

**NOTES: Version 1**  
**Role of Reduplication in Turkic:**  
**İkilemes (Doublets) in Turkic and Their Origin**  
**H.M. Hubey**  
**Department of Computer Science**  
**Montclair State University**  
**Upper Montclair, NJ 07043**

There are some old-time endings in Karachay-Balkar which seem to be left over from l~r Turkic such as **uşğuwur**, **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 **mırıl-da/murul-da** having to do with grumbling (anger) and likely related to speed/twirling i.e. making fire by rubbing sticks)

► **tawuş~süyüş** (Turkish and Chuvash has become ses; possibly related to **sıyıt** (Karachay-Balkar) (vide infra **sığıt~ sıyıt**) and also shows up in the Karachay-Balkar doublet **kıçırık ~ sıyıt** ((hıçkırık, sığıt). So **tawuş** 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 /ŋ/ often becomes /y/ in Karachay-Balkar. That makes the expected word to be **süyüş** 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 ŋ>y in Karachay-Balkar **süy** corresponds to **süŋ**. There is however the irregularity of r>z so we should have **dawur** > **dawuz** (not **dawuş/tawuş**). The Kipchakoid **tawuş** ‘sound’ is related to **dawur**, and Turkish **ses** is likely from the ş~z grade of **süyür**. **Daw** seems to be connected with Turkish **dava** ‘complaint’ (said to be from Arabic) and possibly **dağla** ‘to brand, to wound feelings’, **dawlaş/dalaş/talaş** (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. **ağır-aksak** (**ağır** and **awur<\*abur** are cognate; **\*apsak>aksak**). This doublet could be related to **[.]abın-sürün**.

► **[.]aşık ~ buşuk** (Karachay-Balkar). To be in a hurry; **taş>kaş > xaş > aşık** via slang usage or metaphor? The word **buşu** means **üzüntü** which could come from **büzül**, or **buruş** (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 **quruş** could be related to **buruş**.)

► **[.]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/Obr**, **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 ~ sığır** (**tuwar** in Karachay-Balkar) related to **sigın** (moose, elk), **sigın** (dung, Karachay-Balkar)). We should also note the analogy **tuwar/davar** to **tezek** as **sigır** is to **sigın**. 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**, **tavşan**, **tosun**, **toklu**. There are other versions also such as **teke**, and also **torun**, etc (vide infra).

► **tıḷda** (Clauson72:494)~ **\*sıḷda** (Karachay-Balkar **alda** (lie) via **tıḷda** > **\*sıḷda** (**siḷde** 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 **tıḷtāġ** (Clauson72: 494)~Karachay-Balkar **sıḷtaw** with the meaning ‘pretext, alibi’, and even the word **siḷde** 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  $t > s > 0$ .

► **tırmaş**~**sermeş** 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 **ḍ > z**, and **ḍ > r**, and **ḍ > 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**.

► **töşün** ~ **öşün** (Karachay-Balkar, chest, breast; see above for detail):

► **tükür**~ **söd** (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 **turşu** 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**):

► **talaş** (Clauson72:793 ~ **savaş** 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 **dağıl** (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 **uşak** (\***uwuşak**?) which in Turkish also means ‘child, infant, boy’. The words **uşa** (to resemble), and **okşa** (to caress, fondle) may be derived from this. The phrase ‘gözüm okşadı’ 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), **ukuş** (to understand, to discern, Clauson72:96), **uy** (to follow), **um** (to expect something for the future), **umut** (hope), **uğur/oğur** (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 **yoğurt/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 **aḡḡı** (intelligence), **aḡḡıla/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/öğren**, again likely related to \***ükren**/\***ikren**. The word **uş** is Sumerian for understanding (TunO:25).

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

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

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

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

► **duppur-duppuş** (In Karachay-Balkar, hillock, mound; the second is slang usage of ‘Mound of Venus’) displaying the classic *lr* vs *şz* 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, Udmurt/Udmurt, 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 *q’ara* (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 “*sak*” (e.g. *saklan* (to hide [to be safe]), *sakla* (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 *sakuwa* (eye) and thus derived basically from the same idea. It is possible that the name of the Scythians (Sacae/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 *bekle* means both “to wait” (Turkish) and “to secure” (Karachay-Balkar), and is used in similar senses e.g. Turkish *bekçi* (guard). It is likely related to the word *beg/bek/bey* (lord) which provided “protection”. If the sound change *t>t>k* took place, then this word would go back to something like *\*bet>..>bek* and thus *\*bet> bel* (lord). For exactly this kind of sound change see directly below (parathu vs pilakku etc).

