[Text version of database, created 15/08/2014].

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

<u>Languages included</u>: Shiri [dgw-shr], Amuzgi [dgw-amz], Ashti [dgw-ash].

<u>Data sources</u>.

Oleg Belyaev's fieldwork in Daghestan, 2012-2014.

NOTES

I. General

1. *Pharyngealization.*

Pharyngealization in Dargwa is a syllable-level feature which may be realized both on vowels and on consonants. Among consonants, uvulars have pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized variants, while /ʡ/, /ħ/ and /ʕ/ are always pharyngealized; other consonants cannot carry the pharyngealization feature. Among vowels, only /a/ and /u/ may be pharyngealized in Shiri and Amuzgi, while all vowels can be pharyngealized in Ashti.

It is sufficient to mark pharyngealization once per syllable. The convention used herein is to always mark it on consonants, except for those that are always pharyngealized. Vowels are only marked if the preceding consonant is not pharyngealized. For example, /aˤ/ is unmarked in *qʷˤab* [qʷˤaˤb] 'neck' and *ʡab* [ʡaˤb] 'three' but marked in *cʼutːaˤr* 'black'. This convention does not extend to Shiri fronted pharyngealized vowels, on which see below.

II. Shiri
1. *General*.

The Shiri wordlist was recorded and compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic

specifications by Oleg Belyaev in Daghestan, 2012-2014 from three informants: (1) Name: Zhamaluddin, male, born 1952 in Mayartup (Chechnya), lives in Chinar, higher education, Shiri native speaker, also speaks Russian and Standard Dargwa; (2) Name: Magomedgabib, male, born 1960 in Shiri, lives in Chinar, technical education, Shiri native speaker, also speaks Russian; (3) Name: Akhmed, male, born 1940 in Shiri, lives in Shiri, higher education, Shiri native speaker, also speaks Russian and Standard Dargwa.

2. *Transcription / phonetics.*

Shiri has a peculiar feature in its vocalism that is not attested anywhere else in Dargwa: the opposition between two types of pharyngealized /a/ and /u/: simple and fronted (tense?). The former are transcribed as /aˤ/, /uˤ/, while the latter are transcribed as /ä/, /ü/. The exact nature of this opposition remains to be determined.

III. Amuzgi

1. *General*.

The Amuzgi wordlist was recorded and compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications by Oleg Belyaev in Daghestan, 2013-2014 from one informant. Name: Zalumkhan, male, born 1971 in Mamedkala (Daghestan), lives in Amuzgi, technical education, also speaks Russian.

IV. Ashti

1. *General*.

The Ashti wordlist was recorded and compiled in accordance with the GLD semantic specifications by Oleg Belyaev in Daghestan, 2014 from one informant. Name: Murad, male, born 1975 in Ashti, lives in Makhachkala, Candidate of Science (PhD) degree, also speaks Russian.

Database compiled and annotated by: O. Belyaev, May 2014 (Shiri, Amuzgi, Ashti).

1. ALL

Shiri *le-CLASS-žu-CLASS* (1), Amuzgi *le-CLASS-il* (1), Ashti *li-CLASS-il* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Attributive (participial) derivate from existential verb *le-* 'to be, to exist', lit. 'the existing'. With human plural gender marking, the word is *le-b-žu-b. le-* is a Common Dargwa existential root meaning location near the hearer or general existence, but there is no proto-form provided in [NCED]. The suffix *-žu-* (sg. *-zi-*) is specific to Shiri; other varieties mostly use the attributive *-il* in the word for 'all'. The etymology **lep:* 'all' in [NCED] is thus incorrect.
Amuzgi: Attributive (participial) derivate from existential verb *le-* 'to be, to exist', lit. 'the existing'. With human plural gender marking, the word is *le-b-il.*
Ashti: Attributive (participial) derivate from existential verb *li-* 'to be, to exist', lit. 'the existing'. With human plural gender marking, the word is *li-b-il.* A variant form (less frequently used) is *li-CLASS-he:l*.

2. ASHES

Shiri *χʷes:a* (1), Amuzgi *χʷis:a* (1), Ashti *ʁˤʷas:a* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun. The sound correspondences are odd.

3. BARK

Shiri *kam* (1), Amuzgi *kam* (1), Ashti *kam* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Polysemy: 'skin / bark'. Paradigm: *kam* [sg.] / *kum-ri* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.
Ashti: Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.

4. BELLY

Shiri *k'ulťa* (1), Amuzgi *k'ulťa* (1), Ashti *k'ulťa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *k'ulťa* [sg.] / *k'ulť-ni* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *k'ulťa* [sg.] / *k'ulť-me ~ k'ulť-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *k'ulťa* [sg.] / *k'ulť-ni* [pl.].

5. BIG

Shiri *χula* (1), Amuzgi *χula* (1), Ashti *χʷala* (1).

6. BIRD

Shiri *arc-an* (-1), Amuzgi *čakʷ* (1), Ashti *ʔiħliqˤan* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *arc-an* [sg.] / *arc-an-ti* [pl.]. Habitual participle from *arc-* 'to fly', lit. 'flyer'. Since Shiri normally uses a different verb for the meaning 'to fly' q.v., we probably deal here with a borrowing from Standard Dargwa, as suggested by D. Ganenkov (p.c.). Native Shiri vocabulary may not have had a common word for 'bird' as such.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *čakʷ* [sg.] / *čakʷ-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *ʔiħliqˤan* [sg.] / *ʔiħliqˤan-ti* [pl.].

7. BITE

Shiri *cuc-CLASS-ikʼʷ-* (1), Amuzgi *cuc-la-CLASS-arqʼ* (1), Ashti *sus-či-CLASS-ikː-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Complex verb consisting of (onomatopoeic?) *cuc* and CLASS=*ikʼʷ-* 'to speak', which is a regular pattern in Dargwa. No known etymology.
Amuzgi: Complex verb consisting of (onomatopoeic?) *cuc-la*, probably genitive of *cuc* (attested in other dialects), and CLASS=*arqʼ-* 'to do', which is a regular pattern in Dargwa.
Ashti: Complex verb consisting of (onomatopoeic?) *sus* and *či-CLASS=ikː-* 'to give' (?), anterior in *-un*. In the imperfective, the light verb is *či-CLASS=ax-* 'to go', simultaneous in *-u*.

