *gung* {гунг} 'fang (of wild boar)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 89].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *sas* [abs.] / *ss-a-* [obl.] / *ss-ar* [pl.] 'tooth' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 16]. Distinct from Khlyut *k^wal'aχ* 'molar' and *k'ir* 'fang' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 17].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 326. Distribution: Retained as the generic term for 'tooth' in all languages, except for several Nuclear Lezgian lects.

In some Rutul dialects (Luchek, Khnyukh, Shinaz), Southern Tabasaran (Khiv) and probably in all Lezgi dialects, this stem was superseded with **sars* (~ *s:*) [LEDb: #110] - an areal Lezgi-induced isogloss. The original meaning of **sars* is unclear, because this root is not attested outside Rutul, Tabasaran and Lezgi and lacks external North Caucasian etymology (some Rutul data may point to the local meaning 'incisor' or 'canine tooth', although it is not certain).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. In Udi and many Nuclear Lezgian lects the old plural forms, modified with fossilized suffixes, are currently used in the singular meaning. Due to this reason, the oblique stem is not reconstructible.

90. TREE

Nidzh Udi *χod* {xod} (1), Vartashen Udi *χod* {xod} (1), Archi *q^wat'i* (2), Kryts (proper) *dar* (3), Alyk Kryts *k'ina* (4), Budukh *dər* {dap} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yiw* {üub} (5), Mikik Tsakhur *yiw* ~ *yurw* (5), Gel mets Tsakhur *yiw* (5), Mukhad Rutul *χuk* {xyκ} (6), Ixrek Rutul *χuk* {xyκ} (6), Luchek Rutul *χuk* (6), Koshan Aghul *k'ur* (7), Keren Aghul *k'ur* (7), Gequn Aghul *k'ur* (7), Fite Aghul *k'ur* (7) / *dar* (3), Aghul (proper) *k'ur* (7), Northern Tabasaran *har* (8), Southern Tabasaran *har* (8), Gyune Lezgi *t:ar* (3), Proto-Lezgian **q^wat'* ~ **q^wat'-Vy* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 224; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403; Mobili 2010: 149.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 224; Fähnrich 1999: 34; Dirr 1903: 7, 14, 19, 21, 23, 29, 87, 92-94; Schiefner 1863: 86; Schulze 2001: 334; Starchevskiy 1891: 498.

Common Udi: Common Udi **χod*, distinct from Nidzh-Vartashen *uš^č* {yшI} 'firewood, cut down tree' [Gukasyan 1974: 214; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162; Dirr 1903: 22; Mobili 2010: 281] and *durut*: {дурутI} 'beam; wood, timber' [Gukasyan 1974: 113; Comrie &

Khalilov 2010: 49; Mobili 2010: 101] (the latter corresponds to Caucasian Albanian *durud* 'piece of wood'; borrowed from Iranian, cf. Persian *durod* 'timber, a plank').

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested. The restoration of the lexeme *χod* 'tree' is uncertain, see [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22, VII-21, 90 fn. 52]. Cf. the loanword *durud* 'piece of wood' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-13], for which see above.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 299, 357; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403; Mikailov 1967: 202; Dirr 1908: 162, 207. Unjustifiedly labeled as "perhaps borrowed" in [Chumakina 2009] without the source (perhaps Avar *ɤ^wet* 'tree' is implicated, although the supposed phonetic adaptation is illogical).

Distinct from *c'ah'an*:- 'wood, timber' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 208; Chumakina et al. 2007; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 49] (in the light of *h* should be a loanword).

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403.

Distinct from *k'inā* 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 36, 40, 65, 81, 174, 212, 213, 214, etc. Polysemy: 'tree / (piece of) wood' (for the latter meaning see [Authier 2009: 104, 195, etc.]). There exists another term for 'tree': *dar* [Authier 2009: 36, 38], but this has not been confirmed in textual examples; apparently *dar* is currently almost superseded by *k'ina* (although it should be noted that the semantic development '(piece of) wood' > 'living tree' is typologically very uncommon, whereas *vice versa* is frequent).

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 51, 211; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403.

Distinct from *k'inā* [к'йна] 'log, (piece of) wood, firewood' [Meylanova 1984: 99; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 880, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 181; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010], the variant *yuw* is also quoted.

Distinct from *os* 'log, firewood' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 883].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *yiw* 'tree', *os* 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95, 162].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Dirr 1913: 171, 224.

Distinct from *os* 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403.

Distinct from *os* 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 179, 189; Ibragimov 1978: 99, 117; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403.

Distinct from *us* '(fire)wood' [Dirr 1912: 175].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 273, 335; Ibragimov 1978: 201; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 403.

Distinct from *us* 'log, (piece of) wood, firewood' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 256].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95.

Distinct from *us* 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Common Rutul: An important case of polysemy is attested in the Muxrek dialect: *χuk* 'tree / forest' [Ibragimov 1978: 188].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Suleymanov 2003: 127; Shaumyan 1941: 184. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162], with polysemy: 'tree / log, firewood'.

Distinct from Burshag *aχ^w* 'forest' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Shaumyan 1941: 168].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162], with polysemy: 'tree / log, firewood'.

Distinct from Richa *dar* 'forest' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95].

The same opposition in the Usug subdialect: *k'ur* 'tree', *dar* 'forest' [Shaumyan 1941: 168, 184].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Dirr 1907: 131, 172; Shaumyan 1941: 184. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162], with polysemy: 'tree / log, firewood'.

Distinct from *dar* with polysemy: '(piece of) wood / forest' [Dirr 1907: 112; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95; Shaumyan 1941: 168].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95. Polysemy: 'tree / firewood'. Two Fite words are quoted as synonyms for 'tree' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], each one with specific polysemy. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95. Polysemy: 'tree / forest'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 127; Shaumyan 1941: 184. Polysemy: 'tree / log, firewood' (for the latter meaning see [Suleymanov 2003: 54 sub *vas*, 79 sub *duč*]).

Distinct from Tpig *dar* 'forest; cudgel' [Suleymanov 2003: 74; Shaumyan 1941: 168].

Common Aghul: Common Aghul *k'ur* represents the Proto-Aghul term for 'tree'. Fite *dar* with polysemy: 'tree / forest' looks like an innovation, because *dar* denotes 'forest' or 'forest; (piece of) wood' in Keren (Richa), Gequn (Burkikhan) and Proper Aghul

(Tpig). It must be noted, however, that *dar* should be a better candidate for Proto-Aghul 'tree' in the light of external Lezgian comparison.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95. Polysemy: 'tree / forest'. Distinct from Dyubek *kak'ul* [abs.] / *kak'l-* [obl.] 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *har* with polysemy: 'tree / forest' [Uslar 1979: 708, 992; Dirr 1905: 172, 227]. Distinct from Khanag *č'er'e?* 'small tree' [Uslar 1979: 973; Dirr 1905: 219] and *kak'ul* 'wood, cut down tree, log, firewood' [Uslar 1979: 794; Dirr 1905: 189].

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *har* {гъар} with polysemy: 'tree / forest' [Genko 2005: 50]. Distinct from Khyuryuk *č'er'e?* {ч'ер'еъ} 'small tree' [Genko 2005: 185] and *kak'ul* {к'ак'ул} 'log, cut down tree' [Genko 2005: 110].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95. Polysemy: 'tree / forest'. Distinct from Kondik *kak'ul* [abs.] / *kak'ul-* [obl.] 'log, firewood' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *har* {гъар} with polysemy: 'tree / forest' [Genko 2005: 50]. Distinct from Khiv *werg'il* {вергил} 'small tree' [Genko 2005: 32] and *gak'ul* {гак'ул} 'wood, log, firewood' [Genko 2005: 35]. For the dissimilative phonetics of the latter term cf. *kak'ul* {к'ак'ул} 'log, cut down tree' in the Tinit subdialect [Genko 2005: 110], as well as the Northern Tabasaran forms above.

Similarly in Literary Tabasaran: *har* {гъар} with polysemy: 'tree / pole' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 125]. Distinct from literary *gak'ul* {гак'ул} 'wood, firewood' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 95] and *yark'ur* {ярк'ур} 'forest, grove' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 361].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 559, 609. Distinct from Gyune *kar'as* 'wood, firewood, log, billet' [Uslar 1896: 472].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *tar* {тар, ттар} with polysemy: 'tree / wooden bar (e.g., of door)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 306; Gadzhiev 1950: 167; Haspelmath 1993: 507, 528]. Distinct from literary *kar'as* {к'ар'ас} 'wood, firewood' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 212; Gadzhiev 1950: 167; Haspelmath 1993: 496] and *č'xa* {ч'ха} 'split billet' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 376].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *tar* 'tree' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 95]. Distinct from Khlyut *kar'as* 'wood, firewood', *č'xay* 'log, billet' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 162].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 466. Distribution: From the distributional point of view, three roots are in competition here, attested with the meaning 'tree' in Udi, Archi and Proto-Nuclear Lezgian respectively. We fill the slot with the Archi root, because it is the only one that possesses an external North Caucasian cognate with the meaning 'tree' (Avar 'tree', further to Nakh 'stem, stalk', Lak 'bush, shrub', Dargi 'bush, shrub'). The stem $*q:^{w}at' \sim *q:^{w}at'-Vy$ [NCED: 466] means 'tree' in Archi and 'tree stump, stub' in Luchek Rutul ($q:^{w}at'$ [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 98]), but was lost in the rest of Lezgian. Cf. also in other Rutul dialects: Shinaz Rutul $q:^{w}at'-bi-r$ 'lock, doorlock' [Ibragimov 1978: 163] (with the double plural suffix) and Ixrek Rutul $q:^{w}at'$ {к'ват'т} 'mousetrap' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 156]; formally, these forms contain the same root, although the semantic development is not obvious. It must be noted that Archi $q:^{w}at'i$ 'tree' has been accidentally overlooked by the authors in [NCED] and has not been included into the dictionary (the Archi cognate permits to specify the phonetic shape of the Proto-Lezgian form).

The second candidate is $*\chi:^{w}ar \sim *\chi:^{w}ar-t$ [NCED: 1079] (as proposed in [NCED: 888], Lezgian $*-t$: < North Caucasian $*-di$ is a suffix, which sometimes modifies plant names). The prefixed stem $*\chi:^{w}ar-t$ means 'tree' in Udi, whereas in other Lezgian languages, $*\chi:^{w}ar$ and $*\chi:^{w}ar-t$ denote 'log, pole', 'ceiling', 'beam'. External North Caucasian *comparanda* (if correct) suggest that the original meaning of Lezgian $*\chi:^{w}ar \sim *\chi:^{w}ar-t$ could be 'a k. of foliage tree' (probably an endemic species, which was basically used as building wood). It must be noted that *pace* [NCED: 1079], Luchek Rutul *χid* 'lime tree' is not related here, but regularly originates from Proto-Lezgian $*\chi er / *\chi er-t$ 'lime tree' [NCED: 888].

The third candidate is $*tar$ [NCED: 399]. This root is attested with the meaning 'tree' in South Lezgian (Kryts Proper, Budukh) and Lezgi, having been lost in the rest of languages (except for Aghul, see below). Formal distribution suggests that this item should be reconstructed as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian term for 'tree'. In non-Koshan Aghul, $*tar$ means 'forest', except for Fite Aghul, where *dar* has secondarily acquired the polysemy 'tree / forest'. It is theoretically possible to suppose that *dar* actually represents the Proto-Aghul term for 'tree' and the shift 'tree' > 'forest' for *dar* is a late areal isogloss, which has not fully affected the Fite border territory. Such a solution does not seem apt, however, because the Common Aghul root for 'tree' is $*k^{w}ir$, attested with this meaning in all Aghul dialects including Fite (there are two synchronic synonyms for 'tree' in Fite).

Several replacements of $*tar$ occurred in individual Nuclear Lezgian lects. The most interesting substitution took place in Alyk Kryts, where 'tree / (piece of) wood' is expressed with the root $*k'on-(ay)$ [NCED: 727]. The Proto-South Lezgian

meaning of **k'on-(ay)* was '(piece of) wood, firewood' (as follows from the Kryts Proper and Budukh cognates), whereas the Archi and external North Caucasian *comparanda* suggest that the original Proto-Lezgian meaning of this root should be 'handle, grip'.

In Rutul, **t:ar* was superseded with **χ:ˀi(r)k* [NCED: 1082]. The original meaning of the latter root should be 'forest' as follows from its Archi cognate *χ:ˀak* 'forest' and the polysemy 'tree / forest' in Muxrek Rutul.

In Aghul, **t:ar* was superseded with **kˀir* (~ *-i*) [LEDb: #139]. This is a Common Lezgian root, attested in both Udi and some Nuclear Lezgian lects, where it denotes 'wooden pole', 'ladder-step', 'roofing wood'. The exact original meaning of **kˀir* (~ *-i*) is not reconstructible.

Unetymologizable equivalents for 'tree' are attested in Tsakhur (*yiv*), Tabasaran (*har*).

Replacements: {'(piece of) wood, firewood' > 'tree'} (Alyk Kryts), {'forest' > 'tree'} (Rutul, Fite Aghul), {'a k. of foliage tree' > 'tree'} (Udi), {'tree' > 'tree stump, stub'} (Luchek Rutul), {'tree' > 'forest'} (non-Koshan Aghul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The Archi form is modified with the common desemantized nominal suffix *-*Vy*.

91. TWO

Nidzh Udi *p:aʹ {nlav}* (1), Vartashen Udi *p:aʹ {nlav}* (1), Archi *qˀwe* (1), Kryts (proper) *qˀa-CLASS* (1), Alyk Kryts *qˀa-CLASS* (1), Budukh *qˀa-CLASS {kba-}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *qˀo-CLASS ~ qˀo-CLASS-lʸe {kboI-}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *qˀo-CLASS-lʸe* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *qˀo-CLASS-lʸä* (1), Mukhad Rutul *qˀwa-CLASS {kbaId}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *qˀwa-CLASS {kbaId}* (1), Luchek Rutul *qˀa-CLASS* (1), Koshan Aghul *qˀu-r* (1), Keren Aghul *qˀu-d* (1), Gequn Aghul *ʔa-d* (1), Fite Aghul *qˀu-d* (1), Aghul (proper) *ʔu-d* (1), Northern Tabasaran *qˀu-CLASS* (1), Southern Tabasaran *qˀu-CLASS* (1), Gyune Lezgi *qˀwe* (1), Proto-Lezgian **qˀä-CLASS* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 192, 281; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 485; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599; Mobili 2010: 239.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 192, 281; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 485; Fähnrich 1999: 27; Dirr 1903: 29; Schiefner 1863: 98; Schulze 2001: 308; Starchevskiy 1891: 495. In [Mobili 2010: 241], the variant *p:v* is quoted.

Common Udi: Common Udi **p:aʹ*.

Caucasian Albanian: *pʹa* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-40, IV-36].

Archi: Kibrik 1994: 341; Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 309; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 119; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 273; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599; Mikailov 1967: 75; Dirr 1908: 43. The class-marked form is: *qˀo-CLASS-u*.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599; Saadiev 1994: 435.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 100 ff.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 93, 193; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Alekseev 1994: 280; Talibov 2007: 145; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 154; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 516; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *qˀo-CLASS-lʸe* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Dirr 1913: 51.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *qˀo-CLASS-lʸe*.

- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 48; Alekseev 1994a: 235; Ibragimov 1978: 72; Makhmudova 2001: 189. In [Dirr 1912], quoted as $q^{w\acute{e}}$. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599], erroneously quoted as $q^{w\acute{a}}$ - {къвад}.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 164, 334; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 599.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Suleymanov 1993: 119; Suleymanov 2003: 212; Shaumyan 1941: 50; Magometov 1970: 95.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Suleymanov 1993: 119. The same in the Usug subdialect: $q^{\acute{u}}u-d$ 'two' [Shaumyan 1941: 50; Magometov 1970: 95].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Dirr 1907: 26; Suleymanov 1993: 119.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Suleymanov 1993: 119; Magometov 1970: 95.
- Aghul (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247; Suleymanov 1993: 119; Suleymanov 2003: 212; Shaumyan 1941: 50.
The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe $q^{\acute{u}}u-d$, Khyruk $ʔu-d$ 'two' [Suleymanov 1993: 119].
- Common Aghul:** Final *-d*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.
The same in the Khanag subdialect: $q^{\acute{u}}u$ -CLASS 'two' [Uslar 1979: 151; Dirr 1905: 42]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: $q^{\acute{u}}u$ -CLASS {къюв} 'two' [Genko 2005: 108].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247.
The same in the Khiv subdialect: $q^{\acute{u}}u$ -CLASS {къюб} 'two' [Genko 2005: 107]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: $q^{\acute{u}}u$ -CLASS {къюб} 'two' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuзов 2001: 210; Zhirkov 1948: 91; Alekseev & Shikhalieva 2003: 52 f.].
- Common Tabasaran:** See [Magometov 1965: 159 ff.] for the dialectal overview.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 86. In the non-attributive function, the variant $q^{w\acute{e}}-d$ is used.
The same in Literary Lezgi: $q^{w\acute{e}}$ {къве} 'two' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 566; Haspelmath 1993: 230] (in the non-attributive function, the variant $q^{w\acute{e}}-d$ {къве} is used).
The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut $q^{w\acute{a}}-d$ 'two' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 247].
Final *-d* is the old class exponent.
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 924. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots, retained with the numeral meaning 'two' in all the lects.
Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.
Semantics and structure: Primary numeral root.

92. WALK (GO)

Nidzh Udi $ta=y-$ {maüec ~ maücyн} (1) / $ta=c-$ (2), Vartashen Udi $ta=y-$ {maüec ~ maücyн} (1) / $ta=c-$ (2), Archi $=\acute{o}q^{\acute{e}}$ - (1), Kryts (proper) $\check{c}=\acute{a}-r-$ (1) / $=ix-$ (3), Alyk Kryts $\check{c}=\acute{a}-r-$ (1) / $yixi-$ (3), Budukh $\check{c}=\acute{a}va-r-$ {чaгъар-} (1) / $v=ixi-$ {вухъи} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur $\acute{a}^{\acute{y}}=ha-$ {aл'гъaaIc} (4) / $ak'in \sim h=ak'in$ {акIын, гъакIын} (5), Mikik Tsakhur $\acute{a}^{\acute{y}}=h-$ (4) / $h=ak'in$ (5), Gelmet Tsakhur $al^{\acute{y}}=h-$ {aл'гъаз} (4), Mukhad Rutul CLASS= $i\acute{z}i$ {йурхъас, йыхъын} (4) / CLASS= $ix-i-r$ (3), Ixrek Rutul CLASS= $i\acute{z}i$ {гъыхъын} (4) / CLASS= $ix-i-r$ (3), Luchek Rutul CLASS= $i\acute{z}i$ (4) / CLASS= $ix-i-r$ (3), Koshan Aghul $wa^{\acute{f}}-y-$ (1), Keren Aghul $ba^{\acute{f}}-y-$ (1) / $\check{s}-une$ (6), Gequn Aghul $wa^{\acute{f}}-$ (1) / $u\check{s}-una$ (6), Fite Aghul $v^{w\acute{f}}\acute{a}-$ (1), Aghul (proper) $we-y-$ (1) / $u\check{s}-una$ (6), Northern Tabasaran $ac^{\acute{f}}-$ (1) / $'u\check{s}-$ (6), Southern Tabasaran $av^{\acute{f}}-$ (1) / $'u\check{s}-$ (6), Gyune Lezgi $\acute{s}u-$ (3), Proto-Lezgian $*\acute{z}i\acute{q}:\acute{w}\acute{a}$ - (1) / $*\acute{z}i\acute{t}^w\acute{e}$ (3).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491; Mobili 2010: 263 (sub *tayes* & *taysun*). Polysemy: 'to go / to go away'. Distinct from *tara-p-sun* {тарапсын} 'to turn oneself round (Nidzh-Vartashen); to walk, promenade (Nidzh)' [Gukasyan 1974: 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 489; Schiefner 1863: 95; Schulze 2001: 323]. Perfective stem.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 202; Dirr 1903: 40, 49, 51, 54, 88, 89, 91, 94, 95; Schiefner 1863: 95; Starchevskiy 1891: 486. In [Fähnrich 1999: 30] quoted as *tab-esun* - an important archaism, see below. Incorrectly glossed as 'to go into, come' in [Schulze 2001: 322], see notes on 'to come'. Distinct from *čur-e-sun* 'to walk' [Schiefner 1863: 88; Schulze 2001: 266] (cf. *čur-p-sun* 'to stand' q.v.). Perfective stem.

Common Udi: As described in [Maisak 2008a: 108 f.], a suppletive paradigm: *ta(y)-* (present-infinitive) / *tac-* (past) / *ta-* (future) / *tak-* (imperative). For the paradigmatic distribution of the Nidzh present variants *ta-* and *tay-* see [Maisak 2008a: 107].

Udi verbs of motion (particularly basic 'to come' q.v. and 'to go') represent a certain morphological riddle. As discussed in [Harris 2002: 68 ff., 223 ff.; Maisak 2008a: 107 ff., 154 ff.] and some other publications and now strongly suggested by data from Caucasian Albanian, the attested Udi paradigm originates from the preverb *ta-* 'thither, away' plus the verb 'to go', which is reflected as Caucasian Albanian *ib-* (present-infinitive) / *ac-* (past) / *ukal-* (imperative); that is, Proto-Udi **ta=ib-* (present-infinitive) / **ta=ac-* (past) / **ta=ib-* (future) / **ta=k-* (imperative).

The attested Udi present stem *ta(y)-* goes back to **ta=ib-* with *ɪ > 0/y* in the intervocalic position before front vowels or before consonants, cf. [Schulze 2005: 547 (3.4.2.1 #34)]. Accordingly, as it was correctly suspected in [Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 474] and [Harris 2002: 223 ff.], the Udi present *ta=y-* contains the same etymological morpheme as the future *ta=ɪ-*. It must be noted that in *ta(y)-* 'to go' and in another prefixed verb from the same root, *e=y-* 'to come' q.v., this *-ɪ-* is still sporadically retained in present and masdar forms in both Udi dialects (*tab-esun* etc.) [Schulze 2005: 547 (3.4.2.1 #34); Fähnrich 1999: 15, 30]. Alternatively it is supposed in [Maisak 2008a: 107, 145 f.] that the present stems *ta=y-* 'to go' and *e=y-* 'to come' originate from the imperative *ta=k-*, *e=k-* with *k > y*, although such a phonetic development is not regular in the forms discussed (the only known instance of such a shift is the verb *bak-es* 'to be' [Maisak 2008a: 144]).

The preverb *ta-* 'thither, away' is attested in few verbs in modern Udi (*ta(y)-* 'to go', *taš-* 'to carry away' and *tad-* 'to give' q.v., see [Maisak 2008a: 158]), but possesses a slightly broader distribution in Caucasian Albanian [Gippert et al 2008: II-45].

The Udi and Caucasian Albanian suppletive verbs 'to come' q.v., Udi *e(y)-* (present-infinitive) / *ar-* (past) / *eɪ-* (future) / *ek-* (imperative), Caucasian Albanian *heɪ-* (present-infinitive) / *ar-* (past) / *hekal-* (imperative), represent an almost exact morphological parallel to 'to go'. As correctly analyzed in [Schulze 2005: 547 (3.4.2.1 #34); Gippert et al. 2008: II-45, 51], verbs for 'to come' contain the preverb (*h*)*e-* 'hither' plus the plain verb 'to go'. Thus, Udi **e=ib-* > **e=y-* (present-infinitive) / **e=ib-* (future) / **e=k-* (imperative) 'to come' and Caucasian Albanian **he=ib-* (present-infinitive) / *he=kal-* (imperative) 'to come'.

The verbal prefix (*h*)*e-* 'hither' is very scantily preserved in modern Udi [Maisak 2008a: 158], but is more widely attested in Caucasian Albanian [Gippert et al 2008: II-45].

Some authors (see discussions in [Harris 2002: 68 ff., 223 ff.] and [Maisak 2008a: 107 ff., 154 ff.]) suppose that the original root for 'to come' was **eɪ-* / **ek-*; afterwards, the initial *e-* was morphologically reanalyzed in Pre-Udi as a verbal prefix *e-* with the new meaning 'hither'. Data from Caucasian Albanian, where the preverb (*h*)*e-* is more productive than in the modern language, contradicts such an analysis.

Thus, we believe that the following present-infinitive-future (*scil.* imperfective) stems can assuredly be reconstructed for Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi:

- 1) **ib-* 'to go' (retained in CA, lost in Udi);
- 2) **ta=ib-* 'to go away (to go thither)' (retained in CA, broadened into 'to go / to go away' in Udi);
- 3) **(h)e=ib-* 'to come (to go hither)' (retained both in CA and Udi).

Modern Udi demonstrates the typologically normal situation, in which the meanings 'to go (in general)' and 'to go away' merge into one verbal root, which is lexically opposed to an expression for 'to come'.

As for the past (*scil.* perfective) stem, here the opposition between two main concepts 'to go, go away' and 'to come' is expressed by different roots:

- 1) **ac-* 'to go' (retained in CA, lost in Udi);
- 2) **ta=ac-* 'to go away' (retained in CA, broadened into 'to go / to go away' in Udi);

3) **ar-* 'to come' (retained both in CA and Udi).

Note that in fact the plain **ac-* survived in Modern Udi as the past stem *-(e)c-* of the light verb *-e-*, which functions as an intransitivizer or decausative (for which see [Maisak 2008a: 139 ff.; Schulze 2005: 562 ff. (3.4.2.2 #11 ff.)]).

The situation with the imperative stems is less clear etymologically. Cf. Caucasian Albanian *u(=)kal-* ~ *e=k-e-* 'to go (imv.)', *he=k-al-* 'to come (imv.)' [Gippert et al 2008: II-51] vs. Udi *ta=k-e* 'to go (imv.)', *e=k-e* 'to come (imv.)' [Schulze 2005: 552 (3.4.2.1 #44)]. Schulze & Gippert might theoretically be right that Udi *=k-* is an allegro variant of **=kal-* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-51]. At first sight, the CA form *ukal-* looks like *u=k-al-* with a unique prefix *u-* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-51], but the initial *u* can also be a normal reflex of the first vowel of the proto-root, see notes on *up-* 'to say'.

Quite a different analysis has been proposed in [NCED: 423] (whose authors were naturally not aware of Caucasian Albanian data): Udi *ta(y)-* 'to go, to go away' is explained as a secondary formation from the unattested Udi gerund **atay* and further compared to Lezgi *at-* 'to come, arrive', which does not currently seem apt.

Caucasian Albanian: A suppletive verb *ix-* (present-infinitive) / *ac-e-* (past) / *ukal-* (imperative) [Gippert et al 2008: II-44, 45, 51, IV-21]. Also attested with the preverb *ta-* 'thither': *ta-ix-esun* 'to go away, thither' [Gippert et al 2008: II-45].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 299; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 73; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 243; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491; Mikailov 1967: 203. Suppletive paradigm: *=oq^he-* [imperf., perf.] / *=q^he-* [inf.] / *χ^ha-* [potential]. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away / to go by horse or car'.

Distinct from a more specific verb *=erq^ha-* 'to walk, go' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 239; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 235; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491; Mikailov 1967: 178]. Both verbs are probably etymologically related, representing various grades of Proto-Lezgian Ablaut [NCED: 572 f.]; the medial *-r-* in *=erq^ha-* 'to walk' is a fossilized durative infix; initial *h-*, which appears in the IV class forms of *=erq^ha-* (*h'erq^ha-*), is not entirely clear.

The same Proto-Lezgian root is retained as the perfective stem *=q^ha* of 'to come' q.v.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 74; Saadiev 1994: 427. Suppletive paradigm: *čä-r-* ~ *če-r-* [imperf.] / *=ix-* [perf.]. We treat *čä-r-* and *=ix-* as synonyms. Polysemy: 'to go / to go away'.

From the etymological point of view, it seems probable that imperfective *čä-r-* originates from **č=ä_h-r-* (cf. its Budukh counterpart), although the loss of *h* seems irregular; in this case *č=* is the prefix 'next to' [Saadiev 1994: 424]. Perfective *=ix-* is the same root as 'to come' q.v. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 74; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491. Perfective stem.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 159 ff. Paradigm: *ča-r-* [imperf.] / *yixi-* [perf.]. See notes on Kryts proper. Authier 2009: 159 ff. Perfective stem.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 34, 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 74. Suppletive paradigm: *č=ava-r-* [imperf.] / *v=ixi-* [perf.]. Initial *č=* and *v=* are spatial prefixes [Alekseev 1994: 271]. We treat *č=ava-r-* and *v=ixi-* as synonyms. Perfective *=ixi-* is the same root as 'to come' q.v. Meylanova 1984: 34, 215; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 74; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491. Perfective stem.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 868, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 35. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491], erroneously quoted as *a^hy^hah-* (аПягъас).