► **xonta** (TavU:222)~ **sımta** (Clauson72:828) (Turkish. *kontak*, *zonta*, Karachay-Balkar *sança*, TavU:241; likely slang, as in Turkish *hıyar*): *kabın~kabiş* (identical to: *somun~ somurt* thus *kap> som* (to bite), likely related to *\*cub* (mouth) see above; also related to *ısır* (to bite) and *ışar* (to smile) both possibly from ‘to snarl’ for animals thus via slang; *köpek* (the biter)):

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

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

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

► **gıcır- gıcır** (HatV81:99: Sumerian **gigir** (wheel) seems to be duplicated, therefore **gırgır> gigir**; 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-çorman** (HatV81:105). Karachay-Balkar **çırma** (to wrap, to get entangled) likely related to Turkish **çorap** (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 *yar*, 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 **\*p<sup>[h]</sup>as<sup>y</sup>-/\*p<sup>[h]</sup>as<sup>y</sup>-** ‘to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter’; Proto-Dravidian **\*pā(y)-/\*pac-** ‘to divide, to separate, to distribute’, (Tamil *payal* ‘half, share’; Kanada *pasu* ‘to divide, to separate, to part, to distribute, to share, to be divided, etc’, *pacci, paccu* ‘part, portion’, *pasuge* ‘dividing, separation, division’; Tulu *pasalu* ‘the share of the fisherman’; Kolami *pay-, paity* ‘to divide’; Naikri *payk* ‘to distribute’; Parji *payp* ‘to share’; Gadba (Salur) *pay* ‘to divide into shares’, *payp* ‘to distribute’; Pengo *paspā* ‘to divide, to distribute; Kui *pahpa* ‘to share, to apportion’, *pahari* ‘part, portion’; Proto-Uralic **\*pas<sup>y</sup>a** ‘to break, to shatter, to tear, to split’ (Votyak/Udmurt *paś* ‘hole, opening’; Zyrian/Komi *paś* in *paśmun* ‘to shatter into fragments, to fall and scatter, to fall and shatter’; Selkup Samoyed *pāase, pas* ‘fissure, tear, break’; Kamassian *buzoj* ‘a crack, crack in floor, tear’, *puzoj* ‘cleft, tear’; Proto-Afroasiatic **\*p<sup>[h]</sup>as<sup>y</sup>/\*p<sup>[h]</sup>as<sup>y</sup>** ‘to split, cleave, to sever’ (Proto-Semitic **\*p<sup>[h]</sup>aš-ax** ‘to tear, to rend asunder, to sever’ > Hebrew *pāšah* ‘to tear to pieces’; Aramaic *pāšah* ‘to tear, to rend asunder, to cut off’; Arabic *fasaha* ‘to dislocate, to disjoin, to sever, to sunder, to tear’. Egyptian *pš* ‘to divide, to split, to cut, to separate, to share, to distribute’, *pšn* ‘to cleave, to split, to separate from’, *pšs* ‘to spread out arms, to divide’, *pšš* ‘to divide, to cleave, to split’. Proto-Chadic **\*fašə** ‘to break’ > Hausa *fasà* ‘to break, to shatter’; Kera *pese* ‘to hatch’; Ga’anda *fəl* ‘to break’; Sumerian *peš<sub>3</sub>* ‘to break, to smash, to shatter’.

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

t > {w,l,s/š} **U** {đ} **U** {t}  
 đ > {y,r,z} **U** {ŋ} **U** {d}

where **U** indicates set union. It is also possible that the *t/đ* in some cases was *-nt/-nd-* and somehow there was a shift to *-ng-* (*ŋ*).

The book is light on Turkic. Here are the Turkic words in addition the more far-removed ones above; Turkish *parçala* ‘to tear into pieces’; Karachay-Balkar *parala* ‘to tear/cut into pieces’, Turkish *pay* ‘share’. There are others e.g. *biç* (to cut, to mow), *bıçak* (knife), *bile* (to sharpen). These words are alleged to be derived from Chinese (what else is new) \*p<sub>1</sub>.

