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**NOTES: Version 1**  
**Role of Reduplication in Turkic:**  
**kilemes (Doublets) in Turkic and Their Origin**  
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There are some old-time endings in Karachay-Balkar which seem to be left over from l~r Turkic such as **u uwur, ullu üyür, dawur-süyür** (from **daw** ‘complaint’ and **sü** ‘to war, make conflict’) but they are no longer productive (see below). This is an example of a doublet called ikileme in Turkish. The original impetus for the doublets seem to be the mixing of two dialects in which the words differed by a single sound and which were recognizable. After a while the doubling took a life of its own. The list below tries to put some order by showing the doublets of the kind t-s, and k-s (well-known sound changes). The other common doublet, apparently borrowed into Slavic (Jakobson) is the one produced by mutating the initial phoneme, which in the case of Turkic is almost always /m/, e.g. et met, koyun moyun, bavul mavul. In some cases (possible earlier versions) the m seems to have been a /b/. There is a single case in which m is not used, e.g. mırın kırın and that is because the word itself has an initial-m. Strangely enough, the substitution has a /k/, which reflects a regular sound correspondence of Sumerian with Turkic, and is indeed a word which is cognate with Sumerian.

**mırın- kırın** (HatV81:15). Smr **mır** > Turkish **kız**; also **mırılđa/murulđa** having to do with grumbling (anger) and likely related to speed/twirling i.e. making fire by rubbing sticks)

**tawu ~süyü** (Turkish and Chuvash has become ses; possibly related to **siyıt** (Karachay-Balkar) (vide infra **sı it~ siyıt**) and also shows up in the Karachay-Balkar doublet **kıçırık ~ siyıt** ((hıçkırık, sı it). So **tawu** is that version in which the meaning came from ‘constant bickering, complaining’ and turned into ‘sound’. Now the **süyür** comes obviously from **sü** (make war, fight, create noise, din). Related words were given above. But the / / often becomes /y/ in Karachay-Balkar. That makes the expected word to be **süyü** which what the Turkish word **ses** represents. The Karachay-Balkar for bone or body (i.e. skeleton) **süyek** is from **sü** either because bones were used as weapons in the olden days or from the word skeleton/bone to denote death. Since the Turkic nasal >y in Karachay-Balkar **süy** corresponds to **sü**. There is however the irregularity of r>z so we should have **dawur** > **dawuz** (not **dawu /tawu**). The Kipchakoid **tawu** ‘sound’ is related to **dawur**, and Turkish **ses** is likely from the ~z grade of **süyür**. **Daw** seems to be connected with Turkish **dava** ‘complaint’ (said to be from Arabic) and possibly **da la** ‘to brand, to wound feelings’, **dawla /dala /tala** (to fight savagely, to quarrel violently, Clauson72:502) likely from tala/dala (to bite, for a dog, and also to pillage, Clauson72:492) related to **talan**.

[.]**abın-sürün** (Karachay-Balkar **abın** (to trip), vide infra; also note **sürç, sürkel, sürüklen**)

[.]**abuk-sabuk** This is related most likely to the words relating to **\*ab**, **vide infra**. The question is how far does it go back. In other words is it **kab>ab** or **xab>ab**, or **tab>kab>xab>ab** etc. The connection seems to go back to **ta/to/tu** having to do with birth, thus possibly **\*tabuk** (someone who walk like a toddler, infant). If so then the word **topal** (lame) is also a part of this cluster. **a ir-aksak** (**a ir** and **awur<\*abur** are cognate; **\*apsak>aksak**). This doublet could be related to [.]**abın-sürün**.

[.]**ık ~ bu uk** (Karachay-Balkar). To be in a hurry; **ta > ka > xa > a ık** via slang usage or metaphor? The word **bu uw** means **üzüntü** which could come from **büzül**, or **buru** (to wrinkle, as in clothing and via analogy to wrinkling of the face). There are other related words, for example instead of **bur>büz** we might have **soz>üz** so that **üzüm/cüzüm** (grape) could be from plucking instead of from wrinkling as in the raisin. Similarly **quru** could be related to **buru** .)

[.]**apar-topar** (HatV81:89). No doubt very important, if we knew what it means; **vide infra** ). **Tapar** would mean “finder’ and “metal-worker” (e.g. **tabali**, **temir**, etc). No doubt these words are connected to **Aparytae**, **Apardı**, **Abaris/Avaris**, **Obur/Nar**, **Apar/Avar**, **Epir/Epirus**. **Obur may also be connected with Ogur and thus Apar. But these words show up**

Aparytae	(Persian satrapy people, right next to Dadacae, more later)
*Aparidun	(Feridun, Aferidun)
*Alpar tung	(Alp Er Tonga)
*(A)mao tun	Mao Tun or Mete Han
*Aparsyab	(afra < apra < apar)
firawun (pharaoh)	<pirawun<Apirawun < Apar-athun

There is also Parthian, Parth e.g. Aparth.

- \*thapar > lapar (na)
- \*thapar > tabar(na)
- \*thapar > wapar > apar
- \*thapar > sapar (sepharad) Sparta? Saparta(n)

[.]**arı-sili** (HatV81:89). Note **arıt** means ‘to clean’ (another water word) and **sil** ‘to wipe, to clean’), but if the root had an original **\*tar** or **\*thar** we can then easily derive the words for water that seem to crop up in hydronyms e.g. **sar** (see also Lahovary).

**davar ~ sı ır** (**tuwar** in Karachay-Balkar) related to **sign** (moose, elk), **sign** (dung, Karachay-Balkar)). We should also note the analogy **tuwar/davar** to **tezek** as **sigır** is to **sign**. The word **tuw** (birth) cannot be missed. Does this come from the early days of animal husbandry when they started to keep cattle? There is a big batch of these words such as **tay**, **taylak**, **tana**, **tavuk**, **tav an**, **tosun**, **toklu**. There are other versions also such as **teke**, and also **torun**, etc (vide infra).