8. BLACK

Shiri *cʼutːaˤr* (1), Amuzgi *cʼutːaˤr* (1), Ashti *cʼutːe:* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Pharyngealization is not reflected in PD reconstruction.
Amuzgi: Pharyngealization is not reflected in PD reconstruction.

9. BLOOD

Shiri *biʔi* (1), Amuzgi *beʔ* (1), Ashti *bay* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun.

10. BONE

Shiri *lik:a* (1), Amuzgi *lik:a* (1), Ashti *lik:a* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *lik:a* [sg.] / *lik-ni* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *lik:a* [sg.] / *lik-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *lik:a* [sg.] / *lik-ni* [pl.].

11. BREAST

Shiri *miqiri* (1), Amuzgi *miqiri* (1), Ashti *miqay* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *miqiri* [sg.] / *miqir-ti* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *miqiri* [sg.] / *miqir-te* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *miqay* [sg.] / *miqay-ti* [pl.].

12. BURN TR.

Shiri *CLASS=ik:ʷ-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=ik:ʷ-* (1), Ashti *ha=CLASS=ik'ʷ-* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*ik:ʷ-* [pfv.] / *ik:ʷ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ub*.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*ik:ʷ-* [pfv.] / *ik:ʷ-* [ipfv.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *ha=CLASS=ik'ʷ-* [pfv.] / *ha=CLASS=i:k'ʷ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. Without the directional preverb *ha=* 'up', the verb means 'to light'.

13. CLAW(NAIL)

Shiri *mika* (1), Amuzgi *mika* (1), Ashti *mika* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *mika* [sg.] / *mik-ni* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *mika* [sg.] / *mik-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *mika* [sg.] / *mik-ni* [pl.].

14. CLOUD

Shiri *q:iri* (1), Amuzgi *q:iri* (1), Ashti *q:ay* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *q:iri* [sg.] / *q:ir-mi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *q:iri* [sg.] / *q:ir-me* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *q:ay* [sg.] / *q:u:bi* [pl.].

15. COLD
Shiri *CLASS=erχ:-ib* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=erχ:-ib* (1), Ashti *CLASS=e:χ-ib* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Past participle from the verb CLASS=*erχ:* / CLASS=*uχ:* 'to get cold'. Exact PD etymology is uncertain, cf. PD *CLASS=*arʁ^wˤ-* 'to get cold, freeze' and *CLASS=*aχ:ˤ-* 'to get cold, freeze'.
Amuzgi: Past participle from verb CLASS=*erχ:* / CLASS=*uχ:* 'to get cold'.
Ashti: Anterior participle-converb from verb *CLASS=e:χ:* / *CLASS=uχ:* 'to get cold'.

16. COME
Shiri *sa=CLASS=eʁ-* (1), Amuzgi *saˤqʼˤ-* (2), Ashti *sa=CLASS=akʼ-* (3) / *sa=CLASS=ax-* (4).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *sa=CLASS=eʁ-* [pfv.] / *sa=CLASS=irʁ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. Etymology uncertain, but may possibly be related to Akusha CLASS=*aʔ* 'to reach' and thus PD *=*aʔ-/=iʔ-*.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *saˤqˤ-* [pfv.] / *saˤqˤ:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*. May be related to PD *=*uqˤan-*, although the roots for movement verbs in *-q'-* with and without the class marker are usually distinct.
Ashti: Perfective, anterior in *-ib*. With masculine and feminine class markers, subject to regular sandhi: *sač-i* [masc.], *se:č-i* [fem.], *sa-**b**-ač-i* [neut., hum. pl.].Imperfective, simultaneous in *-u*. With masculine and feminine class markers, subject to regular sandhi: *sax-ul* [masc.], *se:x-ul* [fem.], *sa-**b**-ax-ul* [neut., hum. pl.].

17. DIE
Shiri *CLASS=ebkʼ-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=ebkʼ-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=ibkʼ-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*ebkʼ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*ubkʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*ebkʼ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*ubkʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*.
Ashti: Paradigm: *CLASS=ibkʼ* [pfv.] / *CLASS=ubkʼ* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*.

18. DOG
Shiri *χ:ʷe* (1), Amuzgi *χ:ʷe* (1), Ashti *χ:ʷi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: χ:ʷe [sg.] / χ:u-di [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: χ:ʷe [sg.] / χ:u-de [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: χ:ʷi [sg.] / χ:u-di [pl.].

19. DRINK
Shiri *CLASS=erč:-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=erč:-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=eːč:-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=erč:- [pfv.] / CLASS=uč:- [ipfv.], anterior in -un.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=erč:- [pfv.] / CLASS=uč:- [ipfv.], anterior in -un.
Ashti: Paradigm: *CLASS=eːč:-* [pfv.] / *CLASS=uč:-* [ipfv.], anterior in -un.

20. DRY
Shiri *CLASS=erʁ-ub* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=erʁ-ub* (1), Ashti *CLASS=eːʁʷ-ib* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Past participle from CLASS=erʁ- 'to get dry', otherwise as yet unattested.
Amuzgi: Past participle from CLASS=erʁ- 'to get dry', otherwise as yet unattested.
Ashti: Anterior participle-converb of *CLASS=eːʁʷ-* 'to get dry'. The perfect form *CLASS=eːʁʷ-ipːi* is used in the present-tense sense ('is dry').

21. EAR
Shiri *laˤp* (1), Amuzgi *laˤp* (1), Ashti *laˤp* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *laˤp* [sg.] / *luˤpː-i* [pl.]. Originates from PD *leħi* 'ear' with the fossilized plural exponent -pːi.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *laˤp* [sg.], *luˤpː-e* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *laˤp* [sg.] / *luˤpː-i* [pl.].

22. EARTH
Shiri *ʔanč:in* (1), Amuzgi *ʔanč:in* (1), Ashti *ʔanč:in* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun.

23. EAT

Shiri *CLASS=erkʷ-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=erkʷ-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=e:kʷ-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*erkʷ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uk-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*erkʷ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uk-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.
Ashti: Paradigm: *CLASS=e:kʷ-* [pfv.] / *CLASS=uk-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.

