



## The Proverb of *tama tama köl bolur* in modern Turkic Languages\*

### Modern Türk Dillerinde *tama tama köl bolur* Atasözü

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#### ABSTRACT

The Turkic languages and dialects are spoken across a vast area from Pacific to the Baltic Sea, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. There are several proverbs and many idioms in the Orkhon Inscriptions. Proverbs are also found in the Turkic literature of the periods after the Orkhon inscriptions. The *Dîwân Luğât at-Türk* from the Karakhanid state contains many proverbs. One of them is *birin birin miş bolur tama tama köl bolur* “One by one becomes a thousand, drop by drop becomes a pond.”

This proverb is found in Ottoman Turkish as *Damlaya damlaya göl olur – duşman gözü kör olur* “изъ капель образуется озеро, глаза врага слѣпы – aus vielen Tropfen bildet sich der See, die Augen des Feindes sind blind.” and *Damla damla göl olur düşmen gözi kör olur* “Goutte à goutte le lac se remplit; peu à peu l’oeil de l’ennemi s’affaiblit / Tropfen werden zum See; auch das Auge des Feindes mit der Zeit blind.”

In the present paper we will treat this proverb and its related forms in modern Turkic languages.

**Keywords:** *Dîwân Luğât at-Türk*, idioms, proverbs, *tama tama köl bolur*, Turkic languages and dialects

#### ÖZET

Türk dil ve lehçeleri Pasifik'ten Baltık Denizi'ne ve Kuzey Buz Denizi'nden Basra Körfezi'ne kadar uzanan geniş bir alanda konuşulur. Orhon yazıtlarında birkaç atasözü ve birçok deyim vardır. Orhon yazıtlarından sonraki dönemlere ait Türk edebiyatında da atasözleri bulunur. Karahanlı devletinden bir eser olan *Dîwânü Luğâti'l-Türk* birçok atasözü içermektedir. Bunlardan biri de *birin birin miş bolur tama tama köl bolur* “Birer birer bin olur, damlaya damlaya göl olur”dur.

Bu atasözü, Osmanlı Türkçesinde *Damlaya damlaya göl olur – duşman gözü kör olur* ve *Damla damla göl olur düşmen gözi kör olur* olarak bulunur.

Bu yazıda modern Türk dillerindeki bu atasözünü ve ilgili şekillerini de ele alacağız.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Dîwânü Luğâti'l-Türk*, deyimler, atasözleri, *tama tama köl bolur*, Türk dil ve lehçeleri

## EXTENDED ABSTRACT

The Turkic languages and dialects are spoken across a vast area from Pacific to the Baltic Sea, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Persian Gulf. The modern Turkic peoples descend from an ancient grouping of tribes who, through conquest, interaction and assimilation, extended its language and elements of its culture across Eurasia. In addition to the inherited items, the Turkic languages have numerous lexical items which have been copied from non-Turkic languages.

There are several proverbs and many idioms in the Orkhon Inscriptions. Proverbs are also found in the Turkic literature of the periods after the Orkhon inscriptions. The *Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk* from the Karakhanid state contains many proverbs. One of them is *birin birin miñ bolur tama tama köl bolur* “One by one becomes a thousand, drop by drop becomes a pond.”

This proverb is found in Ottoman Turkish as follows:

*Damlaya damlaya göl olur – duşman gözü kör olur* “изъ капель образуется озеро, глаза врага слѣпы – aus vielen Tropfen bildet sich der See, die Augen des Feindes sind blind.”

طمله طمله گول اولور دولمن كوزى كور اولور *Damla damla göl olur düşmen gözi kör olur* “Goutte à goutte le lac se remplit; peu à peu l’oeil de l’ennemi s’affaiblit / Tropfen werden zum See; auch das Auge des Feindes mit der Zeit blind.”

This proverb and its related forms in modern Turkic languages are treated in the present paper. As a result of this study, it was possible to find the following points:

1. The proverb *Tama tama köl bolur* is found in the same or slightly different form in many of the modern Turkic languages like Turkish, Gagauz, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Salar, Uzbek, Uyghur, Crimean Tatar, Urum, Karaim (Crimean dial.), Karachay-Balkar, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkir, Kyrgyz, Khakas, and Chuvash.