According to [Kibrik et al. 1999], there are two suppletive verbs, both of them with polysemy: 'to go / to go away':

1) *a^hy^h=ha-* < **a^hy^h=ha-a-* [imperf., fut.] / *ak'in* [perf.] / *h=o:r-a* [imv.] 'to go; to go away; to depart' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 69, 868; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 35]. In addition, the ablaut variant *ak'an-* is used in imperf. & fut. with the iterative meaning 'to go away constantly'.

2) *iq^h-a-* ~ *uq^h-a-* [imperf., fut.] / *h=ak'in* [perf.] / *h=ak'n^h-e* [imv.] 'to go; to go away' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 879; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 135, 355]. In addition, the ablaut variant *h=ak'an-* is used in imperf. with the iterative meaning 'to go constantly; to go away constantly'.

Browsing through texts in [Kibrik et al. 1999] does not permit to make a definite choice between these two verbs, so we are forced to treat them as synonyms, including both imperfective and perfective stems (that is, three synonymous items are proposed for this slot: *a^hy^h=ha-*, *ak'in* ~ *h=ak'in*, *iq^h-* ~ *uq^h-*).

Distinct from the ablaut verb *h=ohar-* [imperf., fut.] / *h=ohur-* [perf.] 'to walk' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 878]. Kibrik et al. 1999: 868, 879; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 35, 135. Perfective stem.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73; Dirr 1913: 136.

According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], the situation is similar to Mishlesh: there are two synonymous verbs for 'to go', one of them with polysemy: 'to go / to go away':

1) *a^h=h-a-* [imperf., fut.] 'to go; to go away' / *ak'in* 'to go away' [perf.] / *h=o:r-a* [imv.] 'to go' / *ak'n^h-e* [imv.] 'to go away' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73, 74; Dirr 1913: 136, 164, 176].

2) $iq^{\acute{}}-a-$ [imperf., fut.] / $h=ak'in$ [perf.] / $h=ak'n^{\acute{}}-e$ [imv.] 'to go' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73; Dirr 1913: 163].

We are forced to treat $a^{\acute{}}l=h-$, $h=ak'in$ and $iq^{\acute{}}-$ as synonyms. Perfective stem.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491. Only the future stem $a^{\acute{}}l^{\acute{}}=h-az$ is known (the modern depharyngealized variant).

Common Tsakhur: Initial $V^{\acute{}}=$ and $h=$ are prefixes with general semantics [Ibragimov 1990: 123-124; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 41].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 192; Ibragimov 1978: 32, 37, 120; Makhmudova 2001: 33, 80, 118, 124, 131, 159, 160, 161, 165, 191, 208, 209, 222, 243; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491. Imperfective stem.

According to the data in [Makhmudova 2001] and [Ibragimov 1978], the suppletive paradigm is as follows: CLASS= $i\acute{}}i \sim$ CLASS= $r=u\acute{}}-u-r-$ [imperf.] / CLASS= $ix-i-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= $ri\chi$ [imv.] / $ma=$ CLASS= $\acute{}}^{\acute{}}$ [prohib.] / $y=ix-a-s$ [fut.]. In imperf., with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 85, 343, 443; Ibragimov 1978: 215; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 491. Imperfective stem.

According to the data in [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006], the suppletive paradigm is as follows: CLASS= $i\acute{}}i \sim$ CLASS= $r=uq^{\acute{}}-u-r-$ [imperf.] / CLASS= $ix-i-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= $ri\chi$ [imv.] / $ma=$ CLASS= $\acute{}}^{\acute{}}$ [prohib.]. In imperf., with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Imperfective stem.

Suppletive paradigm: CLASS= $i\acute{}}i \sim$ CLASS= $r=u\acute{}}-u-r-$ [imperf.] / CLASS= $ix-i-r$ [perf.] / CLASS= $ri\chi$ [imv.] / $ma=$ CLASS= $\acute{}}^{\acute{}}$ [prohib.]. In imperf., with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. Perfective stem.

Common Rutul: A very irregular verb with two synonymous stems for the imperfective, but the paradigms generally coincide in all three dialects. Two imperf. stems are genetically related, r in $=r=u\acute{}}-$ is the old imperfective affix $-r-$.

Note the correspondence $q^{\acute{}}-?$ in the perfective stems between Ixrek CLASS= $r=uq^{\acute{}}-u-r-$ and Mukhad/Luchek CLASS= $r=u\acute{}}-u-r-$ (the Ixrek form is confirmed in both [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 85] and [Ibragimov 1978: 215]). Such a correspondence is irregular; it is hard to explain Ixrek $q^{\acute{}}$. Perhaps a contamination with the perfective stem $y=iq^{\acute{}}-i-r$ 'to come' q.v. in Ixrek?

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73; Shaumyan 1941: 148. Suppletive paradigm: $wa^{\acute{}}-y-$ [imperf.] / perf. not attested / $\chi-i-$ [inf.] / $yi\chi$ [imv.] / $ma=\acute{}}-a \sim ma=\acute{}}-e$ [prohib.].

It must be noted that for the Khudig subdialect the following paradigm is quoted in [Shaumyan 1941: 148]: $Ha-y-$ [imperf.] / $\chi-ina$ [perf.] / $\chi-i-$ [inf.] / $yi\chi$ [imv.]. Shaumyan's "ayin" in the imperfective stem probably covers $\acute{}}$ (i.e. $\acute{}}a-y-$ or $\acute{}}a^{\acute{}}-y-$). This form is important for etymological analysis, see notes on Common Aghul.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Suppletive paradigm: $ba^{\acute{}}-y-$ [imperf.] / $\acute{}}-une$ [perf.] / $ba^{\acute{}}$ [inf.] / $yu\chi$ [imv.] / $ma=ma^{\acute{}}$ [prohib.]. The prohibitive $ma=ma^{\acute{}}$ was assimilated from $*ma=ba^{\acute{}} \sim *ma=wa^{\acute{}}$.

In [Suleymanov 1993: 54], the following Keren infinitive (*scil.* imperfective) stem is quoted: $\acute{}}^{\acute{}}a- \sim \acute{}}^{\acute{}}a-$ {rBac} 'to go'. Probably the form from the Usug subdialect. Perfective stem.

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 61, 108, 187. Suppletive paradigm: $wa^{\acute{}}-$ [imperf.] / $u\acute{}}-una$ [perf.] / $wa^{\acute{}}$ [inf.] / $ya\chi$ [imv.] / $ma=wa^{\acute{}}$ [prohib.]. Perfective stem.

Fite Aghul: NCED: 573. Imperfective stem. Quoted in [NCED] apparently based on the unpublished field records of the MSU expedition, cf. [NCED: 13].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 47; Shaumyan 1941: 148; Tarlanov 1994: 83, 115, 138. Suppletive paradigm: $we-y-$ [imperf.] / $u\acute{}}-una$ [perf.] / $we- \sim w\acute{}}-$ [inf.] / $ya\chi$ [imv.]. Note the regular loss of pharyngealization in the imperfective/infinitive root.

Tsirkhe and Khpyuk subdialects: infinitive (*scil.* imperfective) stem $\acute{}}^{\acute{}}a- \sim \acute{}}^{\acute{}}a-$ {rBac} 'to go' [Suleymanov 1993: 54]. Perfective stem.

Common Aghul: A highly irregular verb, although the suppletive paradigms generally coincide in the dialects. In all the dialects (or at least in Koshan, Keren, Gequn), with polysemy: 'to go / to come' in the imperfective and prohibitive forms.

The main etymological riddle is represented by the imperfective forms: Koshan $wa^{\acute{}}$ 'to go; to come', Gequn $wa^{\acute{}}$ 'to go; to come', Proper Aghul $we-$, but Keren $ba^{\acute{}}$ 'to go'. At least synchronically, these stems do not contain a prefix, cf. the Proper Aghul negative forms $de=we$ 'you don't go' [Magometov 1970: 194 strophe III], $da=we-s$ 'not to go' [Tarlanov 1994: 148] (with the prefixed negative morpheme dV , not infix).

The correspondence initial Keren $b-$: Koshan, Gequn, Proper Aghul $w-$ is irregular, because normally Proto-Aghul $*b$ (< Proto-Lezgian $*p$; $*m$) yields b in all dialects in the initial position [Suleymanov 1993: 66]. Although, indeed, medial and final Proto-Aghul $*b$ shifts to w in Koshan, Gequn, Tsirkhe (subdialect of Proper Aghul), it is normally retained as b in other subdialects of Proper Aghul as well as in the Keren dialect [Suleymanov 1993: 66; Magometov 1970: 36; NCED: 125].

The external Lezgian etymology of Proto-Aghul imperfective wa^{L} 'to go; to come' is not entirely clear. It is proposed in [NCED: 134, 572-573] that Aghul wa^{L} (Keren ba^{L}) originates from Proto-Lezgian $*\text{ʔiq}^{\text{w}\text{f}}\text{-}\ddot{a}$ with the unique case of the development $*q^{\text{w}\text{f}} > \text{w}^{\text{f}}$ (Keren b^{f}), which does not seem apt *per se*.

We assume a more complicated scenario. The Proto-Aghul imperfective stem for 'to go; to come' indeed goes back to the Proto-Lezgian root $*\text{ʔiq}^{\text{w}\text{f}}\text{-}\ddot{a}$, where $*q^{\text{w}\text{f}}$ regularly yielded a uvular or laryngeal (w^{w} , ʔ or ʕ depending on a dialect, see [NCED: 132-133]). This sound is retained in the prefixless imperfective form in the Khudig Koshan, Keren, Fite and Proper Aghul dialects. In other dialects (including the Burshag subdialect of Koshan) the perfective stem was modified with a labial prefix, which supplanted the initial laryngeal/uvular, - as a result, forms of the shapes wa^{L} and ba^{L} arose in individual dialects. The origin and the phonetic nature of this labial prefix are unclear, but most probably it is related to the well-attested Aghul verbal spatial prefix f 'near', for which see [Magometov 1970: 158 ff.; Suleymanov 1993: 161]. The semantics 'near' fits the attested meaning of imperfective $wa^{\text{L}} \sim ba^{\text{L}}$ 'to go; to come' rather well. On the other hand, cf. the prefix w '?' in the Koshan verb $w=a\chi^{\text{w}}a$ 'to speak' (see notes on 'to say').

Such a scenario implies the following archaisms in individual Aghul dialects: the prefixless root is retained in the Khudig (subdialect of Koshan; $Ha-y$, i.e. $\Omega a^{\text{L}}-y$?), Keren ($\text{ʕ}^{\text{w}}a \sim \text{ʕ}^{\text{w}}a$), Fite ($\text{w}^{\text{w}}a$) and Proper Aghul (Tsirkhe, Khpyuk $\text{ʕ}^{\text{w}}a \sim \text{ʕ}^{\text{w}}a$) imperfective stem, as well as in the prohibitive stem in Burshag (subdialect of Koshan; $ma=va \sim ma=\text{ʕ}e$, the loss of pharyngealization and the fluctuation $\text{w} \sim \text{ʕ}$ are not clear, however).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Suppletive paradigm: $a \text{ ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: aq^{L} [imperf., inf.] / $wu\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] 'to go' [Uslar 1979: 595, 631, 1002] (in [Dirr 1905: 156, 230], quoted as av^{L} [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] 'to go' - either actually a form from some Southern Tabasaran subdialect or the beginning of the phonetic process $q > \text{w}$ in Khanag during the 2nd half of the 19th century between Uslar's and Dirr's records).

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: aq^{L} [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] {аьбкъюв} with polysemy: 'to go / to go away' [Genko 2005: 22]. Perfective root.

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 73. Suppletive paradigm: av^{L} [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988], the perfective root is quoted as $vu\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$, but apparently w is just the regular perfective prefix).

For the Khiv subdialect two semantically close verbs are documented: av^{L} [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] {аьгъюб} 'to go (backwards)' [Genko 2005: 22] and $\text{w}^{\text{L}}=av^{\text{L}}$ [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] {гъягъюб} 'to go (with a certain purpose); to go away' [Genko 2005: 46] (initial w^{L} is a spatial prefix).

There is also the plain Khiv stem $\text{w}^{\text{L}}a$ 'to go', attested in two morphologically strange forms: imperf. $\text{w}^{\text{L}}a-ra$ (< $*\text{w}^{\text{L}}a-ura$?), inf. $\text{w}^{\text{L}}a-b$ {гъяб} (< $*\text{w}^{\text{L}}a-ub$?) [Genko 2005: 46; Khanmagomedov & Shalbuзов 2001: 119]. Apparently this is a rare verb.

Similarly in Literary Tabasaran: $\text{w}^{\text{L}}=av^{\text{L}}$ [imperf., inf.] / $u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ [perf.] {гъябгъюб} 'to go' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuзов 2001: 119] (for the perfective root cf. $\text{w}^{\text{L}}=u\text{ʕ}^{\text{L}}-um-za$ 'I went' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuзов 2001: 293 sub *uzu*]). Perfective root.

Common Tabasaran: The suppletive paradigms generally coincide across dialects, although the imperfective stem tends to be additionally modified with the spatial prefix w^{L} in Southern Tabasaran.

The imperfective stem $a \text{ ʕ}^{\text{L}}$ / aq^{L} / av^{L} is obviously related to Tabasaran ʕ^{L} / q^{L} / w^{L} 'to come' q.v.; therefore, it is natural to analyze aQ^{L} as $a=Q^{\text{L}}$ with the spatial prefix a (i.e. $?a$) 'in'. Cf. also the prefixless stem $\text{w}^{\text{L}}a$ in Southern Tabasaran (Khiv), if Genko's data are reliable.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 602. Suppletive paradigm: $\text{ʃ}u$ - [imperf.] / $\text{ʃ}a$ - [perf.] / $al'ad$ [imv.]. Distinct from Gyune $\ddot{a}=q^{\text{w}\text{f}}e$ 'to walk' [Uslar 1896: 350], $q^{\text{w}\text{f}}\ddot{a}=q^{\text{w}\text{f}}e$ 'to walk' [Uslar 1896: 489], modified with spatial prefixes (prefixless $q^{\text{w}\text{f}}e$ is the imperfective stem of the verb 'to come' q.v.).

Etymologically, the same paradigm in Literary Lezgi: fi - [imperf.] / fe - [perf.] / $al'ad$ [imv.] {фин} 'to go' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 335; Gadzhiev 1950: 253; Haspelmath 1993: 488, 520; Gyulmagomedov 2004, 2: 315]. Distinct from literary prefixed $qe=q^{\text{w}\text{f}}e$ {къкъюьн} 'to walk' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 185; Gadzhiev 1950: 915].

Note the different treatment of Lezgian $*\text{ʃ}^{\text{w}}$ in Uslar's dialect (ʃ before old front vowels) and literary language (f). The same development is observed in the Yarki dialect (Kyuri group): Nyutyug $\text{ʃ}u$ - 'to go' [Meylanova 1964: 76]. The reflex ʃ is not noted in [NCED: 148 f.].

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 572. Distribution: The situation with Lezgian basic verbs of motion, 'to go' and 'to come', is rather tangled. Almost all the languages possess suppletive paradigms with two etymologically different stems: imperfective and

perfective (frequently, a third imperative stem is also present). It is possible to regard this suppletion as a late innovation of areal origin, but there are actually no reasons not to project the pattern of lexical opposition between imperfective and perfective stems onto the Proto-Lezgian level.

The following protoroots are attested with the generic meaning 'to go' in Lezgian languages:

'TO GO'	Proto-CA-Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
*ʔiq: ^{wf} ä- [NCED: 572]	imperf.	imperf./perf.	imperf.	imperf.	perf.		imperf.	imperf.	
*ʔVʔ ^w V(r)- [NCED: 1016]					imperf.	imperf.			
*ʔiš:ä- [NCED: 656]							perf.	perf.	
*ʔit ^w e [NCED: 664]			perf.	perf.		perf.			imperf./perf.
*ʔa(r)k'i [NCED: 267]					perf.				
?	*ac- perf.								

The following protoroots are attested with the generic meaning 'to come' in Lezgian languages:

'TO COME'	Proto-CA-Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
*ʔiq: ^{wf} ä- [NCED: 422]	imperf.	perf.					imperf.	imperf.	imperf.
*ʔVʔ ^w V(r)- [NCED: 422]	perf.				imperf./perf.	imperf.			
*ʔarʕ:e- [NCED: 422]		imperf.					perf.		
*ʔiš:ä- [NCED: 268]			imperf.	imperf.					
*ʔit ^w e [NCED: 268]			perf.	perf.				perf.	
*ʔirq'är- [NCED: 268]						perf.			
?									at'a- perf.

It must be noted that in [NCED: 268], the Udi imperfective stems of the verbs 'to go' and 'to come' are connected to Lezgian *ʔirq'är-, because the authors were not aware of the Udi and Caucasian Albanian forms that retain -ʔ. Now this etymology can be rejected. The obvious source of the Caucasian Albanian-Udi verbs for 'to go' and 'to come' is Lezgian *ʔiq:^{wf}ä-. Not a single Udi etymology with Lezgian *q:^{wf} has been proposed by the authors of [NCED], but the development *q:^{wf} > Udi ʔ^(ʃ) is system-predictable, see the table in [NCED: 132]; further, Udi ʔ > 0 in certain positions. The main difficulty is the absence of pharyngealization in the Caucasian Albanian and Udi forms, but, as noted in [NCED: 143], the old pharyngealization can sporadically get lost in Udi (exact conditions are not clear).

The Proto-Lezgian imperfective stem can be safely reconstructed as *ʔiq:^{wf}ä- with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. It retains the original meaning in both outliers (Udi, Archi) and in some Nuclear Lezgian lects. In the rest of Nuclear Lezgian languages, it got superseded with various verbs of movement. It is theoretically possible that the meanings 'to go' and 'to come' were discriminated with the help of spatial prefixes in Proto-Lezgian (cf. the relict prefix in the Caucasian Albanian-Udi imperfective stem for 'to come').

Reconstruction of perfective stems is less obvious. There are two formally equivalent candidates for the Proto-Lezgian perfective stem 'to go': (1) *ʔit^we, which can be reliably reconstructed as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian perfective 'to go', (2) Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi *ac-. The latter root seems, however, etymologically isolated within both Lezgian and North Caucasian, and therefore, we tentatively posit *ʔit^we as the Proto-Lezgian perfective 'to go'.

The best candidate for the Proto-Lezgian perfective stem 'to come' seems to be *ʔVʔ^wV(r)-, which retains its basic meaning in Udi and West Lezgian (Rutul, Tsakhur).

Numerous semantic shifts between verbs of movement in individual Lezgian languages require additional investigation.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the loss of pharyngealization in Caucasian Albanian-Udi.

Semantics and structure: Primary verbal root, attested with several grades of Ablaut. Reconstructed as the imperfective stem with polysemy: 'to go / to come'. NCED: 664. **Reconstruction shape:** Correspondences seem regular.

92. WALK (GO)

Mishlesh Tsakhur $iq:\text{̣}^- \sim uq:\text{̣}^-$ {*biIxxʋac*, *γIxxʋac*} (1), Mikik Tsakhur $iq:\text{̣}^-$ (1).

References and notes:

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 879; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 135, 355. Imperfective stem.

Mikik Tsakhur: Imperfective stem.

93. WARM (HOT)

Nidzh Udi *gam* {*гам*} (-1), Vartashen Udi *gam* {*гам*} (-1), Archi *vil'i-t:u-CLASS* (-1), Kryts (proper) *γir* (1), Alyk Kryts *γira* (1), Budukh *feye* ~ *feyi* {*φeüe*, *φeüu*} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q:ʔuma-n* {*кʋyIман*} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *ʋʔuma-n* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *ʋʔuma-nʏ* (3), Mukhad Rutul *siγ-id* {*cuʒɪd*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *siγ-di* {*cuɪɪdɪ*} (1), Luchek Rutul *siγ-id* (1), Koshan Aghul *uʒa-r* (4), Keren Aghul *ibʒa-f* (4), Gequn Aghul *iwa-f* (4), Fite Aghul *ʋʔabi-t* (4), Aghul (proper) *ibʒa-f* (4), Northern Tabasaran *man'i* (-1), Southern Tabasaran *man'i* (-1), Gyune Lezgian *čim'i* (5), Proto-Lezgian **ʒiʔ:Vr-* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 105; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686; Mobili 2010: 121.

Several terms enter into competition and the sources vary in definitions. The most generic word is apparently *gam* {*гам*}; this is glossed as 'hot, warm' in [Gukasyan 1974: 105; Mobili 2010: 121] (with examples: "hot (warm) water", "hot weather"), simply as 'warm' in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686], but as 'hot' in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

A second candidate is the etymologically obscure *küvā* 'warm' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245] (opposed to *gam* 'hot') = *k:üvā* 'warm, not hot' [Mobili 2010: 179] (with an example: "warm, not hot water"). It seems that *küvā* ~ *k:üvā* denotes 'warmish, tepid' rather than generic 'warm'.

Distinct from *bačuk*: {*бачлыкI*}, glossed as 'hot, inflamed, set on fire' in [Gukasyan 1974: 72; Mobili 2010: 43] and simply as 'hot' in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685] (opposed to *gam* 'warm').

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 105; Fähnrich 1999: 16; Schiefner 1863: 86; Starchevskiy 1891: 495. Glossed as 'hot, warm' in [Gukasyan 1974: 105; Fähnrich 1999: 16].

Common Udi: Nidzh-Vartashen *gam* is borrowed from Persian *garm* 'warm, hot'.

Caucasian Albanian: Neither 'warm' nor 'hot' are attested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 312, 384; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685; Mikailov 1967: 179. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] an incorrect variant *vil'i-du-CLASS* is also quoted. Regular participle from the stative verb *vil'i* 'to be warm', borrowed from Lak *vil'i-* 'warm' (the Archi term is unjustifiedly labeled as "no evidence for

borrowing" in [Chumakina 2009]). Cf. examples: "Let's wash the heads with hot (*scil.* warm) water" [Mikailov 1967: 53], "This fur coat is warm" [Mikailov 1967: 71].

Distinct from *λ'e'r-t:u*-CLASS 'hot' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 269, 356; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685; Mikailov 1967: 189] (in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] an incorrect variant *λ'e'r-du*-CLASS is also quoted), a participle of the stative verb *λ'e'r* 'to be hot'. However, the only discovered example is not very representative: "A bullet from your rusty pistol will not get our hot hearts" [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 11]. As convincingly proposed in [NCED: 640], Archi *λ'e'r* was borrowed from Avar *λ'er-* 'to be underroast; to be burned through; to burn oneself' with expressive pharyngealization.

Distinct from *k'a:k'a-t:u*-CLASS 'hot (of weather)' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 263], a participle of the stative verb *k'a:k'a* 'to be hot (of weather)'.
Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685.

Distinct from *gi-ra* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245], an old derivative from *uga-* 'to burn' q.v. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685] *q:izvina* is quoted for 'hot', borrowed from Azerbaijani *gizyin* 'hot'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 69, 84, 175, 235, 244. Polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 141, 245; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685. According to [Meylanova 1984: 141, 209, 245] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685], with polysemy: 'warm / hot'.

Distinct, however, from *q:izvin* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245], which is translated in [Meylanova 1984: 93] as 'burning hot'. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gizyin* 'hot'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 876, 900; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] as a separate entry, but quoted in examples, e.g., [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 181 sub *yiv*].

Distinct from *isaχa-n* ~ *hisaχa-n* ~ *hicaχa-n* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 433, 442, 839, 877, 892] ~ *hic:ʰaχa-n* [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 144] 'hot'. Phonetic fluctuation (cf. also Gelmet's Tsakhur *hicaχa-nʰ* below) could point to a loanword, although the source of borrowing is unidentified (in [NCED: 415], however, it is proposed to connect this substantive to the Tabasaran deverbal adjective 'hot', see notes on Tabasaran 'warm').

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *v'uma-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245]. Distinct from *ʌzvunu-n* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gizyin* 'hot'.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Dirr 1913: 152, 240.

Distinct from two borrowed terms for 'hot': *q:izvini-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245] (from Azerbaijani *gizyin* 'hot') and *q:aynar* [Dirr 1913: 195] (from Azerbaijani *gaynar* 'hot').

Gelmet's Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *ʌuma-nʰ*.

Distinct from *hicaχa-nʰ* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245] of unknown origin (see notes on Mishlesh Tsakhur).

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 170, 202; Ibragimov 1978: 26; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 685. Applied to both objects ('warm') and weather ('hot, warm').

Distinct from *bik'er-di* 'hot' [Ibragimov 1978: 118].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 229, 402; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 686. Applied to both objects ('warm') and weather ('hot, warm').

Distinct from *rik'-e-rä-di* ~ *rik'-ed* 'hot' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 216, 333] (in [Ibragimov 1978: 201, 209-210] consistently quoted as *rik'-ed*, but once as *rik'-ed*).

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

Distinct from *bik'er-di* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Common Rutul: Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Common Rutul *siy-id* 'warm' (*si*-CLASS-*γ-id*) looks like a regular participle from an unattested verb **siy-* '?' (apparently **s=iγ-* with the prefix *s-*, see [NCED: 640]).

The term for 'hot' is derived from the old root **CLASS=ikʷ-* 'to burn' (retained in the prefixed form as *l=ikʷ-* 'to burn' q.v.), where initial *b-* is the fossilized class 3 exponent, and initial *r-* is the fossilized class 1/2 exponent. Note, however, that the delabialization *kʷ > k'* and especially the Ixrek variant in *-i-* are unclear.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. In [Suleymanov 2003: 86], however, the Burshag form is quoted as *waʃa-r*.

Distinct from Burshag *kučē-r* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245; Suleymanov 2003: 106].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

Distinct from Richa *kuče-f* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Etymologically, the same terms in the Usug subdialect: *bāve-f* 'warm', *küče-f* 'hot' [Shaumyan 1941: 142, 194].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Not attested in [Dirr 1907].

Distinct from *kuče-f* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245.

Distinct from *kuči-t* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 86; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Distinct from Трiḡ *kuče-f* 'hot' [Suleymanov 2003: 106].

Common Aghul: Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are the adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92], [Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Theoretically the Common Aghul term for 'warm' (**?iwoq^fV-* as proposed in [LEDb: #150]) can be related to Tabasaran *urq^fu-* 'warm' q.v., although details are unclear. The Common Aghul terms for 'hot' (*kuče-*) is of unknown origin.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Distinct from Dyubek *r=ec-r'i*, *r=e-CLASS-cü-r'i* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

Similarly in the Khanag subdialect: *wani* 'warm' [Uslar 1979: 621, 1007; Dirr 1905: 158, 244], applied to both objects and atmosphere. Distinct from the more specific Khanag term *urq^fu-m'i* 'warm' [Uslar 1979: 938, 1007], which is applied only to water. Distinct from Khanag *r=i-CLASS-ci-r'i* 'hot' [Uslar 1979: 895, 992] (in [Dirr 1905: 203], quoted as *ri-CLASS-cu-ri*, *ri-CLASS-c-ri* 'hot').

For the Khyuryuk subdialect two words with the meaning 'warm' are documented: *wani* {вани} 'warm' [Genko 2005: 32], *urq^fu-m'i* {урккьюми} 'warm' [Genko 2005: 159] - the difference is unknown. Distinct from Khyuryuk *r=i-CLASS-ci-r'i* {рибцири} 'hot' [Genko 2005: 132].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245. Distinct from Kondik *ye-CLASS-c-r'u* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245].

For the Khiv subdialect two words with the meaning 'warm' are documented: *mani* {мани} 'warm' [Genko 2005: 117] and *v=ur^f-m'i* {гьюргъми} 'warm' [Genko 2005: 45] - the difference is unknown. Distinct from Khiv *urc-r'u* {урцру} 'hot' [Genko 2005: 156].

Cf. in the Tinit subdialect: *mani* {мани} 'warm' [Genko 2005: 117] (application is unknown).

In Literary Tabasaran the basic term for 'warm' is *mani* {мани} [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 223] (applied to both objects and atmosphere). Distinct from the more specific *v=ur^f-m'i* {гьюргъми} 'warmish' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 119] (applied only to water). Two words for 'hot' exist in the literary language: inherited *yi-CLASS-c-r'u* {йибцру} 'hot' (e.g., tea) [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 184] and borrowed *vizv'in* {гъизгъин} 'hot' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 112] (< Azerbaijani *gizvin* 'hot').

Common Tabasaran: The adjective *mani* ~ *wani* is the basic Common Tabasaran term for 'warm'. Its etymology, proposed in [NCED: 807], however, should be rejected, because Tabasaran *wani* (assimilated *mani*) most likely represents a borrowing from the neighboring Dargi lects, cf. Meusisha *wana-si*, Gubden *wana-y*, Urari, Amuq *wana-ci*, etc. 'warm', which actually originate from Dargi **g^wana-* (not **wana-pace* [NCED: 807]), as proven by cognate forms from other Dargi lects, like Barshamay *g^wana-ce*, Gir *g^wana-ci*, etc. 'warm' (all Dargi forms have been taken from R. O. Mutalov's unpublished field records of the 1990s).