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 **pVt>tVt>kVt**. This means that the words should be of form *pVt*, *pVl*, *pVs*, *pVš*, *pVđ*, *pVr*, *pVz*, etc. Ditto for the *tVt* and *kVt* roots. For example the Egyptian words seem to show the morphology of Turkic words such as *kesiř*, *kesim*, *kesin*.

There are many words that seem to have been derived from this root including but not restricted to: **üle**, **üleř**, **ülüş**, and even **ölç** the same way that Karachay-Balkar **elt** is related to Turkish **ilet**, **ulař**, 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** ~ **şaman** 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** (ağzına 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).

► **yunmuş-yıkanmış** (HatV81:119: Azeri *yuwun*, Karachay-Balkar *cuwun*, to wash), another case of *w=K* equivalence in Turkic, e.g. *awna=ağna*, *taw=dağ*, *tuw=doğ*.

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

► **kıyı-köşe** (HatV81:105 köşe is probably equivalent to *kesek* thus may come from *kes*, which is also likely from *kıy* < *kıd*, thus both words are from the same root):

► **derli-toplu** (HatV81:43, *der*= *dür*=*düz*=*diz*, and *toplu* related to *sır*=Karachay-Balkar *cıy*, *coppu*).

► **eğri-büğrü** (HatV81:10: obviously from **eğil**, **bükül**; the root **eğ** is likely related to the words having to do with heaviness **ağır/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 **öğren**, **üren**, **oku**, etc; **us** is obviously related to words such as **usta**, **ustalık**, **ustad**, etc and may even be related to **uğut**, **uyut**.)

► **ağla-sızla** (HatV81:49: see **cıla-sarna**):

► **cıla-sarna** (In Karachay-Balkar, both meaning ‘to cry, and wail ‘one is cognate with Turkish **ağla** (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/çiğne/kayna/oyna** etc) equivalent to later –la). The related doublet in Turkish is **ağla –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).

► **bağır-çağır** (HatV81:90). Karachay-Balkar **maqa**=frog, **taşmaka**=tosbağa, **maqır**=to croak, to bleat, likely **bağır** < **maqır**, but **çağır/çaqır** seems to come out of nowhere. )

► **bulgur-bulamaaç** (HatV81:91). Karachay-Balkar **bilamuk** (porridge), likely from **\*bulğamuk** (stirred, mixed), same root as **bulğur** (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 -bılay** like that and like this  
**andan-mından** gradually, from all;  
**anda-sanda** rarely; a little;  
**arımay-talmay** indefatigably  
**arıqlıgı-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** *from* **appa-açı**  
**appaçıq** *from* **appa-açıq**  
**appayaz** *from* **appa-ayaz**  
**appa-adargı** tiny, wee; minuscule (this word shows the root of *az* (few))  
**appa-acayıb** very interesting, most interesting  
**appa-az** insignificant, a little  
**appa-azgın** absolutely exhausted; lean  
**appa-aybat** very beautiful, most beautiful  
**appa-aygır** 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-qarğış** oath-damnation; ~ **eterge** to swear  
**ant-qıral** *same as* **ant-qarğış**  
**analıq-atalıq** (-ğ1) parental attitudes/relations  
**analıq-balalıq** (-ğ1) motherly/filial relations  
**ana-bala** mother and child  
**aman-çuman** bad, worst  
**amallı-taqallı** enterprising; artful, resourceful  
**alış-beriş** sale and purchase; gamble; an exchange  
**alış-berişçi** 1) dealer; the businessman; 2) speculator  
**alım - berim** sale and purchase; an exchange  
**alma-çalma** *same as* **alma-malma**  
**alma-kertme** fruit (literally apples and pears);  
**allı-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; *bulas is likely related to bulut (cloud), bulanık (cloudy, muddled)*  
**alası-karası: toñuznu ~ coqdu** *saying* a pig is a pig whether white or black  
**alay-alay** so  
**alay- bılay** like this and that (*öyle-böyle*)  
**alğış-qarğış** toast and curse  
**aqırtın-aqırtın** *see* **aqırın-aqırın**