2. The proverb *Tama tama köl bolur* is not found in a few languages like Kumyk, Nogay, Tuvan, and Yakut.

3. Some forms are common to the languages spoken near each other.

4. Some forms are common to the languages spoken far away from each other.

5. Some forms are found only in one language.

The proverb *Tama tama köl bolur* can be compared to the following proverbs of other languages:

Per. قطره قطره جمع گردد وانگهی دریا شود *Qaṭra qaṭra jam ‘ gardad wa āngahī daryā šawad* “Drops accumulate and then become a river.”

Chin. 滴水成河 *dīshuǐ chéng hé* “Falling water drops become a river.”

Rus. *Капля за каплей – получается озеро; без единой капли – пустыня* “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See, ohne einen einzigen Tropfen [entsteht] eine Wüste.”

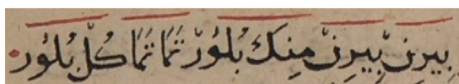
Ger. *Aus Tropfen wird ein großer Fluß, aus Flüssen ein See* “Out of drops becomes a great river, from rivers a lake.”

Mong. *Дуслыг хураавал далай, Дуулсныг хураавал эрдэм* “Ocean comes from collecting drops; Knowledge comes from collecting what you learn.” (Raymond 2014: 99)

## 1. Introduction

The Turkic languages and dialects are spoken across a vast area from Pacific to the Baltic Sea, and from the Arctic Ocean to the Persian Gulf (Tekin & Ölmez 1999: 9). The modern Turkic peoples descend from an ancient grouping of tribes who, through conquest, interaction and assimilation, extended its language and elements of its culture across Eurasia (Golden 1998: 16). In addition to the inherited items, the Turkic languages have numerous lexical items which have been copied from non-Turkic languages (Johanson 1998: 119).

There are several proverbs and many idioms in the Orkhon Inscriptions, the earliest known records of Turkic.<sup>1</sup> Proverbs are also found in the Turkic literature of the periods after the Orkhon inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> The *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk* from the Karakhanid state contains many proverbs.<sup>3</sup> One of them is *birin birin miḡ bolur tama tama köl bolur* “One by one becomes a thousand, drop by drop becomes a pond.” (p. 602) (DLT II 333)



This proverb is given in Nadeljajev *et al.* (1969) as follows:

**МИД** тысяча: ...; birin birin miḡ bolur tama tama köl bolur один по одному — будет тысяча, капля по капле — будет озеро (МК III 360) (344b)

**ТАМ-** капать: ...; birin birin miḡ bolur tama tama köl bolur [если взять много раз] по одному, получается тысяча, [если взять много раз] по капле (*букв.* капающая-капающая), получается озеро (*QBN* 201<sub>13</sub>) (529b).

*QBN* 201<sub>13</sub> is an editorial error for МК III 360, because it denotes the copy of the *Qutaḡu Bilig* found in Namangan.

This proverb is found in Ottoman Turkish as follows:

*Damlaya damlaya göl olur – duşman gözü kör olur* “изъ капель образуется озеро, глаза врага слѣпы – aus vielen Tropfen bildet sich der See, die Augen des Feindes sind blind.” (VW III 1652-1653, No. 295)

*Damla damla göl olur düşmen gözi kör olur* “Goutte à goutte le lac se remplit; peu à peu l’oeil de l’ennemi s’affaiblit / Tropfen werden zum See; auch das Auge des Feindes mit der Zeit blind.” (OS 96-97)

In the present paper, we will treat this proverb and its related forms in modern Turkic languages.<sup>4</sup>

1 For details see Tekin 1995: 19-21.

2 For details see Ölmez 2009: 55-63.

3 For details see Ölmez 2009: 58-63.

4 For the other proverbs see Ölmez 2009: 58-63.

## 2. *tama tama köl bolur* in modern Turkic Languages

This proverb and its related forms appear in modern Turkic languages as follows<sup>5</sup>:

### (1) Turkish

*Damlaya damlaya göl olur* “Azar azar olagelen şeyler birikerek önemli bir niceliğe ulaşacağı için küçümsenmemelidir.” (TS 591b), “Little by little one saves a lot” (RTED 271a), “Take care of the pennies and the pounds will take of themselves.” (OTED 122a), “(Drop by drop a lake is formed.) A little at a time makes a lot.” (RÇTİ 88b), “From drops to a lake.” (Yurtbaşı 1993: 339a), “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See.” (TSSR 489)

*Damlıya damlıya göl olur* “Капля по капле – получается озеро.” (TRS 208c)

*Damlaya damlaya göl olur; (aka aka sel olur)* “By drops it may be a pond.” (Yurtbaşı 1993: 361a)

*Damlaya damlaya göl olur; aka aka sel olur* “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See, durch beständiges Fließen entsteht ein Sturzbach.” (TSSR 490)

*Damlacıktan sel olur* “Aus Tröpfchen wird ein Sturzbach.” (TSSR 490)

### (2) Gagauz

*Damnaya-damnaya göl olur* “Капля по капле образует озеро.” (GRMS 118a; TSSR 489)

### (3) Azerbaijani

*Dama-dama göl olar; dada-dada həç* “Drop by drop a lake is formed; by tasting – nothing.” (ADIL I 530b; Beydili 2004: 80)

*Dama-dama göl olar; axa-axa səl* “Drop by drop a lake is formed; by flowing – the torrent.” (Hüseynzade 1985: 238; TSSR 490)

### (4) Turkmen

*Dama-dama – köl bolar; hiç dammaşa çöl bolar* “Капля по капле – озеро будет, нет ни капли – пустыня будет.” (TmRS 245a, 412b)

*Dama-dama köl bolar; xiç dammaşa çöl bolar* “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See, wenn nichts tropft, entsteht eine Wüste.” (TSSR 490)

*Köp damjadan köl bolar* “Aus vielen Tröpfchen wird ein See.” (TSSR 490)

5 The author could find neither this proverb nor its related forms in the Turkic languages (and dialects) such as South Oghuz, Khorasan Turkic, Altay, Chulym Turkic, Yellow Uyghur, Fuyü Kyrgyz, Dolgan, and Khalaj.

**(5) Salar**

*Tama-tama köl volar* “Drop by drop a lake is formed.” (Han & Ma 2010: 120a)

**(6) Uzbek**

*Tâmâ-tâmâ köl bolur* “Капля по капле образует озеро.” (URS 229b, 442a)

*Tâmâ-tâmâ köl bolar* “Drop by drop a lake is formed.” (ÖTIL I 414b)

*Tâmâ-tâmâ köl bolur; hêç tâmmâsâ çöl bolur* “Drop by drop a lake is formed; when there is not a drop – the desert is formed.” (ÖTIL II 201a, 386a, 695a)

*Tâma-tâma köl bolur; hêç tâmmasa çöl bolur* “Drop by drop a lake is formed; when there is not a drop – the desert is formed.” (TSSR 490)

**(7) Uyghur**

*Tama-tama köl bolar* “Drop by drop a lake is formed.” (UyXLa 842b; UyXLb 207b; XUyL 163b; TSSR 489)

*Tama-tama köl tolar* “Drop by drop a lake is filled.” (UyXLa 259b)

*Köp tükürse köl bolur* “Если все люди (букв. если многие) плюнет, образует озеро.” (UjRS 337a; UyXLa 335b; UyXLb 211a)

*Köp tükürse, köl bolar* “If many spit, a lake is formed.” (UyXLa 817b).

**(8) Crimean Tatar**

*Tama-tama göl olur, aqa-aqa sel olur* “Drop by drop a lake is formed; by flowing the torrent is formed.” (QBAT 17; TSSR 490)

*Çoqluq tükürse, göl olur* “If many spit, a lake is formed.” (QBAT 19)

(Krymchak dial.)

