

# Lexicographical and phraseological addenda to the existing Crimean Karaim dictionaries

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SUMMARY: This article focuses on presenting lexicographical and phraseological addenda to two well-known Crimean Karaim dictionaries by examining the Book of Numbers from a printed Crimean Karaim Bible translation published in Eupatoria in 1841. The presentation of these lexical items and expressions highlights the importance of exploring newly available transcriptions to uncover previously unlisted dictionary entries, thereby enriching the documentation of the extinct Crimean Karaim language.

KEYWORDS: Karaim language, Crimean Karaim, Crimean Karaim lexicon, Crimean Karaim dictionaries, Crimean Karaim Bible translations

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#### 1. Introduction

The lexicon of the now-extinct Crimean Karaim language<sup>1</sup> has been thoroughly documented across a few dictionaries and has also been presented in a more concise manner as a glossary in various studies based on specific written materials. The first dictionary to include Crimean Karaim materials, along with Western Karaim and numerous other Turkic languages, was compiled by Wilhelm Radloff (1893-1911). In 1928, the first study solely devoted to the lexical characteristics of some Crimean Karaim Bible translations was presented by Vladimir Aleksandrovič Gordlevskij. The next lexicographical work devoted to Crimean Karaim was a typewritten Russian-Crimean Karaim dictionary composed by Zacharij Osipovič Sinani (1970), commonly referred to as 'Sinani's dictionary.<sup>2</sup> Shortly after, in his two articles, Józef Sulimowicz (1972, 1973) published the lexical material from a prayer book printed in 1734. A year later, the well-known Karaimsko-russko-polskij slovaŕ (henceforth abbreviated as KRPS) was published encompassing three dialects of Karaim, with descriptions in Polish and Russian. Initiated as a collaborative effort in 1945, this dictionary was published in 1974; it was compiled based on data extracted from numerous historical sources.<sup>3</sup> Shortly after, KRPS was published, Prik's Crimean

- 2 This work exhibits multiple issues, predominantly in the accuracy of semantic interpretations. For a more detailed explanation, see CKED: 14–15.
- 3 The dictionary was compiled by N.A. Baskakov, A. Dubiński, Kh. F. Iskhakova, R.M. Ijbulatova, K. Musaev, S.M. Šapšal, A. Zajączkowski, and W. Zajączkowski, and edited by N.A. Baskakov, A. Zajączkowski, and S.M. Šapšal. Shortly after the creation of the dictionary stared, the work on it was soon halted, only to be resumed in 1950 (see CKED: 9). The material gathered by Šapšal is considered the most valuable and reliable source for Crimean

According to Radloff's observation (1896: xii), at the close of the 19th century, the Crimean Karaims possessed full fluency in Russian while predominantly using their Turkic vernacular within their households. In Prik's study (1976: 6), it appears that, roughly fifty years subsequent to Radloff's findings, Crimean Karaim was spoken competently by only a handful of individuals. Finally, it was reported that the last known fully fluent speaker of Crimean Karaim, Mrs. Sima Mangubi, passed away at the age of 104 in 1992 (Jankowski 2003: 111). According to Németh (2023: "Karaim, Slavic Influence on", para. 1), there are now approximately 8 elderly individuals who can provide some oral material in Crimean Karaim.

Karaim grammar appeared (written in 1949, published in 1976) in which we find a short thematic lexicon (Prik 1976: 158–165).

In the years that followed, several (mainly Russian-Crimean Karaim) dictionaries were published, but they often repeated the entries from KRPS or were much less comprehensive compared to KRPS. These included Mark Èzrovič Chafuz's dictionary (1995), and Boris Zacharovič Levi's dictionary (1996). In 1997, Henryk Jankowski published a linguistic description and glossary based on selected samples of the manuscript H 170 Gasper, which contains a Crimean Karaim translation of the Pentateuch and Lamentations, and is held in the collection of the John Rylands Library in Manchester. In this work, Jankowski presented a valuable new lexical material for Crimean Karaim. In 2006, Tülay Çulha published a concise Turkish-Karaim dictionary that includes Crimean Karaim material, drawing upon the KRPS dictionary and some collections shared by Mykolas Firkovičius. Subsequently, Markas Lavrinovičius published two Russian-Karaim dictionaries (2007, 2012), encompassing material from the Crimean dialect, too. These were also predominantly based on the data we find in KRPS.

In the last 15 years, the publications of various Crimean Karaim *mejumas* by Gülayhan Aqtay (2009), Çulha (2010), and Dorota Smętek (2015) have provided us with new linguistic materials, which paved the way for the publication of the Crimean Karaim–English dictionary (henceforth abbreviated as CKED) by Jankowski and Aqtay (2015).<sup>4</sup> This dictionary collates and revises the Crimean Karaim content from KRPS, and supplements it with new lexical entries from a variety of other written sources, including the above-mentioned *mejumas*.<sup>5</sup> After the publication of this dictionary, Abdulkadir Öztürk (2019: 112–396) contributed thematic lexical material for Karaim, but his contribution does not include any previously undiscovered Crimean Karaim data.