**aqırın-aqırın** on the sly, gradually, slow  
**aqıl-balıq** (-ğ1) maturity  
**aqsaqla-buqsaqla** *balk.* wretched, lame  
**aqlı-köklü** elegant; bright  
**aqğan-buqğan** shrinkage, loss  
**akkıl-tekkil** *eterge* to doubt; ~ *ete* hesitatingly.  
**akkıl-teñkil** *same as* **akkıl-tekkil**  
**akkala-ammala** grandfathers and grandmothers  
**az-buz** hardly, slightly  
**asxaq-soqur** *collect.(collective)* people with physical deficiencies, cripples  
**asırası-üstünü: bla aytırğa** or **cik cigine deri aytırğa** 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** *same as* **at-tuwar**  
**at-tuqum** name and surname  
**atı-başı: — da kerek tülkü** 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 caraşxan** able to agree, able get on (with)  
**axsınıw-tıxsınıw** sighes, complaints  
**açxa-boçxa** money, finance  
**aşarı-içeri** meal, foodstuffs  
**aşarık-içerik** (-gi) meal, provisions, foodstuffs  
**aşaw-caşaw** life, existence, the way one lives  
**aşaw-içiw** feast  
**aşaw-turmuş** *same as* **aşaw-caşaw**  
**aş-suw** victuals  
**aşxı-aman** good and bad ~ **la** good, and bad  
**aşıq-buşuq** (-ğ1) vanity, turmoil; haste;  
**ayağı-başı** clothes  
**ayaq-qasıq** (-ğ1) utensils  
**ayaqsız-qolsuz** without legs, without hands

**bab-başxa** completely another, absolutely other  
**bayla-biyle** propertied, rich men *disdain.*  
**baş-ayaq** (-ğ1) a head and legs (*of slaughter*)  
**başsız-tübsüz** evasive, uncertain(infinitive)  
**belewüt-xorata** negligent, roughly  
**beti-qutu; ~ ketib** having turned pale

**bet-qol**; **cuwarğa** to wash  
**bet-ırız** conscience  
**bile-bile** purposely, deliberately, intentionally; knowing  
**boza-sıra** drinks of home preparation  
**borç-qarç** debts  
**erşi-burşu** crumpled  
**busda** *pair to esde*  
**aşıq-buşuw** grief/sorrow, anxiety  
**tartınırğa- buyuğurğa** ~ to feel uncomfortable  
**bügün-bügeçe** any day now, one of these days; soon  
**bügün-tambla** today - tomorrow; one of these days  
**büsürew-sıpas** gratitude

**calnırğa-calbarırğa** to be humiliated, to implore  
**calnıw-calbarıw** entreaty; supplication; prayer  
**canı-qanı** soul  
**canı-tini** soul  
**cap-cañğı** completely new  
**cap-cañğız** unique, only one  
**cap-caşıl** very green  
**cappa-cañğı** very new  
**carlı-cazıq** (-ğı) 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  
**caş-quş** ( *also* ~ **la**) youth, young people; lads, guys  
**cel-boran** snowstorm  
**-cen** *pair to et-*; **et-cen** the blood, relative  
**cep (pe) -ceñgil** instantly  
**cer-curt** a native land, native places  
**ciz-miz** *see cizgi*; ~ **adam** fastidious, choosy man  
**colsuz-coruqsuz** without a step, without rules; indecently  
**coppa-cortuwuq**: ~ **at** trotter  
**coppa-coyulğan**: ~ **adam** the extremely spoiled man  
**coruqsuz-colsuz** dishonourable  
**cuppa-cuwaş** very quiet  
**cuwuq-teñ** friends - comrades; native, close  
**cuwuq-tüşün** relatives  
**cuwurğan-castıq** (-ğı) bed, bed accessories(belongings)  
**cıgıla-qoba** falling and again rising  
**cılaw-sarnaw** *same as* **cılaw-sarın**  
**cılaw-sarın** bewail the deceased, bemoan the deceased  
**cıp-cılı** very warm  
**cıppa-cılı** very warm