*Tamla-tamla göl' olir* “Капля по капле – озеро будет.” (Rebi 2004: 180)

*Tamla, tamla göl' olir* “Капля по капле – озеро будет.” (Açkinazi 2004: 91)

**(9) Urum**

*Tama-tama köl' boliy* “Краплина по краплині – набирається озеро.” (US 272a)

*Tama-tama köl' boliy/boluy* “Краплина по краплині – набирається озеро.” (US 420a)

*Tama-tama köl' boluy* “Калюжа утворюється по краплі.” (US 110a)

*Tam-nam, tam-nam göl' oluy* “Краплина по краплині – набирається озеро.” (US 133a)

*Tam-nam, tam-nam göl' oluy / yavun yavay* “Краплина по краплині – набирається озеро / иде дощ.” (US 421a)

#### (10) Karaim (Crimean dial.)

*Damla, damla göl olur – duşman gözü kör olur* “Drop by drop a lake is filled; the enemy becomes blind.” (Proben II 395, No. 143)

#### (11) Kumyk

*Tama-tama köp bolur* “Drop by drop it becomes much.” (Öztürk & Uyanık 2006: 224 ; Pekacar 2006: 202)

#### (12) Karachay-Balkar

*Tama-tama köl bolur, aya-aya söl bolur* “По капле озеро набирается, по капле истекает.” (KBRS 601a)

*Tama-tama köl bolur, qona-qona el bolur* “Из капель озеро образуется, из поселенцев – село.” (KBRS 601a)

*Köl da tama-tama boladı* “По капле и озеро набирается.” (KBRS 339a), krč. “Auch der See entsteht aus einzelnen Tropfen.” (TSSR 489)

blk. *Köp tamčidan köl bolur* “Aus vielen Tropfen entsteht ein See.” (TSSR 490)

#### (13) Kazakh

*Tama-tama köl bolar* “Drop by drop a lake is formed.” (QQS 1104b)

*Tamšidan tama berse dariya bolar* “If it drips from drops, a river is formed.” (QQS 1106a)

*Tamšidan tama berse däriya bolar* “If it drips from drops, a river is formed.” (QQS 306a)

*Tamšidan tama-tama darya bolar* “Aus einzelnen Tropfen entsteht ein Fluß.” (TSSR 490)

*Tama berse, tamšidan dariya bolar* “If it drips, a river is formed from drops.” (Keykin 2014: 605)

*Köp tükirse köl bolar* “If many spits, a lake is formed.” (QQS 1210b)

*Köp tükirse köl boladı* “Если все плюнут, получится море” (KzRS 398b)

*Köp tükirse, köl boladı, köp birikse, yel boladı* “If many spit, a lake is formed; if many [people] unite, a nation is formed.” (Keykin 2014: 44)

**(14) Karakalpak**

*Tama-tama köl bolar, bir tambasa şöl bolar* “Капля за каплей – озеро будет, ни одной капли не капнет – пустыня будет.” (KkRS 616a), “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See, wenn nichts tropft, entsteht eine Wüste.” (TSSR 490)

**(15) Nogay**

*Köp tükirse köl bolar* “Если много народу плюнет, то образуется озеро.” (NRS 178a)

*Köp tükirse, köl bolar* “Если много народу плюнет, то образуется озеро.” (NRS 369b)

**(16) Tatar**

*Tamçi tama-tama küi bula* “Капля по капле образуется озеро.” (TtRS 336a, 514a; TSSR 489)

*Il tökërse küi bula* “Если мир плюнет образуется озеро.” (TtRS 336a) (с миру по нитке – голому рубашка)

*Bër tökërse bër bulir, il tökërse küi bulir* “С миру по нитке – голому рубашка (букв. если плюнет один, то это будет одно, а если плюнет мир, то образуется озеро)” (TtRS 165a)

*Il tökërse küi bula, bër tökërse yuk bula* “Один в поле не воин (букв. если мир плюнет – озеро образуется, если один плюнет – ничего не образуется)” (TtRS 574a)

**(17) Bashkir**

*Tamsi tamip küi bula* “По капельке образуется озеро.” (BRSa 504b), “По капельке озеро образуется.” (BRSb 583b)

*Tamsi tamip küi yahay, tin üyülip hum yahay* “Капля за каплей образуют озеро, копейка по копейке образуют рубль.” (BRSa 504a)

**(18) Kyrgyz<sup>6</sup>**

*Köp tükürsö, köl bolot* “Если множество плюнет, будет озеро.” (KgRS 779b; KgTTS 628b; Ibraimov 2005: 134)

6 On 20 March 2019, the author was informed about this proverb per email by Dr. Rysbek Alimov, a Kyrgyz associate professor of the Department of Turkish Language and Literature at Izmir Kâtip Çelebi University, as follows: “*Damlaya damlaya göl olur*’un *Kırgızcası Köp tükürsö köl bolot*, yani çok kimse tükürürse, o tükürüklerden göl olur.” [The Kyrgyz form of *Damlaya damlaya göl olur* is *Köp tükürsö köl bolot*, i.e. If many people spit, it becomes lake from the spits.]