Given that Crimean Karaim is an extinct dialect of Karaim, the examination of historical sources is the only way to identify undocumented

Karaim in this dictionary. For detailed information on the sources utilized for the Crimean Karaim material in KRPS, refer to CKED (9–11).

<sup>4</sup> This dictionary received an excellent review in Németh (2015).

<sup>5</sup> For the details of the sources taken into consideration in this dictionary, see CKED (25-26).

lexical items. These written materials predominantly comprise translations of Biblical texts and *mejumas* – all written in Hebrew script. After the publication of CKED, several new Crimean Karaim sources have been edited. One is the paper by Németh (2016), who demonstrated and analyzed the Book of Ruth from a Crimean Karaim Bible translation written in the 17th century, making it the oldest Karaim Bible translation hitherto described.<sup>6</sup> Later, Smętek (2016) highlighted lexical features from selected passages of ms. BSMS 288, which contains a Crimean Karaim translation of the entire Hebrew Bible (excluding Chronicles 1–2) and is kept in the Cambridge University Library. An essential contribution to Crimean Karaim studies was made with the transcription and translation of the Torah, Five Scrolls, Book of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah from this manuscript, accomplished by Jankowski et al. (2019). Notably, Çulha (2021) also published an index of lexical material of the mentioned publication.

In 2021, the present author published a paper on hitherto undocumented Crimean Karaim lexical items, based on his transcription of the Book of Leviticus from the Eupatorian print from 1841, also referred to as the Gözleve Bible. It is the only printed edition of the Tanakh in Crimean Karaim (excluding Chronicles, 1–2, though) and was published in four volumes. Since then, as part of an ongoing project, digital editions of newly discovered or previously unshared transcriptions of Karaim Bible translations (in its all three dialects) have been prepared.<sup>7</sup> The author of the current paper has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> There exists an older Turkic Bible translation containing a large part of the Pentateuch (Exo 21:11–Num 28:15), which was likely composed in the 15th century in Crimea. The exact language of this translation remains a subject of debate, with possibilities including Chagatay, Middle Kipchak, or early Middle Karaim. For a more detailed analysis and observation of this manuscript (ms Evr I Bibl 143), see Németh and Sulimowicz-Keruth (2023: 557–558).

<sup>7</sup> Digital transcriptions of Karaim translations of Biblical books are being prepared in the framework of a European Research Council grant (no: 802645), known as KaraimBIBLE. For more information, visit the official website: 'https://karaimbible.filg.uj.edu.pl/en\_GB/'. As for all available digital publications, see: 'https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se/manuscripts/ middle-karaim'.

digitally published the transcription of the Torah from the above-mentioned Crimean Karaim Bible (see Işık 2022).

As another attempt to contribute to our knowledge on the history of the Crimean Karaim lexicon, this paper analyzes the Book of Numbers from the Eupatorian printed edition.

# 2. Lexicographical and phraseological addenda

# 2.1. Introductory remarks

In this study, we present lexical items and phrasemes not included in the existing most comprehensive Karaim dictionaries (i.e., CKED and KRPS). The following introductory remarks are due:

- 1. The Karaim data from the Eupatorian printed edition and KRPS were transcribed based on the system adopted in CKED. It is important to note that the transcription system originally used in our digital publication of the Eupatorian printed edition (see Işık 2022) differentiates between *e* and *ä*, with the proviso that the latter is primarily used in non-initial syllables.<sup>8</sup> However, since CKED does not make this distinction, we have adapted our system by converting all instances of *ä* to *e*. Lastly, the Turkish examples were presented in modern Turkish orthography, while Biblical Hebrew examples were written in their original script, accompanied by their respective transcription.
- 2. The semantic fields of the lexemes and phrasemes were established based on the context of their use in the text.
- 3. In cases when non-Biblical Hebrew lexical items are lemmatized, when available, we will reference a Turkish dictionary (Çağbayır 2007) to provide the reader with comparative Turkic material. The dictionary mentioned encompasses data from various dictionaries, including Ottoman Turkish, Turkish dialects, and Old Anatolian Turkish materials. The employment of this dictionary is motivated by the fact that the Crimean Karaim has strong links with Ottoman Turkish and it was influenced by Crimean Turkish and Crimean Tatar. The referenced dictionary specifically denotes when an item was sourced from a dictionary dedicated

<sup>8</sup> For the relevant discussions, see, Jankowski 1994 and Sulimowicz 1972: 42, 45.

to Turkish dialects, Old Anatolian Turkish, or Ottoman Turkish. Such details will be indicated in parentheses using specific abbreviations. However, the absence of these labels does not imply that a lexical item was not present in those variants; it merely indicates that they were not sourced from dictionaries specifically devoted to them. Hereby, in the conclusion, when considering the influences on the unlisted lexical materials, we will categorize all such references as exclusively Turkish.