**çaçıw-quçuw** pogrom, massacre, smash, rout, crush

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

**darman-darı** medicines

**dawsuz-dawursuz** without dispute, without noise  
**dawsuz-qayğısız** without dispute, without efforts  
**dawur-süyür** *karach.* row, hubbub, din; noise, din  
**digil-migil 1)** *karach. disdain.* petty; ~ **çot** of a triviality  
**duğur-muğur** rough, uneven, hilly, bumpy  
**dukkul-dukkul** shreds/rags; ~ **eterge** to tear into shreds  
**duqurlu-çuñğurlu** rough; with hillocks and hollows  
**duqur-muqur** rough, uneven, hilly, bumpy  
**duquş-muquş** rough, uneven, hilly, bumpy  
**duppa-dubur** in pimples, in spots  
**duppa-duppuq** stupid, very stupid, blunt  
**duppa-duşman** sworn enemy  
**duppurlu-çuñğurlu** rough, with bumps and holes  
**dıbil-dıbil** *karach. imit* chat, ~ **eterge** to chat  
**dıbir-dıbir** *imit.* – trampling, running, footsteps  
**dıbirt-dıbirt** *imit.* - about tramping; ~ **deb çabarğa** a) to skip (*about the horse*); b) to rush, quickly (headlong) to run  
**dıbırtı-dıbırtı** *same as* **dıbirt-dıbirt**  
**dığır-duğur** *same as* **dığar-duğur**  
**dıkkılı-mıkkılı**; barely  
**dıkkı-mıkkı** barely

**ecigi-üstünü** *karach.* subtleties, detail  
**egeç-qarnaş** 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-ceñ** satellite; satrap, accomplice, stooge

**gap-gap** *balk.* ~ **etme!** *vulgar* do not bark!

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

**gappa-gaci** spoiled, fallen (*about the woman*);

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

**gin-gelendir** spicery

**guruşxa-guwa** of insult, reproaches

**guruşxalıq-guwalıq** (-ğ1) of insult, quarrel, scandal

**gıla ~ mıla: başıñı ~ mıla qısarğa** carelessly to tie a head by kerchief

**gıp-gıp** *imit.* - *about a shiver* ~ **eterge** a) to shiver (*for ex. for fear*); b) hardly to restrain;

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

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

**gıp-gırın** perfectly hollow

**xabur-çubur** *collect.* 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

**xıntır-mıntır** *disdain.* 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** *disdain.* - 1) stuff; things 2) squabbles