“Kırgızcada “(tamçı) *tama tama köl bolot*” deyişi de vardır ancak bu daha az bilinir ve daha az kullanılır.” [In Kyrgyz there is also the idiom “(tamçı) *tama tama köl bolot*” but this is less known and less used.]

In fact, *tama tama köl bolot* is not found in KgRS, KgTTS, and Şambajev 1979. It seems to be the case in Kazakh, too. *Tama-tama köl bolar* is not found in KzRS and Keykin 2014.



*Köp tükürsö köl bolot, köl tolkusa sel bolot* “Мир по слюнке плюнет – озеро будет, озеро взбушует – сель образует.” (Šambajev 1979: 206; Ibraimov 2005: 134)

*Köp tükürsö – köl, köl tolkusa – sel* “If many spit, a lake [is formed]; if a lake goes wild, flood [occurs].” (Ibraimov 2005: 134)

*Tama – tama köl bolot* “Drop by drop a lake is formed.” (Ibraimov 2005: 184)

*Köp tamčidan köl bolot* “From many drops a lake is formed.” (Ibraimov 2005: 134)

### (19) Khakas

*Tamjixtaŋ tamjix – köl püdīrer* “По капле и озеро набирается.” (XRS 198a)

### (20) Tuvan

*Damdidan dalay büder* “Из капель образуется море.” (TvRSa 134a; TvRSb 146b)

### (21) Yakut

*Otonnōtoххо оŋōуuk tuolar* “Собирать по яголке – лукошко наполнится (соотв. капля по капле – море будет).” (JRS 274a, 280b)

### (22) Chuvash

*Tumlam šine tumlam – külē pulat’, ulām šine ulām – ura pulat’, pērcē šine pērcē – yētem kășālē pulat’* “Tropfen für Tropfen entsteht ein See, Halm für Halm entsteht ein Heuschaber, Körnchen für Körnchen entsteht ein Getreidehaufen auf der Tenne.” (TSSR 489, 491)

*Tumlakān-tumlakān tāpa tulat’, pērcēn-pērcēn pērne pušanat’* “Tropfen für Tropfen füllt sich ein Wasser, Körnchen für Körnchen leert sich ein Korb.” (TSSR 489)

*Tumlamān-tumlamān tāpa pulat’, pērcēn-pērcēn pērne pušanat’* “Tropfen für Tropfen entsteht ein Wasser, Körnchen für Körnchen leert sich ein Korb.” (TSSR 489, 491)

*Tumlamran širma pulat’* “Из капель образуется река.” (ČRSa 440a), “Aus Tropfen wird ein Bach.” (TSSR 490, 491)

*Tumlamran tinēs pulat’* “Aus Tropfen wird ein Meer.” (TSSR 490, 491)

*Pērer pērcēkēn pērne tulat’* “По зёрнышку кузов наполняется.” (ČRSa 274a), “Кузов по зёрнышку наполняется.” (ČRSb 292a), “Körnchen für Körnchen füllt sich der Korb.” (TSSR 490)

*Ukša šumne ukša хursan, хутаś tulat’* “Денежку к денежке приложишь, кисет наполнится.” (ČRSa 512b), “Wenn man Geldstück zu Geldstück legt, füllt sich der Beutel.” (TSSR 490)

### 3. Conclusion

As a result of this study, it was possible to find the following points:

1. The proverb *Tama tama köl bolur* is found in the same or slightly different form in many of the modern Turkic languages like Turkish, Gagauz, Azerbaijani, Turkmen, Salar, Uzbek, Uyghur, Crimean Tatar, Urum, Karaim (Crimean dial.), Karachay-Balkar, Kazakh, Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkir, Kyrgyz, Khakas, and Chuvash.
2. The proverb *Tama tama köl bolur* is not found in a few languages like Kumyk, Nogay, Tuvan, and Yakut.
3. Some forms are common to the languages spoken near each other.