**tлда** (Clauson72:494)~ **\*sлда** (Karachay-Balkar **alda** (lie) via **tлда** >**\*sлда** (**silde** in Karachay-Balkar which is also used to mean in slang ‘to throw’ or ‘to throw a lie’. In this context, the same meaning is used in Turkish **at** (to throw) or **fırlat** (to throw)). Also **тлт** (Clauson72: 494)~Karachay-Balkar **sıltaw** with the meaning ‘pretext, alibi’, and even the word **silde** meaning ‘to throw a lie’, also used in the sense of throwing. It is reasonably clear that the word **alda** (to lie) is from these roots and not from **al** (to take), again displaying  $t > s > 0$ .

**tırma** ~**serme** both meaning ‘to struggle’, the latter meaning perhaps a more physical version. **Serme** is also used to mean ‘to grab’. It is not clear how this is relate to words like **ser/serseri/sersem** or to words like **sarma/çırma/cörme**. It seems that the meanings in **serme** are related more to sweating; vide infra)

**töz** ~ **ser** (to withstand); **çıda** shows up in Chuvash and Karachay-Balkar pointing to **>z**, and **>r**, and **>d** with the **ç** taking some intermediate position between **t** and **s** or deriving from the **s**-form. If this word ‘to withstand’ is connected to struggling and sweating, then they are all related, then we have **ter** > **ser** > **eri** and the existence of **serit** (to melt) is likely sufficient evidence. The words for fat, **semir/semiz**, are likely from this meaning of melting of animal fat, again via slang or analogical usage.) Karachay-Balkar word for fat **çır** (aside from **caw**) also points to being derived from something like **sür/sürt** or related to **semir/semiz**.

**tö ün** ~ **ö ün** (Karachay-Balkar, chest, breast; see above for detail):

**tükür**~ **s d** (Can **tükür** be from **tök**, relating to birth, pouring? Vide supra):

**toz-toprak** (HatV81:14) may hide an earlier **torpak** (**\*tor** likely related to **tir/dir/cer/yer**). In this case, it would relate to other words such as **tuz** (salt), and **toz** (dust). At the same time, we would then see that Persian **torshi** > Turkish **turu** is really a reborrowing since the form in Persian shows the original **tor** version, with the **-sh** suffix as in the Sanskrit borrowing **karsh** < **\*kar**. At the same time we can see that since **\*PIE** for salt is **\*sal** (which is easily derivable from **\*tor**) via common sound changes Turkic still possesses very archaic words.

[.]**ökün** (TavU: 239) ~ **soqran/soquran** (TavU:244, to regret)

[.] **arama-tarama** (HatV81:47, ara could be from **tara** < **tala**):

**talula**(Clauson72:499)~ **sayla** (Karachay-Balkar choose): **kür[e]** ~ **sür** (separate and independent development or **kür[e]** > **sür**):

**tala** (Clauson72:793 ~ **sava** Turkish). It is not clear how these relate to **talak/dalak** (spleen). It could be formed the same way as the expression in English ‘to vent one’s spleen’ to express the meaning of displaying one’s anger. Other words with similar seeming roots are **da il** (to scatter, disperse, to fall to pieces, to be dissolved’ so that it could be related getting struck.

[.]**uwaq-tüyek**: Both Tatar and Karachay-Balkar have the ikileme **uwak-töyek/tüyek** (trifles). Turkish has **ufak tefek**. We should note that **tefek** has no meaning by itself but its meaning can be gleaned from the other languages. The words **uw/uwaq/uwat** are **ov/ufak/ufat** in Turkish giving the impression that it is a borrowing from Farsi or Arabic however, **uw** may be a very old word related to sleep and

breastfeeding (**vide infra**). The word **uwak** shows up in some dialects as **u ak** (**\*uwu ak?**) which in Turkish also means ‘child, infant, boy’. The words **u a** (to resemble), and **ok a** (to caress, fondle) may be derived from this. The phrase ‘gözüm ok adı’ literally ‘my eyes caressed it’ is used to mean ‘I seem to recognize..’. These seem related to words that have to do with behavior and mind; **us** (mind), **es** (memory), **usta** (master, expert), **uslu** (well behaved), **uku** (to understand, to discern, Clauson72:96), **uy** (to follow), **um** (to expect something for the future), **umut** (hope), **u ur/o ur** (lucky i.e. bring goodness in the future). The meaning of making something behave in a particular manner might be the meaning behind using the word **uyut**, and indeed the words **ayran** and **yo urt/cuwurt** may themselves come from something like **\*uyran/\*uyuran** deriving from sleep. To make yogurt, one boils the milk, then waits until it cools down to a warm state (to make it easy for the bacteria to thrive), and then the yogurt-making bacteria (in the form of yogurt mixed with water) is poured into the container. To make sure that the bacteria have enough time to work, the container is wrapped in a blanket thus ‘bundled for sleep’! The word **oku** (to read) likely related to **uk** (to discern, to understand’, and this word could be the u-grade of the a-grade, **akıl** (which is said to be from Arabic, **aql/akl**). It is not clear if **a ı** (intelligence), **a ıla/anla** is derived from the a-grade and could be related to **una** (to agree) and possibly to **unut**. At the same time the i-versions also exist in Turkic in the form of **üren/ö ren**, again likely related to **\*ükren/\*ikren**. The word **u** is Sumerian for understanding (TunO:25).

[.]**jara-sıra** (HatV81:17: **ar** could be an unrounded version of **ör** (to weave), or could be related to other words such as (to comb) and would make it related to Turkish **ı** (line, queue). Miziev thinks **sıra** is related to ‘weaving’, ‘lining things up’ e.g. **sır a** (ear ring), **sırık** (thin long thing) e.g. something on which bead-like things could be strung up.

[.]**jalas-bulas** (TavU:197) (**karı ık- bula ık**; see next entry). In this case the missing [.] could be /k/ and related to **karı ık- bula ık**. However, and even earlier **\*talas** would imply a shift of t>k.

[.]**jallak-bullak** (HatV81:10). Probably a version Karachay-Balkar **alas-bulas**. Not related to colors originally but ‘mixing things up’.)