The meaning or application Tabasaran *urq^fu-mi* (Northern) / *v=ur^f-mi* (Southern) 'warm' are currently narrower than these of *mani*, although apparently *urq^fu-mi* / *v=ur^f-mi* represent the inherited Proto-Tabasaran term for 'warm'. These Tabasaran forms look like an old deverbal formation (cf. esp. the perfective prefix *v=* in the Southern form), but the original verb seems unattested elsewhere. Apparently these adjectives are cognate to the basic Aghul adjective for 'warm' q.v., for which the proto-form **?iwoq^fV-* is proposed in [LEDb: #150]. However, the details are not entirely clear (fossilized class infix *-w-* is Aghul?).

The common Tabasaran expression for 'hot' is *r=i-CLASS-ci-r'i* (Northern) / *yi-CLASS-c-ru* (Southern). These are synchronic participles from a verb that is attested as Literary Tabasaran *yic-* {йибцуб} 'to boil (intrans.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuluzov 2001: 184]. Initial *r=* in the Northern form can be a rare prefix or an archaic prefixed class exponent. On the contrary, Southern (Khiv) *urc-ru* 'hot' (*u-r-c-r'u* with the fossilized class infix *-r-*) is synchronically derived from the verb for 'to roast grain', attested in Southern Tabasaran as Khiv *urc-* {урцуб} [Genko 2005: 156] (i.e. *u-r-c-* with the fossilized class infix), Kondik *uc-* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 140]. Both verbal roots - *yic-* 'to boil (intrans.)', *uc-* 'to roast grain' - can be etymologically related via certain ablaut patterns, cf. [NCED: 415].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 589, 635. Applied to both objects and weather. No terms for 'hot' have been found in [Uslar 1896].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *čim'i* {чими} 'warm' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 370; Gadzhiev 1950: 844; Haspelmath 1993: 484, 528] (applied to both objects and weather). Distinct from various literary terms for 'hot': *qizmiš* {къизмиш} 'hot' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 189; Haspelmath 1993: 502, 521] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *gizmiš* 'hot'); *qizv'in* {къизв'ин} 'hot' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 188; Haspelmath 1993: 502] (borrowed from Azerbaijani *gizvin* 'hot'); *k'u-da-y* {кудай} with polysemy: 'hot / combustible / bitter' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 164; Gadzhiev 1950: 148] (participle from *ka-* / *ku-* 'to burn' q.v.); *ife-y*, *ife-n-wa-y* {ифей, ифенвай} 'very hot, incandesced' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 142; Gadzhiev 1950: 148; Haspelmath 1993: 521] (participles from *ife-* {ифин} 'to become hot' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 143]).

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *čmi* 'warm' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245]. Distinct from Khlyut *yik'ir* 'hot' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 245] of unclear origin (*pace* [NCED: 869], this form can hardly be paronymous to Lezgi *ka-* / *ku-* 'to burn', because *yik'ir* is transcribed with aspirated *-k-*, not *-k-* by Kibrik & Kodzasov).

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 640. Distribution: A rather unstable word. Provisionally we fill this slot with the verbal root **ʔiʔ:Vr-*, which yielded participle-like formations with the meaning 'warm' in Kryts (South Lezgian) and Rutul (West Lezgian), but was lost in the rest of the languages. The whole reconstruction, however, does not seem very reliable due to scantiness of data.

The second candidate is the verb **ʔeʔ(:)ʷVr-* [NCED: 1036], from which the participle 'warm / hot' was formed in Budukh. The original meaning of **ʔeʔ(:)ʷVr-* was something like 'to get heated' (cf. notes on 'to burn').

Etymologically unclear words for 'warm' are attested in Tsakhur (*q:ʔuma-* ~ *vʔuma-*), Aghul (*uʔa-* ~ *ibʔa-* ~ *iwa-* ~ *vʔabi-*), Lezgi (*čimi*).

Superseded with loanwords in Udi (< Persian), Archi (< Lak), Tabasaran (< Dargi).

Various Lezgian terms for 'hot' normally represent either participles from verbs for 'to burn' *vel sim.* or loanwords (< Azerbaijani, Avar).

Replacements: {'to burn' > 'hot'} (Kryts, Rutul), {'to boil' > 'hot'} (Tabasaran), {'to get heated' > 'warm / hot'} (Budukh), {'to roast grain' > 'hot'} (Khiv Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Perhaps a primary verbal root 'to be warm'.

94. WATER

Nidzh Udi *χe {xe}* (1), Vartashen Udi *χe {xe}* (1), Archi *ʔ:an-* (1), Kryts (proper) *xäd* (1), Alyk Kryts *xad* (1), Budukh *xad {xvad}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *xʷan {xvʷan}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *xʷan* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *xʷan* (1), Mukhad Rutul *xed {xved}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *xed {xved}* (1), Luchek Rutul *xed* (1), Koshan Aghul *šer* (1), Keren Aghul *xit:-* (1), Gequn Aghul *xer* (1), Fite Aghul *xit:-* (1), Aghul (proper) *xet:-* (1), Northern Tabasaran *šay* (1), Southern Tabasaran *šid* (1), Gyune Lezgi *yad* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔ:än*: (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 221; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37; Mobili 2010: 145. Paradigm: *χe* [abs.] / *χen-en* [erg.].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 221; Fähnrich 1999: 34; Dirr 1903: 2, 14, 16, 25, 66, 91; Schiefner 1863: 85; Schulze 2001: 334; Starchevskiy 1891: 497. Paradigm: *χe* [abs.] / *χen-en* [erg.].

Common Udi: Common Udi: **χe* [abs.] / **χen-* [obl.].

Caucasian Albanian: *χe* [abs.] / *χen-* [obl.], see [Gippert et al. 2008: II-23, IV-22].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 342, 353; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37; Mikailov 1967: 191; Dirr 1908: 198, 205. Ablaut paradigm: *ʔ:an* [abs.] / *ʔ:en:-e-* [obl.].

Distinct from the nursery word *p'ah* ~ *p'ah'ay* 'water' [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 87; Chumakina et al. 2007] of unknown origin.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37. Regular paradigm: *xäd* [abs.] / *xi-ž* [gen.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 34, 74, etc. Regular paradigm: *xad* [abs.] / *xi-ž* [gen.].

- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 148, 207; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37. Regular paradigm: *xad* [abs.] / *xi-yi-* [obl.].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 382; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37. Paradigm: *xʷan* [abs.] / *xʷin-nʷe-* [obl.] (in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] the oblique stem is quoted as *xʷinʷ-e-*).
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *xʷan* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Dirr 1913: 166, 221. Paradigm: *xʷan* [abs.] / *xʷinʷ-e-* [obl.].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 141, 187; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37. Ablaut paradigm: *xed* [abs.] / *xid-i-* [obl.].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 281, 328; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 37. Ablaut paradigm: *xed* [abs.] / *xid-i-r-irā* [erg.].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *xed* [abs.] / *xiy-i-r* [erg.].
- Common Rutul:** The Luchek paradigm seems to be the most archaic; in the other dialects, *-d-* in the oblique stem was restored after the absolutive form.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Suleymanov 2003: 186; Shaumyan 1941: 178. Ablaut paradigm: *šer* [abs.] / *šir-* [obl.].
The same in the other subdialects: Arslug, Khudig *šed* (regular paradigm) 'water' [Shaumyan 1941: 178].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202. Paradigm: *xed* [abs.] / *xit-* [obl.].
The same in the Usug subdialect: *xed* [abs.] / *xet-* [obl.] 'water' [Shaumyan 1941: 177].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Dirr 1907: 120, 170; Shaumyan 1941: 178. Regular paradigm.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Shaumyan 1941: 177. Paradigm: *xid* [abs.] / *xit-* [obl.].
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 186; Shaumyan 1941: 177. Paradigm: *xed* [abs.] / *xet-* [obl.].
The same in the other subdialects: Duldug *xād*, Tsirkhe *xer* 'water' [Shaumyan 1941: 177-178].
- Common Aghul:** In Burshag and Gequn, the paradigms have been levelled after the absolutive form, where Proto-Aghul **t:* > *d* in the final position.
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202; Genko 2005: 188. In [Genko 2005], erroneously labeled as the Khanag form. Synchronically, suppletive and ablaut paradigm: *šay* [abs.] / *šit'i-* [obl.].
The same in the Khanag subdialect: *šar* [abs.] / *šir'i-* [obl.] 'water' [Uslar 1979: 980, 990; Dirr 1905: 220, 225]. The same in the Khyuryuk and Kumi subdialects: *šar* [abs.] / *šir'i-* [obl.] {шар} 'water' [Genko 2005: 189].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202. Paradigm: *šid* [abs.] / *štu-u-* [obl.].
The same in the Khiv subdialect: *šed* [abs.] / *šti-* [obl.] {шед} 'water' [Genko 2005: 189]. The same in Tinit: *šad* {шад} (paradigm is unknown) 'water' [Genko 2005: 188].
The same in Literary Tabasaran: *šid* [abs.] / *štu-* [obl.] {шид} 'water' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 349].
- Common Tabasaran:** The Dyubek paradigm is the most archaic.
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 443, 606. Paradigm: *yad* [abs.] / *ci-* [obl.] / *yat:-ar* [pl.].
The same in Literary Lezgi: *yad* [abs.] / *ci-* [obl.] / *yat:-ar* [pl.] {яд} 'water' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 401; Gadzhiev 1950: 93; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 529].
The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yad* [abs.] / *yic'i-* [obl.] / *yat:-ar* [pl.] 'water' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 202].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 1060. Distribution: One of the most stable Lezgian roots retained with the basic meaning 'water' in all lects.
Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.
Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **t:in:i-*.

95. WE₁

Nidzh Udi *ya-n* {üан} (1), Vartashen Udi *ya-n* {üан} (1), Archi *ne-n* / *n'en-t'-u* (1), Kryts (proper) *ži-n* (2), Alyk Kryts *ži-n* (2), Budukh *yi-n* {üиn} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *ši* {шу} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *šī* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *ši* ~ *ši-bi* (2), Mukhad Rutul *ye* ~ *yä* {üе} (1), Ixrek Rutul *ži* {жу} (2), Luchek Rutul *ye* (1), Koshan Aghul *či-n* (2), Keren Aghul *či-n* (2),

Gequn Aghul *či-n* (2), Fite Aghul *či-n* (2), Aghul (proper) *či-n* (2), Northern Tabasaran *ič'u* (2), Southern Tabasaran *uč'u* (2), Gyune Lezgi *ču-n* (2), Proto-Lezgian **ži-n* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 125, 274, 277; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118; Mobili 2010: 291; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 467. No clusivity.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 125, 274, 277; Dirr 1903: 31; Schiefner 1863: 21; Schulze 2001: 235, 283; Starchevskiy 1891: 667. No clusivity.

Common Udi: A suppletive paradigm is retained in both dialects: **ya-n* [abs., erg.] / **b=eš-i* [gen. with a fossilized class prefix] / **ya-* [obl.].

Caucasian Albanian: *ža-n* [abs., erg.] / *beši* [gen.] / *ža-* [obl.] [Gippert et al. 2008: II-37, IV-17]. No clusivity. The exact phonetic value of the first sign *ž* cannot be established, in [Gippert et al. 2008: II-13] it is tentatively treated as a post-alveolar fricative *ž*. Apparently etymological cognates to the Udi forms.

Archi: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 285, 367; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 125; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 259; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 119; Kibrik 1994: 320; Mikailov 1967: 82; Dirr 1908: 27. Exclusive pronoun of the 1st p. pl. Suppletive paradigm: *nen* [abs., erg.] / CLASS=*ol'o* [gen.] / CLASS=*el* [dat.] / *l'a-* [obl.].

Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 285, 367; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 125; Kibrik 1994: 320. Inclusive pronoun of the 1st p. pl., formed from the suppletive (and somewhat levelled up) paradigm of the exclusive pronoun plus the morpheme chain *-(a)-CLASS-u: n'en-t'-u* [abs.] / *n'en-a-CLASS-u* [erg.] / *l'a...-CLASS-u* [gen., obl.] / CLASS=*el-a-CLASS-u* [dat.]. The final morpheme *-u* is etymologically the 2nd p. sg. pronoun 'thou' (q.v.). Medial *-t'* in the absolutive form is the class 4 exponent [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 55, 63; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 125].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Saadiev 1994: 420; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 119. Exclusive pronoun of the 1st p. pl. It must be noted that in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] this is erroneously quoted as the only pronoun of the 1st p. pl. without clusivity. Paradigm: *ži-n* [abs., erg.] / *žāš-ž* [gen.] / *že-s* [dat.]. In [Saadiev 1994] the genitive is quoted as *že ~ žā*, the dative - as *že-s ~ žā-s* (apparently forms from different dialects).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 43. Exclusive pronoun of the 1st p. pl. Paradigm: *ži-n ~ ži* [abs., erg.] / *ža* [gen.] / *ža-z* [dat.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 192; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Alekseev 1994: 267; Talibov 2007: 119; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118. Paradigm: *yi-n* [abs., erg.] / *ya* [gen.] / *ye-z* [dat.]. No clusivity.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 130; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 518; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118. Paradigm: *ši* [abs., erg.] / *yis-in* [gen.] / *ša-s* [dat.]. No clusivity.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *ši* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Schulze 1997: 37] (in [Schulze 1997], the variant *ši* is also quoted, which seems an error). Paradigm: *ši* [abs., erg.] / *yis-in* [gen.]. No clusivity.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Dirr 1913: 32. Paradigm: *ši* [abs.] / *ša-s-s^{ye}* [erg.] / *yis-in* [gen.] / *ša-s* [dat.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the genitive form quoted with a typo: *yis-in*). No clusivity.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 518; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118. Final *-bi* is a plural marker. Paradigm is unknown. No clusivity.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 36; Ibragimov 1978: 77, 212; Alekseev 1994a: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118. Paradigm: *ye* [abs., erg.] / *yix-dī* [gen.] / *ye-s* [dat.]. No clusivity. However, it is reported in [Makhmudova 2001: 169] that there are special inclusive forms of the shape *ye-wa^u*, literally 'we' + 'you (pl.)' - apparently a very recent introduction, still unknown to the previous authors.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 434; Ibragimov 1978: 212; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118. Paradigm: *ži ~ yi* [abs.] / *yix-dī* [gen.] / *žā-ti* (*že-ti*) ~ *ye-ti* [erg.] / *žā-s* (*že-s*) ~ *ye-s* [dat.]. No clusivity. Forms of two old paradigms *ži ~ yi* occur as free variants in modern Ixrek, although *ži* is more frequently used [Ibragimov 1978: 211].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222. Paradigm: *ye* [abs.] / *ix^y-dī* [gen.] / *ye-s* [dat.]. No clusivity.

Common Rutul: In the Shinaz & Muxrek dialects generic 'we' sounds as *ži* [abs.] / *iš-dī* [gen.] [Ibragimov 1978: 153, 177, 258; Dirr 1912: 36].

In the light of external Lezgian evidence one can safely reconstruct the following clusive opposition for Proto-Rutul: **yü* 'we (incl.)' / **ži* 'we (excl.)'. This formal opposition was eliminated in all known dialects. Normally one of the stems - **yü* or **ži* - survived with the generic meaning 'we', although in Ixrek both pronouns are still used as synonyms for generic 'we'.

In the Borch-Khnov dialect the semantic opposition of clusivity is retained [Ibragimov 1978: 258, 263], but the system was seriously rebuilt. Both pronouns of the 1st p. pl. are formed on the basis of **yü* 'we (incl.)': *ya-n-ur* 'we (incl.)' / *yu-q^hn-är* 'we (excl.)' with the help of the common plural exponent *-Vr*. The morpheme *-n-* in *ya-n-ur* 'we (incl.)' may in fact be an old exponent; thus, the chain *ya-n-* originates directly from Proto-Lezgian **ü-n* 'we (incl.)' [NCED: 786]. The pronoun *yu-q^hn-är* 'we (excl.)' additionally contains an archaic plural exponent *-q^h(u)n-* [Ibragimov 1978: 242, 264 f.]; the vowel *-u-* in *yu-q^hn-är* is probably the result of the reduction *-q^hun-* > *-q^hn-* in the adjacent syllable and, additionally, may be due to influence on the part of the 2nd p. pl pronoun *wu-q^hn-är* 'you'. It is interesting that after such an agglutinative pattern has been introduced in the Borch-Khnov dialect, the plain **yü* 'we (incl.)' shifted to the singular number: Borch-Khnov *yi* 'I' [Ibragimov 1978: 260 ff.].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 102; Suleymanov 1993: 125. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *či-n* [abs., erg.] / *iča-s* ~ *ča-s* [dat.] / *ič* ~ *ič-ir* [gen.]. The dative form *ča-s* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], other sources give *iča-s*.

The same in the Khudig subdialect: *či-n* [abs., erg.] / *iče-s* [dat.] / *ič* [gen.] 'we (excl.)' [Magometov 1970: 102].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 102. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *či-n* [abs.] / *če-š* [erg.] / *ča-s* [dat.] / *če* [gen.].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Dirr 1907: 19; Magometov 1970: 102. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *či-n* [abs., erg.] / *ča-s* [dat.] / *če* [gen.].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 102. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *či-n* [abs., erg.] / *če-s* ~ *ča-s* [dat.] / *či* ~ *či-t* [gen.].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 126; Suleymanov 2003: 199. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *či-n* [abs., erg.] / *ča-s* [dat.] / *če* [gen.].

Common Aghul: All the dialects retain the etymologically relevant clusivity opposition. The historical shape *VC* of the genitive forms (both exclusive and inclusive) is retained only in Koshan; in the other dialects the genitive has been levelled after the rest of the paradigm. The shape *VC* of the dative forms in the Koshan dialect (*iča-s*, *iša-s*) can also be an archaism.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1965: 170. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *ič'u* [abs., obl.] / *ič* [gen.].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *ič'u* [abs., obl.] / *ič* [gen.] 'we (excl.)' [Uslar 1979: 127; Dirr 1905: 33; Magometov 1965: 170].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222. Exclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *uč'u* [abs., obl.] / *ič* [gen.].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *uč'u* [abs., obl.] / *ič* [gen.] 'we (excl.)' [Magometov 1965: 169]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *uč'u* [abs., obl.] / *ič* [gen.] {учу} 'we (excl.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutzov 2001: 432; Zhirkov 1948: 107].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 59. Paradigm: *ču-n* [abs.] / *či-n-a* [erg.] / *či-n* ~ *či* [gen.] / *ča-* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *ču-n* [abs.] / *č-n-a* [erg.] / *či* [gen.] / *ča-* [obl.] {чун} 'we' [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 150; Haspelmath 1993: 184].

Somewhat differently in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *či-n* [abs.] / *či-n-a* [erg.] / *ži* [gen.] / *ča-* [obl.] 'we' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222].

No clusivity in any dialects. The genitive form *ži* is attested at least in the Tsinit subdialect of the Yarki dialect (Kyuri group) [Meylanova 1964: 114], Qurah dialect (Kyuri group) [Meylanova 1964: 157], Khlyut and Khuryug subdialects of the Akhty dialect (Samur group) [Meylanova 1964: 299] (for the Khlyut data see above). In the bulk of Lezgi dialects *ži* was transformed into *či* under the influence of other paradigmatic forms.

Genitive *ži* can reflect the Lezgian protoform **CLASS=iž* [NCED: 1089] with the deaffricativization **ž* > *-ž* in the final position and further levelling **iž* > *ži* after the rest of paradigm. Alternatively, it is possible to treat *ži* as a retention of the Proto-Lezgian pronoun **ü-n* 'we (incl.)' (reflexes of the Proto-Lezgian voiced affricates, postulated specially for personal pronouns, are generally irregular and unique, see [NCED: 143]).

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 1089. Distribution: Two pronominal paradigms for the 1st p. pl. are to be reconstructed for Proto-Lezgian:

1) **ži-n* [abs., erg.] / gen. **CLASS=iž* [gen.] / **ža-* [obl.] 'we (excl.)' [NCED: 1089];

2) **Lā-n* [abs., erg.] / gen. **CLASS=iL* [gen.] / **La-* [obl.] 'we (incl.)' [NCED: 786].

The available data can be summarized as follows:

'WE'	CA-Udi	Proto-Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Proto-Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
* <i>ži-n</i> 'we (excl.)' [NCED: 1089]	gen. (excl./incl.)		excl.		excl./incl.	excl.	excl.	excl.	excl./incl.
* <i>Lā-n</i> 'we (incl.)' [NCED: 786]	abs., erg., obl. (excl./incl.)	excl./incl.	incl.	excl./incl.		incl.	incl.	incl.	

It can be easily seen that the Proto-Lezgian clusive opposition is postulated on the basis of some Nuclear Lezgian lects (namely Kryts, Aghul, Tabasaran, and to a lesser degree Rutul). In the other languages only one of the pronouns has survived or, as in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, both pronouns were merged into one paradigm.

It must be noted that the synchronic clusive opposition is also observed in Archi and Mukhad Rutul. In Proto-Archi, **ži-n* 'we (excl.)' was completely lost, and **Lā-n* 'we (incl.)' became the only pronoun 'we (excl./incl.)'. However, clusivity has been recently reintroduced: **Lā-n* has acquired the exclusive meaning, whereas the modern Archi inclusive pronoun represents a compound 'we + thou'. The same process has recently taken place in Mukhad Rutul, where the new inclusive pronoun is a compound: 'we (**Lā-*) + thou'.

The ergative form normally coincides with the absolutive in all the lects, except for Mikik Tsakhur (secondarily derived from the oblique form due to analogy with other personal pronouns) and Lezgi (secondarily derived from the absolutive form). Thus, we reconstruct the homonymy "absolutive-ergative" for Proto-Lezgian.

The majority of the lects demonstrate the suffixal *-n* in the abs.-erg. form. Exceptions are Tsakhur and non-Borch-Khnov Rutul: in both cases we apparently deal with secondary analogy with other personal pronouns.

In Gelmets Tsakhur and Borch-Khnov Rutul, forms of the pronoun 'we' can be secondarily modified with synchronic plural suffixes.

Replacements: {'we (incl.)' > 'we (incl./excl.)'} (Archi, Budukh), {'we (excl.)' > 'we (incl./excl.)'} (Tsakhur, Lezgi), {'we + thou' > 'we (incl.)'} (Archi, Mukhad Rutul), {'we (incl.)' > 'I'} (Borch-Khnov Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: The voiced affricates **ʒ* and **ʒ̣* were specially introduced into the Proto-Lezgian reconstruction in order to explain unique consonant correspondences in the given personal pronouns [NCED: 143]. Archi abs.-erg. *ne-n* clearly goes back to Proto-Archi **le-n* via assimilation. Note the Caucasian Albanian development **L* > *ž* (the idea that Caucasian Albanian *ž*-forms originate from **ži-n* 'we (excl.)' is less likely, because one could expect Caucasian Albanian abs.-erg. ***ži-n*, rather than *ža-n*).

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal roots.

95. WE₂

Nidzh Udi *beši ~ beš* {*бешу ~ беш*} (2), Vartashen Udi *beši* {*бешу*} (2), Archi *CLASS=ol'o / l'a-CLASS-u* (1), Kryts (proper) *yi-n* (1), Alyk Kryts *yi-n* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yiš-in* {*йишын, йишун*} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *yiš-in* (2), Mukhad Rutul *yix-di* (1), Ixrek Rutul *yi* {*йу*} (1), Luchek Rutul *ix^ʎ-di* (1), Koshan Aghul *ši-n* (1), Keren Aghul *xi-n* (1), Gequn Aghul *xi-n* (1), Fite Aghul *xi-n* (1), Aghul (proper) *xi-n* (1), Northern Tabasaran *ix'u* (1), Southern Tabasaran *ux'u* (1), Proto-Lezgian **Lā-n* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Genitive form.

Vartashen Udi: Genitive form.

Archi: Genitive exclusive and inclusive forms.

Kryts (proper): Saadiev 1994: 420; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 118. Inclusive pronoun of the 1st p. pl. Paradigm: *yi-n* [abs., erg.] / *ye* [gen.] / *ye-s* [dat.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 43. Inclusive pronoun of the 1st p. pl. Paradigm: *yi-n* ~ *yi* [abs., erg.] / *ya* [gen.] / *ya-z* [dat.]. Note the secondary polysemy: 'we (incl.) / you (pl.)'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Mikik Tsakhur: Genitive form.

Mukhad Rutul: Genitive form.

Ixrek Rutul: The second absolutive variant.

Luchek Rutul: Genitive form.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 101; Shaumyan 1941: 56; Suleymanov 1993: 126; Suleymanov 2003: 188. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *ši-n* [abs., erg.] / *iša-s* ~ *ša-s* [dat.] / *iš* ~ *iš-ir* [gen.]. The dative form *ša-s* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], other sources quote *iša-s*. It must be noted that in the summary table in [Magometov 1970: 101], the Burshag absolutive-ergative form is quoted as *xi-n*, which is an obvious typo; other sources confirm *ši-n*.

The same in the Khudig subdialect: *ši-n* [abs., erg.] / *iše-s* [dat.] / *iš* [gen.] 'we (incl.)' [Magometov 1970: 101].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 101. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *xi-n* [abs.] / *xe-š* [erg.] / *xä-s* [dat.] / *xe* [gen.].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Dirr 1907: 19; Magometov 1970: 101. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *xi-n* [abs., erg.] / *xe-s* [dat.] / *xe* [gen.].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222; Magometov 1970: 101. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *xi-n* [abs., erg.] / *xe-s* [dat.] / *xi* ~ *xi-t* [gen.].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 125; Suleymanov 2003: 188. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *xi-n* [abs., erg.] / *xe-s* [dat.] / *xe* [gen.].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 221; Magometov 1965: 170. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *ix'u* [abs., obl.] / *ix* [gen.].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *ix'u* [abs., obl.] / *ix* [gen.] 'we (incl.)' [Uslar 1979: 127; Dirr 1905: 33; Magometov 1965: 170].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 222. Inclusive pronoun 'we'. Paradigm: *ux'u* [abs., obl.] / *ix'u* [erg.] / *ix* [gen.]. The ergative form *ix'u* can be a typo for expected ***ux'u*.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *ux'u* [abs., obl.] / *ix* [gen.] 'we (incl.)' [Magometov 1965: 169]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ux'u* [abs., obl.] / *ix* [gen.] {ухъу} 'we (incl.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 432; Zhirkov 1948: 107].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 786. Inclusive pronoun.

96. WHAT

Nidzh Udi *hi-k:ä* {звукIab} (1), Vartashen Udi *e-k:a* {екIa} (1), Archi *h'a-ni* (2), Kryts (proper) *ši* (3), Alyk Kryts *ši* (3), Budukh *ši* {uu} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *hi=žo*: {звуджō} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *hi=žo*: ~ *hu=žo*: ~ *žo*: (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *ha=ži-way* (4), Mukhad Rutul *ši-w* {uuw} (3) / *ši=w* (5), Ixrek Rutul *ši-w* {uuw} (3) / *ši=w* (5), Luchek Rutul *ši-wi* (3) / *ši=wi* (5), Koshan Aghul *fi* (6), Keren Aghul *fi* (6), Gequn Aghul *fi* (6), Fite Aghul *fi* (6), Aghul (proper) *fi* (6), Northern Tabasaran *fi* (6), Southern Tabasaran *fu* (6), Gyune Lezgi *wu=č* (4) / *wu-č* (6), Proto-Lezgian **hi* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 120, 230, 276, 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 471; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Mobili 2010: 103. Quoted as *heka* in [Schulze-Fürhoff 1994]; as *hikā* with plain *k* in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] (apparently a typo). In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754] 'what?' is erroneously glossed as *he* (confused with *he* 'which?' [Gukasyan 1974: 119]).

A contracted allegro form *kä* [кӕ] can also be used [Gukasyan 1974: 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 471].

Suppletive paradigm: *hi-kä* [abs.] / *he-t-* [erg., obl.] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228] the oblique stem again with a probable typo: *he-t-*).

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 120, 276, 279; Mobili 2010: 103; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 471; Dirr 1903: 33; Schiefner 1863: 22; Schulze 2001: 237, 273; Starchevskiy 1891: 668. Suppletive paradigm: *e-ka* [abs.] / *e-t-* [erg., obl.].

Common Udi: Interrogative attributive pronoun **e* 'which?, what kind of?' (Nidzh *he*, Vartashen *e* [Gukasyan 1974: 119]) with an unclear element *-ka* in the absolutive and the pronominal stem extension *-t-* in oblique forms. Note a laryngeal prothesis in Nidzh *hi-* ~ *he-*.

Caucasian Albanian: *ya* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-39, IV-18]. Apparently a cognate of Udi *hi-* / *e-*.

Distinct from Caucasian Albanian *ha=nay* 'which?' [Gippert et al. 2008: II-39, IV-25] (*ha-* is the common emphatic deictic morpheme).