(1) Trk. *Damlaya damlaya göl olur*

Gag. *Damnaya-damnaya göl olur*

(2) Trk. *Damlaya damlaya göl olur; aka aka sel olur*

Az. *Dama-dama göl olar; axa-axa sël*

CTat. *Tama-tama göl olur; aqa-aqa sel olur*

Krch.-Blk. *Tama-tama köl bolur; aya-aya söl bolur*

(3)<sup>7</sup> Tkm. *Dama-dama – kōl bolar; hīč dammaša čöl bolar*

Uz. *Tâmâ-tâmâ köl bolur; hēč tâmmâsâ čöl bolur*

Kkp. *Tama-tama köl bolar; bir tambasa šöl bolar*

(4) Tat. *Tamčï tama-tama küil bula*

Bash. *Tamsi tamip küil bula*

(5) Uyg. *Köp tükürse köl bolur / bolar*

Kaz. *Köp tükirse köl bolar / boladı*

Kyr. *Köp tükürsö, köl bolot*

4. Some forms are common to the languages spoken far away from each other.

(1) Tkm. *Köp damjadan köl bolar*

7 Cf. Rus. *Капля за каплей – получается озеро; без единой капли – пустыня* “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See, ohne einen einzigen Tropfen [entsteht] eine Wüste.” (TSSR 490).

Blk. *Köp tamčidan köl bolur*

Kyr. *Köp tamčidan köl bolot*

(2) Uyg. *Köp tükürse köl bolur / bolar* ↔ CTat. *Čoqluq tükürse, göl olur*

Uyg. *Köp tükürse köl bolur / bolar* ↔ Nog. *Köp tükürse köl bolar*

CTat. *Čoqluq tükürse, göl olur* ↔ Kyr. *Köp tükürsö, köl bolot*

Nog. *Köp tükürse köl bolar* ↔ Kyr. *Köp tükürsö, köl bolot*

(3) Tuv. *Damdıdan dalay büder*

Chuv. *Tumlamran tinës pulat'*

5. Some forms are found only in one language.

(1) Trk. *Damlacıktan sel olur*

(2) Az. *Dama-dama göl olar; dada-dada həc*

(3) Uyg. *Tama-tama köl tolar*

(4) CTat. *Čoqluq tükürse, göl olur*

(5) Ur. *Tam-nam, tam-nam yavun yayay*

(6) Kar. (C) *Damla, damla göl olur – duşman gözü kör olur*

(7) Kmk. *Tama-tama köp bolur*

(8) Krch.-Blk. *Tama-tama köl bolur; qona-qona el bolur*

(9) Krch.-Blk. *Köl da tama-tama boladı*

(10) Kaz. *Tamşidan tama berse dariya bolar ~ Tama berse, tamşidan dariya bolar*

(11) Kaz. *Tamşidan tama-tama darya bolar*

(12) Kaz. *Köp tükürse, köl boladı, köp birikse, yel boladı*

(13) Tat. *Il tőkərse kül bula*

(14) Tat. *Il tőkərse kül bula, bër tőkərse yuk bula*

(15) Tat. *Bër tőkərse bër bulir; il tőkərse kül bulir*

(16) Bash. *Tamsi tamip kül yahay, tin yiyilip hum yahay*

- (17) Kyr. *Köp tükürsö köl bolot, köl tolkusa sel bolot* ~ *Köp tükürsö – köl, köl tolkusa – sel*
- (18) Khak. *Tamjixtay tamjix – köl püdirer*
- (19) Tuv. *Damdıdan dalay büder*
- (20) Yak. *Otonnōtoxxo oñōyuk tuolar*
- (21) Chuv. *Tumlam šine tumlam – külě pulat', ulām šine ulām – ura pulat', pěrčě šine pěrčě – yětem kášälě pulat'*
- (22) Chuv. *Tumlakān-tumlakān tāpa tulat', pěrčēn-pěrčēn pěrne pušanat'*
- (23) Chuv. *Tumlamān-tumlamān tāpa pulat', pěrčēn-pěrčēn pěrne pušanat'*
- (24) Chuv. *Tumlamran širma pulat'*
- (25) Chuv. *Tumlamran tiněš pulat'*
- (26) Chuv. *Pėrer pěrčėkėn pěrne tulat'*
- (27) Chuv. *Ukša šumne ukša xursan, xutaš tulat'*