**xırttı-mırttı** rough

**xıyla-fitna** dodges; cheating

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

**xonşu-tiyre** the neighbours

**ıppa-raxat** completely quiet

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

**ışarmay- külmey** seriously, without a shadow of a smile

**işsiz-küçsüz** without business, without work and power

**iynaq quçaq ;**

**inci-marcan** precious jewelry

**juġar-juġur** *imit. about a roar*; **qaya ~ deb oyuldu** rock fell down with a roar

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

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

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

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

**köz-baş** body, physiognomy; **közün-başıñ bla körgüzürge** to mimic someone

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

**köz-qulaq**: ~ **bol!** look after!

**kül-kömür**: ~ **bolurġa** to turn to ashes

**külkü-oyun** fun

**küyerge-bişerge**: **küyedi-bişedi** he/she burns, experiences strong emotions

**qaġın soġun**; *literally* kagan shogun; **qaġın soġun etme**, do not make like lord and master.

**qaġış-soġuş** fight; **eterge** fight, scuffle

**qaġıt-qalam** writing accessories

**qax-qax** *imit. about cough*; **tañña deri ~ etib turdu** he coughed all night

**qax-qux** same as **qax-qax**

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

**qalġan-bulġan(la)** leavings, leftovers; scraps

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

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

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

**qarġa-qunduz** crow and raven (dark)

**qarġa-quzġun** birds;

**qarġış-söġüş** abuse, bad language, swearing, profanity, quarrel

**qarın-qurun** interiors, giblets

**qarnaş egeç** brother - sister

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

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

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

**qaş-baş** the person, physiognomy; ~ **tüyerge** to frown

**qatın-qız** *collect.* women (of all ages)

**qatın-qutun** *collect.* women

**qatı-qutu** . firm, rigid

**qatış- qutuş** *see* **qatış-qura**

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

**qatış-quralıq** (-ġı) *abstr. to* **qatış-qura** chaos, disorder

**qatxan-qutxan(la)** dried, dried pieces (*for ex. bread*)

**qaynarġa-börkerge** to boil - rage

**qıjġıl-mıjġıl**: ~ **dı** swarms (with); ~ **bolub tururġa** to swarm (with)

**qıl-qıl** *imit. - about* laughter

**qıñır-mıñır** curved; ~ **eterge** to bend

**qıp-qımıja** absolutely naked; ~ **bolurġa** to get naked

**qıp-qızğanç** very greedy  
**qıp-qızıl** very red; ~ **bolurğa** a) to be heated to red; b) to redden  
**qıptı-oymaq** sewing accessories(belongings)  
**qıyır-buçxaq** (-ğı) 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-ayağı** hand and leg, extremities;  
**qolu-butu** extremities  
**qor-sadaqa**: ~ **boldu** he/she was completely grateful  
**qoşmay-qoratmay** exactly as is, neither add nor omit  
**qulağı-tili bolmağan** deaf mute  
**-qun** pair to **qan**  
**qup-qurğa** 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** (-ğı) same as **qurt-qumursxa**  
**qurt-qumursxa** insects  
**-qurtu** pair to **cartı**  
**quş-qartçığa** birds  
**quş quş** same as **quş muş**  
**quşun-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** same as **quttu-quburan**  
**quwğunluq-qoduluq**: ~ **iş** noise, alarm, commotion, flurry  
**quw şuw** 1) deserted, abandoned place;~ 2) *figurative* suppressed; **nek** ~ **suz?** why you are silent?  
**quwuş-tüyüş** fight, beating

**law -law** mimicking jabbering, chatting  
**loppa-loxpayçıq** (-ğı) the well-fed child  
**lüw-lüw** shaky, shaking  
**lyaw-lyaw** same as **law-law**  
**lay-lay** same as **law-law**

**mallı-mülklü** rich, solvent, propertied  
**mal-mülk** property; riches  
**mappa-mazallı** large, very large  
**mappa-maştaq** undersized, shortish  
**mart-gurt**( ~ **la**) spring (*nine days of old year* **mart**, **gurt** and **cuq** – for three days in each, approximately 8 - march 16,  
**martla-gurtla** same as **mart-gurt(la)**  
**menden-andan** from somebody  
**meppe-melte** very dirty

**mippa-miskin** *karach.* 1) pitiable, pitiful, unfortunate 2) beggar  
**mur-çuru balk.** *same as umur-çumur*; ~ **eterge** crumble, chop; hack to pieces  
**mippa-mılı** wet

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

**op-sop** *expression*

**öle-qala** *same as ölmey-qalmay*  
**öltürüw-ölüw** a very bad scandal, fate worse than death  
**öltürüşüw-ölüşüw** scandal, quarrel  
**öltürüşüw-qalışıw** *same as öltürüşüw-ölüşüw*  
**ölüm-acal** death, destruction  
**öpke-bawur** interiors, entrails  
**öppe-örge** very high  
**öppe-ötürük** absolutely false, certain lie  
**örge-eñişge** 1) upwards – downwards

**pırx-çırx** *imit. - about* chuckle, giggle, snicker

**sanı-süyegi** constitution  
**sansız-sanamsız** infinite quantity  
**sansız-sanawsuz** infinite  
**sañıraw-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:** ~ **bolurğa** be in good health, alive - healthy  
**sawluq-esenlik** (-gi) health, well-being;  
**sawluq-salamatlıq** (-ğı) well-being, health  
**saw-salamat** *same as salamat*; alive and healthy  
**saw-şaw:** ~ **ese da** whether is alive, whether is dead; alive or dead  
**sawut-saba** 1) utensils, home utensils 2) equipment  
**sawut-sadaq** (-ğı) arms, equipment  
**selte-melte; kesini** ~ **kibik eterge** fool (about), play tricks, play the fool  
**sep-semiz** greasy  
**sep-ser** very absent-minded  
**sep-seyir** surprising, perfect  
**seyir-tamaşa** wonder, miracle, marvel  
**sıla-mıla** or **sıla mıla** filled up to the top  
**sılab-sıypab tururğa** to care  
**sıp-sılxır** silly  
**sıp-sıydım** smooth  
**sıyı-sırı:** ~ **bolğan adam** man with faultless (worthy) reputation  
**soppa-soqur** *same as sop-soqur*  
**sop-soqur** absolutely blind



**sözçü-qaygıcı** squabbler, trouble-maker  
**söz-qaygı** false rumors; idle gossip, loose talk  
**suppa- suwuq** *same as sup-suwuq*  
**suppa-subay** *same as sup-subay*  
**sup-subay**- very much slender  
**sup-suwuq** ice, very cold