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 236; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 130; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 265; Kibrik 1994: 322; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754; Mikailov 1967: 86; Dirr 1908: 37. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754] a corrupted variant *g^wani* [гвани] is also quoted, apparently an erroneous transmission of the Cyrillic handwritten cursive form [гъани] (*hani*). Paradigm: *h'ani* ~ *han* [abs.] / *hin'i-* [obl.]. Distinct from *h'a-n-nu*-CLASS 'which?' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 236; Kibrik 1994: 322]. For the nasal suffix cf. *d'a-si* 'whither?' ~ *d'a-n-na* 'where?'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Saadiev 1994: 422; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754. Paradigm: *ši* [abs.] / *či-ž* [gen.] / *či-ži-r* [erg.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 96. Paradigm: *ši* [abs.] / *či-ž* [gen.] / *či-ži-r* [erg.]. Distinct from *ha-l-ži* 'which?' [Authier 2009: 96].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 161, 193; Talibov 2007: 126; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. In [Alekseev 1994: 269], erroneously quoted as *šis*.

According to [Talibov 2007: 126] and [Alekseev 1994: 269], the archaic paradigm is *ši* [abs.] / *čə-* [obl.]. Currently this is being superseded by regular *ši* [abs.] / *šiy-* [obl.], see [Talibov 2007: 126; Meylanova 1984: 193].

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228] the paradigm is quoted as *ši* [abs.] / *han-i-* [erg., dat.] / *han-u* [gen.]; the oblique forms have been erroneously copied from the entry 'who?' q.v.

Distinct from *ha-l-ži* [гъалджи] 'which?' [Alekseev 1994: 269; Talibov 2007: 127].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 139, 877; Ibragimov 1990: 107. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010]; in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754], erroneously quoted as *hi=žo* [гъиджо]. Paradigm: *hi-žo*: [abs.] / *n^yi-ši-* [obl.].

Distinct from Mishlesh *n^ye-n* 'which?' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 139, 883].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *hi=žo*: [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Schulze 1997: 41]. Paradigm: *hi-žo*: [abs.] / *n^yi-ši-* [obl.].

Distinct from Tsakhur-Kum *n^ye-n* 'which?' [Schulze 1997: 41].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Dirr 1913: 39. Paradigm: *hi-žo*: [abs.] / *n^yi-ši-* [obl.]. The absolutive variants *hu=žo*: and *žo*: come from [Dirr 1913], where a variant with *-ž-* instead of *-ž-* is also attested (in [Dirr 1913] forms of this pronoun are accompanied with the interrogative enclitic *-n^ye*).

Distinct from Mikik *n^ye-n* 'which?' [Dirr 1913: 39].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754. In [Ibragimov 1990: 195], 'what?' is quoted as *ha=žu* [гъаджу], which seems suspicious (*ž* for expected *ž*). The final element *-way* is unclear.

Common Tsakhur: We prefer to treat initial *hV=* as an additional interrogative morpheme that does not represent the main meaning here (cf. the Mikik variants *hi=žo*: ~ *žo*: and the pronoun 'who?': *ha=š:u* ~ *hu=š:i*).

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 41; Ibragimov 1978: 81, 214; Makhmudova 2001: 178; Alekseev 1994a: 225. Paradigm: *ši-w* [abs.] / *hi-di-* [obl.]. In [Makhmudova 2001] & [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754], the direct stem is quoted as *ši-w* [шъв]: either an error or the result of the influence of *wi-š* 'who?'.

Distinct from Mukhad *šu-di* 'which?' (который?) and *hi-l-di* 'which?' (какой?) [Dirr 1912: 41-42].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 435; Ibragimov 1978: 214; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 754. Paradigm: *ši-w* [abs.] / *hi-di-* ~ *hi-di-* [obl.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Paradigm: *ši-wi* [abs.] / *hi-yi-* [obl.].

Common Rutul: Muxrek dialect: *ši-w* [abs.] / *hi-yi-* [obl.] [Ibragimov 1978: 178]. Borch-Khnov dialect: *ši-w* [abs.] / *hi-di-* [obl.] [Ibragimov 1978: 267].

Following [NCED: 351], we treat the direct stem *ši-wi* as a compound of two pronominal morphemes.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Suleymanov 1993: 130.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Suleymanov 1993: 130; Magometov 1970: 114.

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Dirr 1907: 24.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 1993: 130; Suleymanov 2003: 168; Magometov 1970: 114.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Magometov 1965: 181. Paradigm: *fi* [abs.] / *fi-t'a-* [obl.].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *fi* [abs.] / *fi-d'i-* [obl.] 'what?' [Uslar 1979: 142; Dirr 1905: 36; Magometov 1965: 180].

Distinct from the Khanag interrogative pronouns 'which?': *naʔa-yu*-CLASS [Uslar 1979: 144], *naʔa-š^wu*-CLASS [Dirr 1905: 198, 232].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Paradigm: *fu* [abs.] / *f-ti-* [obl.].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *fu* [abs.] / *f-č'i-* [obl.] 'what?' [Magometov 1965: 181]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *fu* [abs.] / *f-ti-* [obl.] 'what?' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 433; Zhirkov 1948: 104].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 75. Paradigm: *wu-č* [abs.] / *k-ü-, k^we-* [obl.]. Distinct from Gyune *hi* 'which?' [Uslar 1896: 77].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *wu-č* [abs.] / *k-ü-, k^we-* [obl.] {byç} 'what?' [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 154; Haspelmath 1993: 192].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *wi-š* [abs.] / *čü-* [obl.] 'what?' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228].

See also notes on 'who?'.
 See also notes on 'who?'.

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 491. Distribution: Detailed semantic reconstruction of the entire variety of Lezgian interrogative morpheme is hardly possible. The basic data can be summarized as follows (we exclude the prefixal "emphatic" morpheme **ha-* [NCED: 486], which often modifies various pronominal stems in Lezgian lects):

'WHAT? / WHO?'	CA-Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
* <i>ya</i>	<i>ya-</i> / <i>e-ka</i> / <i>hi-k-ä</i> what (← which)								
* <i>hi-</i> [NCED: 491]		<i>hi-n'i-</i> [obl.] what			<i>hi-žo:</i> [abs.] what	<i>hi-</i> [obl.] what	<i>hi-na-</i> ~ <i>ha-</i> <i>na-</i> [obl.] who		<i>hi</i> which
* <i>šw</i> [NCED: 350]			<i>ši</i> [abs.] what	<i>ši</i> [abs.] what	<i>n^{hi}-ši-</i> [obl.] what	<i>ši-w</i> [abs.] what; <i>š^w-dⁱ</i> which			
* <i>ši</i> [NCED: 986]	<i>šu, ha-šu</i> who				<i>ha-šu</i> [abs.], <i>ša-w-</i> [obl.] who	<i>wi-š</i> [abs.], who	<i>fi-š</i> [abs.] / <i>še-</i> [obl.] who	<i>fu-ž</i> [abs.] / <i>ši-li-</i> [obl.] who	<i>wu-ž</i> [abs.] who
* <i>čV</i> ?			<i>či-</i> [obl.] what	<i>čə-</i> [obl.] what					
* <i>č^we</i> [LEDb: #153]					<i>hi-žo:</i> [abs.] what				<i>wu-č</i> [abs.] / <i>k^we-</i> [obl.] what
* <i>nay</i>	<i>ha-nay</i> which	<i>h'a-ni</i> [abs.] / <i>hi-n'i-</i> [obl.] what; <i>h'a-n-nu-</i> which	<i>ä-nɣa-r</i> [erg.] who	<i>ha-n-</i> [erg., obl.] who	<i>n^{hi}-ši-</i> [obl.] what; <i>n^{he}-n</i> which		<i>hi-na-</i> ~ <i>ha-</i> <i>na-</i> [obl.] who	<i>naʔa-</i> which	<i>ni-</i> [obl.] who
* <i>wV</i> ?					<i>ša-w-</i> [obl.] who	<i>ši-wi</i> [abs.] what; <i>wi-š</i> [abs.] who			

* <i>t̪i</i> ~ * <i>t̪.wi</i> [NCED: 1062]		<i>t̪i</i> , <i>t̪a-</i> [erg., obl.] who				<i>fi</i> what; <i>fi-š</i> [abs.] who	<i>fi</i> what; <i>fu-ž</i> [abs.] who	<i>wu-č</i> [abs.] what; <i>wu-ž</i> [abs.] who
* <i>k̪.wi</i> [NCED: 709]		<i>k̪.wi</i> [abs.] who						
* <i>tV</i> [LEDb: #216]			<i>ti</i> [abs.] who	<i>tu</i> [abs.] who				
* <i>IV</i> ?			<i>ha-li-</i> [gen.] who ; <i>ha-l-ži</i> which	<i>hi-l-di</i> which		<i>ha-l-</i> [obl.] who	<i>ši-li-</i> [obl.] who	

The following intermediate reconstructions for the Nuclear Lezgian subgroups could be proposed. East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi):

- **t̪i* ~ **t̪.wi* 'what?' (at least the absolutive form); - **t̪i-ši* [abs.] / *(*ha*)-*nay* [erg., obl.] 'who?';

West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul):

- ? [abs.] / **hi* [obl.] 'what?'; - **ši* [abs.] / ? [obl.] 'who?';

South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh): - **s̪.wi* [abs.] / **čV* [erg., obl.] 'what?'; - **tV* [abs.] / **ha-nay* [erg.] 'who?'

It must be noted that, as in the case of the demonstrative pronouns 'that' / 'this' q.v., the South Lezgian subgroup appears to be the most innovative.

The Proto-Lezgian pronoun 'who?' can be safely reconstructed as **ši* [NCED: 986], at least in the absolutive form. This stem is retained as 'who?' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in West & East Lezgian, on the other (in East Lezgian, the absolutive form of **ši* is secondarily modified with the Proto-East Lezgian pronoun **t̪.wi* 'what?'). It must be emphasized that the etymological opposition of two interrogative morphemes **ši* and **s̪.wi* [NCED: 350, 986] does not seem very reliable. Actually, these two are only opposed in Tsakhur (*ha-š-u* [abs.], *ša-w-* [obl.] 'who?' vs. *n̪i-ši-* [obl.] 'what?'), whereas South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) *ši* [abs.] 'what?' and Rutul *ši-w* [abs.] 'what?' can be equally well explained as the descendants of **ši*.

The Proto-Lezgian morpheme **nay-*, or even the chain **ha-nay-* (with "emphatic" *ha-*), is a possible candidate for the Proto-Lezgian pronoun 'which?'. On the other hand, **ha-nay-* could be reconstructed as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian oblique stem of 'who?' (South & East Lezgian). Thus, Caucasian Albanian *ha-nay* 'which?' might be the secondary semantic development 'who?' [obl.] > 'which?'. It is proposed in [NCED: 492] (following some of M. Alekseev's ideas) that **ha-nV-* is an alternative oblique stem of interrogative **hi*, but this solution seems unlikely to us (especially in the light of Caucasian Albanian *ha-nay* 'which?'). We prefer to treat **nay-* (not **nV*) as an independent morpheme.

Data on the pronoun 'what?' are the most discrepant. The Proto-Caucasian Albanian-Udi pronoun was probably **ya*, which is attested in Caucasian Albanian as 'what?', but shifted to the meaning 'which?' in Udi (Nidzh *he*, Vartashen *e*; surprisingly, in modern Udi, the new expression for 'what?' is based on *he ~ e* 'which?'). This morpheme **ya* seems isolated in Lezgian; note that, *pace* [NCED: 492], **ya* has nothing to do with Lezgian **hi*. The Archi-Nuclear Lezgian match, however, suggests that **hi-* [NCED: 491] can be posited as the Proto-Lezgian oblique stem of 'what?'. No obvious candidate for the Proto-Lezgian direct stem 'what?' exists.

It should be noted that the morpheme **IV* could actually be the oblique stem exponent, secondarily loaned from nominal paradigms.

Replacements: {'which?' > 'what?'} (Udi), {'what?' > 'which?'} (Udi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal morpheme, used in the oblique stem of the pronoun 'what?'.

97. WHITE

Nidzh Udi *mac:i* {*мацIу*} (1), Vartashen Udi *mac:i* {*мацIу*} (1), Archi *č'u^ba-t:u-CLASS* (2), Kryts (proper) *läzi* (3), Alyk Kryts *luzu* (3), Budukh *luzu* {*лuzu*} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *žag^wara-n* {*жагваран*} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *žag^wara-n* (4), Gelmetts Tsakhur *žag^wara-n^y* (4), Mukhad Rutul *žag^war-di* {*жагварды*} (4), Ixrek Rutul *žeg^wär-di* ~ *žag^war-di* {*жегварды* ~

ժառանգընթիվ) (4), Luchek Rutul *žag^war-di* (4), Koshan Aghul *žag^wari-r* (4), Keren Aghul *žag^war-f* (4), Gequn Aghul *žag^war-f* (4), Fite Aghul *žag^war-t* (4), Aghul (proper) *žag^war-f* (4), Northern Tabasaran *liz'i* (3), Southern Tabasaran *liz'i* (3), Gyune Lezgi *lac'u* (3), Proto-Lezgian **č^wV^rbā* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 171; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673; Mobili 2010: 207.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 171; Fähnrich 1999: 22; Dirr 1903: 33; Schiefner 1863: 103; Schulze 2001: 296; Starchevskiy 1891: 492.

Common Udi: Common Udi **maci*.

Caucasian Albanian: *biki* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-10].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 216, 350; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673; Mikhailov 1967: 206; Dirr 1908: 195, 204. Regular participle from the stative verb *č'u'b'a* 'to be white'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 67, 71, 204, 366, etc. Distinct from *č'ebu* 'blond' [Authier 2009: 67] (which is opposed to Alyk *kuran* 'red-haired' [Authier 2009: 221], borrowed from Azerbaijani *kürän* 'red-haired').

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 102, 203; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673. Polysemy: 'white / white (of eye, egg) / mergel (a k. of white clay)'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 891; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 159; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *žag^wara-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Dirr 1913: 157, 221.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673], the modern contracted variant *žagora-n^y* is quoted.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 136, 186; Ibragimov 1978: 30, 117; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673. According to [Ibragimov 1978], polysemy: 'white / white of egg', which seems secondary (in [Dirr 1912: 136] 'white of egg' is quoted as *vilis-id žag^war* 'whiteness of egg').

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 106, 320; Ibragimov 1978: 198; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 673. The archaic non-palatalized variant *žag^war-di* is from [Ibragimov 1978].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. Note the gemination of *-g^w-*, influenced by the same sporadic phenomenon in the Azerbaijani language.

Common Rutul: Final *-di / -d* is the attributive suffix.

Cf. the substantive *liz*, which is attested with the meaning 'thread of white color' in Ixrek [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 180] and 'egg white' in Mukhad (Kiche subdialect) [Ibragimov 1978: 133]. From this stem was also derived Mukhad (Khnyukh subdialect): *liz-äy* {лизаъй} 'white sheep' [Ibragimov 1978: 140].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Suleymanov 2003: 79; Shaumyan 1941: 171. The same in the Arsug subdialect: *žag^wari-d* 'white' [Shaumyan 1941: 171].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233. The same in the Usug subdialect: *žag^war-f* 'white' [Shaumyan 1941: 171].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Dirr 1907: 114, 169; Shaumyan 1941: 171. In [Dirr 1907], quoted as *žag^war-f ~ žag^war-f*.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233; Shaumyan 1941: 171.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 79; Shaumyan 1941: 171. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *žag^war-f* 'white' [Shaumyan 1941: 171].

Common Aghul: Final *-d, -t, -f, -r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *liz'i* 'white' [Uslar 1979: 841, 989; Dirr 1905: 193, 224]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *liz'i* {лиззи} 'white' [Genko 2005: 114].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233.

The same in other subdialects: Khiv *liz'i* {лизи}, Tinit *liz'i* {лиззи} 'white' [Genko 2005: 114]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *liz'i* {лизи} 'white' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 218].

Common Tabasaran: The original substantive *liz* 'white of eye' is apparently retained in the literary pl.t. *liz-g-ar* 'white of eye' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutov 2001: 218], although the suffixal element *-(V)g-* is unclear.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 497, 605.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *lac:'u* {лапу} 'white' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 222; Gadzhiev 1950: 46; Haspelmath 1993: 497, 529].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *lac:'i* 'white' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233].

Cf. the paronymous substantive: Gyune Lezgi *laz* [abs.] / *lac:-'ini-* [obl.] 'white of eye; white of egg' [Uslar 1896: 496], Literary Lezgi *laz* [abs.] / *lac:-'adi-* [obl.] 'kaolin, china clay; white of eye; white of egg' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 219; Haspelmath 1993: 497].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 378. **Distribution:** There are two candidates with comparable distribution for the status of Proto-Lezgian 'white': **č^wVbā-* [NCED: 378] and **č^wak:^warV-* [NCED: 332].

The stem **č^wVbā-* means 'white' in Archi, but in Nuclear Lezgian it has changed its meaning: Budukh 'red-haired', Alyk Kryts 'blond' and finally Literary Lezgi *bač-'uχ* 'pitted, pockmarked (of face)' [Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 118] (*-aχ / -uχ* is a rare substantive suffix). The main advantage of **č^wVbā-* is that its external Dargi *comparanda* also denote 'white'.

The second candidate is **č^wak:^warV-* [NCED: 332], which means 'white' in some Nuclear Lezgian lects: West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), Aghul. Formally, this could be reconstructed as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian term for 'white', although a late areal isogloss cannot be excluded, either. This stem is not attested in the rest of Lezgian languages, but possesses possible external (Andian) cognates with the meaning 'yellow'.

In many Nuclear Lezgian lects, 'white' represents an adjective derived from the substantive **lac:*, whose meaning was probably 'white of egg' or a more generic 'white color'. This substantive is attested in Rutul ('thread of white color; white of egg'), Lezgi ('white of eye; white of egg'), probably Tabasaran ('white of eye'); in Archi, only the stem *lac-ut-* 'iron' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 270] was retained, where the final *-ut-* is a fossilized plural exponent. The derivative adjective **lac:V-* 'white' is present in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), Tabasaran and Lezgi - the protoform **lac:V-*, however, seems a phantom; rather, we are dealing with independent formations in individual lects according to a productive morphological pattern. It must be noted that in [NCED: 751], this stem is reconstructed as **lac:V-* with the primary meaning 'a k. of bright metal', which should be rejected (although external North Caucasian *comparanda* do indeed point to the meaning 'a k. of metal').

Finally, in Udi, 'white' is expressed with the stem **ma^rc:ⁱ-* [NCED: 552], whose original meaning was 'clear', as proven by its Archi, Nuclear Lezgian, as well as external North Caucasian cognates.

An etymologically unclear word for 'white' is attested in Caucasian Albanian (*biki*).

Replacements: {'white of egg' > 'white'} (Kryts, Budukh, Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'clear' > 'white'} (Udi), {'white' > 'red-haired'} (Budukh), {'white' > 'blond'} (Alyk Kryts).

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

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be white'.

98. WHO

Nidzh Udi *šu* {шy} (1), Vartashen Udi *šu* {шy} (1), Archi *k^wi* (2), Kryts (proper) *tiy* ~ *ti* (3), Alyk Kryts *ti* (3), Budukh *tu* {my} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *ha=š:u* {гвашу} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *hu=š:i* ~ *ha=š:u* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *ha=š:u* (1), Mukhad Rutul *wu=š* ~ *wi=š* {ыуу ~ вшш} (1) / *wu-š* (4), Ixrek Rutul *wi=š* {вшш} (1) / *wi-š* (4), Luchek Rutul *hu=ši* (1) / *hu-ši* (4), Koshan Aghul *fu=š* (1) / *fu-š* (5), Keren Aghul *fi=š* (1) / *fi-š* (5), Gequn Aghul *fi=š* (1) / *fi-š* (5), Fite Aghul *fi=ž* ~ *fi=ž* (1) / *fi-ž* ~ *fi-ž* (5), Aghul (proper) *fu=š* (1) / *fu-š* (5), Northern Tabasaran *hu=ž'u* ~ *hu=ž* (1) / *hu-ž'u* (6), Southern Tabasaran *fu=ž* (1) / *fu-ž* (5), Gyune Lezgi *wu=ž* (1) / *wu-ž* (5), Proto-Lezgian **š:i* (1).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 276, 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 471; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757; Mobili 2010: 258.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 276, 279; Schulze-Fürhoff 1994: 471; Dirr 1903: 33; Schiefner 1863: 22; Schulze 2001: 237, 321; Starchevskiy 1891: 668. In [Dirr 1903] Transcribed as *š'u* {uŋ}.
- Common Udi:** The general paradigm coincides in both dialects: **šu* [abs.], **ši-* [erg., obl.].
Caucasian Albanian: *ha=šu* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-39, IV-26] (*ha-* is the common emphatic deictic morpheme).
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 262; Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 130; Kibrik et al. 1977a 3: 265; Kibrik 1994: 322; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 227; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757; Mikailov 1967: 86; Dirr 1908: 37. Suppletive paradigm: *k^{wi} ~ k^{wi}-ri* [abs.] / *ʔi ~ ʔi-li* [erg.] / *ʔa-* [obl.].
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Saadiev 1994: 422; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted as *tiy*, in [Saadiev 1994: 422] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757] - as *ti*. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the paradigm is: *tiy* [abs.] / *änŋa-r* [erg.] / *holi-ž* [gen., class 4].
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 95. Paradigm: *ti* [abs.] / *hali-* [obl.].
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 136, 193; Talibov 2007: 126; Alekseev 1994: 269; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Paradigm: *tu* [abs.] / *han-i* [erg., dat.] / *han-u* [gen.]. According to [Talibov 2007: 126], another variant of the paradigm is *tu* [abs.] / *tun-u-* [obl.] (Talibov suspects that this one is archaic, but it does not seem certain).
 In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757], 'who?' is erroneously glossed as *ši* {шш} (actually 'what?' q.v.).
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 139, 877; Ibragimov 1990: 107. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nuramedov 2010]; in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757], erroneously quoted as *wu=šu* {вумы}. Paradigm: *ha=šu* [abs.] / *ša-w-* [obl.].
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *ha=šu* [Schulze 1997: 41] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228], quoted as *hi=šu*, which can be a typo). Paradigm: *ha=šu* [abs.] / *ša-w-* [obl.].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Dirr 1913: 39. Paradigm: *hu=ši:* [abs.] / *ša-w-* [obl.]. The absolutive variant *ha=šu* (or *ha=š:u?*) comes from [Dirr 1913] (in [Dirr 1913] forms of this pronoun are accompanied with the interrogative enclitic *-ne*).
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Ibragimov 1990: 195. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the form is accompanied with the interrogative enclitic *-yiy*, which corresponds to the Mishlesh enclitic *-yi:* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 138]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757], erroneously quoted as *ha=šu-yiy* {гъашуйий}.
- Common Tsakhur:** We prefer to treat initial *hV=* as an additional interrogative morpheme that does not represent the main meaning here (cf. *hi=žo:* ~ *hu=žo:* ~ *žo:* ~ *ha=ži-* 'what?').
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 41; Ibragimov 1978: 81, 214; Makhmudova 2001: 178; Alekseev 1994a: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757. Paradigm: *wu=š ~ wi=š* [abs.] / *ha-l-* [obl.]. The non-assimilated variant *wi=š* comes from [Makhmudova 2001; Alekseev 1994a] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 435; Ibragimov 1978: 214; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 757. Paradigm: *wi=š* [abs.] / *ha-l-* [obl.].
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Paradigm: *hu=ši* [abs.] / *ha-l-* [obl.].
- Common Rutul:** Muxrek dialect: *wi=š* [abs.] / *ha-l-* [obl.] [Ibragimov 1978: 178]. Borch-Khnov dialect: *hu=š* [abs.] / *ha-l-* [obl.] [Ibragimov 1978: 267] (in Ibragimov's table the absolutive form is erroneously quoted as *wi=š*).
 Following [NCED: 986], we treat the direct stems *wi=š*, *hu=š(i)* as compounds of two pronominal morphemes. The Proto-Rutul paradigm of 'who?' was probably **wi=ši* [abs.] / *ha-l-* [obl.]. The Borch-Khnov and Luchek absolutive from *hu=š(i)* looks like contraction < **ha-wi=ši* (*ha-* has been added due to analogy with the oblique stem).
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Magometov 1970: 113; Shaumyan 1941: 71; Suleymanov 1993: 131. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], the suppletive paradigm is: *fu=š* [abs. sg.] / *na-* [obl. sg.] / *fu=š-ar* [abs. pl.] / *še-* [obl. pl.]. It must be noted that the singular oblique stem *na-* is quoted only in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]. Other sources give the following, more simple, paradigm: *fu=š* [abs. sg.] / *še-* [obl. sg.] / *fu=š-ar* [pl.] / *fu=š-ar-* [obl. pl.].
 The same in the Khudig subdialect: *fu=š* [abs.] / *še-* [obl.] 'who?' [Magometov 1970: 113].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Magometov 1970: 113. Suppletive paradigm: *fi=š* [abs.] / *na-* [obl.].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Dirr 1907: 24; Magometov 1970: 113. Suppletive paradigm: *fi=š* [abs.] / *ha-na-* [obl.].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Suleymanov 1993: 130; Shaumyan 1941: 71; Magometov 1970: 113. Suppletive paradigm: *fi=š ~ fi=ž* [abs.] / *hi-na- ~ ha-na-* [obl.].

Aghul (proper): Magometov 1970: 113; Suleymanov 1993: 130; Suleymanov 2003: 170. Suppletive paradigm: *fu-š* [abs.] / *hi-na-* [obl.]. In the Duldug subdialect: *fu-ž* 'who?' [Shaumyan 1941: 71].

Common Aghul: Following [NCED: 986], we treat the Aghul absolutive form as a compound of two interrogative morphemes.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228; Magometov 1965: 181. Suppletive paradigm: *hu-ž*u [abs.] / *ši-li-* [obl.].

Somewhat differently in the Khanag subdialect: *fu-ž* [abs.] / *ši-li-* [obl.] 'who?' [Uslar 1979: 140; Dirr 1905: 36; Magometov 1965: 180].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228. Suppletive paradigm: *fu-ž* [abs. sg.] / *š-li-* [obl. sg.] / *fu-ž-ar* [pl.].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *fu-ž* [abs.] / *š-li-* [obl.] 'who?' [Magometov 1965: 181]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *fu-ž* [abs.] / *š-li-* [obl.] 'who?' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 433; Zhirkov 1948: 103].

Common Tabasaran: Absolutive =ž and oblique *ši-* are etymologically related, originating from Lezgian *š*i* [NCED: 986]. This morpheme is to be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran pronoun 'who?'. In the modern dialects, the absolutive form is proclitically modified with additional pronominal elements: *fu-* ('what?') and *hu-* (generic semantics). Nevertheless, following [NCED: 986], we formally treat the Tabasaran absolutive forms as compounds of two interrogative morphemes.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 75. Paradigm: *wu-ž* [abs.] / *ni-* [obl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *wu-ž* [abs.] / *ni-* [obl.] {вуж} 'who?' [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 154; Haspelmath 1993: 192].

The same paradigm of 'who?' in other dialects of the Kyuri and Quba groups. Yarki *wu-ž* [abs.] [Meylanova 1964: 95]. Qurah *wu-ž* [abs.] / *ne-, ni-* [obl.] [Meylanova 1964: 159]. Quba *wu-ž* [abs.] / *na* [erg.] / *ni-* [obl.] [Meylanova 1964: 405].

Various forms for 'who?' are attested in the dialects of the Samur group. Usukhchay subdialect of Doquzpara: *hi* 'who?' / *hi-m* 'what?' [Meylanova 1964: 213]. Miskindzh subdialect of Doquzpara: *fi* 'who?' / *fi-m* 'what?' [Meylanova 1964: 213]. Khlyut subdialect of Akhty: *fi-mi* [abs.] / *ne-* [obl.] 'who?' / *wi-š* [abs.] / *čü-* [obl.] 'what?' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 228].

In the Khuryug subdialect of Akhty, however, the system is identical to the Kyuri and Quba groups: Khuryug *wi-ž* 'who?' / *wu-š* 'what?' [Meylanova 1964: 298].

Distribution as well as external comparison suggest that compounds like *wu-ž* reflect the Proto-Lezgi form for 'who?'. Samur *fi* is etymologically related to *wu-* (< Lezgian *š*i* [NCED: 148 f.]), but the second element of the compound was secondarily lost in some Samur subdialects. The main difficulty is why Khlyut Akhty has *fi-* in the pronoun 'who?' (= literary *wu-*), but *wi-* in 'what?' (= literary *wu-*), although this is apparently the same morpheme.

Usukhchay Doquzpara *hi* 'who?' originates from 'which?', cf. Literary Lezgi *hi* {гъи} 'which?' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 102].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 986. Distribution: See notes on 'what?'.

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the *u*-vowel in Caucasian Albanian-Udi and Tsakhur (according to [NCED: 986], this might be the reflex of the suffixal class exponent *-w-*).