The proverb *Tama tama köl bolur* can be compared to the following proverbs of other languages<sup>8</sup>:

Per. قطره قطره جمع گردد وانگهی دریا شود *Qaṭra qaṭra jam' gardad wa āngahī daryā šawad*  
“Drops accumulate and then become a river.”

Chin. 滴水成河 *dīshuǐ chéng hé* “Falling water drops become a river.”

Rus.<sup>9</sup> *Капля за каплей – получается озеро; без единой капли – пустыня* “Durch beständiges Tropfen entsteht ein See, ohne einen einzigen Tropfen [entsteht] eine Wüste.” (TSSR 490)

Ger. *Aus Tropfen wird ein großer Fluß, aus Flüssen ein See* [“Out of drops becomes a great river, from rivers a lake.”] (TSSR 490)

Mong.<sup>10</sup> *Дуслыг хураавал далай, Дуулсныг хураавал эрдэм* “Ocean comes from collecting drops; Knowledge comes from collecting what you learn.” (Raymond, 2014: 99)

8 In connection with this, Ölmez (2009: 54) writes as follows:  
“Şüphesiz bir dildeki atasözüne hemen komşu ülkenin dilinde de rastlamak mümkündür. Atasözlerinin bir kısmı çeviri yoluyla kazanılırken bir kısmı da o halkın uzun yıllara dayanan hayat tarzının ortaya koyduğu “damıtılmış” sözler olabilmektedir.” [Of course, the proverb in a language can be found in the language of the neighboring country. While some of the proverbs are acquired through translation, others can be “distilled” words of the people’s long-term lifestyle.]

9 See also the same proverb which was on 30 March 2019 retrieved from <http://posloviz.ru/category/kaplya/>.

10 The author is grateful to B. Norovnyam from the Department of Mongolian Studies at Dankook University in Cheonan / Korea for her giving information about this proverb in Mongolian.

## Abbreviations and Bibliography

Az.	Azerbajjani	Kyr.	Kyrgyz
Bash.	Bashkir	Mong.	Mongolian
Chin.	Chinese	Nog.	Nogay
Chuv.	Chuvash	Per.	Persian
CTat.	Crimean Tatar	Rus.	Russian
Gag.	Gagauz	Tat.	Tatar
Ger.	German	Tkm.	Turkmen
Kar. (C)	Karaim (Crimean dialect)	Trk.	Turkish
Kaz.	Kazakh	Tuv.	Tuvan
Khak.	Khakas	Ur.	Urum
Kkp.	Karakalpak	Uyg.	Modern Uyghur
Kmk.	Kumyk	Uz.	Uzbek
Krch.-Blk.	Karachay-Balkar	Yak.	Yakut