- 4. If our glossary includes a variant of a lexeme or phraseme not previously listed, we will identify only its corresponding form in Crimean Karaim, as documented in CKED and/or KRPS. Further investigation into these examples in other languages will be undertaken only if they have not been previously documented and lack an established Crimean Karaim variant.
- 5. In our list, we will showcase all undocumented derivatives, even if both the base form and the derivative suffix/grammatical marker (attested in a lexicalized form) are well known. Additionally, in such examples we only reference the exact form or variant of an unlisted lexeme or phraseme, not its base form.
- 6. In the Eupatorian print from 1841, the letter 1 *holam male* typically represents the vowels *o* and *ö*, while 1 *shuruk* denotes vowels *u* and *ü*. However, in certain cases, 1 *vav* itself can stand for all labial vowels, i.e. for *o*, *ö*, *u*, and *ü*. The determination of frontness or backness often depends on the semantic context of the word and specific phonotactic rules. However when the letter 1 *vav* appears solely as a representation of a vowel, it is a challenge to distinguish whether it stands for the back *o*, *u* or for the front *ö*, *ü*. In this study, the listed variants exhibiting an  $o \sim u$  or  $\ddot{o} \sim \ddot{u}$  alternation are not those in which the labial vowels were denoted only by 1 *vav*, as it alone cannot sufficiently differentiate such labial vowel alternations.
- 7. Another orthographic issue in the Eupatorian print from 1841 concerns letters ⊐ *bet*, ⊃ *kaf*, and ⊃ *pe*. When they lack a *dagesh*, they can indicate either stops *b*, *k*, *p* or fricatives *v*, *h*, *f*, respectively. On the other hand, when these letters are marked with a *dagesh*, they consistently represent the stops *b*, *k*, and *p*. In adherence to the principle established earlier, our study does not list a lexical item as a variant if its reading

is feasible in its already listed form. Specifically, since the letters  $\exists bet$ ,  $\exists kaf$ , and  $\exists pe$  lacking *dagesh* do not exclusively denote the noted fricatives or stops, we do not include examples as variants to their attested forms when the only alternation is between the mentioned fricative and stop counterparts.

- 8. The list of lexical items below excludes proper names, which are usually written in their Biblical Hebrew forms throughout the Book of Numbers.
- 9. There are numerous lexemes that were listed in KRPS for Crimean Karaim but were not included in CKED. The authors of CKED stated in the introduction of the study that they deliberately omitted certain lexical items, particularly those from Raddlof's dictionary that were erroneous (CKED: 12–14). However, we have observed that some examples that stem from Šapšal's material are also missing in CKED. Therefore, for some Crimean Karaim examples absent in CKED, we refer exclusively to KRPS.

#### 2.2. Hitherto undocumented lexemes and expressions

#### A

- 'alam 'world' [Num 23:21], cf. C. Kar alem id. (CKED: 39; KRPS: 65).
- alğışlavçı '(one) who blesses' [Num 24:9], cf. C. Kar alğışçı id. (CKED: 39; KRPS: 63).
- **alı qoy-** 'to keep someone from doing something' [Num 11:28, 14:34, 24:11, 30:6, 30:9, 30:12], cf. Tur **alıkoy-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 1: 206).
- **ant id-** 'to swear an oath, to swear' [Num 11:12], cf. C. Kar **ant et-** id. (CKED: 42; KRPS: 70).
- **ant ver-** 'to swear an oath, to swear' [Num 5:19, 5:21], cf. Tur **ant ver-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 263).
- **artqan** 'remainder, rest' [Num 3:46, 3:48, 3:49], cf. Tur **artan** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 1: 301).
- asker et- 'to go to war, to fight' [Num 31:42], cf. Tur asker et- 'to assign someone for a task' (Çağbayır 2007, 1: 318).
- ay günler 'for a month' [Num 11:20, 11:21]; probably a calque of אין מים hōdeš yāmîm id.
- ayaq bilezigi ʻanklet' [Num 31:50].

ayaq dabanı 'sole' [Num 20:19], cf. C. Kar taban id. (CKED: 378; KRPS: 502). aytıcı 'speaker, teller', cf. T. Kar aytuvçu id., aytıvçı id., H. Kar aytuvtsu id.

(KRPS: 55). See also: masal ~lar 'storytellers' [Num 21:27].