Semantics and structure: Primary pronominal morpheme, used at least in the absolutive stem of the pronoun 'who?'.

99. WOMAN

Nidzh Udi *ču:-χ* ~ *čuh-uχ* ~ *ču-b-uχ* ~ *ču-p-uχ* ~ *ču* {чух ~ чугьух ~ чубух ~ чупух} (1), Vartashen Udi *ču-b-uχ* ~ *či-b-uχ* {чубух} (1), Archi *ʔ:on:-'ol* (2), Kryts (proper) *χiniḅ* (3), Alyk Kryts *χiniḅ* (3), Budukh *hež* ~ *hež* {зведж, хIедж} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *xunaš:e* {хьунаше} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *xunaš:e* (2), Gel mets Tsakhur *xunaš:e* (2), Mukhad Rutul *xidil-di* {хьидылды} (2), Ixrek Rutul *xidil-di* {хьидылды} (2), Luchek Rutul *xidil-di* (2), Koshan Aghul *χewe-r* (3), Keren Aghul *xir* (4), Gequn Aghul *xir* (4), Fite Aghul *xir* (4), Aghul (proper) *xir* (4), Northern Tabasaran *šiw* (5), Southern Tabasaran *χp:i-r* (3), Gyune Lezgi *p:ab* (6), Proto-Lezgian *š*i:n*-*ol* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 238, 239 (*čuhuχ*); Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60 (*ču:χ*); Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72 (*ču:χ, čuhuχ*); Mobili 2010: 84, 85 (*ču, čuhuχ, čupuχ, čubuχ*). Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Apparently forms like *ču:χ ~ čuh-uχ* go back to *ču-b-uχ* with the Nidzh sporadic weakening *VbV > VvV* (for which see [Dzheiranishvili 1971: 277; Maisak 2008a: 150 f.]) and the further loss of *-v* between rounded vowels. Mobili's *ču* and *čupuχ* look like back-formations or errors.

Distinct from *diši* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220], borrowed from Azerbaijani *diši* 'female (n.)'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 238; Fähnrich 1999: 12; Dirr 1903: 22, 36, 92, 95; Schiefner 1863: 88; Schulze 2001: 266; Starchevskiy 1891: 499. The non-assimilated form *čibuχ* comes from [Starchevskiy 1891; Schiefner 1863] (in the latter source this is quoted as a variant of *čubuχ*). Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **či* (> *ču* before the labial *b*) with fossilized plural suffixes *-b* and *-uχ*. In both dialects the word is distinct from *χuni* [хуни] 'female (n.)' [Gukasyan 1974: 226; Mobili 2010: 151, 204].

Caucasian Albanian: *χifu* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22, 51]. A suppletive paradigm: *χifu* [sg.] / *či-b-uq* [pl.] with the polysemy: 'woman / wife'. The form *či-b-uq* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-36, 51] contains two plural suffixes: *-b* and *-uq*.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 343, 358; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72; Mikailov 1967: 191; Dirr 1908: 199, 208. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] a corrupted variant *tonnol* is also quoted. Ablaut paradigm with suppletive plural: *ton-ol* [sg. abs.] / *tan-'a-* [sg. obl.] / *χom* [pl. abs.] / *χam-'ay* [pl. erg.] / *χem-'en* [pl. gen.]. The element *-ol* is a relatively common nominal suffix. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

Distinct from the paronymous term *ten:e* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Historically *χini-b* with a fossilized plural suffix.

In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] the word *ăž* is also quoted as a synonym for 'woman' - a loanword (with irregular sound correspondences) in Kryts & Budukh of unknown origin.

Distinct from *xidil* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 73] erroneously quoted as *χidil* [хидил]).

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 26, 37, 39, 40, 44, 55, 56, 73, 75, 177, etc. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Historically *χini-b* with a fossilized plural suffix.

A second, significantly less frequent term for 'woman' is *zanan*, found in several examples [Authier 2009: 56, 111, 261, 307, 375]; it is ultimately borrowed from Persian *zan*, pl. *zanan* 'woman' (via Azerbaijani *zânân* 'woman?').

A third term is *hež* 'woman', quoted once in [Authier 2009: 25], for which see notes on Kryts proper *ăž* 'woman'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 40, 149, 212; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted with *h-*; in [Meylanova 1984], with *h-* and *h-*. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Loanword of unknown origin, see notes on Kryts (proper).

Distinct from *xidli* [хыдли] 'female (n.)' [Meylanova 1984: 148; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 73].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 889, 893; Ibragimov 1990: 66; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 418 sub *i^lyimmana*]. Suppletive paradigm: *xunaš:e* [sg.] / *yed-ar* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

There also exists a second word for 'woman; wife': *za^lfa* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 890] ~ *za^lifa* [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 170], apparently borrowed from Iranian, ultimately from Arabic *d^lašif* 'weak'.

Distinct from *xiwil^y* 'female (n.)' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 381].

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *xunaš:e* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60]. Suppletive paradigm: *xunaš:e* [sg.] / *yed-ar* [pl.].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Dirr 1913: 167, 225. In [Dirr 1913], quoted as *xum^eeš:e*. Suppletive paradigm: *xunaš:e* [sg.] / *yed-ar* [pl.].

Distinct from *xiwin-na ~ xiwil^y-na* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72. Regular plural.

Distinct from *xiwin* 'wife (said of another's wife)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220], *xiwil^y-na* 'female (n.)' [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 73].

Common Tsakhur: Historically *xuna-š:e*, where *-š:e* may originate from Proto-Lezgian **-uš:* 'daughter' (thus in [NCED: 671]).

The suppletive plural form *yed-ar* 'women', attested in non-Gelmets dialects, was borrowed from the paradigm for 'mother', although the forms 'women' and 'mothers' are synchronically opposed: Mishlesh *yed^y* [sg.] / *yed^y-ar* [pl.] 'mother' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 879; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 161], Tsakhur-Kum *yed^y* 'mother' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 55], Mikik *yed^y* [sg.] / *yed^y-ar* [pl.] 'mother' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 55], Gelmets *yed^y* 'mother' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 55]. Tsakhur *yed^y* 'mother' originates from a good candidate for Proto-Lezgian term for 'mother' [NCED: 673].

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 142, 190; Ibragimov 1978: 44, 115; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72. Suppletive paradigm: *xidil-di* [sg.] / *xil-ä* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / wife / female (n.)'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 283, 339; Ibragimov 1978: 201, 209, 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 72. Suppletive paradigm: *xidil-di* [sg.] / *xil-e* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'.

A second term for 'woman' is *zänähli* {заънаъгли} [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 118], which was borrowed from some Azerbaijani form, derived from Azerbaijani *zân* 'woman' (ultimately from Persian).

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60. Suppletive paradigm: *xidil-di* [sg.] / *xil-e* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / female (n.)' in the singular number [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Distinct from *qari* 'wife' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60] (borrowed from Turkic, cf. Azerbaijani *gari* 'old woman').

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov dialect: *xidil-di* [sg.] / *xil-ä* [pl.] [Ibragimov 1978: 241, 256].

The suppletive paradigms coincide in all dialects. Final *-di* in the singular stem is the attributive suffix. The origin of the Common Rutul plural form *xil-V* is not entirely clear. Perhaps *xil-V* goes back to **xidil-V* < **xidil-V* with reduction of the medial vowel and subsequent consonant assimilation.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Suleymanov 2003: 176, 188; Shaumyan 1941: 178. Ablaut paradigm: *χewe-* [sg.] / *χaw-ar* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

The same in the Khudig subdialect: *χewe-d* 'woman' [Shaumyan 1941: 34, 35, 36].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60. Optionally suppletive paradigm: *xir* [sg.] / *xir-ar* ~ *χumb-ar* [pl.].

Distinct from Richa *xidul-f* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

In the Usug subdialect: *xir* 'woman' [Shaumyan 1941: 178], *χumbe-f* 'woman' [Shaumyan 1941: 196]. No known difference. Several textual examples for 'woman' have been found. Most of them contain *χumbe-f*: "The woman weaves a rug on the loom" [Shaumyan 1941: 36], "The woman winds thread on the spindle" [Shaumyan 1941: 37], and the section from the story about the bald man [Shaumyan 1941: 127]; one passage contains *xir*: "This woman knits good stockings" [Shaumyan 1941: 61].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Dirr 1907: 120, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 178. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. According to [Dirr 1907], with a suppletive paradigm: *xir* [sg.] / *χamb-ar* [pl.], levelled in the modern dialect, as follows from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990]: *xir* [sg.] / *xir-ar* [pl.].

Distinct from *χambe-f* 'female (n.)' [Dirr 1907: 150, 183], which shifted to the specific meaning 'unmarried woman' in the modern dialect [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60]. It must be noted that Gequn *χambe-f* is glossed as 'woman' in [Shaumyan 1941: 196] - apparently an inaccuracy.

Distinct from *xidul-f* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220] (missing from [Dirr 1907]).

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60. Suppletive paradigm: *xir* [sg.] / *χumb-ar* [pl.].

Distinct from *χumbi-t* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 188; Shaumyan 1941: 178. Regular paradigm: *xir* [sg.] / *xir-ar* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Cf. the example: "This woman knits good stockings" [Shaumyan 1941: 61].

Distinct from Tpig *χumbe-f* 'female (n.)' [Suleymanov 2003: 176]. In archaic Tpig, however, *χumbe-f* meant 'woman' (probably with polysemy: 'woman / female (n.)'), as follows from the gloss and several textual examples, provided in [Shaumyan 1941: 36, 37, 85, 95, 196]: "The woman weaves a rug on the loom", "The woman winds thread on the spindle", "The woman carries water", "Stop the woman that carries water!".

In other subdialects: Duldug *xir* 'woman' [Shaumyan 1941: 178], Kurag *χumbe-f* 'woman' [Magometov 1970: 86], Tsirkhe *xir* 'woman', *χambe-f* 'woman' [Shaumyan 1941: 178, 196], Khpyuk *xir* 'woman' [Magometov 1970: 224 sentence 37].

Common Aghul: It seems that a suppletive paradigm - *xir* [sg.] / *χumb-ar* [pl.] - can be safely reconstructed for Proto-Aghul; the Keren, Gequn and Fite dialects retain this suppletion. Probably already in Proto-Aghul, *χumb-V* acquired the additional meaning 'female (n.)' (both sg. and pl.) and currently tends to supersede *xir* in the meaning 'woman (sg.)' (this process has already been completed in the Koshan dialect).

Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60; Genko 2005: 190. Suppletive paradigm: *šiw* [sg.] / *χup:-ar* [pl.]. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Distinct from *χip:u-w* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *šiw* ~ *š:iw* [sg.] / *χuw-ar* [pl.] 'woman' [Uslar 1979: 952, 981, 993; Dirr 1905: 221, 228]; the singular form with tense *š:* is quoted by Dirr). Distinct from Khanag *χib'i* 'of female sex', *χib'u-w* 'female (n.)' [Uslar 1979: 950, 1005].

In the Khyuryuk subdialect, only *χib'u-w* {хиби, хибув} 'female (n.)' [Genko 2005: 164] is documented.

The phonetically important paradigm *šiw* [abs. sg.] / *š:wu-* [obl. sg.] / *χuw-ar* [pl.] 'woman' is also quoted in [Genko 2005: 190], but it is unknown which subdialect is covered under Genko's siglum "Л." (maybe the village Laka is mentioned, cf. [Genko 2005: 219], but Laka represents the Southern dialect, therefore the retention of tense *š:* is rather strange).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *χpi-r* [sg.] / *χ^wp:-ar* [pl.]. Cf. various terms for 'female (n.):' *χpi:*, applied to donkeys and bears; *pe'i*, applied to birds, ← *pe?* 'hen'; *χun'i-b* (a typo for expected *χ^wun'i-b*), applied to other animals, ← *χ^wun'i* 'cow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220].

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *χpi-r* [sg.] / *χp:-ar* ~ *χup:-ar* [pl.] {хппир} 'woman', *χpi-b* {хппи, хппиб} 'female (n.)', *χp:i-šuw* {хппишув} 'of female sex' [Genko 2005: 165, 166]. The latter is a compound of two roots, see *šiw* in other subdialects.

The same in other subdialects: Truf, Tinit *χp:u-r* {хппур} 'woman' [Genko 2005: 166].

In Literary Tabasaran, four terms for 'woman' exist, the difference is unknown. 1) *χpi-r* {хпир} 'woman; wife' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 317]; cf. the adjective *χpi* {хпи} 'female (in general)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 317]. 2) *šiw* [sg.] / *šiw-ar* [pl.] 'woman; wife' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 349]; literary *-šiw* serves also as an ethnonymical suffix [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 349] and is retained with the meaning 'woman' in the compound *ahl'i-šiw* {аглишив} 'elderly woman' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 49]. 3) *χp'i-šiw* {хпишив} 'woman; wife' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 317], literally 'female *šiw*' or 'she-*šiw*'. 4) *d'išahli* {дишагли} 'woman' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 149], borrowed from some Azerbaijani form, derived from Azerbaijani *diši* 'female (n.)'.

Common Tabasaran: It seems that *šiw* (some Northern data suggest the original variant *š:iw*, but it is not very reliable) can be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'woman' in the singular number, whereas Proto-Tabasaran *χub-* meant 'women [pl.]' (with various - regular or occasional - phonetic mutations in individual dialects, such as *-b-* > *-w-*, reduction of the unaccented vowel, *χb* > *χp:* ~ *χ^wp:*, as well as secondary epenthesis *χp:-* > *χup:-*). The adjective *χub-i-* 'female' was regularly derived from the plural root. Variants of the latter stem *χub-i-*, regularly substantivized by the human class suffix *-r*, tend to supersede the singular *šiw* with the common development 'female (n.)' → 'woman'. This process is almost finished in the Southern dialect, where *šiw* is mostly retained as an ethnonymical suffix (see, however, the Literary Tabasaran and Khiv data above). Cf. in Southern Tabasaran the similar shift 'male (n.)' → 'man' q.v.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 519, 611. Polysemy: 'woman / wife'. Paradigm: *p:ab* [abs.] / *p:ap:-a-* [obl.] / *p:ap:-ar* [pl.]. Distinct from the specific term *q'ew* 'wife of the same husband (in relation to another wife)' [Uslar 1896: 526, 611].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *p:ab* [abs.] / *p:ap:-a-* [obl.] / *p:ap:-ar* [pl.] {паб} 'woman / wife' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 256; Gadzhiev 1950: 199] (in [Haspelmath 1993: 500] glossed only as 'wife'). According to [Gadzhiev 1950: 199] and [Gadzhiev 1956: 110], this is the main word for 'woman' in the literary language. A second term with the meaning 'woman' is *d'išehli* {дишегли} [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 113; Gadzhiev 1950: 199; Haspelmath 1993: 486, 529], borrowed from some Azerbaijani form, derived from Azerbaijani *diši* 'female (n.)'. Distinct from literary *diš'i* 'female (n.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 113], borrowed from Azerbaijani *diši* 'female (n.)'.

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *p:ab* [abs.] / *p:ap:-e-* [obl.] / *p:ap:-ar* [pl.] 'woman' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 60]. Distinct from Khlyut *diš'i* 'female (n.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 220], borrowed from Azerbaijani.

Another term is attested in some dialects of the Samur group: Khuryug (subdialect of Akhty) *χnub* ~ *χnup* 'woman; wife' [Meylanova 1964: 315], Fiy *χnib* ~ *χnip* 'woman; wife' [Meylanova 1964: 394]. It is unclear whether *χnub* ~ *χnib* represents the Proto-Lezgi term for 'woman' or simply the old suppletive plural form for 'women'.

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 762. Distribution: A rather unstable word. The basic data can be summarized as follows:

'WOMAN'	CA	Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
*yVčVy [NCED: 952]	woman [pl.]	woman				girl				
	χiŋu woman [sg.]									
*t:in:-(ol) [NCED: 762]		> female (without the <i>p</i> -suffix)	woman [sg.] (> female)	female	female	woman (suffixless compound)	woman, female	female		
*χon-p:V [NCED: 900]			woman [pl.]	woman				woman [pl.]	woman [pl.], female	woman
*t:ir [NCED: 764]						female (suffixed), another wife (suffixed)		woman [sg.]		wife (bound term)
*CLASS=uš: 'girl, daughter' [NCED: 671]						woman (compound)			woman [sg.]	
*p:ap:(a) 'mother, grandmother' [NCED: 286]										woman

The distributive analysis suggests that the Archi situation could be primary, that is, the following suppletive paradigm 'woman' is to be reconstructed for Proto-Lezgian: *t:in:-ol [sg.] / *χon-p:V [pl.]. Naturally, in individual lects, this suppletive paradigm tends to be levelled in favor of one of the two stems. Additionally, in many Nuclear Lezgian languages, *t:in:-ol shifted to the meaning 'female'.

In the Caucasian Albanian-Udi branch, this paradigm was totally eliminated (note the etymologically obscure Caucasian Albanian form χiŋu 'woman [sg.]').

The Proto-Lezgian meanings of *CLASS=uš: (>Tabasaran 'woman') and *p:ap:(a) (> Gyune Lezgi 'woman') were 'girl, daughter' and 'mother, grandmother' respectively, as proved by the data of various Lezgian languages, see [NCED: 286, 671].

The original meanings of the sparsely attested *yVčVy [NCED: 952] and *t:ir [NCED: 764] are not clear. These could denote 'female', 'female relative', 'wife', 'girl' and so on.

In many Lezgian lects, inherited terms for 'woman' and 'female' tend to be superseded with Azerbaijani, Persian or Arabic loanwords.

Replacements: {'mother [pl.]' > 'woman [pl.]} (non-Gelmets Tsakhur), {'mother, grandmother' > 'woman'} (Gyune Lezgi), {'girl, daughter' > 'woman'} (Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Suppletive paradigm: *t:in:-ol [sg.] / *χon-p:V [pl.]. Final -p:V is the plural exponent, whereas the final element of the stem *t:in:-ol is a relatively frequent nominal suffix. Two Proto-Lezgian variants are proposed in [NCED: 762]: *t:in: and *t:in:-ol. The former suffixless stem is postulated on the basis of the Udi derivative χun-i 'female' and the Tsakhur compound xuna-š:e 'woman'. The Tsakhur form could actually originate from *t:in:-ol as well, with the old suffix supplanted by the root š:e in the recent compound pattern. On the other hand, Udi χun-i points out that the suffixless stem *t:in: did indeed exist in Proto-Lezgian (the exact meaning of suffixless *t:in: is, however, unclear).

100. YELLOW

Nidzh Udi *neš^l-um* {неѡшIум} (1), Vartashen Udi *neš^l-um* {неѡшIум} (1), Archi *χ'aχa-t:u-CLASS* (2), Kryts (proper) *c'ari* (3), Alyk Kryts *q'al:i* (4), Budukh *sozə* {coзa} (5), Mishlesh Tsakhur *zirgi-n* {зыргын} (-1) / *q:^libi-n* (6), Mikik Tsakhur *β^lubi-n* ~ *β^libi-n* (6) / *zirγi-n* (-1),

Gelmets Tsakhur *dīraq'î-n^y* (7), Mukhad Rutul *q^ʕ:ib-dî* {*κῑβιΙῑῑῑ*} (6), Ixrek Rutul *dīraq'-dî* ~ *daraq'-dî* {*ῑῑῑῑῑῑῑῑ* ~ *ῑῑῑῑῑῑῑῑ*} (7), Luchek Rutul *daraq'-dî* (7), Koshan Aghul *qeqe-r* (2), Keren Aghul *q^ʕuqe-f* (2), Gequn Aghul *qäqä-f* ~ *qeqe-f* (2), Fite Aghul *q^ʕuqi-t* (2), Aghul (proper) *qūqe-f* (2), Northern Tabasaran *garχ'i* (8), Southern Tabasaran *batχ'u* (8), Gyune Lezgi *q^yp:i* (6), Proto-Lezgian **qāqV* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 180; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676; Mobili 2010: 220.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 180; Fähnrich 1999: 24; Starchevskiy 1891: 493. In [Schiefner 1863: 98] the variant *nös^ʕ-um* is quoted.

Common Udi: Common Udi **nös^ʕ-um*, for the adjectival suffix *-um* see [Schulze 2005: 229 (3.2.9.1 #13)].

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 332, 358; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676; Mikailov 1967: 200; Dirr 1908: 188, 208. In [Mikailov 1967], quoted as *χαχῑ-tu*-CLASS; in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010] an incorrect variant *χαχα-du*-CLASS is also quoted. Regular participle from the stative verb *χ'αχα* 'to be yellow'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 68. Also attested in the expression *q'al-i-xin* 'yolk' [Authier 2009: 78] (the second element is the masdar of the verb *xi-* 'to become'). As proposed by Authier, derived from the substantive *q'al* 'mouse'. Note the consonant gemination in the intervocalic position (-l-), for which see [Authier 2009: 13], influenced by the same sporadic phenomenon of the Azerbaijani language.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 127, 212; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676. A term of unknown origin.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 893.

There are two related color terms in Mishlesh, studied in detail in [Davies et al. 1999]:

1) borrowed *zirgi-n* 'yellow (in a narrow sense)', glossed as 'yellow' in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 893];

2) inherited *q^ʕ:ibi-n* 'orange', which covers a considerable part of the color-space between yellow, red and brown. This is glossed as 'orange, of the colour of yolk' in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 876], but as 'yellow' in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676]. *q^ʕ:ibi-n* is also the only term for 'yellow' found in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] (attested in the phrase 'Mortar of the yellow clay is like pitch' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 75-76]). The original substantive root *q^ʕ:ib* (with the presumed meaning 'yolk') is attested in the Mishlesh complex verb *q^ʕ:ib qix-* 'to become orange, to become of color of yolk' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 876].

Such a situation is not typical cross-linguistically. It seems reasonable to treat *zirgi-n* and *q^ʕ:ibi-n* as synonyms for Mishlesh Tsakhur.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *ʕ^ʕ:ibi-n* and *zirgi-n* are quoted as synonyms without specifications [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234]. Kibrik et al. 1999: 876; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 75-76; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676.

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Dirr 1913: 152, 225. The variant *ʕ^ʕ:ibi-n* comes from [Dirr 1913]. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] *zirgi-n* is also quoted as a synonym without specifications. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Ibragimov 1990: 199; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676.

Common Tsakhur: Mishlesh & Tsakhur-Kum *zirgi-n* and Mikik *zirgi-n* probably represent an Iranian loanword (cf. Pahlavi *zargōn*, Modern Persian *zaryūn* 'golden, yellow, green'), although details are unclear.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 154, 178, 190; Ibragimov 1978: 68, 119. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676], erroneously quoted as *k'ib-dî* {*κῑῑῑῑῑ*}. According to [Ibragimov 1978: 117], with polysemy: 'yellow (adj.) / yolk (subst.)'.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 104, 338; Ibragimov 1978: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 676. The second variant is from [Ibragimov 1978].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Common Rutul: Final *-dî* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Suleymanov 2003: 185; Shaumyan 1941: 198.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234. The same in the Usug subdialect: *qūqe-f* (i.e. *q^ʕuqe-f?*) 'yellow' [Shaumyan 1941: 198].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234; Dirr 1907: 132, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 198. The form with *-e-* is from [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 185; Shaumyan 1941: 198.

Common Aghul: As noted in [NCED: 415], pharyngealization in Keren and Fite is a secondary reflexion of the formerly front vowel in the first syllable.

Final *-d, -t, -f, -r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *q:arχ'i* 'yellow; red (of hair)' [Uslar 1979: 819, 993; Dirr 1905: 187, 228]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *q:arχ'i* {кърхи} 'yellow' [Genko 2005: 100] (erroneously not labeled by Genko as Khyuryuk).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *vatχ'u* {гъатху} 'yellow' [Genko 2005: 41]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *vatχ'u* {гъатху} 'yellow' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 109].

Common Tabasaran: Both forms - Northern *arχ'i* ~ *q:arχ'i*, Southern *vatχ'u* - are related, although morphological details are not entirely clear. The adjectives look like deverbal formations with the fossilized class infixes *-r-* and *-d-* (*dχ > tχ*). The assumed verbal root could be ***aχ-*, if the initial uvulars are the regular perfective prefix: *ε* (Dyubek) / *q:=* (other Northern) / *ɸ=* (Southern), for which see [Magometov 1965: 222; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988: 34].

Quite differently in [NCED: 454], where Tabasaran 'yellow' is treated as an infixal derivation from the substantive for 'dried carcass of ram': Northern (Khyuryuk) *q:aχ* {къах} 'dried carcass of ram; dried pears' [Genko 2005: 100] (erroneously not labeled as Khyuryuk by Genko), Southern (Kondik) *vaχ* 'dried carcass of ram' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 19], Literary Tabasaran: *vaχ* {гъах} 'dried carcass (usually of ram)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 110]. Such a solution is more difficult morphologically and is not self-evident semantically.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 479, 611. Historically derived from the substantive *q:ib* [abs.] / *q^hp:-'edi-* [obl.] 'yolk' [Uslar 1896: 492] (< **q:ip:* / **q:ip:-*).

The same in Literary Lezgi: *q^hp:i* {хъипи} 'yellow' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 353; Gadzhiev 1950: 198; Haspelmath 1993: 504, 529]. Cf. the original substantive *q:ib* [abs.] / *q^hp:-'edi-* [obl.] {къиб, хъипеди} 'yolk / yellow yarn' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 188; Haspelmath 1993: 502]. Distinct from *t:ur'aq'* or *tur'aq'* {туракъ} (the Cyrillic spelling is ambivalent) 'of orange color, brick-red' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 317].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q^hp:i* 'yellow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 234].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 414. **Distribution:** A rather unstable word. The stem **qāqV-* is the best candidate from the distributive point of view, since it is attested as '(to be) yellow' in Archi, on the one hand, and in Aghul, on the other (having been lost in the rest of the languages). External comparison confirms this choice.

In Tsakhur, Mukhad Rutul and Lezgi, **qāqV-* was superseded with the adjective **q:^fip:-i-* [LEDb: #127], derived from the substantive **q:^fip:* 'yolk', attested in Lezgi and apparently in Mishlesh Tsakhur. Actually, **q:^fip:-i-* can be a late denominative formation in Tsakhur-Rutul and Lezgi, according to the productive morphophonological pattern (an areal lexical isogloss).

In Kryts proper, the meaning 'yellow' is expressed with the root **c'ari-* [NCED: 554], whose exact original meaning is unidentified: 'a k. of light color' (this stem denotes 'grey', 'variegated', 'blue' in other Nuclear Lezgian lects).

In Alyk Kryts, 'yellow' is derived from the substantive for 'mouse' (**q^wel* [NCED: 935]).

There is also a Gelmets Tsakhur and Rutul term *dīraq'* 'yellow', which corresponds to Literary Lezgi *turaq'* or *turaq'* 'of orange color, brick-red' (the presumed Proto-Lezgian form is **t:oraq'*, if we really deal with *t:-* in Lezgi). The dialectal Azerbaijani terms *durag*, *durax* 'jaundice' (e.g., Tovuz) may have a Nuclear Lezgian origin: cf. Ixrek Rutul *dīraq* {дырахъ} 'jaundice' [Ibragimov 1978: 222] (although the plain uvular in the Ixrek form is quite unclear; this could be an error for ***dīraq'* {дырахъ} or a back borrowing from Azerbaijani).

Etymologically obscure terms for 'yellow' are attested in Udi (*neš^f-*), Budukh (*soza*), Tabasaran (the Proto-Tabasaran verbal root **aχ-*).

In some Tsakhur dialects, an Iranian loanword is attested.

Replacements: {'mouse' > 'yellow'} (Alyk Kryts), {'yolk' > 'yellow'} (Tsakhur, Mukhad Rutul, Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be yellow'.