24. EGG

Shiri *duqu* (1), Amuzgi *duqu* (1), Ashti *daqu* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *duqu* [sg.] / *duq-ni* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *duqu* [sg.] / *duq-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *daqu* [sg.] / *daqʷ-ni* [pl.].

25. EYE

Shiri *ʕüli* (1), Amuzgi *ʕuli* (1), Ashti *uli* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ʕüli* [sg.] / *ʕül-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *ʕuli* [sg.] / *ʕul-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *uli* [sg.] / *ul-bi* [pl.].

26. FAT N.

Shiri *ħuli* (1), Amuzgi *ħuli* (1), Ashti *ħuli* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun. This refers to animal fat; a more general term for 'fat' is *ʔaʁʷa-dix,* an abstract noun derived from *ʔaʁʷa* 'fatty', of unknown etymology.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun. *ʔaʁʷa-dix,* also sometimes translated as 'fat' (lit. 'fat-ness'), is used for various oily substances used in food.

27. FEATHER

Shiri *puħala* (1), Amuzgi *puħala* (1), Ashti *puˤhala* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *puħala* [sg.] / *puħl-i* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *puħala* [sg.] / *puħl-i* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *puˤħala* [sg.] / *puˤħli* [pl.].

28. FIRE
Shiri *cʼa* (1), Amuzgi *cʼa* (1), Ashti *cʼa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun.

29. FISH
Shiri *baliq* (-1), Amuzgi *baˤliq* (-1), Ashti *ʁʷabš* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *baliq* [sg.] / *baliq:-i* [pl.]. Turkic borrowing.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *baˤliq* [sg.] / *baˤliq:-i* [pl.]. Turkic borrowing.
Ashti: Paradigm: *ʁʷabš* [sg.] / *ʁubš:-i* [pl.]. Etymology unknown.

30. FLY V.
Shiri *ʔarħ-* (1), Amuzgi *iχ:-* (2), Ashti *ʔiħ-* (3).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ʔarħ-* [pfv.] / *ʔurħ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ur*.
Amuzgi: Perfective, anterior in *-ib*. No imperfective form.
Ashti: Paradigm: *ʔiħ-* [sg.], *ʔi:ħ-* [pl.], anterior in *-ib*. The unclear phonetic correspondences with Shiri and Amuzgi do not allow us to classify these items as cognates.

31. FOOT
Shiri *tʼuʔ* (1), Amuzgi *tʼuˤ* (1), Ashti *tʼuˤy* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *tʼuˤ* [sg.] / *tʼuˤ-mi* [pl.]. The PD reconstructed meaning should be 'foot'. The development 'foot' > 'jump (n.)' is thus peculiar to Akusha.

Amuzgi: Paradigm: *t'uˤ* [sg.] / *t'uˤ-me* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *t'uˤy* [sg.] / *t'uˤ-mi* [pl.].

32. FULL

Shiri *CLASS=ic'-ib* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=ic'-ib-li* (1), Ashti *CLASS=ic'-ib* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Anterior participle from CLASS=*ic'* / CLASS=*irc'* 'to fill'.
Amuzgi: Anterior converb from CLASS=*ic'* / CLASS=*irc'* 'to fill'.
Ashti: Anterior participle-converb from *CLASS=ic'* / *CLASS=i:c'* 'to fill'.

33. GIVE

Shiri *CLASS=ik:-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=ik:-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=ik:-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*ik:-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uluk:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*ik:-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*ilik:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.
Ashti: Paradigm: *CLASS=ik:-* [pfv.] / *CLASS=ilk:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.

34. GOOD

Shiri *ʔaχ* (1), Amuzgi *ʔaχ* (1), Ashti *ʔaχ* (1).

35. GREEN

Shiri *šiniš* (1), Amuzgi *šaniš* (1), Ashti *šaˤnaˤš* (1).

36. HAIR

Shiri *ʁes* (1), Amuzgi *ʁes* (1), Ashti *ʁis* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ʁes* [sg.] / *ʁus:-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *ʁes* [sg.] / *ʁus:-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *ʁis* [sg.] / *ʁis:-i* [pl.].

37. HAND

Shiri *naˤqˤ* (1), Amuzgi *naˤqˤ* (1), Ashti *naˤqˤ* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *naˤqˤ* [sg.] / *nuˤqˤ-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *naˤqˤ* [sg.] / *nuˤqˤ-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *naˤqˤ* [sg.], *nuˤqˤ-bi* [pl.].

38. HEAD

Shiri *bekʼ* (1), Amuzgi *bekʼ* (1), Ashti *bikʼ* (1) / *buːčʼ-i* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *bekʼ* [sg.], *bukʼ-ri* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *bekʼ* [sg.], *bikʼ-urbe* [pl.]. Concerning the plural marker *-urbe*: historically, the plural affix was probably just *-be*, but synchronically the suffix is no longer segmentable.
Ashti: Singular only. Different root used in the plural number.Plural. The use of this root is apparently an Ashti innovation, cf. the Shiri cognate *burk:-i* 'animal heads'.

39. HEAR

Shiri *CLASS=aqʼ-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=aqʼ-* (1), Ashti *tʼam-CLASS-aqʼ-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*aqʼ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*iqʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*aqʼ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*iqʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. Often functions as a complex verb with the nominal component *tʼam* 'sound' (lit. 'hear a sound').
Ashti: Paradigm: *tʼam-CLASS-aqʼ-* [pfv.] / *tʼam-CLASS-iqʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. Complex verb, lit. 'hear sound', but the light verb is not used independently. The gender agreement is with *tʼam* 'sound' and can only be neuter singular (*b-*) or neuter plural (*d-*). The stimulus is expressed as the genitive possessor of *tʼam*, i.e. 'I hear you' is lit. "I hear your sound".

40. HEART

Shiri *urkʼi* (1), Amuzgi *urkʼi* (1), Ashti *uːkʼi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *urkʼi* [sg.] / *urkʼ-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *urkʼi* [sg.] / *urkʼ-up:e* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *uːkʼi* [sg.] / *uːkʼ-up:i ~ uːkʼ-mi* [pl.].

41. HORN

Shiri *qi* (1), Amuzgi *qe* (1), Ashti *qi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *qi* [sg.] / *qi-mi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *qe* [sg.] / *qi-me* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *qi* [sg.] / *qi-mi* [pl.].