# B

- **baḥçelik** 'vineyard' [Num 20:17], cf. C. Kar **baḥçalıq** 'with a garden; relating to a garden' (CKED: 67).
- **balqıma** 'shine, polish, gleam', cf. C. Kar **balqıv** id. (CKED: 69; KRPS: 100). See also: **quyaş** ~**sı** 'sunshine' [Num 21:11].

bama 'high place' [Num 21:28], cf. Heb בְּמָה bāmāh id. (Klein 1987: 76). big 'lord; ruler, leader' [Num 32:27], cf. C. Kar biy id. (CKED: 87; KRPS: 115). bilmek 'knowledge' [Num 24:16], cf. T. Kar bilímák id. (KRPS: 119).

- **boşatıvçı** '(one) who forgives' [Num 14:18], cf. T. Kar **boşatuvçu** id. (KRPS: 134), H. Kar **bosatuvtsu** id. (KRPS: 132).
- **boz-** 'to spoil, to destroy' [Num 15:31, 30:13, 30:14], cf. C. Kar **buz-** id. (CKED: 98; KRPS: 136).
- bütin 'the whole, all' [Num 11:32], cf. C. Kar bütün id. (CKED: 100; KRPS: 145).

# С

**cem olun-/ulun-** 'to gather, to assemble' [*cem olun-* Num 12:14, 12:15, 20:24, 20:26; *cem ulun-* 31:2]

cıyın ol- 'to gather, to assemble' [Num 8:24].

- **coğap/cuğap ver-** 'to answer' [*coğap ver-* Num 22:18, Num 23:26; *cuğap ver-* Num 11:28, 32:31], cf. Tur **cevap ver-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 1: 784).
- **coyul-** 'to be lost, to perish' [Num 24:22], cf. C. Kar **coyıl-** id. (CKED: 106; KRPS: 172).

# Ç

çaqırılmış '(one) who was called/chosen' [Num 1:16].

çaşıtla- 'to spy' [Num 13:21, 13:25, 13:32], cf. C. Kar çaşutla- id. (CKED: 113; KRPS: 626).

çaşutlavçı 'spy' [Num 21:1].

çeriv et- 'to war' [Num 31:7].

- **çeşitle-** 'to examine, to survey' [Num 14:34, 14:36, 14:38], cf. C. Kar **çeşütle**id. (CKED: 117; KRPS: 642).
- **çığıvçı** '(one) who comes out' [Num 1:3, 1:21, 1:22, 1:24, 1:26, 1:28, 1:30, 1:34, 1:36, 1:38, 1:40, 1:42, 1:45, 26:2], cf. T. Kar **çığıvçu** id. (KRPS: 635), H. Kar **tsığuvtsu** id. (KRPS: 615).

çıqmaq 'going out' [Num 33:2].

**çıqqan** '(one) who comes out' [Num 21:13, 22:11, 26:4, 30:3, 31:27, 31:28, 31:36, 32:11, 32:24], cf. Tur **çıkan** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 1: 957).

çök 'lot' [Num 26:56], cf. C.Kar çek id. (CKED: 115; KRPS: 640).

çöplevçi '(one) who gathers' [Num 19:10].

çoq et- 'to increase' [Num 26:54].

#### D

- dar 'narrow' [Num 22:26], cf. C. Kar tar id. (CKED: 385; KRPS: 514).
- dar ver- 'to opress, to harm' [Num 24:8, 25:17, 25:18], cf. C. Kar tar ber- id. (KRPS: 514).
- **daya-** 'to lean on' [Num 4:8], cf. C. Kar **taya-** id. (CKED: 389; KRPS: 505). **dayimlik** 'continual' [Num 4:7].
- degince 'up to, till' [Num 24:22], cf. C. Kar deginçe id. (CKED 134; KRPS: 183).
- **delilik et-** 'to act foolishly' [Num 12:11], cf. Tur **delilik et-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 1: 1141).
- **devür** 'generation' [Num 9:10, 10:8, 15:14, 15:15, 15:21, 15:23, 15:38, 18:23, 32:13, 35:29], cf. C. Kar **devir** 'period' (CKED: 137; KRPS: 183).
- **dindaş** 'coreligionist' [Num 9:14, 15:14, 15:15, 15:16, 15:26, 15:29, 15:30, 19:10, 35:15], cf. Tur **dindaş** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1229).
- **diri** 'living, alive' [Num 4:19, 14:38, 16:30, 17:13, 22:33, 24:23, 31:15, 31:18], cf. C. Kar **tiri** id. (CKED: 404; KRPS: 529–530).
- **diril-** 'to live, to dwell; to revive' [Num 15:14, 15:16, 16:30, 16:33, 25:4], cf. C. Kar **tiril-** id. (CKED: 404; KRPS: 526).
- **doğduq** 'generation, offspring' [Num 3:1], cf. C. Kar **tuvduq** 'relative; sister' (CKED: 415–416; KRPS: 542).

doğru 'correctly; true' [Num 27:7, 36:5], cf. C. Kar doğrı (CKED: 139; KRPS: 179).

dökme 'molten', cf. Tur dökme id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1283). See also: ~ sepat 'molten image' [Num 33:52].