101. FAR

Nidzh Udi *aχ^ʕi-l* {а̄χиӯл} (1), Vartashen Udi *aχ^ʕi-l* {а̄χиӯл} (1), Archi *'aχ-ši* (1), Kryts (proper) *yūq:-ta* (1), Alyk Kryts *iχ-ta* (1), Budukh *yⁱχ-ta* {ū̄yχma} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *aq^ʕa-na* {ак̄баІна} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *aq^ʕa-na* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *aq^ʕa-na* (2), Mukhad Rutul *χⁱr-id-a* {хырыда} (1), Ixrek Rutul *χⁱr-id-ä* {хырыда̄} (1), Luchek Rutul *χⁱr-id-i* (1), Koshan Aghul *warχa-ʔ* ~ *warχa-l* (1), Keren Aghul *warχa-ʔ* ~ *warχa-l* (1), Gequn Aghul *warχa-ʔ* ~ *warχa-l* (1), Fite Aghul *warχa-d* ~ *warχa* (1), Aghul (proper) *warχa-l* (1), Northern Tabasaran *yarχu-l'a* (1), Southern Tabasaran *yarχ^w-l'a* (1), Gyune Lezgi *yarχ'a-l* (1), Proto-Lezgian **ʔarχ:V* (1).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 294; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578. Also functions as the adjective 'far, distant, remote' [Gukasyan 1974: 59; Mobili 2010: 113].
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 294; Fähnrich 1999: 7; Dirr 1903: 30; Schiefner 1863: 76; Schulze 2001: 250. In [Fähnrich 1999: 7], a corrupted form *aχil* is also quoted. Also functions as the adjective 'far, distant, remote'.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **aχ^ʕi-l*. For the rare adjectival suffix *-l* (or *-ilʔ*) see [Schulze 2005: 229 (3.2.9.1 #12)].
- Caucasian Albanian:** *faχi* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-22].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 194, 356; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578; Mikailov 1967: 172; Dirr 1908: 130, 207. An adverb, regularly derived from the stative verb *aχ* 'to be far (away)'.
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Saadiev 1994: 434; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578. Historically *y=ūq:-ta* with the fossilized prefixal class exponent.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 117, 169, 199, 297, 335. Historically **y=iχ-ta* with the fossilized prefixal class exponent. Distinct from the less frequent adverb/adjective *aralu* 'far' [Authier 2009: 59, 221].
- Budukh:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578. In [Meylanova 1984: 72, 210], quoted as *yⁱχ-ta-vi* {йиχтҕави} 'far (adv.)' (repeated in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578]) and *yⁱχ-ta* {йиχта} 'far (adj.)'. Geminated *-t-* in Meylanova's form is unclear (cf., however, [Alekseev 1994: 294]). Historically *y=iχ-ta* with the fossilized prefixal class exponent.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 869, 893; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 33; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578.
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *aq^ʕa-na* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Dirr 1913: 137, 224.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *aq^ʕa-na*-CLASS.
- Common Tsakhur:** Cf. the paronymous adjective *aq^ʕ-i-n* 'wide' (Mishlesh, Tsakhur-Kum, Mikik, Gelmets [Kibrik et al. 1999: 869; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238]).
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 178, 189; Ibragimov 1978: 109, 111, 122; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 276, 334. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578], quoted as *χⁱr-id-a* {хырыда}.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.
- Common Rutul:** Regular adverb from the adjective *χⁱr-id* 'far, remote' [Ibragimov 1978: 109].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Suleymanov 2003: 46.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. The same in the Usug subdialect: *warχa-l* 'far' [Shaumyan 1941: 148].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Dirr 1907: 108. The form in *-l* is from [Dirr 1907].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Suleymanov 1993: 177. The form *warχa* is from [Suleymanov 1993], apparently for *warχa-ʔ* with the dropped glottal-stop.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 2003: 46; Shaumyan 1941: 148. Specified as 'far on the horizontal axis' in [Suleymanov 2003].

Common Aghul: Historically *w=arχa-* with a fossilized prefixal class exponent. Final *-ʔ* is the locative ending 'in', *-l* is the locative ending 'on (the horizontal axis)', frequently used in local adverbs [Magometov 1970: 81, 171].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yarχu-l'a-ʔ* 'far (adv.)' [Uslar 1979: 423, 750, 992; Dirr 1905: 179, 227]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yarχu-l'a-ʔ* {ярхулаʔ} 'far (adv.)' [Genko 2005: 200].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yarχu-l'a-ʔ* ~ *yarχ-l'a-ʔ* {ярх(у)лаʔ} 'far (adv.)' [Genko 2005: 200]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yarχ-la* ~ *yarχ-la-ʔ* ~ *yarχ-la-z* {ярхла, ярхлаʔ, ярхлаз} 'far (adv.)' [Khanmagomedov 1957: 84] (missing from [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001]).

Common Tabasaran: Final *-la* is an old locative exponent; final *-ʔ* is the synchronic locative ending. Formally this stem can be derived from the Tabasaran adjective *yarχi* 'long' q.v., although the authors of [NCED] prefer to distinguish these roots. Historically *y=arχu-la* 'far' with a fossilized prefixal class prefix.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 446, 609.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *yarʔ'a*, *yarʔ'a-z*, *yarʔ'a-l* {ярʔа, ярʔаз, ярʔал} 'far (adj., adv.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 404; Gadzhiev 1950: 157; Haspelmath 1993: 493, 519].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *yarʔ'a-l* 'far (adv.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231].

Final *-o*, *-l* are locative endings; final *-z* is the dative ending.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 269. Distribution: Retained with the primary meaning 'far' in all languages except for Tsakhur, where it was superseded with a formation from the root **h'arq-i-* 'wide' [NCED: 511].

Replacements: {'wide' > 'far'} (Tsakhur).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the metathesis **ʔorχ:-* > *χir-* in Rutul.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be far'; the Ablaut grade **ʔorχ:V-* is attested in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and Rutul.

102. HEAVY

Nidzh Udi *bivʔi* ~ *biʔhi* ~ *bivʔi* {бывʔыуь ~ бивʔыуь ~ бывʔыуь} (1), Vartashen Udi *biʔ* ~ *biʔ* {быв ~ бив} (1), Archi *CLASS=iʔ^{wf}-du-CLASS* ~ *CLASS=iʔ^f-du-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *ʔak* (1), Alyk Kryts *ʔark'a* (1), Budukh *herki* {гьеркIу} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *yiqʔi-n* {үүIкьбын, үьIкьбын} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *yiqʔi-n* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *yiqʔi-n^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *yuyqʔ-dⁱ* {юкьIды} (1), Ixrek Rutul *yuyqʔ-dⁱ* {үүIкьды} (1), Luchek Rutul *yuyqʔ-dⁱ* (1), Koshan Aghul *ккк-г* (2), Keren Aghul *yarq^{wf}e-f* (1), Gequn Aghul *ʔürʔä-f* (1) / *q:eq:e-f* (2), Fite Aghul *q:aq:i-t* (2), Aghul (proper) *q:eq:e-f* ~ *q:iq:e-f* (2), Northern Tabasaran *aqʔi* (1) / *gag'i* (2), Southern Tabasaran *кав'i* (2), Gyune Lezgi *zal'an* (3), Proto-Lezgian **h'iq^{wf}* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 85; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239 (only *biʔhi*); Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683 (only *bivʔi*); Mobili 2010: 66. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 85; Mobili 2010: 66; Fähnrich 1999: 10; Schiefner 1863: 103; Schulze 2001: 256; Starchevskiy 1891: 495. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **bivʔi*, historically maybe **b-iʔi* with a fossilized class-prefix.

Caucasian Albanian: *buʔi* 'heavy, weighty; stuttering, stumbling' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-12]; an etymological cognate of the Udi term (note the occasional loss of the intervocal *-v-* already in CA).

- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 249, 385; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683; Mikailov 1967: 183; Dirr 1908: 152, 224. Regular participle from the stative verb *iq^{nos}* 'to be heavy' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 248].
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683] erroneously quoted as *ʁak* {rʁak}.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 69, 111, 199, 310, 340, etc. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult / very'.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 41, 246; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], quoted with a typo: *hek'k'i*.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 879, 900; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 183; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult'.
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *yiq^{ti}-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Dirr 1913: 171, 241.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *yiqⁱ-n^y* {йикъын^y}.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 149, 202; Makhmudova 2001: 223. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683], erroneously quoted as *yuuq^{-di}* {йуукъды}.
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 135, 404; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 683. Polysemy: 'heavy / difficult / offensive, slighting'.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.
- Common Rutul:** Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Suleymanov 2003: 116. In [Shaumyan 1941: 188], the Burshag word is erroneously quoted as *q:eq:e-r*.
- The same in the Khudig subdialect: *veve-d* 'heavy' [Magometov 1970: 41; Suleymanov 2003: 116] (quoted as *veve-f* by Magometov - an obvious typo).
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. The same in the Usug subdialect: *urq^e-f* 'heavy' [Shaumyan 1941: 188] (the transcription is not reliable).
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Dirr 1907: 147, 186; Shaumyan 1941: 188. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two adjectives are quoted as synonyms for 'heavy' without additional specification, whereas in [Dirr 1907] only *ʔürʔü-f* has been found. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.
- Aghul (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Shaumyan 1941: 188. The latter form is from [Shaumyan 1941]. In [Suleymanov 2003: 116], the Tpig word for 'heavy' is quoted as *q:iqⁱ-f*, which seems an error.
- The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe *q:aq:e-f*, Kurag *q:eq:e-f ~ q:iq:i-f* 'heavy' [Shaumyan 1941: 188; Magometov 1970: 41, 84].
- Common Aghul:** The distribution suggests that the Proto-Aghul term for 'heavy' should be *q:eq:e-* (*veve-*), because it is present in both Koshan and non-Koshan dialects, but the external comparison clearly points out that Keren *yarq^{nos}e-* and Gequn *ʔürʔü-* 'heavy' represent a retention.
- It is proposed in [NCED: 927] that *q:eq:e-* (*veve-*) 'heavy' is a new formation from the word for 'burden, load': Koshan (Burshag) *ʁaʁ*, Keren (Richa), Gequn (Burkikhan), Fite *q:aq:* 'burden, load' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 155; Magometov 1970: 87]. In such a case the derivation 'burden' → 'heavy' is a late Tabasaran-Aghul areal isogloss (see common Tabasaran notes). The reflexes of Proto-Lezgian **q:* are irregular, however (one could expect Koshan *ʁ* / non-Koshan *ʁ*), and the Koshan pair *ʁaʁ* 'burden' ~ *veve-* 'heavy' is particularly suspicious. The development of uvulars in Aghul dialects requires additional investigation; maybe some of the aforementioned Koshan forms are Tabasaran loanwords, cf. [NCED: 133].
- Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two Dyubek adjectives are quoted as synonyms: *aqⁿⁱ* and *a äi*, the difference is unknown.
- The same two terms in the Khanag subdialect: *aqⁿⁱ* 'heavy' [Uslar 1979: 599, 1008; Dirr 1905: 153, 245] and *q:aqⁱ* 'heavy' [Uslar 1979: 817, 1008; Dirr 1905: 191, 245]; the latter is incorrectly transcribed by Dirr as *qaqi*). According to Uslar's examples, both adjectives are indeed close synonyms.
- The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *aqⁿⁱ* {аькьн} 'heavy' [Genko 2005: 24], *q:aqⁱ* {къаькьн} 'heavy' [Genko 2005: 99]. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *ваби* {гъагы} 'heavy' [Genko 2005: 40]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *ваби* {гъагы} 'heavy' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 104].

Common Tabasaran: As in the case of Aghul (q.v.), the external comparison points out that *aq^hi* 'heavy' (retained as one of two synonyms in Northern Tabasaran) is an archaism, whereas the widespread adjective *a ä* / *q:aq:i* / *ваби* represents an innovation.

As proposed in [NCED: 927], the latter Tabasaran term was most likely derived from the substantive for 'burden': Dyubek *а ea* 'burden, load' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 155], Khanag *q:aq:* 'load pack' [Uslar 1979: 816], Kumi *q:aq:* {къакъ} 'load, weight' [Genko 2005: 99], Kondik *вак* 'burden, load' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 155], Khiv *вак* {гъагъ} 'load, weight, burden, load pack' [Genko 2005: 40]. Such a derivation 'burden' → 'heavy' seems a late areal introduction that affected both Tabasaran and Aghul dialects (see common Aghul notes).

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 425, 636. A term of unknown origin; looks like a loanword, although the source is unidentified. If inherited, should be analyzed as *zala-n* with the adjective suffix *-n*, for which see [Gaydarov et al. 2009: 139 f.] (historically a genitive exponent, modifying the substantive stem).

The same in Literary Lezgi: *zalan* {залан} with polysemy: 'heavy / difficult' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 125; Gadzhiev 1950: 868; Haspelmath 1993: 513, 521]. Less frequent is the term *av'ur* {аръур} 'heavy / difficult' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 32; Haspelmath 1993: 480], borrowed from Azerbaijani *ayır* 'heavy'.

Only the Azerbaijani loanword is found in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *av'ir* 'heavy' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 513. Distribution: Retained with the basic meaning 'heavy' in all the languages except for some Aghul and some Tabasaran dialects, as well as the Lezgi language.

In many Aghul and Tabasaran dialects, this was superseded with an adjective that is synchronically derived from the substantive 'burden, load' (**q:aq:* [NCED: 927]); it must be noted that Aghul forms for 'heavy' can actually be Tabasaran loanwords.

In Lezgi dialects, either the etymologically obscure form *zalan* or the Azerbaijani loanword is used.

Replacements: {'burden, load' > 'heavy'} (Aghul, Tabasaran), {'heavy' > 'difficult'} (passim in Lezgian), {'heavy' > 'very'} (Alyk Kryts), {'heavy' > 'offensive, slighting'} (Ixrek Rutul).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular except for the strange shift *q' > k'* in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh). In [NCED: 513], the initial *b-* in the Udi (and Caucasian Albanian) form *biv'i* is explained as the result of the metathesis of labialization (**wiq^h- < *h'iq^w-* with the subsequent regular development **w- > Udi b-*), but actually, Udi *b-* is more easily explainable as the fossilized class prefix *-* a very frequent morphological pattern in Caucasian Albanian-Udi.

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be long'; the Budukh and Aghul medial *-r-* can either be the imperfective infix or the fossilized class exponent.

103. NEAR

Nidzh Udi *iš'a ~ iš'a* {уршIа ~ вршIа} (1), Vartashen Udi *iš'a* {уршIа} (1), Archi *t^wa-k* (2), Kryts (proper) *müq'o-v ~ möq'ö-v* (3), Alyk Kryts *miq'e-ɣ* (3), Budukh *bədə ~ bodə* {бада, бода} (4), Mishlesh Tsakhur *d^yol^ye-s ~ d^yol^ye-s-wall^ye ~ d^yol^ye-s-CLASS* {дӀелес-на} (5), Mikik Tsakhur *d^yel^ye-s* (5), Gelmets Tsakhur *d^yol^ye-s-CLASS* (5), Mukhad Rutul *beg-ed-ä ~ bey-d-ä ~ bey-d-e* {бейӀдаб ~ бейӀде} (6), Ixrek Rutul *bex-d-ä ~ bex-d-e* {бехӀдаб ~ бехӀде} (6), Luchek Rutul *bey-d-i* (6), Koshan Aghul *bugu-h* (6), Keren Aghul *muq'u* (3), Gequn Aghul *bugu-li-h ~ bugu-li-w* (6), Fite Aghul *muq'u* (3) / *bagu* (6), Northern Tabasaran *bag'a-x* (6), Southern Tabasaran *bag'a-x* (6) / *κ^wal'a-q* (7), Gyune Lezgi *maq^wa* (3).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 294; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 232. Also functions as the adjective 'near, close' [Gukasyan 1974: 130; Mobili 2010: 156].
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 294; Fähnrich 1999: 18; Schiefner 1863: 77; Schulze 2001: 287; Starchevskiy 1891: 490. In [Fähnrich 1999: 18], a corrupted form *iša* is also quoted. Also functions as the adjective 'near, close'.
- Common Udi:** Common Udi **iš^f-a*; as plausibly proposed in [Schulze 2001: 287], the final *-a* is the dative ending.
Distinct from the Nidzh-Vartashen adverb *tov^f-ol* {тIовгъол} 'near, nearby, next to; at the side of; towards' [Gukasyan 1974: 210, 294; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578; Mobili 2010: 276; Schiefner 1863: 94; Schulze 2001: 328] from *tov^f* {тIовгъ} 'edge; skirts; bank, shore' [Gukasyan 1974: 210; Mobili 2010: 276].
- Caucasian Albanian:** *iša* 'near, close by' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-19]. It is unclear whether CA *iša* can be an etymological cognate of Udi *iš^f-a*. On one hand, there are several reliable cases in which the Caucasian Albanian sign ʃ renders intervocalic *-š-* or *-rš-* in loanwords [Gippert et al. 2008: II-12] (such a strange substitution is perhaps regular in loanwords, but not necessarily so, cf. [Gippert et al. 2008: II-79 f.] for the list of foreign elements in Caucasian Albanian). On the other hand, CA *iša* ~ Udi *iš^f-a* seems the only good instance of such a correspondence between inherited Caucasian Albanian and modern Udi forms (cf. [Gippert et al. 2008: II-78]). It must be noted that the normal correspondences for the intervocalic position are trivial: CA *-š-* ~ Udi *-š-* and, apparently, CA *-š^f-* ~ Udi *-š^f-* [Gippert et al. 2008: II-8, 10].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 343, 351; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 577; Mikailov 1967: 191; Dirr 1908: 198, 203. Adverb and postposition. Derived from the adverb *t^w-a* 'together' [Kibrik et al. 1977b: 343] with the lative case ending *-k* [Kibrik et al. 1977a 2: 60].
Distinct from the more specific adverb *č^wax^w-t* 'nearby, neighboring' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 213, 351].
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 232; Saadiev 1994: 434. The final *-v* is the locative ending 'AD'.
Distinct from the more specific adverb *bada-v* ~ *bado-v* 'nearby' [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 577] with the same locative ending *-v*.
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 82, 87, 93, 109, etc. The final *-f* is the locative ending 'IN'. Distinct from the more specific and less frequent adverb *bigila* 'nearby' [Authier 2009: 81 f., 93, 94, 102, etc.].
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 30; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 232; Talibov 2007: 39. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] and [Talibov 2007], quoted with *-ə*; in [Meylanova 1984], with *-o-*.
Distinct from the specific postposition *yanže* {яанже} 'nearby' [Meylanova 1984: 69; Alekseev 1994: 266].
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 872, 898; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 151. For the final *-wall^ve* cf. the abstract noun suffix *-walla* [Ibragimov 1990: 83; Kibrik et al. 1999: 97].
Distinct from several words with the more specific meaning 'nearby': *qeravil^v*, *yanak^v*, *k'an^ve(-qa)*, *mugl^vek^v*, *o^fg^v:l^v(-e)* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 898].
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *d^vel^ve-s* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233]. Distinct from *k'an^ve* 'nearby' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 233].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Dirr 1913: 154, 220.
Distinct from *k'an^va* 'nearby' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.
Distinct from the more specific adverb *q'an^vä-CLASS* 'nearby' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578].
- Common Tsakhur:** Final *-s* is apparently the dative ending.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 125, 185; Ibragimov 1978: 109, 111, 122; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578. The non-syncopated form *beg-ed-ä* is from [Dirr 1912].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 40, 322; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 578.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.
- Common Rutul:** *Pace* [NCED: 314], the Rutul forms represent the regular adverbial formation from the substantive *beg* 'side (anatomic)' [Ibragimov 1978: 109].
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.
Distinct from the more specific adverb *bug-li-h* ~ *bug-li-w* 'nearby' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231; Suleymanov 2003: 36].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

Distinct from the more specific adverb *bugu-li-w* 'nearby' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231].

Gequn Aghul: Dirr 1907: 107. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231], quoted only as *bugu-li-w* 'nearby'. According to examples in [Dirr 1907: 107], however, 'nearby' is rather expressed simply as *bugu*.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two adverbs are quoted as synonyms, semantic or pragmatic nuances are unknown. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

Aghul (proper): Not attested. Cf. the more specific adverb *bagu-li-w* 'nearby' [Suleymanov 2003: 36].

Common Aghul: All the competing adverbs are derived from two nouns: *bag^w* 'side (spatial and anatomic)' and *muq^w* 'place'. Cf. Koshan (Burshag) *bag^w* 'side (both spatial and anatomic)' [Suleymanov 2003: 36], Keren (Richa) *bag^w* 'side (anatomic) of ram', Gequn (Burkikhan) *bag^w* 'side (anatomic)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 22], Proper Aghul (Tpig) *bag^w* 'side (both spatial and anatomic)' [Suleymanov 2003: 36; Shaumyan 1941: 154]. On the other hand, cf. Keren (Richa, Usug), Gequn (Burkikhan), Proper Aghul (Tpig, Duldug) *muq^w* 'place' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 218; Shaumyan 1941: 152; Suleymanov 2003: 135].

Final *-h* is the locative ending 'in front of', *-w* is the locative ending 'near', *-l-* is the locative ending 'on (the horizontal axis)', all of them frequently used in local adverbs [Magometov 1970: 81, 171].

The distribution suggests that the Proto-Aghul adverb 'near' was probably derived from *bag^w* 'side', whereas adverbs based on *muq^w* 'place' represent more recent formations in some dialects (maybe under the influence on the part of the neighboring Lezgi language).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *bag'a-h* 'near (adv.)' [Uslar 1979: 424; Dirr 1905: 124, 156, 223].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two Kondik expressions for 'near (adv.)' are quoted as synonyms: *bag'a-x* and *ɸ^wal'a-q*.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *bag'a-h* {барарь} 'near (adv.)' [Genko 2005: 25]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *bag'a-h* {барарь} 'near (adv.)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 73]. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231.

Common Tabasaran: Final *-x* / *-h* is the locative ending 'near'. Kondik *ɸ^wal'a-q* is a clear innovation, representing the substantive *ɸ^wal* 'side (anatomic)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 21], modified with the locative ending *-q* 'behind'.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 501, 605.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *muq^wa-l*, *muq^wa* {мукъвал} 'near (adv.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 243; Gadzhiev 1950: 55; Haspelmath 1993: 499, 523].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *muq^wa-l* 'near (adv.)' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 231].

Final *-o*, *-l* are the locative endings. Distinct from the more specific literary adverb *p:at:a-w* 'nearby' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 260] - a locative form from the noun *p:ad* 'side (spatial)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 257].

Proto-Lezgian: Not reconstructible.

Distribution: In all the lects, the adverb 'near' represents synchronic locative or adverbial forms of substantives for 'place', 'side', 'together'. All these formations look like recent introductions (in many case of areal origin).

In Archi, 'near' is the lative form from the adverb 'together' (*t:^wV [NCED: 1063]).

In Kryts dialects, 'near' is represented by locative case forms of the Proto-Lezgian substantive **winq^w(a)* 'place' [NCED: 1054] (the meaning 'place' is retained in Archi and some Aghul dialects). Similarly in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, 'near' represents the case form of the Lezgian noun **yis^w* [NCED: 683], which is attested as 'place' in Aghul and Tabasaran (although **winq^w(a)* is the candidate for Proto-Lezgian term for 'place' from the distributive point of view).

In Budukh, 'near' is the locative form of the noun **p:at*: [NCED: 315] (with the ending **t:^w(V)* [NCED: 1063]), the same locative form has the more specific meaning 'nearby' in Kryts and Lezgi. The proper noun **p:at*: is only attested in Lezgi as 'side (spatial)'.

In Tsakhur, 'near' seems to be the dative form of the presumed substantive *d^yol^y ~ d^yel^y*, unattested elsewhere.

In Rutul, 'near' is the synchronic adverb from the substantive *beg* 'side (anatomic)', which apparently originates from Proto-Lezgian **p:ak:^w* [NCED: 292], although the front vowel and delabialized velar in Rutul *beg* 'side (anatomic)' and Kryts *beg* 'side (anatomic)' are indeed irregular. But in any case, postulation of the separate root **p:eλ:V-* 'near', attested only as the Rutul adverb 'near' (thus [NCED: 314]), seems unjustified. Similarly, in Tabasaran and many Aghul dialects, 'near' is the locative form 'side (spatial and anatomic)' < **p:ak:^w* [NCED: 292]. But in Kondik Tabasaran, 'near' represents the locative form of the synchronic Tabasaran substantive 'side (anatomic)' < **q:^wal* (~ *-l-*) [NCED: 472].

In the rest of Aghul dialects and in Lezgi, 'near' is the adverbial or locative form of the substantive 'place' < Proto-Lezgian **winq^m(a)* 'place' [NCED: 1054] (the same as in the case of Kryts, see above).

Replacements: {'together' > 'near'} (Archi), {'in place' > 'near'} (Kryts, Aghul, Lezgi), {'side (anatomic)' > 'near'} (Rutul, Aghul, Tabasaran), {'to the side (spatial)' > 'near'(?)} (Budukh).

104. SALT

Nidzh Udi *el {el}* (1), Vartashen Udi *el {el}* (1), Archi *'orχ'i* (2), Kryts (proper) *q'el* (1), Alyk Kryts *q'el* (1), Budukh *q'el {κβελ}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *q'ew {κβεβ}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *q'ew* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *q'ew* (1), Mukhad Rutul *q'äl ~ q'el {κβαβλ ~ κβελ}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *q'el ~ q'äl {κβελ ~ κβαβλ}* (1), Luchek Rutul *q'el^y* (1), Koshan Aghul *q'el* (1), Keren Aghul *q^ral* (1), Gequn Aghul *q'el ~ q'äl* (1), Fite Aghul *q'il* (1), Aghul (proper) *q'el* (1), Northern Tabasaran *q'il* (1), Southern Tabasaran *q'il* (1), Gyune Lezgi *q'äl* (1), Proto-Lezgian **q'äl* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 121; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311; Mobili 2010: 103.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 121; Fähnrich 1999: 15; Schiefner 1863: 77; Schulze 2001: 274; Starchevskiy 1891: 507.

Common Udi: Common Udi **el*. Despite [Schulze 2001: 274], the resemblance to Old Armenian *al* 'salt' is accidental.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 289, 382; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311; Mikailov 1967: 195; Dirr 1908: 172, 222. Etymologically isolated; looks like a loanword, but the source has not been identified.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311. Paradigm: *q'el* [abs.] / *q'il ~ q'il-ži* [gen.].

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 178, 191, etc. Paradigm: *q'el* [abs.] / *q'il* [gen.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 95, 242; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 886, 899; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *q'ew* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Dirr 1913: 196.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 165, 201; Ibragimov 1978: 117; Makhmudova 2001: 49; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311. Ablaut paradigm: *q'äl* [abs.] / *q'il-di* [gen.].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 164, 396; Ibragimov 1978: 192; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 311. Ablaut paradigm: *q'el* [abs.] / *q'il-i-rä* [erg.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123. Ablaut paradigm: *q'el^y* [abs.] / *q'il-i-r* [erg.].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Suleymanov 1993: 28; Suleymanov 2003: 124; Shaumyan 1941: 185. Ablaut paradigm: *q'el* [abs.] / *q'il-a* [erg.]. In [Suleymanov 1993: 34, 182], the Koshan word is erroneously quoted as *q^ral*.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Magometov 1970: 29; Suleymanov 1993: 28, 34, 182. The same in the Usug subdialect: *q'äl* (or *q^ral*?) 'salt' [Shaumyan 1941: 185].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Dirr 1907: 138, 184; Suleymanov 1993: 28; Shaumyan 1941: 185. The form with *-ä-* is from [Dirr 1907] and [Shaumyan 1941].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Suleymanov 1993: 28. In [Magometov 1970: 29], the Fite form is incorrectly quoted as *q^räl*.

Aghul (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123; Magometov 1970: 29; Suleymanov 1993: 34; Shaumyan 1941: 185. In [Shaumyan 1941], quoted as *q'äl*. In [Suleymanov 2003], the Tpig word is quoted in two variants: *q'äl* [Suleymanov 2003: 21 sub *alaaqs*] and incorrect *q^ral* [Suleymanov 2003: 124].

The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe *q'äl*, Khpyuk *q'el*, Kurag *q'el* 'salt' [Suleymanov 1993: 34, 182; Magometov 1970: 29].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *q'il* 'salt' [Uslar 1979: 886, 1006; Dirr 1905: 201, 242]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *q'il* {къил} 'salt' [Genko 2005: 106].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *q'el* {къел} 'salt' [Genko 2005: 106]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *q'il* {къил} 'salt' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 209].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 525, 633.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *q'el* {къел} 'salt' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 200; Gadzhiev 1950: 798; Haspelmath 1993: 503, 525].

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q'äl* 'salt' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 123].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 912. Distribution: Retained with the basic meaning 'salt' in all the lects, except for Archi. It must be noted that the Archi adjective *q'ala* 'bitter', quoted in [NCED: 912], does not seem to exist (not found in the available sources).

In Archi, **q'äl* was superseded with the etymologically obscure form *orχ'i*.

Replacements: {'salt' > 'bitter'} (see [NCED: 912] for examples).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **q'ila-*.

105. SHORT

Nidzh Udi *gödäy* {говдаьү} (-1), Vartashen Udi *gödäk* {говдаьк} (-1), Archi *k'u:t'a-t:u*-CLASS (-1), Kryts (proper) *g^wädä* (1), Alyk Kryts *g^wada* (1), Budukh *godə* {гoda} (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *žit'a-n* {джитан} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *žit'a-n* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *žit'a-n^y* (2), Mukhad Rutul *žik-dī* {джыкды} (2), Ixrek Rutul *žik-dī* {джыкды} (2), Luchek Rutul *žik-dī* (2), Koshan Aghul *ževe-r* (2), Keren Aghul *žaq:e-f* (2), Gequn Aghul *žeq:e-f ~ žiq:e-f* (2), Fite Aghul *žaq:i-t* (2), Aghul (proper) *žiq:e-f ~ žiq:ä-f* (2), Northern Tabasaran *žiq:i* (2), Southern Tabasaran *žiq:i* (2), Gyune Lezgi *k:^wer'i* (3), Proto-Lezgian **k:^wV^fV* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 149; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585; Mobili 2010: 126.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 149; Fähnrich 1999: 17; Schiefner 1863: 87; Schulze 2001: 279; Starchevskiy 1891: 493. In [Fähnrich 1999: 16] the variant *godak* is also quoted.