**do ru-dürüst** (HatV81:30). vide supra. **düz < dürüst?**; **tüz** also means ‘true’ in Karachay-Balkar.)

**duppur-duppu** (In Karachay-Balkar, hillock, mound; the second is slang usage of ‘Mound of Venus’) displaying the classic **l** vs **z** sound change.

**xırt-mırt** doublet in Karachay-Balkar: possibly a version of **qart-mort/mord**, both words referring to ‘people’ from different regions: the Kartli/Kartvel are the Georgians and their ancestors and the Mort are Uralic peoples (for example, Mordvins, UdmurtUdmurt, Komi-murt, Mordva, Mari) in whose language there are many words which are connected to this root all with the meaning ‘people’. Many peoples of Siberia also derive their self-designation from the word for ‘man’, for example, Chukchi,

Nenets, Nanay, Nivkhi, Negidal and Ent [WixR80:20]. The Eskimo call themselves Inuit ‘people’, and German self-designation ‘Deutsch’ also derives from ‘people’. What is probably hidden in these doublets is a time period in which a mixing action among Turkic (and possibly Uralic) speakers started using two phonologically different (but similar) versions of the words with same meaning. Some of them are doublets in use; others are merely indications of where doublets may have originally come from.

**köz-karak** (HatV81:61: **qara/kara** means ‘to look’, **kör** ‘to see’). These words, and the word **koru** (to protect) are all related, and also related to “guard” all having to do with “being a look-out” which is basically what ‘guards’ do. Other Turkic words are **köz** (eye). Ultimately, via Nostratic, they may be related to Hebrew **קרא** (to read) which seems likely to be from “to look, see”. After all, people did not sit around making up words for new concepts, thus the word for “reading” would have been derived from something like “to see”, “to understand” etc. The other word in Turkic “**קור**” (e.g. (to hide [to be safe]), **קור** (to wait e.g. to wait on something e.g. to be a lookout) also seems to be related via Nostratic to words like “secure”, and Hittite **karu** (eye) and thus derived basically from the same idea. It is possible that the name of the Scythians (Sacaе/Saka) may simply reflect their use by a sedentary civilization (e.g. Iran) as “frontier guards”. It should be noted that the word with similar meaning in Turkic means both “to wait” (Turkish) and “to secure” (Karachay-Balkar), and is used in similar senses e.g. Turkish **koru** (guard). It is likely related to the word **kor** (lord) which provided “protection”. If the sound change >t>k took place, then this word would go back to something like \*be >..>bek and thus \*be > bel (lord). For exactly this kind of sound change see directly below (parathu vs pilakku etc).

**xonta** (TavU:222)~ **sımta** (Clason72:828) (Turkish. **ısıntı**, Karachay-Balkar **ısıntı**, TavU:241; likely slang, as in Turkish **ısıntı**): **ısıntı** **ısıntı** (identical to: thus **ısıntı** (to bite), likely related to \***ısıntı** (mouth) see above; also related to **ısıntı** (to bite) and **ısıntı** (to smile) both possibly from ‘to snarl’ for animals thus via slang; **ısıntı** (the biter)):

**quwan** ~ **süyün** (Karachay-Balkar: **quwan** is likely related to **süyün**, and thus related to exactly via the same kind of slang.):

**xıñç-mıñç** (Karachay-Balkar) **çanç**, **sanç**> \***hanç** (to stab, jab), e.g. hançer = hanjar, said to be from Arabic/Farsi

**xapa-sapa** ( Karachay-Balkar, related to **sapa** ? vide infra)

**gıçır- gıçır** (HatV81:99: Sumerian **gıçır** (wheel) seems to be duplicated, therefore **gıçır**> **gıçır**; related to roundness-words **teker**, **tögerek** (vide infra) There are not too many things in nature that are naturally round so it is possible that the roundness was expressed via analogy to the eye, thus the root may be possibly related to **kör** (which could have meant ‘eye’ instead of ‘to see’), and thus related to Mongolian **ger** (yurt) which is round. It is possible then the word **ker** (to stretch) came later from making wheels, and **soz** (to stretch) would have to be via k > s.) See the words for roundness.

**karman-ŝman** (HatV81:105). Karachay-Balkar **ŝirma** (to wrap, to get entangled) likely related to Turkish **ŝrap** (sock), and **kar** (stir, mix)) [see **katti kardi Clauson**]

**balta-salta** (from **\*sanla > salla**) Turkic **polat** (steel) is likely related. It seems that this formation is similar to **olta**, and could have come from **polat** (in modern terms **\*bölet or \*bölek**). The suffix is reversed in Chuvash. Instead of **et** (to do), it is **tu** (to do). If this is related to the causative or instrumental then the **-tV** suffix is as Turkic as **-Vt**, but it does seem to be an oddity which means that it must be a linguistic fossil. The word for axe is very close phonetically in important ancient languages namely; such as Akkadian **pilakku**, Sumerian **balag**, Greek **pelekus** and Sanskrit **parathu**. Modern day Turkic balta is also very close to some Germanic languages such as **bilda/bilta**. The search for the root of the word seems to have converged on Semitic PL, a biconsonantal root. Since it is thought that Semitic roots are triconsonantal, it does point to a borrowing or else Semitic did have biconsonantal roots. Obviously Sumerian **balag** cannot be shoved aside, especially in light of the still-extant Turkic suffix. The amazing thing, of course, is that Turkic has **böl** (to divide, to split) and the word should have been **bölek**, as in other instruments such as **orak** (from or, to reap), and **yarak** (axe, literally the splitter from , but which has now picked up a vulgar slang meaning). However more light is shed on this recently by considering the Nostratic angle [Bomhard-Kerns1974:115-116]