42. I

Shiri *du* (1), Amuzgi *du* (1), Ashti *du* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *du* [abs., erg.] / *di-* [obl.] / *dam* [dat.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *du* [abs., erg.] / *di-* [obl.] / *dam* [dat.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *du* [abs.] / *di-* [erg., obl.] / *dam* [dat.].

43. KILL

Shiri *ka=xʷ-* (1), Amuzgi *ka=xʷ-* (1), Ashti *ka=xʷ-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ka-xʷ-* [pfv.] / *ka-r-ixʷ* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. *ka-* is a fused directional preverb, *-r-* is a regular "prothetic" consonant used when a vowel-final preverb is attached to a vowel-initial verb stem without a gender marker. The PD reconstruction **-awš(:)-* 'kill' does not seem correct, and *x > š* in Akusha is probably secondary. The reconstruction should rather be **axʷ-/ixʷ-*, or something similar.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *ka-xʷ-* [pfv.] / *ka-r-ixʷ* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*, further see notes on Shiri.
Ashti: Paradigm: *ka-xʷ-* [pfv.] / *ka-t:-ixʷ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*, *-t:-* in the imperfective is a regular epenthetic element, further see notes on Shiri.

44. KNEE

Shiri *qˀʷaqˀʷa* (1), Amuzgi *qˀʷaqˀʷa* (1), Ashti *qˀuqˀa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *qˀʷaqˀʷa* [sg.] / *qˀuqˀ-up:i* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *qˀʷaqˀʷa* [sg.] / *qˀuqˀ-up:e* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *qˀuqˀa* [sg.] / *qˀuqˀˊ-up:i* [pl.].

45. KNOW

Shiri *CLASS=aχ:-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=aχ:-* (1) / *CLASS=ukˀ-* (2), Ashti *CLASS=aχ-* (1) / *CLASS=akˀ-* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*aχ:-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uχ:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ur*. The reconstructed ipfv. **=uχ:Vl-* is very doubtful. It is based on Chirag CLASS=*uχ:ul-* which is really just the root =*uχ:-* together with the common Dargwa present/simultaneous participle suffix *-u* and the converb suffix *-l*. This is the standard way of forming the present tense of the majority of verbs in Southern Dargwa varieties. Aqusha CLASS=*al-* must be explained by some other means.

Amuzgi: Perfective. The imperfective is etymologically a different root.Imperfective.

Ashti: Perfective, anterior in *-ib*. Unexpected loss of gemination. The imperfective is etymologically a different root.Imperfective, simultaneous in *-u*.

46. LEAF

Shiri *k'ap:i* (1), Amuzgi *k'ap:i* (1), Ashti *k'ap:i* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *k'ap:i* [sg.] / *k'up-ri* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *k'ap:i* [sg.] / *k'up-re* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *k'ap:i* [sg.] / *k'up:-i* [pl.].

47. LIE

Shiri *ka=CLASS=is:-* (1), Amuzgi *ka=CLASS=is:-* (1), Ashti *ka=CLASS=is:-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ka=CLASS=is:-* [pfv.] / *ka=CLASS=ils:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*. Spatial preverbs other than *ka-* 'down' can occasionally be used. Inchoative verb. Etymology unclear. May continue PD **=is:Vn-/*=us:(Vn)-* 'to sleep', but Shiri =*els:-/=us:-* 'to sleep' q.v. is a more likely reflex both in form and in meaning.

Amuzgi: Paradigm: ka=CLASS=*is:-* [pfv.] / ka=CLASS=*ils:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*. Spatial preverbs other than *ka-* 'down' can occasionally be used. Inchoative verb.

Ashti: Paradigm: *ka=CLASS=is:-* [pfv.], *ka=CLASS=ils:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.   Spatial preverbs other than *ka-* 'down' can occasionally be used. Inchoative verb.

48. LIVER

Shiri *dulek'* (1), Amuzgi *dulek'* (1), Ashti *dulik'* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *dulek'* [sg.] / *dulek'-i* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *dulek'* [sg.] / *dulek'-e* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *dulik'* [sg.] / *dulik'-mi* [pl.].

49. LONG

Shiri *CLASS=uqan* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=uqin* (1), Ashti *CLASS=u:ˤqˤin* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Loss of pharyngealization is unexpected.
Amuzgi: Loss of pharyngealization is unexpected.

50. LOUSE
Shiri *nez* (1), Amuzgi *nez* (1), Ashti *nid* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *nez* [sg.] / *nuz-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *nez* [sg.] / *nuz-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *nid* [sg.] / *nud-bi* [pl.].

51. MAN
Shiri *murgul adami* (1), Amuzgi *admi* (-1), Ashti *admi* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Lit. 'male (*murgul*) person'. When used independently, *murgul* means 'husband'.
Amuzgi: Common Oriental word, originally from Arabic.
Ashti: Common Oriental word, originally from Arabic.

52. MANY
Shiri *CLASS=aqil* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=aqil* (1), Ashti *χ:e-* (2).

References and notes:

Ashti: Used either adverbally, in the form *χ:e-l*, or attributively, with the group suffix *-CLASS-a*, e.g. *χ:e-d-a q:a:q:a* 'many stones'. Etymology unknown; perhaps related to PD **χ:ᵂala-*?

53. MEAT
Shiri *dig* (1), Amuzgi *di* (1), Ashti *dig* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *dig* [sg.] / *dig-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *di* [sg.] / *di-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *dig* [sg.] / *dug-bi* [pl.].

54. MOON

Shiri *bac* (1), Amuzgi *bac* (1), Ashti *bac* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *bac* [sg.] / *buc-ri* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *bac* [sg.] / *buc-re* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *bac* [sg.] / *buc:-i* [pl.].

55. MOUNTAIN

Shiri *dubura* (1), Amuzgi *dubura* (1), Ashti *muda* (2) / *dubuy* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *dubura* [sg.] / *dubur-ti* [pl.]. A different word, *muza*, is used for 'top of the mountain'.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *dubura* [sg.] / *dubur-te* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *muda* [sg.], *mud-u:bi* [pl.]. May refer to free-standing hills or mountains regardless of their height.Paradigm: *dubuy* [sg.], *dubuy-ti* [pl.]. Refers to a mountain as part of a range.