Common Udi: Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gödäk* 'short'.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 260, 363; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585; Mikailov 1967: 185; Dirr 1908: 159, 211. In [Mikailov 1967], quoted as *ku't'a-t:u*-CLASS. Polysemy: 'short (in general) / small in height (of person)'. Regular participle from the stative verb *k'u:t'a* 'to be short', borrowed from Lak *ku't'a* 'short'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585. This Common Kryts-Budukh term underwent phonetical influence on the part of the Azerbaijani word *gödäk* 'short', but cannot be regarded as a direct Azerbaijani loanword, because the loss of final *-k* is inexplicable in this case.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 19, 72. See notes on Kryts proper.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 36, 218. Apparently this inherited term underwent influence on the part of the Azerbaijani word *gödäk* 'short' (see note on Kryts proper). In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237], 'short' is glossed as *godak*, which should be formally regarded as a pure Azerbaijani loanword.

- In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585], 'short' is erroneously glossed as *älčah* {альчагъ}, which is in fact *alčav* {алчагъ} 'low, small in height' [Meylanova 1984: 19], borrowed from Azerbaijani *alčag* 'low, small in height'.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 894; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585. Missing from [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010].
- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *žit'a-n* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Dirr 1913: 158, 227. Polysemy: 'short (in general) / small in height (of person)'.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 180, 192; Ibragimov 1978: 193; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585. In [Dirr 1912], quoted as *čik-di* (sic!).
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 108, 349; Ibragimov 1978: 193; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 585.
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.
- Common Rutul:** Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Shaumyan 1941: 171; Magometov 1970: 42, 170.
- The same in the Arsug subdialect: *žev-e-d* 'short' [Suleymanov 1993: 80]. It must be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 81], the Arsug or Khudig form is quoted as *žav'a-d*, which seems erroneous.
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237. The same in the Usug subdialect: *žiq-e-f* 'short' [Shaumyan 1941: 171].
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Dirr 1907: 114, 175; Suleymanov 1993: 80; Shaumyan 1941: 171. The form with *ž-* is from [Dirr 1907].
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237; Shaumyan 1941: 171. In [Suleymanov 1993: 80], quoted as *žeq:i-t*.
- Aghul (proper):** Suleymanov 1993: 80; Shaumyan 1941: 171. The form with *-ä-* is from [Shaumyan 1941]. It must be noted that in [Suleymanov 2003: 81], the Tpig form is quoted as *žiq'a-f*, which seems to be an error.
- The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Khpyuk *žiq:e-f*, Kurag *žeq:e-f*, Duldug *žaq:i-f* 'short' [Suleymanov 1993: 80; Magometov 1970: 42; Shaumyan 1941: 171].
- Common Aghul:** The correspondence Koshan *v-* / non-Koshan *q-* (< Lezgian **q-*) suggests that the Aghul forms could actually be borrowed from Tabasaran, cf. notes on Aghul 'heavy'.
- Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are the adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92], [Shaumyan 1941: 45].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.
- The same in the Khanag subdialect: *žiq:i* 'short' [Uslar 1979: 693, 996]. In [Dirr 1905: 170, 231], transcribed as *žibi* (and even *žig-*) - this is actually either a form from some Southern Tabasaran subdialect or the beginning of the phonetic process *q* > *v* in Khanag during the 2nd half of the 19th century between Uslar's and Dirr' records.
- The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *žiq:i* {жжикъи} 'short' [Genko 2005: 67].
- Southern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237.
- The same in the Khiv subdialect: *žiq:i* {жжи(к)къи} 'short' [Genko 2005: 67]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *žiq:i* {жикъи} 'short' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbutov 2001: 162].
- Gyune Lezgi:** Uslar 1896: 455, 615.
- The same in Literary Lezgi: *k:ür'ü* {күьруь} 'short' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 170; Gadzhiev 1950: 310; Haspelmath 1993: 495, 526].
- Etymologically the same term in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *č:er'i* 'short' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 237].
- Proto-Lezgian:** NCED: 690. Distribution: We fill the slot with the root **k:V'tV-* [NCED: 690], which means 'short' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), but 'narrow' in Lezgi (see notes on Lezgi 'thin') and 'short-eared ram' in Aghul. External comparison supports **k:V'tV-* as the Proto-Lezgian root for 'short'.
- In West and East Lezgian a phonetically irregular root **č:iCV-* is used for 'short' (reconstructed as **č:ik'JV-* in [NCED: 1108]). It is attested as **č:it'V-* in Tsakhur, **č:ikV-* in Rutul, **č:iqV-* in Tabasaran and Aghul (note that the Aghul forms can be Tabasaran loanwords).
- In Lezgi, 'short' is expressed with the etymologically isolated form, which points to the Proto-Lezgian shape **č:erV-*.
- In both outliers, inherited forms were superseded with loanwords: Udi < Azerbaijani, Archi < Lak.
- Replacements: {'short' > 'narrow'} (Lezgi)
- Reconstruction shape: The voiced reflex *d* of Lezgian **t* observed in South Lezgian (Kryts *g'ädä*, Budukh *godə*) is due to influence on the part of Azerbaijani *gödäk* 'short'.
- Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal root 'to be short'.

106. SNAKE

Nidzh Udi *dizik*: {дизикI} (1), Vartashen Udi *dizik*: {дизикI} (1), Archi *y'a't'i* (-1), Kryts (proper) *ilan* (-1), Alyk Kryts *γar* (2), Budukh *yer* {üep} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *χoče* {xоче} (3), Mikik Tsakhur *χoče* (3), Gelmets Tsakhur *χočä* (3), Mukhad Rutul *γar* {žap} (2), Ixrek Rutul *γar* {žap} (2), Luchek Rutul *γar* (2), Koshan Aghul *ilan* (-1), Keren Aghul *ilan* (-1), Gequn Aghul *ilan* (-1), Fite Aghul *ilan* (-1), Aghul (proper) *ilan* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *b'it'-i* (4), Southern Tabasaran *bit'* (4), Gyune Lezgi *вүл'äv* (5), Proto-Lezgian **Ā:ar* (2).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 111; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 171; Mobili 2010: 99.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 111; Fähnrich 1999: 14; Schiefner 1863: 96; Schulze 2001: 270.

Common Udi: Common Udi **dizik*. Morphologically and etymologically obscure; looks like a loanword, although the source has not been identified (proposals in [Schulze 2001: 270] do not seem apt).

Caucasian Albanian: *bo'q* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-11]; probably an important archaism, as correctly noted by Gippert & Schulze.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 256, 360; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170; Mikailov 1967: 184; Dirr 1908: 156, 209. Etymologically isolated, apparently borrowed from Lak *yat'i* 'worm, lavra', although the meaning shift looks strange (this is not the main Lak term for 'worm').

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *ilan* 'snake'.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 24, 36, 40, 82, 90, etc.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 70, 214; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 890, 894; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 371; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 171.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *χoče* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Dirr 1913: 211, 226.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 171], quoted as *χoče*.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 131, 191; Ibragimov 1978: 116; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 171.

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 87, 343; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 171. Ablaut paradigm: *γar* [abs.] / *γär-ä-rä* [erg.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Suleymanov 2003: 87; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. The same in the Usug subdialect: *ilan* 'snake' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Dirr 1907: 121, 173; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 142.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 87; Shaumyan 1941: 142. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe, Duldug *ilan* 'snake' [Shaumyan 1941: 142].

Common Aghul: In all the dialects, the terms is a borrowing from Azerbaijani *ilan* 'snake'.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *bit'* 'snake' [Uslar 1979: 615, 994; Dirr 1905: 158, 229]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *bit'* {битI} 'snake' [Genko 2005: 29].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *bit'* ~ *bet'* {битI, бетI} 'snake' [Genko 2005: 29]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *bit'* {битI} 'snake' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 87].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 388, 613.

The same in Literary Lezgi: *вүл'äv* {гъулягъ} with polysemy: 'snake / silkworm' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 95; Gadzhiev 1950: 247; Haspelmath 1993: 490, 526]. A second, less frequent literary word for 'snake' is *il'an* [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 135; Gadzhiev 1950: 247], borrowed from Azerbaijani *ilan* 'snake'.

The same in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *ül'äb* 'snake' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 787. **Distribution:** There are three equally probable (from the distributional point of view) candidates for the Proto-Lezgian term for 'snake': Caucasian Albanian, Udi and Proto-Nuclear Lezgian. Out of these, Udi *dizik*: is etymologically unclear and should be excluded. Therefore, the choice is between two terms: Caucasian Albanian and Proto-Nuclear Lezgian.

The isolated Caucasian Albanian *boʃq* 'snake' may regularly originate from a Proto-Lezgian form like **woʃrλ^w(V)*, which, in turn, may regularly continue North Caucasian **wHo:rλ^wVtV* (~ **b-*) [NCED: 1048] (or rather **wHo:rλ^wV-* with the suffix *-t-* in proto-languages of individual groups). This Proto-North Caucasian stem means 'snake' in the Avaro-Ando-Tsezian branch and 'snail' in Lak; note that, *pace* [NCED: 1048], specific Nakh forms for 'snake' originate from the word for 'mud', not from the aforementioned North Caucasian stem.

The second candidate is **λ:ar* [NCED: 787], which denotes 'snake' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and Rutul, having been lost in the rest of the languages. In terms of distribution, it can be posited at least as the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian expression for 'snake'. Its North Caucasian *comparanda* are to be reconstructed as prototems for 'snake' in Nakh, Khinalugh and possibly Proto-West Caucasian.

Because North Caucasian **äfirV* (> Lezgian **λ:ar*) has a wider distribution, whereas **wHo:rλ^wV-* in the meaning 'snake' seems to be a local Avaro-Ando-Tsezian isogloss, we prefer to postulate **λ:ar* as the basic Proto-Lezgian term for 'snake'. The original meaning of Lezgian **woʃrλ^w(V)* (> Caucasian Albanian *boʃq* 'snake', if the proposed etymology is correct) is unclear, perhaps 'a k. of snake' *vel sim*.

In Tsakhur, **λ:ar* was superseded with **χ^wärčVγ* [NCED: 1080], whose original meaning should be 'a k. of worm' (cf. the meaning 'worm' for Archi *χ^warši* q.v.).

In Tabasaran, the form *bit* 'snake' is attested; it is isolated within Lezgian (Lezgi *büt'r'ük^w* 'small worm' seems to be a Tabasaran loanword, see notes on 'worm'). Its Lezgian protoform is reconstructed as **p:e(m)t'* (~ *b-*) in [NCED: 290] with possible external North Caucasian *comparanda* with the meanings 'snake' and 'worm'.

In Lezgi, 'snake' is expressed with the root **mulaq^w* 'worm' q.v. [NCED: 817].

In some lects, inherited forms tend to be superseded with borrowings from Azerbaijani *ilan* 'snake' (Kryts Proper, Aghul). In Archi, a Lak loanword is used.

Replacements: {'worm' > 'snake'} (Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is **λ:ara-*.

107. THIN

Nidzh Udi *näzik* ~ *näzik*: {*наъзик* ~ *наъзикI*} (-1), Vartashen Udi *näzik*: ~ *näzig* {*наъзикI*} (-1), Archi *k'al'a-t:u-CLASS* (1), Kryts (proper) *q'il* (1), Alyk Kryts *q'il:a* (1), Budukh *ki-t:i* {*кытти*} (2), Mishlesh Tsakhur *k'iʃwa-n* ~ *k'iʃwa-n* {*кИыИван* ~ *кИуИван*} (1) / *hiʃk:ʃe-n* {*гьыIккен*} (2), Mikik Tsakhur *k'iʃwa-n* (1) / *hiʃk:ʃe-n* (2), Gelmets Tsakhur *q'iʃwa-n^y* (1) / *hiʃk:a-n^y* (2), Mukhad Rutul *q'il-di* ~ *q'il-di* {*кьыл-ды*} (1), Ixrek Rutul *q'il-di* {*кьыл-ды*} (1) / *gaʃd-di-di* {*гаIддыды*} (2), Luchek Rutul *q'il-di* (1) / *ged-di* (2), Koshan Aghul *k'el:e-r* (1) / *ku-re-r* (2), Keren Aghul *k'il:e-f* (1) / *ik:e-f* (2), Gequn Aghul *k'il:e-f* (1) / *ik:e-f* (2), Fite Aghul *ku-ri-t* (2), Aghul (proper) *k'il:e-f* (1) / *ik:e-f* (2), Northern Tabasaran *č'il:i* (1), Southern Tabasaran *č'il:i* (1) / *ku-r'u* (2), Gyune Lezgi *q'el'eč* (1) / *šük"ü* (2), Proto-Lezgian **λilä* (1) / *h'i(m)λ:ä* (2).

References and notes:

- Nidzh Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 179; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587; Mobili 2010: 220. The variant *nāzik* comes from [Gukasyan 1974] and [Mobili 2010]. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'.
- Vartashen Udi:** Gukasyan 1974: 179; Fähnrich 1999: 24; Schiefner 1863: 97. In [Gukasyan 1974] quoted as *nāzik*; in [Fähnrich 1999] - as *nāzüg*; in [Schiefner 1863] - as *nāzig*.
- Common Udi:** Borrowed from Azerbaijani *nazik* 'thin 2D/1D' (ultimately from Persian *nazuk* 'thin').
Distinct from Nidzh-Vartashen *q:ač*: {къачI} 'narrow' [Gukasyan 1974: 155; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238].
Caucasian Albanian: not attested. Cf. *q'ac'* 'narrow(?)' in the compound *hu'k'e-q'ac'* 'sadness, sorrow', if < *'narrow-hearted' [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-27].
- Archi:** Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 263, 385; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587; Mikailov 1967: 185; Dirr 1908: 160, 224. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'. Regular participle from the stative verb *k'al'a* 'to be thin'.
Distinct from *q^{wo}aq'ar-t:u* 'narrow, tight (of path, dress)', participle from the stative verb *q^{wo}aq'ar* 'to be narrow' [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 309] (in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238], quoted with a typo: *q^{wo}aq^{wo}ar*).
- Kryts (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'.
Distinct from *dar* 'narrow' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 872], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'. In [NCED: 522] (Proto-Lezgian **h'i(m)λ'ä-*), also the Kryts suffixed adjective *ki-tä-* 'narrow' is quoted (not found in other sources).
- Alyk Kryts:** Authier 2009: 13, 69, 192. Attested in the meaning 'thin 2D'. Note the consonant gemination in the intervocalic position (for which see [Authier 2009: 13]), influenced by the same sporadic phenomenon in the Azerbaijani language.
Distinct from *dar* 'narrow' [Authier 2009: 104], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'.
- Budukh:** Meylanova 1984: 187; Alekseev 1994: 294. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239], this word is quoted as *qət:i* - an error? According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], polysemy 'thin 2D / thin 1D'. Final *-ti* is the old adjective suffix.
In [Meylanova 1984: 113, 245], the word *nazik* {назик} is also quoted in the meaning 'thin'; basic semantics is 'thin 2D' in all found examples. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *nazik* 'thin 2D/1D' (ultimately from Persian *nazuk* 'thin').
Distinct from more specific *taxta-lu* {тахталу} 'flat, plane, thin 2D' [Meylanova 1984: 133, 245].
Distinct from *dar* 'narrow' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 872], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'.
- Mishlesh Tsakhur:** Kibrik et al. 1999: 881, 900; Ibragimov 1990: 76; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 203; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587. The second variant *k'i'iwa-n* comes from [Ibragimov 1990: 76, 82, 183, 203] and [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 203], where this word is consistently transcribed with *-i-*. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / skinny / shallow'. In the meaning 'thin' the word can be applied, e.g., to 'paper', 'flat cake', and, according to [Kibrik et al. 1999], to 'thread' (sic?).
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *k'i'iwa-n* 'thin 2D' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239]. Kibrik et al. 1999: 877, 900. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] as a separate entry, but attested in the example in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 65 sub *bas* 'rope, string']. Meaning 'thin 1D'. Can be applied to 'log/beam', 'rope/string'.
Distinct from *dari-n* 'narrow' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 872], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'.
Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *hi'k'e-n* 'thin 1D', [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239]. Distinct from *dari-n* 'narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'.
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Dirr 1913: 176, 240. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Can be applied to 'cloth'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Dirr 1913: 164, 240. Meaning 'thin 1D'. Can be applied to 'thread'.
Distinct from *dari-n* 'narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238; Dirr 1913: 154], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'.
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Ibragimov 1990: 183. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587], the modern depharyngealized variant is quoted: *q'iwa-n^y*. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 1D'. Distinct from *dari-n^y* 'narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238], borrowed from Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow'.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 166, 202; Ibragimov 1978: 118. Polysemy: 'thin (2D) / shallow'.
A second term *ga'd-di* is observed in [Makhmudova 2001: 95, 183] and [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587]. Makhmudova claims that the two terms are opposed as follows: *ga'd-di* is applied to animated objects (i.e. 'lean, thin?'), and *q'il-di* to inanimate ones.
Cf. also *q'ic'-di*, quoted in [Dirr 1912: 166] as 'thin' without specification (corresponds to *q'ic'-di* 'narrow' in other dialects). Maybe this is the Mukhad word for 'thin (1D)'.
Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 167. Meaning: 'thin (2D)'. Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 52, 402. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 587], quoted as *ga'd-di* {гаДды}. Meaning: 'thin (1D)'.

Distinct from *q'ic'-di* 'narrow' [Dzhamalov & Semedov 2006: 167].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning: 'thin (2D)'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning: 'thin (1D)'.

Distinct from *q'ic'-di* 'narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238].

Common Rutul: Borch-Khnov dialect: *kät-ti* ~ *kät-ti* 'thin' [Ibragimov 1978: 229] (quoted without semantic specification); regularly corresponds to Mukhad-Ixrek *ga'd-di* [Ibragimov 1978: 233].

In Luchek *ged-di*, the front vowel has regularly lost its pharyngealization [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 343].

Final *-di* / *-d* is the attributive suffix (doubled in the Ixrek form).

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Suleymanov 2003: 126; Shaumyan 1941: 184. In [Shaumyan 1941], quoted with plain *-l-*: *k'ele-*. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], with polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D', although according to the explicit glosses in [Suleymanov 2003] and [Shaumyan 1941], Burshag *k'ele-* denotes just 'thin 2D'.

In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], two Burshag words are quoted as synonyms for 'thin 2D/1D'; the second one is *ku-re-r*. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Suleymanov 2003: 87, 88; Shaumyan 1941: 143. According to [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], with polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D / narrow', although, according to the explicit glosses in [Suleymanov 2003] and [Shaumyan 1941], Burshag *ku-re-* denotes just 'thin 1D / narrow'. In [Magometov 1970: 170], erroneously quoted as *gü-re-r*.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 2D'; opposed to *ike-f* 'thin 1D'.

The same in the Usug subdialect: *k'ile-f* 'thin 2D', *iške-f* 'thin 1D' [Shaumyan 1941: 143, 184]. The Usug form *iške-* was probably influenced on the part of the Lezgi word for 'thin 1D'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 1D'.

Distinct from *ke-tu-f* 'narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238], derived from the same root with the adjective suffix *-tu*.

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Dirr 1907: 130, 186; Shaumyan 1941: 184. In [Dirr 1907] and [Shaumyan 1941], quoted with plain *-l-*: *k'ile-*. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239; Dirr 1907: 121, 186; Magometov 1970: 225 (sentence 14); Shaumyan 1941: 143. Meaning 'thin 1D'. In [Dirr 1907], incorrectly transcribed as *ike-f*.

Distinct from *isal-f* 'narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238, 239. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D / narrow'.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 126; Shaumyan 1941: 184. Meaning 'thin 2D'. In [Shaumyan 1941], quoted with plain *-l-*: *k'ile-*. Suleymanov 2003: 87; Shaumyan 1941: 143. Meaning 'thin 1D'. Distinct from Tpig *isal-f* 'narrow' [Suleymanov 2003: 88].

Common Aghul: The opposition *k'ele-* 'thin 2D' / *ike-* (*ku-re-*) 'thin 1D' can be safely reconstructed for Proto-Aghul.

Medial *-re-* in *ku-re-* in an adjective suffix [Suleymanov 1993: 113]. Final *-d*, *-t*, *-f*, *-r* are adjectival suffixes (fossilized class exponents) [Magometov 1970: 92; Shaumyan 1941: 45].

Reduction of the initial *i-* in the Koshan & Fite prefixed stem *ku-re-* can theoretically be explained as a recent dialectal feature (see [Suleymanov 1993: 42 f.] for the sporadic vowel reduction in Aghul dialects), but the dialectal distribution of the syncopated and non-syncopated variants is atypical. Most likely *ku-re-* represents a more ancient process of vowel reduction, observed for this root also in some other Lezgian languages.

Note the gemination of *-l-* in *k'ele-*, influenced by the same sporadic phenomenon in the Azerbaijani language.

The non-Koshan adjective *isal-* 'narrow' is quoted as *isal-f* in [Khaydakov 1973: 111] - apparently a misprint.

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238, 239. Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D / narrow'.

Differently in the Khanag subdialect: *č'il:i* 'thin 2D; sparse (wood, hair)' [Uslar 1979: 974, 1008], opposed to *ku-r:i* with polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow' [Uslar 1979: 768, 1008; Dirr 1905: 182, 244].

The same system in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *č'il:i* {ЧИЛЛИ} 'thin 2D' [Genko 2005: 186], opposed to *ku-r:i* {кхурри} 'thin 1D' [Genko 2005: 96].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239. Meaning 'thin 2D'; opposed to *ku-r'u* 'thin 1D'.

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *č'il:i* {ЧИЛЛИ} 'thin 2D' [Genko 2005: 186], opposed to *ku-r'u* {кхурру} with polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow' [Genko 2005: 97].

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *č'il:i* {ЧИЛЛИ} 'thin 2D' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 343], opposed to *ku-r'u* {кхурру} with polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 200]. Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 238, 239. Polysemy: 'thin 1D / narrow'.

Common Tabasaran: The opposition *č'il:i* 'thin 2D' / *ku-r:i* 'thin 1D' can safely be reconstructed for Proto-Tabasaran; the Dyubek polysemy *č'il:i* 'thin 2D/1D' is secondary. Final *-r-* (*-r-*) in *ku-ru* is an adjectival suffix.

In [Genko 2005: 77], also the Northern (Kumi, Khyuryuk) and Southern (Khiv) term *is'al* 'narrow; cramped, small' in quoted (in [Khaydakov 1973: 111], erroneously transcribed as *isel*). In Literary Tabasaran, this adjective is only used in the expression *isal dere* 'narrow ravine, gorge' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbusov 2001: 179].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 527, 635. Meaning 'thin 2D'. Opposed to *šük'ü* with polysemy: 'thin 1D / lean, thin' [Uslar 1896: 603, 635]. Distinct from two Gyune words for 'narrow': *g^{we}et'i* [Uslar 1896: 378, 636] and *sal* [Uslar 1896: 545, 636].

The same opposition in Literary Lezgi: *q'el'eč'* {кьелеч} with interesting polysemy: 'thin 2D / wiry, lean (of human, animal)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 201; Gadzhiev 1950: 851; Haspelmath 1993: 503, 528], *šük'ü* {шук'уь} 'thin 1D' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 387; Gadzhiev 1950: 851; Haspelmath 1993: 507, 528]. Distinct from two literary words for 'narrow': inherited *güt'ü* {гуьт'уь} 'narrow' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 91; Haspelmath 1993: 489, 523], and borrowed *dar* {дар} 'narrow; restricted, tight' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 107; Haspelmath 1993: 486, 523] (< Azerbaijani *dar* 'narrow').

The same opposition in the Akhty dialect: Khlyut *q'äl'ač'* 'thin 2D', *šk:i* 'thin 1D / narrow' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 239]. Uslar 1896: 603, 635. Polysemy: 'thin 1D / lean, thin'. Historically *š=ük'ü* with an expressive prefix.

Proto-Lezgian:

NCED: 639. Distribution: The basic data can be summarized as follows:

'THIN'	Udi	Archi	Kryts	Budukh	Tsakhur	Rutul	Aghul	Tabasaran	Lezgi
* <i>λ'ilä-</i> [NCED: 639]		1D/2D	1D/2D		2D	2D	2D	2D	2D
* <i>hⁱ(m)λ:ä-</i> [NCED: 521]			narrow(?)	1D/2D	1D	1D	1D / narrow	1D / narrow	1D / narrow
* <i>ʔis:al(-)</i> [NCED: 752]							narrow	narrow	<i>sal</i> narrow
* <i>q:^warV-</i> [NCED: 933]		narrow					lean, emaciated		
?	<i>q:ač'</i> narrow								
?						<i>q'ic'-</i> narrow			
Azerbaijani loanword	1D/2D								
Azerbaijani loanword			narrow	narrow	narrow				

For Proto-Nuclear Lezgian, the opposition **λ'ilä-* 'thin 2D' [NCED: 639] / **hⁱ(m)λ:ä-* 'thin 1D' [NCED: 521] can be reconstructed with safety. It is possible to treat such an opposition as a secondary feature of Nuclear Lezgian (and only reconstruct **λ'ilä-* 'thin 2D/1D' for Proto-Lezgian), but, since both roots possess external North Caucasian cognates with the meaning 'thin', we prefer to reconstruct **λ'ilä-* 'thin 2D' / **hⁱ(m)λ:ä-* 'thin 1D' for Proto-Lezgian.

In both outliers (Udi, Archi), the semantic opposition 'thin 2D' / 'thin 1D' has been eliminated. In the Udi case, this happened under the influence of Azerbaijani polysemy; for Archi, a similar Lak influence is probable.

Replacements: {'thin 1D' > 'narrow'} (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'thin 2D' > 'wiry, lean (of human, animal)'} (Literary Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: For **λ'ilä-*, correspondences seem regular except for pharyngealization in Tsakhur. In the case of **hⁱ(m)λ:ä-*, the situation is more complicated, because this root is frequently modified with adjectival suffixes (*-*tV*, *-rV*) that cause reduction of the initial vowel and subsequent simplification of the cluster **mλ* (the Proto-Lezgian nasal phoneme is reconstructed on the basis of external evidence).

Semantics and structure: Primary stative verbal roots 'to be thin 2D' (**λ'ilä-*) and 'to be thin 1D' (**hⁱ(m)λ:ä-*). NCED: 521.

108. WIND

Nidzh Udi *muš* {мыш} (1), Vartashen Udi *muš* {мыш} (1), Archi *haw'a* (-1), Kryts (proper) *kulak* (-1), Alyk Kryts *kulak* (-1), Budukh *kulak* {кулак} (-1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *mīc* {мыц} (1), Mikik Tsakhur *mīc* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *mīc* (1), Mukhad Rutul *xībil* ~ *xībul*

{хыбыл} (2), Ixrek Rutul *kulak* {κυλακ} (-1), Luchek Rutul *xibil* (2), Koshan Aghul *kulak* (-1), Keren Aghul *tireb* (3), Gequn Aghul *tireb* (3), Fite Aghul *kulak* (-1), Aghul (proper) *kulak* (-1), Northern Tabasaran *m'ik'-i* (4), Southern Tabasaran *mik'* (4), Gyune Lezgi *yar* (5), Proto-Lezgian **muč* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 176; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59; Mobili 2010: 215. Polysemy: 'wind / rheumatism'.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 176; Fähnrich 1999: 24; Schiefner 1863: 105; Schulze 2001: 301; Starchevskiy 1891: 497. Polysemy: 'wind / rheumatism'.

Common Udi: Common Udi **muš*.

Caucasian Albanian: *muš* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-30].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 238, 352; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59; Dirr 1908: 148, 206. Polysemy: 'wind / air / weather'. Borrowed from Lak *hawa* 'air; weather' or from Avar *haw'a* 'air' (ultimately < Arabic *hawa*? 'air, breeze'). In [Chumakina 2009] incorrectly treated as a direct borrowing from Arabic; for the Avar and Lak intermediation in the adaptation of Arabic words in Archi see [Kibrik et al. 1977a 1: 44].

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'. In [NCED: 758], also Kryts *xar* with polysemy 'wind / rheumatism' is quoted (< **tar*), not found in other sources.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 94, 229, 266, etc. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 79, 206; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 27, 39, 49, 66; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59. Not attested in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] as a separate entry, but attested in examples, e.g., [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 31 sub *ayc'araʔas*, 54 sub *aʔas*, etc.].