Proto-Nostratic 'to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter'; Proto-Dravidian - 'to divide, to separate, to distribute', (Tamil 'half, share'; Kanada 'to divide, to separate, to part, to distribute, to share, to be divided, etc', 'part, portion', pasuge 'dividing, separation, division'; Tulu 'the share of the fisherman'; Kolami 'to divide'; Naikri 'to distribute'; Parji 'to share'; Gadba (Salur) 'to divide into shares', 'to distribute'; Pengo 'to divide, to distribute; Kui 'to share, to apportion', 'part, portion'; Proto-Uralic 'to break, to shatter, to tear, to split' (Votyak/Udmurt 'hole, opening'; Zyrian/Komi in 'to shatter into fragments, to fall and scatter, to fall and shatter'; Selkup Samoyed 'fissure, tear, break'; Kamassian 'a crack, crack in floor, tear', 'cleft, tear'; Proto-Afroasiatic 'to split, cleave, to sever' (Proto-Semitic 'to tear, to rend asunder, to sever' > Hebrew h 'to tear to pieces'; Aramaic 'to tear, to rend asunder, to cut off'; Arabic a 'to dislocate, to disjoint, to sever, to sunder, to tear'. Egyptian 'to divide, to split, to cut, to separate, to share, to distribute', 'to cleave, to split, to separate from', 'to spread out arms, to divide', 'to divide, to cleave, to split'. Proto-Chadic 'to break' >Hause 'to break, to shatter'; Kera 'to hatch'; Ga'anda 'to break'; Sumerian 'to break, to smash, to shatter'.

There is no hiding the fact that these sound changes all fit directly into the scheme

> {w,l,s/ } { } {t}  
> {y,r,z} { } {d}

where  $\cup$  indicates set union. It is also possible that the  $\cup$  in some cases was  $-n$   $-/n$   $-$  and somehow there was a shift to  $-ng-$  ( ).

The book is light on Turkic. Here are the Turkic words in addition the more far-removed ones above; Turkish  $\text{parçalamak}$  ‘to tear into pieces’; Karachay-Balkar  $\text{parçalmaq}$  ‘to tear/cut into pieces’, Turkish  $\text{paylaşmak}$  ‘share’. There are others e.g.  $\text{dışkı}$  (to cut, to mow),  $\text{tıraş}$  (knife),  $\text{tıraşlamak}$  (to sharpen). These words are alleged to be derived from Chinese (what else is new) \*p1.

These are ultimately from the word for “stone” of various kinds. It is logical that it be so, since until the discovery of metals (only a few thousand years ago), for hundreds of thousands of years humans used stone for everything; drilling holes, breaking, smashing, cutting, breaking, dividing, cleaving, etc. Because of the sound shift  $p > t > k$ , one can also find many words strewn along the path  $pV > tV > kV$ . This means that the words should be of form  $pVt$ ,  $pVl$ ,  $pVs$ ,  $pVš$ ,  $pV$ ,  $pVr$ ,  $pVz$ , etc. Ditto for the  $tV$  and  $kV$  roots. For example the Egyptian words seem to show the morphology of Turkic words such as

There are many words that seem to have been derived from this root including but not restricted to: **üle**, **üle**, **ülü**, and even **ölç** the same way that Karachay-Balkar **elt** is related to Turkish **ilet**, **ula**, Turkic **ulag** (pack horse), Karachay-Balkar **ulow** (carrying vehicle).

**ölüp-gebermek** (HatV81:109). Karachay-Balkar **qabır** (grave); Many other related words; Karachay-Balkar **kübür** (wooden trunk), **kap** (pumpkin, gourd) Turkish **küp**, **kap**, **kepçe**, **kapkaçak**, Karachay-Balkar **kübe** (helmet) etc.)

**sap-saman** (It is difficult to tell the origin but related words seem to be **çöp** (twig), **sopa** (<\*soka?), **çubuk**. Or it could be related to reeds which grow along rivers and thus to **kam** (river). Another possibility is the connection to **saban** (plowing, agriculture). And again, the relationship to **kam** ~ **aman** cannot be overlooked. The fact that these nouns end in  $-Vn$  means that these are old words, and they may all be related through some convoluted explanation.)

**sıla-mıla** (a zına kadar dolu, TavU:243) What is interesting is that **sıla** can be found in Sumerian as a measure, apparently of volume, such as a barrel of oil. The word also is cognate with Turkish **sil** (wipe).

**yunmu -yıkanmı** (HatV81:119: Azeri  $\text{yün}$ , Karachay-Balkar  $\text{yün}$ , to wash), another case of  $w=K$  equivalence in Turkic, e.g.

**eski-püskü** (HatV81:18); **eski** is linen/underwear in Karachay-Balkar, **püs** may be relate to **bez**.



**kıyı-kö e** (HatV81:105 kö e is probably equivalent to thus may come from , which is also likely from *ı* *ı* , thus both words are from the same root):

**derli-toplu** (HatV81:43, , and related to *ı* =Karachay-Balkar *ı* ).

**e ri-bü rü** (HatV81:10: obviously from **e il, bükül**; the root **e** is likely related to the words having to do with heaviness **a ır/awur**, and also likely related to sickness, **ig**, by being, say, ‘doubled over’ from pain).

**az-öz,az-uz** (HatV81:89). Related being excessive, and overtaking.

**akıllı-uslu** (HatV81:58). The word **akıl** may be an a-grade of **uk** (discernment, understanding), and related to **ö ren, üren, oku**, etc; **us** is obviously related to words such as **usta, ustalık, ustad**, etc and may even be related to **u ut, uyut**.)

**a la-sızla** (HatV81:49: see **cıla-sarna**):

**cıla-sarna** (In Karachay-Balkar, both meaning ‘to cry, and wail ‘one is cognate with Turkish **a la** (a:la), and thus the word for water/tears in Sumerian can be seen in it; the other has the other water word **sar** in it showing perhaps an earlier suffix –na (as in the words such as **çayna/çi ne/kayna/oyna** etc) equivalent to later –la). The related doublet in Turkish is **a la –sızla** the latter apparently the z-grade of **sarna**, in which the **sar** is related to **ter>ser>eri** and lots of related water words (vide supra). The earliest form of this suffix was probably –rV (as in **küre, yürü/cürü, \*kar(u)?**, etc).