56. MOUTH

Shiri *k'unt'-bi* (1) / *dume* (3), Amuzgi *muli* (2) / *dumža* (3), Ashti *mu:li* (2) / *dumža* (3).

References and notes:

Shiri: Literally 'lips', pl. of *kʷint'* 'lip'. Used for both outer parts of the mouth and for the oral cavity, but a separate word for the oral cavity also exists.Meaning 'internal part of mouth, oral cavity'. Locative noun, *dume* means 'into the mouth', absolutive is *dume-la*. Etymology unknown.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *muli* [sg.] / *mul-up:e* [pl.]. Meaning 'external part of mouth'.Meaning 'internal part of mouth, oral cavity'. Locative noun, *dumža* means 'into the mouth', absolutive is *dumža-la*.
Ashti: Paradigm: *mu:li* [sg.], *mu:l-up:i* [pl.]. Meaning 'external part of mouth'.Meaning 'internal part of mouth, oral cavity'. Locative noun, *dumža* means 'into the mouth', absolutive is *dumža-la*.

57. NAME

Shiri *zu* (1), Amuzgi *zu* (1), Ashti *zu* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *zu* [sg.] / *zu-mi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *zu* [sg.] / *zu-me* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *zu* [sg.] / *zu-mi* [pl.].

58. NECK

Shiri *qˤʷab* (1), Amuzgi *qˤʷab* (1), Ashti *qˤab* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: $q^{ʕw}ab$ [sg.] / $q^{ʕ}ub\text{-}ri$ [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: $q^{ʕw}ab$ [sg.] / $q^{ʕ}ub\text{-}re$ [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: $q^{ʕ}ab$ [sg.] / $q^{ʕ}up{:}\text{-}i$ [pl.].

59. NEW

Shiri *sak:a* (1), Amuzgi *c'i* (2), Ashti *yangi* (-1) / *c'i* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Degemination of initial **s:-* in Shiri is unexpected.
Ashti: Applied to houses, cars, instruments, etc. Turkic borrowing.Applied to clothes.

60. NIGHT

Shiri *duk:i* (1), Amuzgi *duk:i* (1), Ashti *duč:i* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *duk:i* [sg.] / *duk:-urbi* [pl.]. Concerning the plural marker *-urbi*: historically, the plural affix was probably just *-bi*, but synchronically the suffix is no longer segmentable.
Amuzgi: No plural form.
Ashti: Paradigm: *duč:i* [sg.] / *duč:-u:bi* [pl.].

61. NOSE

Shiri $q^{ʕw}aq^{ʕw}$ (1), Amuzgi $q^{ʕw}aq^{ʕw}$ (1), Ashti $q^{ʕw}aq^{ʕw}$ (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: $q^{ʕw}aq^{ʕw}$ [sg.] / $q^{ʕ}uq^{ʕ}\text{-}bi \sim q^{ʕ}unq^{ʕ}\text{-}up{:}i$ [pl.]. The second pl. variant retains the original *-n-* of the root, while the first variant is a new formation from the singular.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: $q^{ʕw}aq^{ʕw}$ [sg.] / $q^{ʕ}uq^{ʕ}\text{-}urbe \sim q^{ʕ}unq^{ʕ}\text{-}up{:}e$ [pl.]. The second pl. variant retains the original *-n-* of the root, while the first variant is a new formation from the singular.
Ashti: Paradigm: $q^{ʕw}aq^{ʕw}$ [sg.] / $q^{ʕ}uq^{ʕ}\text{-}up{:}i$ [pl.].

62. NOT

Shiri *ʕä- ~ a-* (1), Amuzgi *ʕa-* (1), Ashti *a-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: The variant *a-* is used only in a limited set of partly fossilized words, e.g. *a-b-ik:-i* '(I) don't want'. The prohibitive is *ma-*. On

some verb forms, negation is marked by reduplication of the verb stem.

Amuzgi: The prohibitive is *ma-*. On some verb forms, negation is marked by reduplication of the verb stem.

Ashti: The prohibitive is *ma-* (used together with reduplication). On some verb forms, negation is marked by reduplication of the verb stem.

63. ONE

Shiri *ca* (1), Amuzgi *ca* (1), Ashti *sa* (1).

64. PERSON

Shiri *adami* (-1), Amuzgi *insan* (-1), Ashti *insan* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *adami* [sg.] / *adam-ti* [pl.]. Common Oriental word, originally from Arabic.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *insan* [sg.] / *insan-te* [pl.]. Common Oriental word, originally from Arabic.
Ashti: Paradigm: *insan* [sg.] / *insan-ti* [pl.]. Common Oriental word, originally from Arabic.

65. RAIN

Shiri *marka* (1), Amuzgi *marka* (1), Ashti *či=b=ut-ala* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *marka* [sg.] / *mark-urbi* [pl.]. Concerning the plural marker *-urbi*: historically, the plural affix was probably just *-bi*, but synchronically the suffix is no longer segmentable.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *marka* [sg.] / *mark-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Nominalization from *či-CLASS-ut-* 'to rain'. The verb has no known etymology.

66. RED

Shiri *ʕäťin* (1), Amuzgi *ʕaťin* (1), Ashti *aťin* (1).

67. ROAD

Shiri *x:uni* (1), Amuzgi *x:uni* (1), Ashti *x:uni* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *x:uni* [sg.] / *x:un-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *x:uni* [sg.] / *x:un-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *x:uni* [sg.] / *x:um-bi* [pl.].

68. ROOT

Shiri *ya'mʔi* (1), Amuzgi *yamʔi* (1), Ashti *ya'mħi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ya'mʔi* [sg.] / *ya'mʔ-ni* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *yamʔi* [sg.] / *yamʔ-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *ya'mħi'* [sg.] / *ya'mħ-ni* [pl.]. Also attested is *tum*, pl. *tum-ri*, specifically denoting deep roots of trees and plants below the ground; the word also means 'source'.

69. ROUND₁ (3D)

Shiri *c'a=gulgul* (1), Amuzgi *gulgul* (1), Ashti *luglug* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'round 3D'. Initial *c'a-* is of unknown origin; it is also found, e.g., in Northern Tabasaran *c'i=gurgu-mi* 'round 3D/2D'.
Amuzgi: Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'.
Ashti: Polysemy: 'round 3D / round 2D'. Clearly related to *gulgul* in other dialects, although whether the relation is due to metathesis or parallel onomatopoeic development is unclear.