A second term for 'wind' is *kulʔek* [Ibragimov 1990: 55, 66; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 196], borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

A third term is *yelʔkan*, quoted in [Kibrik et al. 1999: 879, 892] as the only generic term for 'wind', but glossed as 'light wind, breeze' in [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 161]. Borrowed from dialectal Azerbaijani **yel-kän* vel sim. from *yel* '(light) wind' (cf. literary Azerbaijani *yel-kän* 'sail; fan').

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *mic* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209].

Mikik Tsakhur: Dirr 1913: 188, 222.

A second term for 'wind' is *kulʔak* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Dirr 1913: 174, 222], borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 199.

A synonym is *kulʔäk* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59], borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 142, 188; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 12; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59. The assimilated variant *xibil* is from [Dirr 1912].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 147, 326; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Distinct from inherited *xibil* {хыбыл} 'light wind, breeze' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 283] (this is incorrectly listed in [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 59] as the basic Ixrek term for 'wind').

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209.

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208; Suleymanov 2003: 104.

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208. The same in the Usug subdialect: *tireb* 'wind' [Shaumyan 1941: 194].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208. A second synonym, quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990], is the borrowing *kulak*. No terms for 'wind' in [Dirr 1907].

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 104; Shaumyan 1941: 194.

Common Aghul: The form *kulak* was borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'. The origin of *tireb* is unclear (looks like a loanword from unknown source).

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *mik* with polysemy: 'wind / rheumatism' [Uslar 1979: 855, 990; Dirr 1905: 195, 226]. The second Khanag word for 'wind' is *kulak* [Dirr 1905: 185, 226], borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: inherited *mik* {мик} 'wind' [Genko 2005: 120] and borrowed *kul'ak* {кулак} 'wind, whirl' [Genko 2005: 88].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208.

The same in Literary Tabasaran: *mik* with polysemy: 'wind / rheumatism' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 229]. The second literary word is *kul'ak* {кулак} 'wind, whirl' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 203], borrowed from Azerbaijani *küläk* 'wind'.

Differently in the Khiv subdialect, where two words for 'wind' are known: inherited *xar* {хяр} 'wind' [Genko 2005: 175] and borrowed *kul'ak* {кулак} 'wind, whirl' [Genko 2005: 88]. The Common Tabasaran term is retained as Khiv *mek* {мек} 'rheumatism' [Genko 2005: 119].

Common Tabasaran: *mik* can safely be reconstructed as the Proto-Tabasaran term for 'wind', probably with polysemy: 'wind / rheumatism'. It retains its basic meaning in all the dialects, except for Khiv, where *mik* has been narrowed to 'rheumatism', having been superseded with *xar* (not attested in other subdialects). The external etymology [NCED: 758] suggests that originally *xar* denoted some specific kind of wind, cf. Lezgi *gar* '(warm) wind' q.v.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 394, 608. A generic term, according to Uslar's examples, although probably not applied specifically to 'cold/cool wind'. Distinct from specific *q:a-y* 'cold wind, cool wind' [Uslar 1896: 485] (inaccurately glossed as 'cool, coolness' by Uslar) - a participle from the verb *räq:i-* [imperf.] / *q:a-* [perf.] 'to get cold' [Uslar 1896: 495] (cf. the parallel participle *q:a-y'i* 'cold' q.v.).

The same in Literary Lezgi: *gar* {rap} 'wind (in general, but probably not applied to the specifically cold wind)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 82; Haspelmath 1993: 488, 529]. Distinct from literary *q:a-y* {кьай} 'cold wind' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 175; Haspelmath 1993: 501, 529] - a participle from the verb 'to get cold'.

In the Akhty dialect: no generic term for 'wind' is documented for the Khlyut subdialect, cf. specific *gar* 'west wind', *q:a-y* 'east wind' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 208]. The same in the Khuryug subdialect: *gar* 'south wind', *q:a-y* 'cold wind' [Meylanova 1964: 315].

Based on available data, it is theoretically possible to reconstruct the Proto-Lezgi opposition *yar* 'warm wind' / *q:a-y* 'cold wind' without a single generic term.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 826. Distribution: This word is retained as the basic term for 'wind' in Caucasian Albanian-Udi, on the one hand, and in Tsakhur, on the other, having shifted to the meaning 'hope' in Aghul and Tabasaran.

In Rutul, 'wind' is expressed by the stem **λop:ol* [NCED: 786], which means 'rheumatism' in Lezgi. The original meaning of **λop:ol* seems to have been 'a k. of wind', e.g., 'breeze'.

The third candidate is **t:ar* [NCED: 758], which means 'wind' in Lezgi (perhaps to be reconstructed as 'warm (south) wind' for Proto-Lezgi) and in Khiv Tabasaran (but not in Proto-Tabasaran), but 'rheumatism' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh). The original meaning of **t:ar* seems to have been 'a k. of wind', e.g., 'warm wind'.

In Tabasaran, 'wind' is denoted by **meλ* 'cold, frost' [NCED: 808], see notes on 'cold' (apparently with the development 'cold' > 'cold wind' > 'wind in general').

Aghul *tireb* 'wind' is etymologically unclear.

In many lects, inherited forms have been completely superseded with Azerbaijani loanwords (Kryts, Budukh, Ixrek Rutul, some Aghul dialects). In Archi, there is a loanword from Lak or Avar.

Replacements: {'cold, frost' > 'wind / rheumatism'} (Tabasaran), {'wind' > 'rheumatism'} (Udi, Kryts, Budukh, Lezgi), {'wind' > 'hope'} (Aghul, Tabasaran).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the Tsakhur affricate *-c* (instead of expected *-č*).

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is not reconstructible.

109. WORM

Nidzh Udi *meq* {мехъ} (1), Vartashen Udi *meq* {мехъ} (1), Archi *mil'ix^u* (1), Kryts (proper) *k^wak* (2) / *čič* (3), Alyk Kryts *čič* (3), Budukh *čič* {чич} (3), Mishlesh Tsakhur *a^bbrawuč^r* {аІбравучІ} (4), Mikik Tsakhur *abrawuč^e* (4), Gelmets Tsakhur *birq^rin^yäš* (5), Mukhad Rutul *mulix^f* ~ *mülüx^f* ~ *mulüx^f* {муьльІх ~ мулюІх} (1), Ixrek Rutul *mulux^f* ~ *mülüx^f* {муІльІх ~ муьльІх} (1), Luchek Rutul *mulux^f* (1), Koshan Aghul *malaq^{wf}* (1), Keren Aghul *maluq^f* (1), Gequn Aghul *maleq^{wf}* (1), Fite Aghul *mülüq^f* (1), Aghul (proper) *milaq^w* (1), Northern Tabasaran *šar* (6), Southern Tabasaran *šar* (6), Gyune Lezgi *šar* (6), Proto-Lezgian **mulaq^{wf}* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 173; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170; Mobili 2010: 209. Meaning is specified as 'earthworm' in [Gukasyan 1974] and as generic 'worm, earthworm' in [Mobili 2010].

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 173; Fähnrich 1999: 23; Schiefner 1863: 104; Schulze 2001: 299; Starchevskiy 1891: 508. Meaning specified as 'earthworm' in [Gukasyan 1974] and as generic 'worm, earthworm' in [Mobili 2010]. Glossed with polysemy: 'worm / caterpillar / larva' in [Fähnrich 1999: 23]. It must be noted that in [Fähnrich 1999: 28] the meaning 'earthworm' is apparently erroneously ascribed to the word *q:uil*; in turn, Fähnrich's transcription *q:uil* must be read as *q:uiv* (= Vartashen *q:uיעב* {кьуйегь} 'helminth' [Gukasyan 1974: 161], *q:uiv* 'helminth' [Starchevskiy 1891: 497]), where the Georgian letter *ghan* was confused with *las* during Romanization and typesetting of the volume.

Common Udi: Common Udi **meq*.

Caucasian Albanian: Unattested.

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 280, 388; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170; Mikailov 1967: 193; Dirr 1908: 167, 226. Meaning specified as 'earthworm'. There also exists another term *χ^warši* [Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 334, 388; Mikailov 1967: 200], which is always glossed simply as 'worm' without further specification. It remains unclear whether *χ^warši* is a more generic term than *mil'ix^u*, or if *χ^warši* denotes some kinds of parasites and vermin as opposed to earthworms. In such an unclear situation we prefer to follow the GLD semantic standard and fill the slot with the word for 'earthworm'.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170. In [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990] two terms are quoted for 'worm', both without specification: *k^wak* and *čič*. We are forced to treat these as synonyms.

Distinct from the compound *šer-bäh*, quoted in [NCED: 982] with the gloss 'worm, helminth' (the second element *-bäh* is not clear). Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 35, 39. Specified as 'earthworm'.

There also exists another (less frequent or bound?) term for 'worm': *q:urd* [Authier 2009: 181], borrowed from Azerbaijani *gurd* 'worm'.

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 155, 250; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170. Generic term: 'earthworm, worm in food, helminth'.

Distinct from *mula?* {мулаъ} 'worm in meat' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Meylanova 1984: 111].

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Ibragimov 1990: 166, 199; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 55. Not attested in [Kibrik et al. 1999]. In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170], quoted as *abrawuč^e*. In [Ibragimov 1990] and [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010] specified as 'earthworm', opposed to the more generic term *boq^f* 'insect, worm' [Ibragimov 1990: 199].

Distinct from *miq^f* {мыІхъ} 'worm' (the exact meaning is unknown) [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 270], *nakur* ~ *lakur* {нагьур, лагьур} 'helminth' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 271] and *č'u?* 'small worms in meat' [Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 404].

- Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur:** *abrawučē* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88]. Distinct from *miqʰ* 'caterpillar' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88], although in [Schulze 1997: 16] *miqʰ* is glossed as 'worm'.
- Suvagil Tsakhur:** *abrawuč* 'earthworm' [Ibragimov 1990: 166], distinct from *miqʰ* 'worm' (not specified) [Ibragimov 1990: 166].
- Mikik Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.
- In [Dirr 1913: 188, 242], the word for 'worm' is *muqʰ*, but in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88] this is quoted as *miqʰ* 'caterpillar'.
- Distinct from *lakur* 'helminth' [Dirr 1913: 183, 223].
- Gelmets Tsakhur:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Ibragimov 1990: 199. According to [Ibragimov 1990: 199], *birqʰinʷäš* is a generic term, meaning 'insect, worm', but the expression for 'earthworm' is based on this word: *tʰižʷar haʔan birqʰinʷäš*, literally 'an insect/worm that makes rings'. In actual fact, *birqʰinʷäš* is derived from the adjective *birqʰi-na* 'blind' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 240] (this is natural for the meaning 'worm', but somewhat strange for the meaning 'insect'; thus, the semantic development must have been 'blind' → 'worm' → 'insect').
- In [Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170], 'worm' is glossed as *muq* {мышь} (the modern depharyngealized variant for expected *muqʰ*).
- Common Tsakhur:** It is very probable that the Proto-Tsakhur generic term for 'worm (incl. earthworm)' was *miqʰ* (assimilated *muqʰ*), which has by now shifted to 'caterpillar', having been superseded by the descriptive equivalent 'blind' in Gelmets and the obscure word *abrawuč(e)* ~ *abrawuč* in the other dialects.
- Mukhad Rutul:** Dirr 1912: 161; Ibragimov 1978: 19, 117; Makhmudova 2001: 20, 21; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170. The variant *mulixʰ* is from [Dirr 1912]; the variant *mülüχʰ* is from [Ibragimov 1978]; the variant *mulüχʰ* is from [Makhmudova 2001].
- According to [Makhmudova 2001: 20], *mulüχʰ* 'worm' is opposed to the specific term *barcil* 'earthworm', but this seems to be inaccurate, since Ibragimov [Ibragimov 1978: 135] explicitly states that the word *barcil* (sic!) 'earthworm' is characteristic of the Khnyukh dialect (subdialect of Mukhad) without an etymological counterpart in Mukhad proper. In [Khaydakov 1973: 11] (followed by [NCED: 288]), *barcil* 'earthworm' is labeled simply as "Rutul".
- Distinct from *šär-äk* 'helminth' [Dirr 1912: 182, 188] and *cʰir-uχ* 'caterpillar' [Ibragimov 1978: 225].
- Ixrek Rutul:** Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 194, 413; Ibragimov 1978: 225; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 170. Glossed as 'worm (in general); earthworm'. The palatalized variant comes from [Ibragimov 1978]. According to Ibragimov, with polysemy: 'worm / caterpillar'.
- Distinct from various terms that are more marginal or specific: *šar-ak* 'helminth' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 301], *seb* 'worm; cabbage white butterfly' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 227] (apparently more correctly glossed as 'caterpillar' in [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 334]), *cʰuχ* 'worm' [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 288] (without specifications), *čʰiʔ* {чиль} [Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 413] (without specification; missing from the main section of the dictionary).
- Luchek Rutul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.
- Common Rutul:** Khnyukh dialect (subdialect of Mukhad): *barcil* 'earthworm' [Ibragimov 1978: 135] (quoted with an error: *barcil*, see notes on Mukhad Rutul).
- The Proto-Rutul term for 'worm in general (incl. earthworm)' was *muluχʰ*. Khnyukh *barcil* is an innovation.
- Koshan Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Suleymanov 2003: 133.
- Distinct from *šar* 'helminth' [Magometov 1970: 23].
- Keren Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.
- Gequn Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Dirr 1907: 134.
- Fite Aghul:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88.
- Aghul (proper):** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88; Suleymanov 2003: 133; Shaumyan 1941: 151. In [Suleymanov 2003], incorrectly quoted as *mileqʰ* {милехъв}. A generic term (incl. earthworms and worms in meat), although distinct from *šar* 'helminth' [Suleymanov 2003: 204; Shaumyan 1941: 164].
- Northern Tabasaran:** Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. Specified by Kibrik & Kodzasov as 'earthworm', as opposed to *mulʰaqʰ*, which is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88] simply as 'worm' (semantic details are unknown).
- The semantic opposition in the Khanag subdialect is better documented: *šar* with polysemy: 'earthworm / helminth' [Uslar 1979: 985, 1009] (missing from [Dirr 1905]). Distinct from Khanag *mulʰaqʰ* 'worm (in fruit, meat, wound)' [Uslar 1979: 865, 1009; Dirr 1905: 196, 246].

Similarly in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *šar* {шшар} with polysemy: 'earthworm / helminth' [Genko 2005: 192, 221], opposed to *mul'aqʹ* {мюляхъ} 'worm' [Genko 2005: 124] (not specified semantically).

The same in the Kumi subdialect: *šar* {шшар}, glossed as 'worm, helminth' [Genko 2005: 192], opposed to *mul'aqʹ* ~ *mul'aqʹ* {мюляхъ(ю)} 'worm' [Genko 2005: 124] (not specified semantically).

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88. Paradigm: *šar* [abs.] / *šar-u* [erg.]. Specified by Kibrik & Kodzasov as 'earthworm', as opposed to *mal'aqʹ*, which is quoted in [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88] simply as 'worm' (semantic details are unknown)

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *šar* {шшар} with polysemy: 'earthworm / helminth' [Genko 2005: 189], opposed to *mal'aqʹ* {мяляхъв} 'worm' [Genko 2005: 124] (not specified semantically).

In the Truf subdialects: *šer* {шшep} 'worm' [Genko 2005: 189] (not specified semantically).

Differently in Literary Tabasaran, where *šar* {шшар} is the basic term for 'worm (incl. earthworm and helminth)' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 347]. Distinct from literary *bit'ruk* {бит'рук} 'worm' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 87] with two examples: "wood worm" and "to become worm-eaten"; perhaps to be analyzed as *bit'-ru-k* - the oblique stem *bit'-ru-* from *bit'* 'snake' q.v. plus the expressive suffix *-k* (differently in [NCED: 290], where *bit'ruk* is treated as a compound *bit'-ruk* 'snake' + 'grass-snake'). It seems that literary *bit'ruk* is a semantic equivalent of *mal'aqʹ* (*mul'aqʹ*) from other dialects.

Common Tabasaran: The semantic opposition *šar* (*šar*) 'earthworm, helminth (i.e. large worm)' / *mal'aqʹ* (*mul'aqʹ*) 'worm in (rotten) organic (i.e. small worm)' can safely be reconstructed for Proto-Tabasaran. In Literary Tabasaran the latter term got lost, having been superseded with the new formation *bit'-ru-k* ← 'snake'.

Cf. also the reflex of Lezgian **kamk*: Khyuryuk, Khiv *kamk* {камк} 'wormhole, ulcer' [Genko 2005: 82].

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 600, 638. Polysemy: 'earthworm / helminth'. Distinct from Gyune *k^wak^w* 'worm (in wood, fruit, wound)' [Uslar 1896: 461, 638] and from *büt'r'ük* [abs.] / *büt'r'ük^w-ar* [pl.] 'worm' (the only relevant example is "worm in wound") [Uslar 1896: 363, 638].

A very similar situation in Literary Lezgi: *šar* {шшар} 'earthworm / helminth' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 382; Gadzhiev 1950: 142, 927; Haspelmath 1993: 529]. Distinct from *k^wak* [abs.] / *kuk-r'a-* [obl.] / *kuk^w-ar* [pl.] {квак} 'worm (in fruit, meat, flour, grain, wood)' [Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 347; Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 153; Gadzhiev 1950: 927; Haspelmath 1993: 495, 529] and from the rare word *büt'r'ük* [sg.] / *büt'r'ük-ar* [pl.] {бүт'руьк} [Gadzhiev 1950: 927], which is explained as a synonym of *k^wak* in [Gyulmagomedov 2004, 1: 140], but specifically glossed as 'larva of green blowfly' in [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 70] (In [Khaydakov 1973: 11], the assimilated variant *p'üt'r'ük* 'worm' is also quoted). Cf. also literary *k'azun k'äläw* {Казун гъулягъ} 'silkworm', literary 'silk's snake (q.v.)' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 210; Gadzhiev 1950: 927].

In the Akhty dialect: two terms for 'worm' are documented for the Khlyut subdialect, both without semantic specifications: *šar* and *k^wak* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 88].

In the Usukhchay subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect (Samur group) the generic term for 'worm' is *p'ark^w* [Meylanova 1964: 223].

The available data are too scant for detailed Proto-Lezgi reconstruction, but the generic opposition *šar* 'earthworm, helminth (i.e. large worm)' / X 'worm in (rotten) organic (i.e. small worm)' is the same as in the neighboring Tabasaran language. It must be noted that the rare Gyune and literary word *büt'r'ük^w* 'small worm' seems actually a Tabasaran loan, cf. Literary Tabasaran *bit'-ru-k* 'small worm' q.v.

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 817. Distribution: This stem can be safely reconstructed as 'worm in general' or at least 'earthworm' for Proto-Lezgian; the meanings 'worm in general' or 'earthworm' are retained in all the languages except for some Nuclear Lezgian lects: Budukh (shifted to 'worm in meat'), Tabasaran (shifted to 'worm in (rotten) organic'), Lezgi (shifted to 'snake' q.v.), Khnyukh Rutul.

The term **šar* [NCED: 982] can be reconstructed as 'helminth' at least for the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian level: 'helminth' in Kryts, Rutul, East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi), additionally extended to mean 'worm in general' in Tabasaran, Lezgi.

The term **kamk* [NCED: 206] could mean 'worm in (rotten) organic' at least at the Proto-Nuclear Lezgian level: Kryts 'worm (in general?)', Lezgi 'worm (in wood, fruit, wound)', Tabasaran 'wormhole, ulcer', Aghul 'itch, mange', Tsakhur 'grub, larva'.

The original meaning of **čirč-* [NCED: 348] is not clear. This is the basic term for 'worm' in South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh), whereas the suffixed stem **čirč-VI* means 'lizard' in Tabasaran and Lezgi.

For Proto-Tsakhur, **mulaq^{mf}* can be posited as 'worm (incl. earthworm)', although in modern Tsakhur dialects, this stem shifted to the meaning 'caterpillar', having been superseded with the descriptive term 'blind' or the etymologically obscure *abrawuč(e) ~ abrawuč*.

In Khnyukh Rutul, **mulaq^{mf}* was superseded with the etymological isolate *barc'-il*, which can originate from the protoform **p:alc'*- (thus [NCED: 288] with a dubious Tsezian *comparandum*). Actually, Khnyukh Rutul *barc'-il* can hardly be separated from Usukhchay Lezgi *p'ark^{mw}* 'worm (in general?)' which implies a protoform like *p'alc^{mw}* (~ *p:- ~ -r-*), although the correspondence Rutul *b-* / Lezgi *p'* is not regular (assimilation or dissimilation between two root consonants). The original meaning of this root is unclear.

Replacements: {'blind' > 'worm'} (Gelmets Tsakhur), {'helminth' > 'worm'} (Tabasaran, Lezgi), {'worm' > 'caterpillar'} (Tsakhur), {'worm' > 'snake'} (Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root.

110. YEAR

Nidzh Udi *usen {ycen}* (1), Vartashen Udi *usen {ycen}* (1), Archi *s:an* (1), Kryts (proper) *sän* (1), Alyk Kryts *san* (1), Budukh *sən {can}* (1), Mishlesh Tsakhur *s^yen {cen}* (1), Mikik Tsakhur *s^yen* (1), Gelmets Tsakhur *s^yen^y* (1), Mukhad Rutul *sen {cen}* (1), Ixrek Rutul *sen {cen}* (1), Luchek Rutul *sen* (1), Koshan Aghul *is*: (2), Keren Aghul *is* (2), Gequn Aghul *is* (2), Fite Aghul *is* (2), Aghul (proper) *is* (2), Northern Tabasaran *y'iz-i* (2), Southern Tabasaran *yis* (2), Gyune Lezgi *yis* (2), Proto-Lezgian **s:än* (1).

References and notes:

Nidzh Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 214; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653; Mobili 2010: 280.

Vartashen Udi: Gukasyan 1974: 214; Fähnrich 1999: 33; Dirr 1903: 38, 80; Schiefner 1863: 79; Schulze 2001: 329; Starchevskiy 1891: 498.

Common Udi: Common Udi **usen*.

Caucasian Albanian: *usen* [Gippert et al. 2008: IV-35].

Archi: Chumakina et al. 2007; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Kibrik et al. 1977b: 315, 355; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653; Mikailov 1967: 198; Dirr 1908: 180, 206.

Kryts (proper): Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653.

Alyk Kryts: Authier 2009: 33, 44, etc. Paradigm: *san* [abs.] / *sin* [gen.].

Budukh: Meylanova 1984: 124, 209; Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653.

Mishlesh Tsakhur: Kibrik et al. 1999: 887, 892; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 311; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653.

A second term for 'year' is *il^y* [Kibrik et al. 1999: 878], borrowed from Azerbaijani *il* 'year'.

Distinct from *yeš* 'age, years' [Kibrik et al. 1999: 879; Ibragimov & Nurmamedov 2010: 163], borrowed from Azerbaijani *yaš* 'age, years'.

Tsakhur-Kum Tsakhur: *s^yen^y* [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209].

Mikik Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Dirr 1913: 201, 223.

Gelmets Tsakhur: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653.

Mukhad Rutul: Dirr 1912: 170, 188; Ibragimov 1978: 118; Makhmudova 2001: 12, 185; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *sen* [abs.] / *sid-i-ra* [erg.].

Ixrek Rutul: Dzhamalov & Samedov 2006: 228, 333; Comrie & Khalilov 2010: 653. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *sen* [abs.] / *sid-ä-rä* [erg.].

Luchek Rutul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. Synchronically suppletive paradigm: *sen* [abs.] / *sid-i-r* [erg.].

Koshan Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Suleymanov 2003: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 143. In [Suleymanov 2003], incorrectly quoted as *is*.

The same in the Arsub dialect: *is* 'year' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].

Keren Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. The same in the Usug subdialect: *is* 'year' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].

Gequn Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Dirr 1907: 122, 171; Shaumyan 1941: 143.

Fite Aghul: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209; Shaumyan 1941: 143.

Aghul (proper): Suleymanov 2003: 88; Shaumyan 1941: 143. The same in the other subdialects: Tsirkhe *is*, Duldug *yiz* 'year' [Shaumyan 1941: 143].

Northern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. An additional synonym is *yis-q'uw* (not specified semantically by Kibrik & Kodzasov).

The same in the Khanag subdialect: *yis*: 'year' [Uslar 1979: 753, 992; Dirr 1905: 180, 226]. The same in the Khyuryuk subdialect: *yis*: {йисс-} 'year' [Genko 2005: 80].

Southern Tabasaran: Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209. An additional synonym is *yis-q'ub* (not specified semantically by Kibrik & Kodzasov).

The same in the Khiv subdialect: *yis* {йис} 'year' [Genko 2005: 80]; cf. also the Khiv expression *yis-q'ub* {йискьуб} 'the whole year' [Genko 2005: 80]. The same in Literary Tabasaran: *yis* {йис} 'year' [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 185]; an additional synonym is literary *yis-q'ub* {йискьуб}, glossed as 'year, the whole year' in [Khanmagomedov & Shalbuzov 2001: 185].

Common Tabasaran: The original meaning of the expression *yis-q'uw* / *yis-q'ub* is apparently 'the whole year' as retained in Southern Tabasaran, although the second element *-q'uw* / *-q'ub* is not clear.

Gyune Lezgi: Uslar 1896: 451, 608. Paradigm: *yis* [abs.] / *s-a-* [obl.] / *s-ar* [pl.].

The same in Literary Lezgi: *yis* [abs.] / *s-a-* ~ *yis-'a-* [obl.] / *s-ar* ~ *yis-'ar* [pl.] {йис} 'year' [Talibov & Gadzhiev 1966: 146; Gadzhiev 1950: 144; Haspelmath 1993: 494, 529].

The same in other dialectal groups: Khlyut (subdialect of Akhty, Samur group) *yis* [abs.] / *yis-'a-* [obl.] / *yis-'ar* [pl.] 'year' [Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990: 209]; Akhty proper (Samur group) *yus* [abs.] 'year' [Meylanova 1964: 381]; Yargun (Quba group) *yis* [abs.] / *s-a-* ~ *is-'a-* [obl.] / *s-ar* ~ *yis-'ar* [pl.] 'year' [Babaliyeva 2007: 18, 53].

Proto-Lezgian: NCED: 975. Distribution: This case is somewhat difficult, since there are several similar forms for 'year' and 'old', attested in Lezgian languages.

The first one is **s:än* [dir.] / **s:äni-* [obl.] [NCED: 975], meaning 'year' in Archi, South Lezgian (Kryts, Budukh) and West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), lost in the rest of the languages.

The second is **yis:* [dir.] / **yis:ä-* [obl.] [NCED: 968] which denotes 'year' in East Lezgian (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi); in these languages, the derived adjectival stem **yis:V-rV-* 'old' is also present. In Udi and West Lezgian (Tsakhur, Rutul), the paronymous adjective **yis:V* 'old' is attested (see forms in [NCED: 968]).

Finally, the Caucasian Albanian-Udi form *usen* 'year' should originate from something like **(y)Vsän*.

Two internal Lezgian scenarios can be proposed, neither of them completely satisfactory.

1) The non-East Lezgian forms for 'year', reconstructed as **s:än* in [NCED: 975], actually look like the nominal derivative **yis:ä-n* with reduction of the first syllable in all languages except for Caucasian Albanian-Udi. Caucasian Albanian-Udi *usen* 'year' can only originate from **yis:ä-n*, but not from **s:än* (the development **yi-* > Udi *u-* is attested in other roots as well, e.g., 'bone' q.v., 'heart' q.v.). The nominal word-formative suffix *-n* is well attested in Lezgian, see [Alekseev 1985: 44 f.]. This suffix, however, was originally the genitive ending. Thus we should suppose that two synonymous stems coexisted in Proto-Lezgian: **yis:* [dir.] / **yis:ä-* [obl.] 'year' (retained only in East Lezgian) and **yis:ä-n* 'year' < *'of year' (retained in all the other languages, including both outliers). The Proto-Lezgian adjective **yis:V* 'old' was derived from the same root ('year' > 'old'); in East Lezgian, it was additionally modified with the common *r*-suffix: **yis:V-rV-* 'old'.

2) Two unrelated stems are to be reconstructed for Proto-Lezgian: **s:än* 'year' and **yis:V* 'old'. East Lezgian **yis:* [dir.] / **yis:ä-* [obl.] 'year' is a back formation due to contamination of two original roots (the derivation 'year' > 'old' is typologically not so rare, but the opposite direction seems more problematic). After such a contamination at the Proto-East Lezgian level, the new Proto-East Lezgian adjective **yis:V-rV-* 'old' was introduced. The situation with Caucasian Albanian-Udi *usen* 'year' (which implies a protoform like **yis:än*) is similar, although less obvious: *usen* 'year' could represent a contaminated hybrid of **s:än* 'year' and **yis:V* 'old'.

External comparison suggests that the second scenario is preferable: cf. Lak *šin* 'year'.

Replacements: {'year' > 'old'} (Aghul, Tabasaran, Lezgi).

Reconstruction shape: Correspondences seem regular, except for the Caucasian Albanian-Udi hybrid form *usen*.

Semantics and structure: Primary substantive root. The oblique stem is *s:äni-.