- **doldur-** 'to fill' [Num 3:3], cf. C. Kar **doldur-** id. (CKED: 406), **toldur-** id. (CKED: 406; KRPS: 536).
- **dolu** 'full, filled' [Num 7:13, 7:19, 7:20, 7:25, 7:26, 7:31, 7:32, 7:37, 7:38, 7:43, 7:49, 7:86; 22:18, 24:13], cf. C. Kar **dolı** id. (CKED: 140), **tolu** id. (CKED: 407, KRPS: 537).
- dürli 'kind, sort' [Num 8:16, 23:3, 35:3], cf. C. Kar dürlü id. (CKED: 144), türlü id. (CKED: 419; KRPS: 554).

duşmanlıqsız 'without enmity' [Num 35:22].

düz 'field, valley' [Num 21:20, 22:1, 22:4, 26:3], cf. C. Kar tüz id. (CKED: 421; KRPS: 552).

#### E

- **ekeyet et-** 'to tell' [Num 13:27], cf. Tur **hikaye et-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1963).
- '**enayet** 'grace, favour; God's eye' [Num 11:11, 11:15, 23:27, 24:1, 32:13], cf. C. Kar **inayet** id. (CKED: 196).
- **ev ḥalqı** 'household; family' [Num 18:31], cf. Tur **ev halkı** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1512).

# F

**farzam ki** 'supposing that' [Num 14:40], cf. Tur (Ot) **farzen** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1548). See also → **parzam ki**.

fikir et- 'to think' [Num 33:56].

- **firyat et-** 'to scream; to cry out' [Num 11:2], cf. Tur **feryat et-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1567).
- fudulliq et- 'to act heedlessly' [Num 14:44].

#### G

- **geçik-** 'to be late; to linger' [Num 20:1], cf. C. Kar **keçik-** id. (CKED: 202–203; KRPS: 395).
- **geçiv** 'passing; ford' [Num 21:11, 21:13, 27:12, 32:19, 32:32, 33:47, 33:48, 34:15], cf. C. Kar **keçiv** id. (CKED: 203; KRPS: 395).
- **geliv** 'entrance' [Num 13:21, 34:8], cf. C. Kar **keliv** 'coming; arrival' (CKED: 390; KRPS: 390).

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- **get-** 'to go, to go away, to move away' [Num 12:9, 12:10, 14:9, 14:44], cf. C. Kar **ket-** id. (CKED: 209–210; KRPS: 394).
- **girgiz-** 'to let in, to bring in' [Num 27:17], cf. C. Kar **kirgiz-** id. (CKED 213; KRPS: 322).
- **göçmek** 'migration; journey' [Num 33:2], cf. C. Kar **göç** id. (CKED: 167), **köçüv** id. (CKED: 216; KRPS: 341).
- **göçüv** 'migration; journey' [Num 10:6, 10:12, 10:28, 33:1], cf. C. Kar **göç** id. (CKED: 167), **köçüv** id. (CKED: 216; KRPS: 341).
- **göçüvmek** 'migration; journey' [Num 33:2], cf. C. Kar **göç** id. (CKED: 167), **köçüv** id. (CKED: 216; KRPS: 341).
- gögürçin 'dove, pigeon' [Num 6:10], cf. C. Kar kögürçin id. (CKED: 216; KRPS: 336).
- gölge 'shade, shadow' [Num 14:9], cf. C. Kar kölege id. (CKED: 216; KRPS: 337).
- **görgüz-** 'to show, to demonstrate' [Num 8:4, 23:3], cf. C. Kar **körgüz-** id. (CKED: 218; KRPS: 339).
- **görüm** 'appearance, look' [Num 8:4, 9:15, 9:16, 12:6, 12:8, 24:4, 24:16], cf. C. Kar **körüm** id. (CKED: 218; KRPS: 339).
- **gözük-** 'to look at' [Num 23:9], cf. Tur (Ot; Oat) **gözük-** 'to be seen' (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1774).
- **güçli, güçlü** 'strong, powerful' [*güçli* Num 13:18; *güçlü* Num 13:28, 20:20, 21:24, 22:6, 24:21], cf. C. Kar **küçli** id., **küçlü** id. (CKED: 222; KRPS: 355).
- **güçsiz** 'powerless' [Num 13:18], cf. C. Kar **küçsiz** id. (CKED: 222–223; KRPS: 355).
- **günüzün** 'by day; day time' [Num 9:21, 10:34], cf. C. Kar **künüzün** id. (CKED: 225; KRPS: 354).