**ba ır-ça ır** (HatV81:90). Karachay-Balkar **maqa**=frog, **ta maka**=tosba a, **maqır**=to croak, to bleat, likely **ba ır** <**maqır**, but **ça ır/çaqır** seems to come out of nowhere. )

**bulgur-bulamaaç** (HatV81:91). Karachay-Balkar **bilamuk** (porridge), likely from **\*bul amuk** (stirred, mixed), same root as **bul ur** (ready to eat, add water and stir); they may both be from or related **buday** which in turn likely is from **\*bu/\*mu** ‘to grow’ which shows up as mu in Sumerian and miya/mai in Hittite.

**çıpı- çıpı** (HatV81:93). Related to many water words as shown such as **cibi/yibi**, to make something wet, the root of **ibrik** < **\*yibi-dir-ik**)

### Karachay-Balkar Doublets

**alay -bilay** like that and like this  
**andan-mından** gradually, from all;  
**anda-sanda** rarely; a little;  
**arınmay-talmay** indefatigably  
**arıqlı ı-semizligi** fatness

**arıy-talay bilmegen** tireless  
**artıq-burtuq** surplus  
**artı-allı**: back and front  
**artsız-alsız** nothing connected, lonely  
**artxa-burtxa turmay** not delaying, not deliberating  
**aram-qaram etmey** completely, straight, headlong, not deliberating, not being frightened  
**appaçı**        **appa-açı**  
**appaçıq**        **appa-açıq**  
**appayaz**        **appa-ayaz**  
**appa-adargı** tiny, wee; minuscule (this word shows the root of (few))  
**appa-acayıb** very interesting, most interesting  
**appa-az** insignificant, a little  
**appa-az m** absolutely exhausted; lean  
**appa-aybat** very beautiful, most beautiful  
**appa-ay ır** malicious  
**appa-aq** white, completely white  
**appa-aqıl** very clever  
**appa-aç** very hungry, hungry as a wolf  
**appa-açı** bitter  
**anı-munu** that and this  
**ança-mınça** that much- this much, a lot  
**ant-toba** an oath; ~ **eterge** to swear  
**ant-qar ı** oath-damnation; ~ **eterge** to swear  
**ant-qıral**        **ant-qar ı**  
**analıq-atalıq** (- ı) parental attitudes/relations  
**analıq-balalıq** (- ı) motherly/filial relations  
**ana-bala** mother and child  
**aman-çuman** bad, worst  
**amallı-taqallı** enterprising; artful, resourceful  
**ali -beri** sale and purchase; gamble; an exchange  
**alı -beri çi 1**) dealer; the businessman; 2) speculator  
**alım - berim** sale and purchase; an exchange  
**alma-çalma**        **alma-malma**  
**alma-kertme** fruit (literally apples and pears);  
**alı-güllü** multi-coloured, motley  
**allay-bıllay** so-and-so; like that and like this  
**al-art**: literally front-back, before-after; ~ **deb qaramay** not thinking about consequences  
**alas-bulas: közlerim ~ etdile** my eyes has darkened;  
*ı*  
**alası-karası: to uznu ~ coqdu**        a pig is a pig whether white or black  
**alay-alay** so  
**alay- bılay** like this and that        )  
**al ı -qar ı** toast and curse  
**aqırtın-aqırtın**        **aqırın-aqırın**

**aqırın-aqırın** on the sly, gradually, slow  
**aqıl-balıq** (- ı) maturity  
**aqsaqla-buqsaqla** wretched, lame  
**aqlı-köklü** elegant; bright  
**aq an-buq an** shrinkage, loss  
**akkıl-tekkil** eterge to doubt; ~ **ete** hesitatingly.  
**akkıl-te kil**            **akkıl-tekkil**  
**akkala-ammala** grandfathers and grandmothers  
**az-buz** hardly, slightly  
**asxaq-soqur**                            people with physical deficiencies, cripples  
**asırası-üstünü: bla aytır a** or **cik cigine deri aytır a** to tell up to smallest details  
**ata-ana** ancestors, parental  
**ata-baba** ancestors  
**at-bet** bad glory  
**at-ögüz** draught, draught force  
**atlı-betli** discredited, compromised; compromised itself  
**atsız-çuwsuz** disappeared, [from whom is not present] neither hearing, nor spirit  
**at-tuqum**                    **at-tuwar**  
**at-tuqum** name and surname  
**atı-ba ı: -- da kerek tüldü** neither his/her name, nor he/she [to anybody] are not necessary  
**awa-sawa** lounge about, roam; tumble down from legs  
**awruwsuz-talawsuz** without any illnesses  
**awuzu-burnu** person; mouth and nose  
**awuzu-tili cara xan** able to agree, able get on (with)  
**axsınıw-tıxsınıw** sighes, complaints  
**açxa-boçxa** money, finance  
**a arı-içeri** meal, foodstuffs  
**a arıq-içerik** (-gi) meal, provisions, foodstuffs  
**a aw-ca aw** life, existence, the way one lives  
**a aw-içiw** feast  
**a aw-turmu**                    **a aw-ca aw**  
**a -suw** victuals  
**a xı-aman** good and bad ~ **la** good, and bad  
**a ıq-bu uq** (- u) vanity, turmoil; haste;  
**aya ı-ba ı** clothes  
**ayaq-qa ıq** (- ı) utensils  
**ayaqsız-qolsuz** without legs, without hands

**bab-ba xa** completely another, absolutely other  
**bayla-biyle** propertied, rich men  
**ba -ayaq** (- ı) a head and legs  
**ba sız-tübsüz** evasive, uncertain(infinitive)  
**belewüt-xorata** negligent, roughly  
**beti-qutu; ~ ketib** having turned pale

**bet-qol; cuwar a** to wash  
**bet-ırız** conscience  
**bile-bile** purposely, deliberately, intentionally; knowing  
**boza-sıra** drinks of home preparation  
**borç-qarç** debts  
**er i-bur u** crumpled  
**busda esde**  
**a ıq-bu uw** grief/sorrow, anxiety  
**tartınır a- buyu ur a** ~ to feel uncomfortable  
**bügün-bügeçe** any day now, one of these days; soon  
**bügün-tambla** today - tomorrow; one of these days  
**büsürew-sıpas** gratitude