69. ROUND₂ (2D)

Shiri *gulgul* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'round 2D'.

70. SAND

Shiri *q:um* (-1), Amuzgi *q:um* (-1), Ashti *q:um* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.
Amuzgi: Mass noun. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.
Ashti: Mass noun. Borrowed from Azerbaijani *gum* 'sand'.

71. SAY

Shiri *ha=ʔ-* (1), Amuzgi *ha=ʔ-* (1), Ashti *ha=ʔ-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ha=ʔ-* [pfv.] / *ha=r=iʔ* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. Irregular single-consonant stem, with fused preverb *ha=* 'up'. The

insertion of -r- in ipfv. is a regular epenthesis.
Amuzgi: Perfective, anterior in -ib. No imperfective form.
Ashti: Perfective only, anterior in -ib. Various different speech verbs are used in the imperfective.

72. SEE

Shiri *či=CLASS=ag-* (1), Amuzgi *či=CLASS=ag-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=uˤlħ-* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *či=*CLASS*=ag-* [pfv.] / *či=*CLASS*=ig-* [ipfv.], anterior in -ib. The spatial preverb *či=* 'on, from above' may be replaced by different prefixes.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *či=*CLASS*=ag-* [pfv.] / *či=*CLASS*=ig-* [ipfv.]. The spatial preverb *či=* 'on, from above' may be replaced by different prefixes.
Ashti: Paradigm: CLASS*=uˤlħ-* [pfv.] / CLASS*=uˤlħ-* [ipfv.], anterior in -un. The etymological history of this root is unclear (see notes in the Dargwa etymological database).

73. SEED

Shiri *x:ʷe* (1), Amuzgi *x:ʷe* (1), Ashti *qama* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun. Distinct from *udara* [sg.] / *udr-i* [pl.] 'grain, seeds'.
Amuzgi: Mass noun. Distinct from *udara* [sg.] / *udr-e* [pl.] 'grain, seeds'.
Ashti: Both singular and plural. Etymology unknown.

74. SIT

Shiri *ka=CLASS=ig-* (1), Amuzgi *ka=CLASS=ig-* (1), Ashti *ka=CLASS=ig-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm *ka=*CLASS*=ig-* [pfv.] / *ka=*CLASS*=irg-* [ipfv.], anterior in -ib. The preverb *ka=* means 'down'. Inchoative verb.
Amuzgi: Paradigm *ka=*CLASS*=ig-* [pfv.] / *ka=*CLASS*=irg-* [ipfv.], anterior in -ib. The preverb *ka=* means 'down'. Inchoative verb.
Ashti: Paradigm: *ka=*CLASS*=ig-* [pfv.], *ka=*CLASS*=i:g-* [ipfv.], anterior in -ib. The preverb *ka=* means 'down'. Inchoative verb.

75. SKIN

Shiri *kam* (1), Amuzgi *kam* (1), Ashti *kam* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.
Amuzgi: Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.
Ashti: Polysemy: 'skin / bark'.

76. SLEEP

Shiri *CLASS=els:-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=els:-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=ils:-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*els:-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*us:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*. Inchoative verb. Final *-*n* in the proto-form is reflected in the use of *-un* to mark anterior and simultaneous participles (instead of the more common *-ib/-u*), although it is not clear whether this *-n* must be reconstructed as part of the root. The relation between this root and CLASS=*is:* / CLASS=*ils:* 'to lie' q.v. is unclear.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*els:-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*us:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.
Ashti: Paradigm: *CLASS=ils:-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*us:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*. Inchoative verb.

77. SMALL

Shiri *CLASS=ižikʼa* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=ižikʼa* (1), Ashti *CLASS=i:kʼa* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: No known etymology (nursery word?).

78. SMOKE

Shiri *bergʷa* (1), Amuzgi *yergʷa* (1), Ashti *bulqʼa* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun. Etymology unknown.

79. STAND

Shiri *ka=CLASS=ic:-* (1), Amuzgi *ka=CLASS=ic:-* (1), Ashti *ka=CLASS=ic:* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ka=*CLASS=*ic:-* [pfv.] / *ka=*CLASS=*irc:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ur*. The preverb *ka=* means 'down'. Inchoative verb.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *ka=*CLASS=*ic:-* [pfv.] / *ka=*CLASS=*irc:-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. The preverb *ka=* means 'down'. Inchoative verb.
Ashti: Paradigm: *ka=*CLASS=*ic:* [pfv.], *ka=*CLASS=*i:c:* [ipfv.], anterior in *-ib*. The preverb *ka=* means 'down'. Inchoative verb.

80. STAR

Shiri *ziri* (1), Amuzgi *ziri* (1), Ashti *di:* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ziri* [sg.] / *zir-mi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *ziri* [sg.] / *zir-me* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *di:* [sg.] / *di:-mi* [pl.].

81. STONE

Shiri *q:arq:a* (1), Amuzgi *q:arq:a* (1), Ashti *q:a:q:a* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *q:arq:a* [sg.] / *q:urq-mi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *q:arq:a* [sg.] / *q:urq-ne* [pl.].
Ashti: Both singular and plural.

82. SUN

Shiri *bari* (1), Amuzgi *bari* (1), Ashti *be:gʷala* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Polysemy: 'sun / day'. Paradigm: *bari* [sg.] / *bur-ni* [pl.].
Amuzgi: No plural form ('day' has a different form, *bar*, in this dialect).
Ashti: Paradigm: *be:gʷala* [sg.] / *be:gʷal-mi* [pl.]. Possibly related to PD **ɣerɣʷa* 'smoke' via the derivational suffix *-ala*, cf. Shiri *bergʷa* 'smoke', although the semantic shift seems unusual. Alternatively, may be a derivate from a hypothetical verbal root **CLASS=ergʷ*, cf. *či-b-ut-ala* 'rain' q.v., of identical derivation. However, no such root with the appropriate semantics is known.

83. SWIM

Shiri *kurt'-CLASS-ik'ʷ-* (1), Amuzgi *hin-CLASS-arq'-* (2), Ashti *šin-CLASS-a:q'-* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Complex verb consisting of *kurt'* 'swimming' and CLASS=*ik'ʷ-* 'to speak', a common pattern in Dargwa.
Amuzgi: Complex verb, lit. 'to do water' with CLASS=*arq'-* / CLASS=*irq'-* 'to do'.
Ashti: Complex verb, lit. 'to do water' with CLASS=*a:q'-* / CLASS=*i:q'-* 'to do'.