# Ğ

ğaybet çıqarıvçı '(one) who spreads bad report' [Num 14:37].

- **ğaybet/ğayibet sözle-** 'to malign' [*ğaybet sözle-* Num 12:1; *ğayibet sözle-* Num 12:8], cf. C. Kar **ğaybat sözle-** id. (CKED: 171).
- **ğayıp ol-** 'to be lost, disappear' [Num 24:20, 24:24], cf. C. Kar **qayp ol** id. (CKED: 300), **ğayıp bol-** id. (KRPS: 163).
- ğon- 'to settle' [Num 33:35], cf. C. Kar qon- id. (CKED: 311; KRPS: 370).

# Η

herhangi 'any; whichever' [Num 31:23], cf. Tur (Ot) herhangi id. (Çağbayır 2: 1935).

hiç 'nothing' [Num 11:6, 16:26, 28:18, 28:25, 28:26, 29:1, 29:7, 29:35], cf. C. Kar heç id. (CKED: 182; KRPS: 608).

# Ĥ

**ḥabar ayt-** 'to notify, to inform' [Num 25:12], cf. T. Kar **ḥabar ber-** id. (KRPS: 596).

**ḥadir bol-** 'to be ready' [Num 11:18, 17:19], cf. Tur **hazır ol-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1920).

hag it- 'to celebrate; to have a feast' [Num 29:12].

- hamle bol- 'to be pregnant' [Num 11:12], cf. T. Kar, H. Kar hamila bol- id. (KRPS: 599).
- hapta 'week' [Num 28:26], cf. C. Kar hafta id. (CKED: 174; KRPS: 607).
- hardala 'sheep's blade bone' [Num 6:19], cf. C. Kar ordala id. (CKED: 260; KRPS: 431).

hasım 'enemy' [Num 10:35], cf. Tur (Ot) hasım id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1887). hatat 'sin offering' [Num 7:16, 7:22, 7:28, 7:34, 7:40, 7:46, 7:52, 7:58, 7:64,

ער אווי טוויבוווע דינער איזער איז ראָד איז איזער ראָד איזער איזע ראָד איזער איזע ראָד איזער איז איזער איז

**ḥerem** 'thing devoted' [Num 18:14], cf. Heb הֵרֶם **ḥêrem** id. (Klein 1987: 233). **ḥerem et-** 'to devote' [Num 21:2, 21:3].

hesarlı 'damaged' [Num 32:17], cf. Tur hasarlı id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1885).

# Ĥ

- **ḫılas** 'redemption' [Num 3:46, 3:48, 3:49, 18:16], cf. Tur (Ot) **halas** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1846).
- **ḫılas id-** 'to redeem' [Num 18:15, 18:16, 18:17], cf. Tur (Ot) **halas et-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1846).

hılaslı '(one) who was redeemed' [Num 3:49].

hılaslılan- 'to be redeemed' [Num 18:16].

**hılaslıq** 'redemption' [Num 3:46, 3:48, 3:49, 3:51].

**bilaflıq** 'contradiction' [Num 23:21].

# I

- **1qrac ol-** 'to be excluded' [Num 6:12, 9:7], cf. Tur (Ot) **ihraç edil-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 2111).
- 1qram 'treat, offering' [Num 18:8, 24:11], cf. C. Kar ikram id. (CKED: 193–194).

# İ

- incirlik 'fig tree' [Num 20:5], cf. C. Kar inceylik id. (CKED: 196; KRPS: 202), T. Kar incirlik id. (KRPS: 204), H. Kar ingirlik id. (KRPS: 202).
- irenkli 'colourful' [Num 4:8, 19:6], cf. C. Kar renkli id. (CKED: 328; KRPS: 453).

işik 'door, gate' [Num 6:10], cf. C. Kar eşik id. (CKED: 157; KRPS: 673).

### K

- kebiç 'a measure' [Num 5:15, 28:5], cf. Tur (Td) kebiç 'the wheat given to the miller in exchange for grinding services' (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 2513).
  keder id- 'to destroy' [Num 32:15].
- kekel 'hair lock' [Num 6:5], cf. Tur (Td) kekel id. (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 2525). keparat et- 'to forgive' [Num 17:11, 17:12], cf. C. Kar kapara et- id. (CKED: 202).
- keparetlik 'compensation; ransom' [Num 29:11, 35:31, 35:31].

kohenlik et- 'to serve as priest' [Num 3:3, 3:4].

küfür/küpür et- 'to blaspheme, to profane' [*küpür et-* Num 15:30; *küfür et-* Num 16:30], cf. C. Kar küfürle- id. (KRPS: 355).

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künlemek 'jealousy' [Num 5:14, 5:15, 5:18, 5:25, 5:29, 5:30, 25:11].
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küygen 'burn, burning' [Num: 17:4, 19:6, 19:17].

küymek 'blaze' [Num 17:2].