**calnır a-calbarır a** to be humiliated, to implore  
**calnır-calbarır** entreaty; supplication; prayer  
**canı-qanı** soul  
**canı-tini** soul  
**cap-ca ı** completely new  
**cap-ca ız** unique, only one  
**cap-ca il** very green  
**cappa-ca ı** very new  
**carlı-cazıq (- ı)** the poor, all poor and unfortunate  
**carlı-calçı** the poor  
**cartma-qurtma** is illegible, it is not clear; somehow  
**cartı-qurtu 1.** half, partly, incomplete, sketchy  
**ca -qu la)** youth, young people; lads, guys  
**cel-boran** snowstorm  
**-cen et-; et-cen** the blood, relative  
**cep (pe) -ce il** instantly  
**cer-curt** a native land, native places  
**ciz-miz cizgi;** ~ **adam** fastidious, choosy man  
**colsuz-coruqsuz** without a step, without rules; indecently  
**coppa-cortuwuq:** ~ **at** trotter  
**coppa-coyul an:** ~ **adam** the extremely spoiled man  
**coruqsuz-colsuz** dishonourable  
**cuppa-cuwa** very quiet  
**cuwuq-te** friends - comrades; native, close  
**cuwuq-tü ün** relatives  
**cuwur an-castıq (- ı)** bed bed accessories(belongings)  
**cı ıla-qoba** falling and again rising  
**cılaw-sarnaw cılaw-sarın**  
**cılaw-sarın** bewail the deceased, bemoan the deceased  
**cıp-cılı** very warm  
**cıppa-cılı** very warm

**çaçır-quçur** pogrom, massacre, smash, rout, crush

**çala-qola** not completely, dribs and drabs  
**çam-naqırda** humour  
**çarq çurq** about crackling while burning  
**çimmaq** very white; ~ **aq**; snow-white; short for **çimma aq**  
**çip - çiy** crude, not cooked  
**çıpal-çupul** **etdirirge** splash; lap, swash  
**çıqar-çuqur**  
**çıqır-çiqır**  
**çir çappa** ragamuffin, ragged fellow, vagabond, hobo  
**çır çappa** slut  
**çiyli-bi li** half-done; soggy  
**çöb-salam: bolur a** to reach in an exhaustion; to grow thin  
**çuçurlu-duppurlu** bumpy; with a rough surface  
**çup-çubar** piebald, spotted; speckled; dappled  
**çuppa-çubar** **çup-çubar**  
**çüppe-çüyre 1.** completely wrong (silly)

**darman-darı** medicines

**dawsuz-dawursuz** without dispute, without noise

**dawsuz-qay ısız** without dispute, without efforts

**dawur-süyür** row, hubbub, din; noise, din

**digil-migil 1)** petty; ~ **çot** of a triviality

**du ur-mu ur** rough, uneven, hilly, bumpy

**dukkul-dukkul** shreds/rags; ~**eterge** to tear into shreds

**duqurlu-çu urlu** rough; with hillocks and hollows

**duqur-muqur** rough, uneven, hilly, bumpy

**duqu -muqu** rough, uneven, hilly, bumpy

**duppa-dubur** in pimples, in spots

**duppa-duppuq** stupid, very stupid, blunt

**duppa-du man** sworn enemy

**duppurlu-çu urlu** rough, with bumps and holes

**dıbil-dıbil** chat ~ **eterge** to chat

**dıbir-dıbir** trampling, running, footsteps

**dıbirt-dıbirt** ~ **deb çabar a** a) to skip

b) to

rush, quickly (headlong) to run

**dıbirtdı-dıbirtdı** **dıbirt-dıbirt**

**dı ır-du ur** **dı ar-du ur**

**dıkkılı-mıkkılı**; barely

**dıkkı-mıkkı** barely

**ecigi-üstünü** subtleties, detail

**egeç-qarna** sister and brother

**ekewlen-üçewlen** in twos and threes

**ekew-üçew** a two - three, some people

**eppe-essiz** completely forgetful

**erin-burun** 1) face (lit. lips-nose)

**erlay-burlay** fast

**eski-büskü** stuff, rags, stuff second-hand articles

**eski-büskücü** old-clothes man/dealer; junkman

**etek-ce** satellite; satrap, accomplice, stooge

**gap-gap etme!** do not bark!

**gappa-gabu** there is a lot of dandruff on a head

**gappa-gaci** spoiled, fallen

**gappa-gazgaz** dandy, fop, elegant

**gin-gelendir** spicery

**guru xa-guwa** of insult, reproaches

**guru xalıq-guwalıq** (- 1) of insult, quarrel, scandal

**gıla ~ mıla: ba ı ı ~ mıla qısar a** carelessly to tie a head by kerchief

**gıp-gıp** ~ **eterge** a) to shiver b) hardly to restrain;

v) to become transfixed; **cüregim ~ etedi** heart becomes transfixed

**gıp-girtçi** crude, not fully cooked

**gıp-gırın** perfectly hollow

**xabur-çubur** . goods and chattels, stuff

**xala xosta** 1) lax, undisciplined; slack

**xapa-sapa eterge** to do, to result in the disorder

**xappa-xalek eterge** stamp (on) to spoil (all)

**xappa-xazır** completely ready

**xata-xuta** prank; ~ **eterge** to do mischief

**xaxay-tuway** shouts; ~ **eterge** to scream and shout

**xını-xunu** furious, malicious, angry; ~ **awaz** angry voice

**xıtır-mıtır** disgusting; ~ **adam** scumbag

**xıpiy-sipiy** prank

**xıppa-xılımlı** very dirty, dirty creature, slovenly

**xıppa-xını** very malicious

**xıppa-xıre** very soft **xıppa-xırttı** very rough

**xıppa-xarxa** absolutely husky, hoarse

**xırt mırt** - 1) stuff; things 2) squabbles

**xırttı-mırttı** rough

**xıyla-fitna** dodges; cheating

**xıynı-xalme** incantation, sorcery, witchcraft; magic

**xon u-tiyre** the neighbours

**ıppa-raxat** completely quiet

**ıppa-razi:** ~ **boldu** he/she was rather pleased

**ı armay- külmey** seriously, without a shadow of a smile

**ı sız-küçsüz** without business, without work and power

**ıynaq quçaq ;**

**ınci-marcan** precious jewelry

**ji ar-ju ur** **qaya ~ deb oyuldu** rock fell down with a roar

**kaw- kuw** in all directions; ~ **bolur a** a) to rush in all directions; b) to get lost scatter b) to defeat totally/utterly; to rout; to shatter **eterge a)** to