84. TAIL

Shiri *k'umi* (1), Amuzgi *k'umi* (1), Ashti *k'umi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *k'umi* [sg.] / *k'um-ri* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *k'umi* [sg.] / *k'um-ne* [pl.].

Ashti: Paradigm: *k'umi* [sg.] / *k'um-ni* [pl.].

85. THAT
Shiri *it* (1), Amuzgi *it* (1), Ashti *id* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'that (horizontal plane)'. According to [NCED], *it*, unlike the two other distal demonstratives, continues PD **tV-* 'demonstrative stem' < PNC **tV* 'that (demonstrative pronoun)', even though the structure of the deictic roots follows exactly the same pattern. The reconstructed meaning for PD **tV-* should also obviously be 'that (on horizontal plane)'.

Distinct from *iχ* 'that (below)' and *ik'* 'that (above)'.

Amuzgi: Meaning 'that (horizontal plane)'.

Distinct from *iχ* 'that (below)' and *ik'* 'that (above)'.

Ashti: Meaning 'that (horizontal plane)'.

Distinct from *iχ* 'that (below)' and *ik'* 'that (above)'.

86. THIS₁
Shiri *iž* (1), Amuzgi *yey* (1), Ashti *iy* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning specifically 'this (close to speaker)'. For Aqusha *i-š*, clearly cognate to Shiri *iž*, the reconstruction gives PD **ʔi-* 'demonstrative stem', PNC **ʔi* 'this'. However, the origin of *-š/-ž* is unclear. We may tentatively derive it from PD **ʔi-š* or **ʔi-ž*, but with no known PNC etymology.

Amuzgi: Meaning specifically 'this (close to speaker)'.

Ashti: Meaning specifically 'this (close to speaker)'. The plural form *iš-t:i* demonstrates that the original root consonant is indeed *ž* or *š*.

86. THIS₂
Shiri *il* (2), Amuzgi *il* (2), Ashti *il* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning specifically 'this (close to hearer)'. Apart from purely deictic use, this pronoun is also employed for textual anaphora. As the etymology, the reconstruction gives PD **ʔi-ɣ* 'that, this (near to the speaker)'. Commentary: "In Ak. *-l* is secondary (probably from obl. cases like dative: Chir. *iɣi-la*)". The given Chirag form seems to be genitive, not dative. Furthermore, the secondary character of *-l* is very improbable, given that the form *il* is found in almost all dialects except for Chirag.

Amuzgi: Meaning specifically 'this (close to hearer)'.

Ashti: Meaning specifically 'this (close to hearer)'.

87. THOU₁
Shiri *ʕü* (1), Amuzgi *ʕu* (1), Ashti *u* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Absolutive and ergative stem. [NCED] tacitly derives both the direct and oblique stems from the same root, but at least formally they are suppletive.
Amuzgi: Absolutive and ergative stem.
Ashti: Absolutive and ergative stem.

87. THOU₂

Shiri *ʕä-* (2), Amuzgi *ʕa-* (2), Ashti *a-* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Oblique stem. Paradigm: *ʕä-* [obl.] / *ʕät* [dat.].
Amuzgi: Oblique stem. Paradigm: *ʕaʕ-* [obl.] / *ʕaʕt* [dat.].
Ashti: Oblique stem. Paradigm: *a-* [obl.], *at(:)* [dat.]. Gemination in dat. found when the optional regular dative suffix is attached: *at:ij*.

88. TONGUE

Shiri *mec* (1), Amuzgi *mec* (1), Ashti *muc:ul* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *mec* [sg.] / *muc-bi* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *muc:ul* [sg.], *muc:ul-ti* [pl.]. On the relationship between *muc:ul* and *mec:,* see comments in the Dargwa etymological database.

89. TOOTH

Shiri *cula* (1), Amuzgi *cula* (1), Ashti *sula* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *cula* [sg.] / *cul-bi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *cula* [sg.] / *cul-be* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *sula* [sg.] / *sul-bi* [pl.].

90. TREE

Shiri *k:alk:a* (1), Amuzgi *dex* (2), Ashti *k:alk:a* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *k:alk:a* [sg.] / *k:ulk-mi* [pl.].

Amuzgi: Paradigm: *dex* [sg.] / *dux-be* [pl.]. Appears to be isolated in Amuzgi.
Ashti: Paradigm: *k:alk:a* [sg.] / *k:alk-mi* [pl.].

91. TWO
Shiri *kʼʷi* (1), Amuzgi *kʼʷi* (1), Ashti *kʼʷi* (1).

92. WALK (GO)
Shiri *CLASS=aˤrqʼˤ-* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=aˤrqʼˤ-* (1), Ashti *CLASS=a:ˤqʼˤ-* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: CLASS=*aˤrqʼ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uˤqʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*. The NCED reconstruction is based on Chirag data, where the verb is used only in the imperative. However, this root is actually much more widespread in the southern varieties.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: CLASS=*aˤrqʼ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uˤqʼ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.
Ashti: Paradigm: CLASS=*a:ˤqʼˤ-* [pfv.] / CLASS=*uˤqʼˤ-* [ipfv.], anterior in *-un*.

93. WARM (HOT)
Shiri *gʷana* (1), Amuzgi *guna* (1), Ashti *wana* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: PD etymology based only on Aqusha. Initial *g(ʷ)-* in some southern varieties suggests a different initial phoneme in PD.

94. WATER
Shiri *hin* (1), Amuzgi *hin* (1), Ashti *šin* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun. NCED reconstructs initial **x-*, but *h-* in Shiri and some other dialects may point to a different phoneme.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.

95. WE₁
Shiri *nus:a* (1), Amuzgi *nus:a* (1), Ashti *nus:a* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'we (excl.)'. Paradigm: *nus:a* [abs., erg.] / *nis:i-* [obl.]. NCED's decision to treat *nu-* here as a reflex of **nu* 'I' is doubtful: the latter form is confined to northern dialects and is most probably a secondary formation from **du* (D. Ganenkov, p.c.). Furthermore, in Shiri *nu-* is also found in *nuš:a* 'you (pl.)', which is hardly derivable from 'I' for semantic reasons.
Amuzgi: Meaning 'we (excl.)'. Paradigm: *nus:a* [abs., erg.] / *nis:i-* [obl.].
Ashti: Polysemy: 'we (excl.) / we (incl.)'. Paradigm: *nus:a* [abs., erg.], *nis:i-* [obl.].

