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NOTES: Version 1
Role of Reduplication in Turkic:
İkilemes (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 **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 > aşıq** via slang usage or metaphor? The word **buşuw** 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 **Aparytæ**, **Aparıdı**, **Abaris/Avaris**, **Obur/Obr**, **Apar/Avar**, **Epir/Epirus**. **Obur may also be connected with Ogur and thus Apar. But these words show up**

Aparytæ	(Persian satrapy people, right next to Dadacæ, 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 > sapor (sepharad) Sparta? Sпарта(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 **siğın** (moose, elk), **siğın** (dung, Karachay-Balkar)). We should also note the analogy **tuwar/davar** to **tezek** as **siğır** is to **siğın**. 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).

► **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 **tлтăġ** (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 $t > s > 0$.

► **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 **đ>z**, and **đ>r**, and **đ>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 **tuşu** 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 **uřak** (**uwuřak?*) which in Turkish also means ‘child, infant, boy’. The words **uřa** (to resemble), and **okřa** (to caress, fondle) may be derived from this. The phrase ‘gözüm okřadı’ 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), **ukuř** (to understand, to discern, Clauson72:96), **uy** (to follow), **um** (to expect something for the future), **umut** (hope), **uęur/oęur** (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 **yoęurt/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, **akil** (which is said to be from Arabic, **aql/akl**). It is not clear if **aęęı** (intelligence), **aęęıla/anıla** 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/öęren**, again likely related to **ükren/*ikren*. The word **uř** 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. *sıręa* (ear ring), *sırık* (thin long thing) e.g. something on which bead-like things could be strung up.

► **[.]alas-bulas** (TavU:197) (**karıřık- bulařık**; see next entry). In this case the missing **[.]** could be /k/ and related to **karıřık- bulařık**. 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’.)

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

► **duppur-duppuř** (In Karachay-Balkar, hillock, mound; the second is slang usage of ‘Mound of Venus’) displaying the classic *lr vs řz* 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, UdmortUdmurt, 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 $t > k$ 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** (Clouston72:828) (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)

► **gıçır- gıçır** (HatV81:99: Sumerian **gıgir** (wheel) seems to be duplicated, therefore **gırgır** > **gıgir**; 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^[h]as^y-/*p^[h]as^y-** ‘to split, to cleave, to break, to shatter’; Proto-Dravidian ***pá(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-, paiy* ‘to divide’; Naikri *payk* ‘to distribute’; Parji *payp* ‘to share’; Gadba (Salur) *pay* ‘to divide into shares’, *payp* ‘to distribute’; Pengo *paspa* ‘to divide, to distribute; Kui *pahpa* ‘to share, to apportion’, *pahaři* ‘part, portion’; Proto-Uralic ***pas^ya** ‘to break, to shatter, to tear, to split’ (Votyak/Udmurt *pas* ‘hole, opening’; Zyrian/Komi *pas* in *paśmun* ‘to shatter into fragments, to fall and scatter, to fall and shatter’; Selkup Samoyed *páase, pas* ‘fissure, tear, break’; Kamassian *buzoj* ‘a crack, crack in floor, tear’, *puzoj* ‘cleft, tear’; Proto-Afroasiatic ***p^[h]as^y/*p^[h]as^y** ‘to split, cleave, to sever’ (Proto-Semitic ***p^[h]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 disjoint, 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 *peš₃* ‘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/δ in some cases was $-nt/-n\delta$ and somehow there was a shift to $-ng-$ (η).

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) *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 $pVt>tVt>kVt$. 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 *kese* 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 a **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 -bilay like that and like this
andan-mından gradually, from all;
anda-sanda rarely; a little;
arımay-talmay indefatigably
arıqlığı-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 (-gı) parental attitudes/relations
analıq-balalıq (-gı) 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: **tonğuznu** ~ **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 (-ğı) 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 töldü 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
aşarıq-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 (-ğı) vanity, turmoil; haste;
ayağı-başı clothes
ayaq-qasıq (-ğı) utensils
ayaqsız-qolsuz without legs, without hands

bab-başxa completely another, absolutely other
bayla-biyle propertied, rich men *disdain.*
baş-ayaq (-ğı) 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*
aşiq-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-cañrı completely new
cap-cañrıız unique, only one
cap-caşıl very green
cappa-cañrı 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) -ceñnil 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)
cığıla-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
çımmaq very white; ~ **aq**; snow-white; short for **çımma 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-çuğurlu 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-çuğurlu 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
dıbirtdı-dıbirtdı 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 (-ğı) 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-girtçi 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

ışsız-küçsüz without business, without work and power
ıynaq 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; ~ **deseñ 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-qızganc 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
qıytiq-mıytiq 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-loxpayçiq (-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
muru-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-qaygıçı squabblers, 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 (-gı) 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
tûğıla-suğûla: ~ **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-tereke 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-qıyırsız 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
ziğar-zuğur *imit.* gnashing sounds, such as rocks
ziğar-zuğur *imit.* clanking of a chain, ringing sound