**kep-kereksiz** completely unnecessary; excessive;

**kep-kerti** genuine, incontestable, exact, for certain

**köm- kök** dark blue; ~ **suwla** the dark blue rivers

**köz-ba** body, physiognomy; **közü -ba ı bla körgüzürge** to mimic someone

**köz-qa** body, physiognomy; eyes and eyebrows

**köz-qulaq:** ~ **bol!** look after!

**kül-kömür:** ~ **bolur a** to turn to ashes

**külkü-oyun** fun

**küyerge-bi erge: küyedi-bi edi** he/she burns, experiences strong emotions

**qa in so un;** kagan shogun; **qa in so un etme,** do not make like lord and master.

**qa ı -so u** fight; **eterge** fight, scuffle

**qa it-qalam** writing accessories

**qax-qax ta a deri ~ etib turdu** he coughed all night

**qax-qux qax-qax**

**qalay-alay:** ~ **bolsa da** a) anyway; b) what there was; ~ **dese da** as - in any way, anyway

**qal an-bul an(la)** leavings, leftovers; scraps

**qappa-qara** jet-black, ebony

**qap-qara** same as **qappa-qara**

**qara-qura** black, dark; ~ **-la** black (dark) subjects

**qar a-qunduz** crow and raven (dark)

**qar a-quz un** birds;

**qar ı -söğü** abuse, bad language, swearing, profanity quarrel

**qarın-qurun** interiors, giblets

**qarna egeç** brother - sister

**qartı-ca ı** old and young; ~ **da** all - also is old, and young

**qart-qurt** the old men, old people

**qart qurtxa 1)** old sorceress, old woman

**qa -ba** the person, physiognomy; ~ **tüyerge** to frown

**qatın-qız** women (of all ages)

**qatın-qutun** women

**qatı-qutu** firm, rigid

**qatı - qutu qatı -qura**

**qatı -qura 1)** chaos, disorder, mess chaotic 2) medley

**qatı -quralıq (- ı) qatı**

**qıp-qız anç** very greedy

**qıp-qızıl** very red; ~ **bolur a** a) to be heated to red; b) to redden

**qıptı-oymaq** sewing accessories(belongings)

**qıyır-buçxaq** (- 1) alleyway, (narrow) lane; everywhere

**qıysıq-mıysıq** strongly distorted, curved

**qıytıq-mıytıq** strongly curved

**qoba-cata**: ~ **turadı** he is sickly

**qol-bet** hands and person

**qolu-aya 1** hand and leg, extremities;

**qolu-butu** extremities

**qor-sadaqa**: ~ **boldu** he/she was completely grateful

**qo may-qoratmay** exactly as is, neither add nor omit

**qula 1-tili bolma an** deaf mute

**-qun qan**

**qup-qur aq** 1) completely dry 2) dry

**qup-quru** 1) completely empty;

**qurç-tacal** strong, tenacious; skilful, crafty

**qurman-sadaqa**: ~ **boldu** it(he) very much thanked

**qurt-qamıjaq** (- 1) **qurt-qumursxa**

**qurt-qumursxa** insects

**-qurtu cartı**

**qu -qartçı a** birds

**qu qu qu mu**

**qu un-quwun**: ~ **tökdü** to pour out one's heart/soul

**quttu-quburan**: ~ **bolub ketdile** they rushed headlong; they rush as on to a fire ( conflagration)

**quttu-quwurt quttu-quburan**

**quw unluq-qoduluq**: ~ **i** noise, alarm, commotion, flurry

**quw uw** 1) deserted, abandoned place ~ 2) suppressed; **nek ~ suz?** why you are silent?

**quwu -tüyü** fight, beating

**law -law** mimicking jabbering, chatting

**loppa-loxpayçıq** (- 1) the well-fed child

**lüw-lüw** shaky, shaking

**lyaw-lyaw law-law**

**lay-lay law -law**

**mallı-mülklü** rich, solvent, propertied

**mal-mülk** property; riches

**mappa-mazallı** large, very large

**mappa-ma taq** undersized, shortish

**mart-gurt**( ~ **la**) spring

**mart, gurt cuq** – for three days in each,

approximately 8 - march 16,

**martla-gurtla mart-gurt(la)**

**menden-andan** from somebody

**meppe-melte** very dirty



**mippa-miskin** 1) pitiable, pitiful, unfortunate 2) beggar  
**muru-çuru** **umur-çumur**; ~ **eterge** crumble, chop; hack to pieces  
**mippa-mılı** wet

**nay-nay** 1) talk, chatter, jabber, gossip; 2) grumbler, moaner, whiner

**op-sop**

**öle-qala** **ölmey-qalmay**  
**öltürüw-ölüw** a very bad scandal, fate worse than death  
**öltürü üw-ölü üw** scandal, quarrel  
**öltürü üw-qalı ıw** **öltürü üw-ölü üw**  
**ölüm-acal** death destruction  
**öpke-bawur** interiors, entrails  
**öppe-örge** very high  
**öppe-ötürük** absolutely false, certain lie  
**örge-e i ge** 1) upwards – downwards