95. WE₂

Shiri *nuxːa* (2), Amuzgi *nuxːa* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'we (incl.)'. Paradigm: *nuxːa* [abs., erg.] / *nixːi-* [obl.]. See the entry on *nusːa* for discussion of initial *nu-*.
Amuzgi: Meaning 'we (incl.)'. Paradigm: *nuxːa* [abs., erg.] / *nixːi-* [obl.].

96. WHAT

Shiri *ci* (1), Amuzgi *ci* (1), Ashti *si* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Inflected like a Class II noun. The PD etymology includes the following commentary: "The Chir. form [*ce.* - O.B.] has a secondary affricate...". This is doubtful, considering that all known dialects which have not undergone the sound change /c/ > /s/ have /c/ in this word. If this change is secondary, it must have happened at the PD stage.
Amuzgi: Inflected like a Class II noun.
Ashti: Inflected like a Class II noun.

97. WHITE

Shiri *cʼuˀb* (1), Amuzgi *cʼub* (1), Ashti *cʼub* (1).

98. WHO

Shiri *ča* (1), Amuzgi *ča* (1), Ashti *ča* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *ča* [abs., erg.] / *hi-* [obl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *ča* [abs., erg.] / *hi-* [obl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *ča* [abs., erg.] / *či-* [obl.].

99. WOMAN

Shiri *xunul* (1), Amuzgi *xunul* (1), Ashti *xunul* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Often used in the expression *xunul adami*,   lit. 'female (*xunul*) person'.
Amuzgi: Often used in the expression *xunul adami*,   lit. 'female (*xunul*) person'.
Ashti: Paradigm: *xunul* [sg.] / *xun-ni* [pl.]. The plural is irregular.

100. YELLOW

Shiri *CLASS=uqu* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=uqu* (1), Ashti *CLASS=aqu* (1).

101. FAR

Shiri *haraq-li* (1), Amuzgi *heq-li* (2), Ashti *hiq-li-CLASS* (2).

References and notes:

Shiri: Adjective *haraq* 'far' with adverbial suffix *-li*.
Amuzgi: Adjective *heq* 'far' with adverbial suffix *-li*. Despite the similarity to PD **haraq* 'far', this word cannot be derived from it, since the disappearance of **r* and the change in vocalism would be inexplicable.
Ashti: The essive form of the IN localization, or adverbial form, of the adjective *hiq* 'far'. If this word were related to PD **haraq* 'far', the regular Kubachi/Ashti loss of **r* would have been followed by vowel lenghtening, and no change in vocalism would have happened, i.e. the root would have been *#ha:q*.

102. HEAVY

Shiri *dek'ʷ* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=ek'ʷ* (1), Ashti *CLASS=ik'ʷi* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: The initial *d-* in Shiri is a frozen gender marker, cf. attributive *dek'ʷ-zi-w*, with masculine singular suffix *-w* but neuter plural "prefix" *d-*.

103. NEAR

Shiri *ak-li* (1), Amuzgi *ak-li* (1), Ashti *ak-li-CLASS* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Adjective *ak* 'near' with adverbial suffix *-li*. No known etymology.
Amuzgi: Adjective *ak* 'near' with adverbial suffix *-li*.
Ashti: The essive form of the IN localization, or adverbial form, of the adjective *ak* 'near'.

104. SALT

Shiri *c:e* (1), Amuzgi *c:e* (1), Ashti *c:i* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Mass noun.
Amuzgi: Mass noun.
Ashti: Mass noun.

105. SHORT
Shiri *kut'* (1), Amuzgi *kut'* (1), Ashti *kut* (1).

References and notes:

Ashti: Could the loss of ejectiveness of *t* be due to the influence of *k'ant* 'shortened'?

106. SNAKE
Shiri *maˤlʡuˤn* (-1), Amuzgi *malʡuˤn* (-1), Ashti *maˤlʡuˤn ~ maˤlʡuˤm* (-1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *maˤlʡuˤn* [sg.] / *maˤlʡuˤn-ti* [pl.]. Pace [NCED: 793], borrowed from Avar *malˤun* 'damned, cursed; devil', dial. 'snake', ultimately from Arabic.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *malʡuˤn* [sg.] / *malʡuˤn-te* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *maˤlʡuˤn, maˤlʡuˤm* [sg.], *maˤlʡuˤn-ti, maˤlʡuˤm-ti* [pl.].

107. THIN₁
Shiri *CLASS=uk'u* (1), Amuzgi *CLASS=uk'ul* (1), Ashti *CLASS=ak'ul* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'thin 2D'.
Amuzgi: Polysemy: 'thin 2D / thin 1D'.
Ashti: Meaning 'thin 2D'.

107. THIN₂
Shiri *ʁʷarc'* (2), Ashti *be:* (3).

References and notes:

Shiri: Meaning 'thin 1D'. Unknown etymology.
Ashti: Meaning 'thin 1D'. Unknown etymology.

108. WIND
Shiri *čiyan* (1), Amuzgi *čan* (1), Ashti *čaˤn* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *č'iyan* [sg.] / *č'iyan-ti* [pl.]. No known etymology.
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *čan* [sg.] / *čan-te* [pl.].

109. WORM

Shiri *mireqʷ* (1), Amuzgi *mireqʷ* (1), Ashti *me:q:ʷ* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *mireqʷ* [sg.] / *miriq:ʷ-i* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *mireqʷ* [sg.] / *miriq:ʷ-e* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *me:q:ʷ* [sg.] / *me:q:ʷ-i* [pl.].

110. YEAR

Shiri *dus* (1), Amuzgi *dus* (1), Ashti *dus* (1).

References and notes:

Shiri: Paradigm: *dus* [sg.] / *dus-mi* [pl.].
Amuzgi: Paradigm: *dus* [sg.] / *dus-me* [pl.].
Ashti: Paradigm: *dus* [sg.] / *dus-mi* [pl.].