ADIL I	Orujov, E. (Ed.). (2006). <i>Azerbayjan dilinin izahli lüyeti I</i> . Bakı, Azerbaijan: Şerg-Ġerb.
BRSa	Axmerov, K. Z. et al. (1958). <i>Başkirsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Gosudarstvennoje izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
BRSb	Uraksin, Z. G. (Ed.). (1996). <i>Başkirsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, Russia: Digora / Russkij jazyk.
ĈRSa	Sirotkin, M. Ja. (Ed.). (1961). <i>Ĉuvaško-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Gosudarstvennoje izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
ĈRSb	Skvorcov, M. I. (Ed.). (1985). <i>Ĉuvaško-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Russkij jazyk.
DLT	Dankoff, R., & Kelly, J. (1984). <i>Maĥmūd al-Kāšyarī: Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Dīwān luyāt at-Turk)</i> . Cambridge, Mass.: Office of the University Publisher, Harvard University.
GRMS	Baskakov, N. A. (Ed.). (1973). <i>Gagauzsko-russko-moldavskij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
JRS	Slepcev, P. A. (Ed.). (1972). <i>Jakutsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
KBRS	Tenišev, E. R., & Sujunčev, X. I. (Eds.). (1989). <i>Karačajevo-balkarsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Russkij jazyk.
KgRS	Judaxin, K. K. (1965). <i>Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
KgTTS	Abduldayev, E., & Isayev, D. (Eds.). (1969). <i>Kirgiz tilinin tüšündürmө sözdügü</i> . Frunze, USSR: Mektep.
KkRS	Baskakov, N. A. (Ed.). (1958). <i>Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Gosudarstvennoje izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.
KzRS	Syzdykova, R. G., & Xusain, K. Š. (Eds.). (2001). <i>Kazaxsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Almaty, Kazakhstan: Dajk-press.
NRS	Baskakov, N. A. (1963). <i>Nogajsko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moskva, USSR: Gosudarstvennoje izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovarej.

- OS Die K. K. Orientalische Akademie in Wien. (Ed.). (1865). *Osmanische Sprichwörter*. Wien, Austria: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei.
- OTED Hony, H. C., & İz, F. (1985). *The Oxford Turkish-English dictionary* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press. [1st edition 1947]
- ÖTIL Maʼrufov, Z. M. (Ed.). (1981). *Özbek tiliniñ izähli luğati*, I-II. Moskva, USSR: Russkij jazyk.
- Proben VII Radloff, W. (1896). *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme. VII. Theil. Die Mundarten der Krym*. Sanktpeterburg', Russia: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- QBAT Fazıl, R. (1971). *Qayda birlik anda tirilik*. Taşkent, USSR: Ğafur Ğulam.  
(2019, March 29). Retrieved from [https://media.turuz.com/.../0060-Qirimtatar\\_atalar\\_sozleri\(86\).pdf](https://media.turuz.com/.../0060-Qirimtatar_atalar_sozleri(86).pdf)
- QQS Äbikenulı, N. (2010). *Qazaqşa-qıtayşa sözdik*. Ürimži, PRC: Ulttar Baspası.
- RÇTİ Avery, C. R. et al. (Eds.). (1983). *Redhouse çağdaş Türkçe-İngilizce sözlüğü*. Istanbul, Turkey: Redhouse Press.
- RTED Alkım, U. B. et al. (Eds.). (1988). *New Redhouse English-Turkish dictionary* (10<sup>th</sup> ed.). Istanbul, Turkey: Redhouse Press. [1st edition 1968]
- TmRS Baskakov, N. A., Karryjev, B. A., & Xamzajev, M. Ja. (Eds.). (1968). *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
- TRS Mustafajev, E. M.-E., & Starostov, L. N. (Eds.). (1977). *Turecko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Russkij jazyk.
- TS Akalin, Ş. H. et al. (2011). *Türkçe Sözlük*. Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları: 549. Ankara, Turkey: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- TSSR Bläsing, U. (1994). *Tschuwaschische Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten*. Turkologica 20. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz.
- TtRS Abdrazakov, K. S. et al. (1966). *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
- TvRSa Pal'mbax, A. A. (Ed.). (1955). *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Gosudarstvennoje izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- TvRSb Teniřev, E. R. (Ed.). (1968). *Tuvinsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
- UjRS Nadžip, E. N. (1968). *Ujgursko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Sovetskaja enciklopedija.
- URS Borovkov, A. K. (Ed.). (1959). *Uzbeksko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva, USSR: Gosudarstvennoje izdatel'stvo inostrannyx i nacional'nyx slovar'ej.
- US Garkavec', O. (2000). *Urums'kyj slovnik*. Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan: Baur.
- UyXL Şinğian daşıüe Xenzu tili fakulteti. (1982). *Uyğurçe-Xenzuče luğet*. Ürümçi, PRC: Şinğian xelq neşriyati.
- VW III Radloff, W. (1905). *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte* III. St. Petersburg, Russia: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- XRS Subrakova, O. V. (Ed.). (2006). *Xakassko-russkij slovar'*. Novosibirsk, Russia: Nauka.

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