#### Μ

- mamır 'sturdy' [Num 32:1], cf. Tur (Ot) mamır 'solid; sturdy' (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 3042).
- **meks olun-/ulun-** 'to be stopped' [*meks olun-* Num 17:13, 25:8; *meks ulun-* Num 17:15).
- mereslevçi 'testator' [Num 36:8], cf. T. Kar meréslávču id. (KRPS: 406), H. Kar mereslevtsi id. (KRPS: 416).

**mereslik** 'heritage, inheritance' [Num 24:18], cf. T. Kar **méráslik** id. (KRPS: 406), H. Kar **mereslik** id. (KRPS: 416).

meşpaḥa 'family' [Num 1:38], cf. C. Kar mişpaḥa id. (CKED: 244; KRPS: 408). meyil bol- 'to stretch out' [Num 24:6].

- mires 'heritage, bequeathal' [Num 27:11], cf. C. Kar meres id. (CKED: 239; KRPS: 416).
- **misqal** 'a unit of mass; weight' [Num 3:47, 3:50, 7:13, 7:14, 7:19, 7:20, 7:25, 7:26, 7:30, 7:31, 7:32, 7:37, 7:38, 7:43, 7:44, 7:49, 7:50, 7:55, 7:56, 7:61, 7:62, 7:67, 7:68, 7:73, 7:74, 7:79, 7:80, 7:85, 7:86, 18:16], cf. Tur (Ot) **miskal** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 3239).
- **mizraḥ** 'sunrise, east' [Num 2:3, 3:38, 34:15], cf. Heb מְזֶרָח mizraḥ id. (Klein 1987: 331).
- **muracad** 'going to a place for a specific purpose' [Num 20:19], cf. Tur (Ot) **müracad** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 3383).

#### Ν

na'amatlı 'plenteous' [Num 13:20].

na'amatsız 'infertile' [Num 13:20].

- **naḥaq** 'unmerited; unfair' [Num 32:22, 35:33], cf. Tur (Ot) **nahak** 'unfair; in vain' (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 3477).
- **navilik et-** 'to prophesy' [Num 11:25, 11:26, 11:27], cf. T. Kar, H. Kar **navilik et-** id. (KRPS: 417).

nazir ʻone consecrated' [Num 6:13, 6:18, 6:19, 6:20, 6:21], cf. Heb נָזִי nāzîr id. (Klein 1987: 410), H. Kar nazir id. (KRPS: 417), Tur (Ot) nazir id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 3503).

nazir et- 'to dedicate' [Num 6:5, 6:6, 6:12].

nazir ol- 'to dedicate oneself' [Num 6:2, 6:3].

**nazirlik** 'devotement' [Num 6:4, 6:5, 6:8, 6:9, 6:12, 6:13, 6:18, 6:19, 6:21]. **nişan et-/id-** 'point out' [*nişan et-* Num 34:7, 34:8; *nişan id-* Num 34:10], cf. Tur **nişanla-** id. (ÖTS 4: 3553)

# 0

olmaya 'or else; lest' [Num 16:26], cf. C. Kar bolmağay id. (CKED: 90). onlama 'tithe, one tenth' [Num 18:21, 18:25, 18:26, 18:27], cf. C. Kar ondalama id. (CKED: 258, KRPS 429).

- oruş- 'to fight, to combat, to strike one another' [Num 21:26, 22:11], cf. C. Kar uruş- id. (CKED: 428: KRPS: 582).
- oturivçi 'inhabitant, resident' [Num 13:32, 14:14, 21:1, 32:17, 33:55], cf. C. Kar oturuvçi id. (CKED: 262–263: KRPS: 435).

ova 'plain, lowland' [Num 21:11], cf. Tur ova id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 3651).

# Ö

- **öleyaz-** 'to almost die' [Num 17:27], cf. Tur **öleyaz-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 3689)
- örmekli bez 'hanging, curtain' [Num 3:26, 4:25, 4:26], cf. C. Kar örmek 'curtain, blind' (CKED: 269: KRPS: 442).
- öte 'further' [Num 15:23, 17:2], cf. Tur öte id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 3720-3721).

özeri 'against' [Num 14:27], cf. C. Kar üzeri id. (CKED: 435).

# P

- parzam ki 'supposing that' [Num 12:11, 27:4], cf. Tur (Ot) farzen id. (Çağbayır 2007, 2: 1548). See also  $\rightarrow$  farzam ki.
- **peşmanlıq** 'restitution' [Num 5:7, 5:8], cf. C. Kar **feşmanlıq** 'repentance; regret' (CKED: 161, KRPS: 596).
- pikir 'thought, idea' [Num 14:24, 22:22], cf. C. Kar fikir id. (CKED: 163, KRPS: 594).

pişmek 'fruit; yield' [Num 13:20, 28:26].

purasa 'leek' [Num 11:5], cf. C. Kar pirasa id. (CKED: 278, KRPS: 447).