**şapıl-şupul** *imit. sounds of plopping/splashing in water*  
**şappa-şatık** *same as şap-şatık*  
**şap-şatık** very fragile  
**şap-şup** *imit. sounds of splashing/slapping; b) to slap each other*  
**şaytan-cek** (-gi) evil spirit, devil, evil forces  
**şaytan-cin** *same as şaytan-cek şaytan-ibilis same as şaytan-cek*  
**şopul-şupul** *imit. - about sounds walking in water*  
**şorq-şorq** *imit. sound of a brook(stream), river, splash of water*

**tappa-taza** very pure, very clean  
**tap-taza** very pure, very clean  
**tarq-turq** *imit. knocking sounds*  
**tart-soz**: ~ **eterge** to stretch, drag out  
**tarx-turx** shots; ~ **tawuşla** skirmish, exchange of fire  
**tawuşsuz-tüyüşsüz** silently - peacefully  
**tawuş-tüyüş** fuss, fight  
**tent-ment**: ~ **eterge** *karach* to hesitate  
**teñgiz-terk** *same as terk-teñgiz*  
**tep-teñ** just, exactly, a hair, to a hair's breadth, to a tag; **terk-teñgiz** 1. multitude; great number, a quantity, thousands (of), a host (of), lots of  
**töppe-tögerek** *same as töp-tögerek* very round  
**töp-tögerekde** around, everywhere  
**töp-tögerekden** from everywhere, from all vicinities  
**töşek-castıq** (-ğı) bed accessories(belongings)  
**töşe-möşe** *same as töşeme*  
**tin-tençek** (-gi) flesh  
**tint-mint** fuss;  
**tip-tik** very steep  
**tişi-başı** 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** *same as top-top*  
**topul-tupul** trampling sounds of walking  
**toxtawnı-tınnı**: ~ **bilmegen** unruly, frolicsome, playful, prankster, fidget  
**tuz-gırcın** bread and salt

**tuquş-muquş** 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  
**tığla-suğula**: ~ **aylanırğa** poke/dart about; dart in and out, slip, dart; run about, run  
**tıqal-tuqul** *imit.* - about gurgling,  
**tıqar-tuqur** *imit.* - about noise for ex. breaking branches  
**tıq-tıqlama** packed, chock-full, chock-a-block, full up  
**tıqır-mıqır** *imit.* noise, rustling,  
**tıqır-tıqır** same as **tıqır-mıqır**  
**tıl tıl**; ~ **da qulluqeterge** to serve on the home front  
**tılı- mılı**: ~ **adam** lax man  
**tınçlıq-rahathıq (-ğı)** same as **tınçlıq-esenlik**  
**tınçlıq-esenlik** (-gi) well-being; health  
**tınç-esen** life, existence, the way one lives  
**tıpal-tupul** *imit.* - flop, plop  
**tıpar-tupur** *imit.* - about noise of steps, trampling  
**tıppa-tınç**, **tıp-tınç** very quiet  
**tır-tır** clodhopper, bumpkin  
**tüb-baş** *ethn.* dowry (as a marriage portion);  
**tüb-tereki** inheritance, property left in the inheritance  
**tüyme-ilgik** (- gi) clasp; buttons and loops  
**tüyüş-uruş** 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. slow, sluggish  
  
**uçxun-kebelek**: ~ **bolurğa** to not find to itself a place  
**umur-çumur** *karach.* into smithereens, crumbs  
**uppa-uzaq** (-ğı). very distant  
**uppa-uşaş** copy, similar as two drops of water  
**uppa-çuppa** kisses; ~ **eterge** to kiss  
**uruş-tüyüş** quarrel, scandal  
**uwaq-tüyek** (-gi) any triviality; fine subjects, product  
**uçsuz-qıyrsız** boundless; incalculable;  
**uyalmay-tartınmay** freely, easily, without embarrassment  
**uyat-xayat** shame and conscience;  
  
**zappa-zar** very much envious  
**zappa-zarır** completely in vain, in vain  
**zığar-zuğur** *imit.* gnashing sounds, such as rocks  
**zıңnar-zuңnur** *imit.* clanking of a chain, ringing sound