**pırx-çırx** chuckle, giggle, snicker

**sanı-süyegi** constitution  
**sansız-sanamsız** infinite quantity  
**sansız-sanawsuz** infinite  
**sa ıraw-bilyak** hard of hearing, deaf person  
**sappa-saq** sensitive, very sensitive, alert is sensitive, intently  
**sappa-sarı** yellow  
**sappa-saw** completely healthy, whole; untouched  
**saw-esen**: ~ **bolur a** be in good health, alive - healthy  
**sawluq-esenlik** (-gi) health, well-being;  
**sawluq-salamatlıq** (- 1) well-being, health  
**saw-salamat** **salamat**; alive and healthy  
**saw- aw**: ~ **ese da** whether is alive, whether is dead; alive or dead  
**sawut-saba** 1) utensils, home utensils 2) equipment  
**sawut-sadaq** (- 1) arms, equipment  
**selte-melte; kesi i** ~ **kibik eterge** fool (about), play tricks, play the fool  
**sep-semiz** greasy  
**sep-ser** very absent-minded  
**sep-seyir** surprising, perfect  
**seyir-tama a** wonder, miracle, marvel  
**sıla-mıla** or **sıla mıla** filled up to the top  
**sılab-sıypab turur a** to care  
**sıp-sılxır** silly  
**sıp-sıydam** smooth  
**sıyı-sırı**: ~ **bol an adam** man with faultless (worthy) reputation  
**soppa-soqur** **sop-soqur**  
**sop-soqur** absolutely blind

**sözçü-qay ıçı** squabblers, trouble-maker  
**söz-qay ı** false rumors; idle gossip, loose talk  
**suppa- suwuq**                    **sup-suwuq**  
**suppa-subay**                    **sup-subay**  
**sup-subay-** very much slender  
**sup-suwuq** ice, very cold

**apıl- upul**  
**appa- atık**                    **ap- atık**  
**ap- atık** very fragile  
**ap- up**                    sounds of splashing/slapping    b) to slap each other  
**aytan-cek** (-gi) evil spirit, devil, evil forces  
**aytan-cin**                    **aytan-cek**    **aytan-ibilis**                    **aytan-cek**  
**opul- upul**  
**orq- orq**

**tappa-taza** very pure, very clean  
**tap-taza** very pure, very clean  
**tarq-turq**                    . knocking sounds  
**tart-soz:** ~ **eterge** to stretch, drag out  
**tarx-turx** shots; ~ **tawu la** skirmish, exchange of fire  
**tawu suz-tüyü süz** silently - peacefully  
**tawu -tüyü** fuss, fight  
**tent-ment:** ~ **eterge**                    to hesitate  
**te iz-terk**                    **terk-te iz**  
**tep-te** just, exactly , a hair, to a hair's breadth, to a tag; **terk-te iz 1.** multitude; great number, a quantity, thousands (of), a host (of), lots of  
**töppe-tögerek**                    **töp-tögerek** very round  
**töp-tögerekde** around, everywhere  
**töp-tögerekden** from everywhere, from all vicinities  
**tö ek-castıq** (- ı) bed accessories(belongings)  
**tö e-mö e**                    **tö eme**  
**tin-tençek** (-gi) flesh  
**tint-mint** fuss;  
**tip-tik** very steep  
**tı i-ba ı** face shape  
**tobalaq-közbaw** 1) optical illusion 2) facade  
**toy-quwanç** fun; feast  
**toy - oyun** dances entertainment; a celebration; a holiday  
**top-tolu** complete, completely full,  
**toppa-tolu** same as **top tolu**  
**top-top** footfall, tread; sounds of steps  
**top-tup**                    **top-top**  
**topul-tupul** trampling sounds of walking  
**toxtawnı-tınnı:** ~ **bilmegen** unruly frolicsome, playful, prankster, fidget  
**tuz-gırcın** bread and salt

**tuqu -muqu** a) uneven, hilly, bumpy rough; b) awkward  
**tul-tuban** lots of, heaps (of), a tremendous lot (of); masses (of) multitude; great number;  
**tum-qara** black very dark  
**tuppa-tuzlu** too salty  
**tup-tuzlu** too salty  
**tup-turu** publicly, openly  
**tı ıla-su ula:** ~ **aylanır** a poke/dart about; dart in and our, slip, dart; run about, run  
**tıqal-tuqul** gurgling  
**tıqar-tuqur**  
**tıq-tıqlama** packed, chock-full, chock-a-block, full up  
**tıqır-mıqır**  
**tıqır-tıqır** **tıqır-mıqır**  
**tıl tıl;** ~ **da qulluqeterge** to serve on the home front  
**tılı- mılı:** ~ **adam** lax man  
**tınçlıq-rahathıq (- ı)** **tınçlıq-esenlik**  
**tınçlıq-esenlik (-gi)** well-being; health  
**tınç-esen** life, existence, the way one lives  
**tıpal-tupul** flop, plop  
**tıpar-tupur** about noise of steps, trampling  
**tıppa-tınç** **tıp-tınç** very quiet  
**tır-tır** clodhopper, bumpkin  
**tüb-ba** dowry ( marriage portion);  
**tüb-tereke** inheritance, property left in the inheritance  
**tüyme-ılgık (- gi)** clasp; buttons and loops  
**tüyü -uru** a brawl, skirmish, wrangle, squabble  
**tünene-bürsükün** recently, one of these days  
**tüppe-tüz** 1) absolutely correct; 2) completely equal; by a completely straight line, is completely equal; completely direct; exactly  
**türt-mürt** fuss, bustle, trouble, bother  
**türt-mürtçü** 1. dawdler 2. , sluggish  
  
**uçxun-kebelek:** ~ **bolur** a to not find to itself a place  
**umur-çumur** into smithereens, crumbs  
**uppa-uzaq (- ı).** very distant  
**uppa-u a** copy, similar as two drops of water  
**uppa-çuppa** kisses; ~ **eterge** to kiss  
**uru -tüyü** quarrel, scandal  
**uwaq-tüyek (-gi)** any triviality; fine subjects, product  
**uçsuz-qıyırsız** boundless; incalculable;  
**uyalmay-tartınmay** freely, easily, without embarrassment  
**uyat-xayat** shame and conscience  
  
**zappa-zar** very much envious  
**zappa-zaríf** completely in vain, in vain  
**zı ar-zu ur** imit. gnashing sounds, such as rocks  
**zı ar-zu ur** clanking of a chain, ringing sound