# Q

- **qabullıq, qabulluq** 'offering' [*qabullıq* Num 15:3, 15:10, 15:13, 15:14, 15:24, 18:17, 28:6, 28:8, 28:13, 28:24, 28:27, 29:2, 29:6, 29:8, 29:13, 29:36; *qabulluq* Num 15:7].
- **qaherlen**-, **qaḥarlan-** 'to be angry' [*qaherlen* Num 11:10; *qaḥarlan* Num 22:22], cf. C. Kar **qaḥırlan** id. (CKED: 284).

**qaplov** 'cover' [Num 17:3, 17:4], cf. C. Kar **qapluv** id. (CKED 289; KRPS: 362).

- **qarğavçı** '(one) who curses' [Num 24:9], cf. C. Kar **qarğışçı** id. (CKED: 293; KRPS: 364).
- qarmaqlı şiş 'fork' [Num 4:14].

- **qast** 'intention, purpose'. See also: ~ **bilen** 'on purpose; intentionally' [Num 35:20, 20:22].
- qayam 'existing, surviving; ever self-existent' [Num 14:21, 14:28], cf. C. Kar qayyam id. (CKED: 300; KRPS: 358).
- **qayıp id-/et-** 'to lost' [*qayıp id-* Num 14:12, 32:39, 33:55; *qayıp et-* Num 24:19], cf. C. Kar **ğayıbet-** id. (KRPS: 163).
- **qayıp/ğayıp ol-** 'to be lost' [*qayıp ol-* Num 16:26; *ğayıp ol-* Num 24:20, 24:24], cf. Tur (Ot) **kaybol-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 2491).
- **qaytan** 'cord, thread' [Num 15:38], cf. Tur (Ot) **kaytan** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 3: 2502–2503).
- qedem 'east' [Num 23:7], cf. Heb קָדָם qedem id. (Klein 1987: 562).
- **qıbla** 'east' [Num 2:10, 3:29, 13:17, 13:22, 13:29, 21:1, 33:40, 34:3, 34:4, 35:5], cf. C. Kar **qıble** id. (CKED: 301).
- **q1sar-** 'to shorten, to become short' [Num 11:23], cf. C. Kar **q1sqar-** id. (CKED: 306; KRPS: 381).
- **qollıq** 'service, work, job' [Num 4:49, 18:21], cf. C. Kar **qullıq** id. (CKED: 318; KRPS: 374).
- qorayaz- 'to almost die' [Num 17:27].
- qorğaşın 'lead' [Num 31:22].
- qosemçilik 'sorcery' [Num 23:23].
- **qulluq et-** 'to serve' [Num 3:7, 3:8, 4:23, 4:26, 4:30, 4:37, 4:41, 4:47, 7:5, 8:11, 8:15, 8:19, 8:22, 8:25; 16:9, 18:6, 18:7, 18:23], cf. C. Kar **qullıq et**id. (KRPS: 374).
- **quşul** 'to join (other people), to be joined' [Num 25:5], cf. C. Kar **qoşıl** id. (CKED: 315; KRPS: 372), **qoşul** id. (CKED: 315).

# R

- **raḥis** 'soft' [Num31:50], cf. Tur (Ot) **rahis** 'cheap; soft' (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 3932).
- **raz gel-** 'to encounter' [Num 23:3, 23:4, 23:15, 23:16, 35:19, 35:21], cf. C. Kar **rasgel-** id. (CKED: 327), **raskel-** id. (CKED: 327, KRPS: 451), **1raskel**id. (CKED: 191; KRPS: 651).
- resimdar 'lawgiver' [Num 21:18].

### S

- **saçılmaq** 'purification'. See also: ~ **suvları** 'purification water' [Num 19:9, 19:13, 19:20, 19:21, 31:23].
- saçıvçı '(one) who sprinkles' [Num 19:21].
- sallamaq 'wave offering' [Num 6:20, 8:11, 8:13, 8:15, 8:21].

sanly 'a small number of' [Num 9:20].

- saqlov, saqluv 'testimony; holding; storage' (saqluv Num 3:25, 8:26; saqlov Num 1:53, 3:7, 3:8, 3:28, 3:31, 3:32, 3:36, 3:38, 4:27, 4:28, 4:31, 4:32, 8:26, 9:19, 9:23, 15:34, 17:25, 18:2, 18:3, 18:4, 18:5, 18:8, 19:9, 31:30, 31:47) cf. C. Kar saqlav id. (CKED: 337; KRPS: 461).
- **saqlovçı** 'watchman, guard' [*saqlovçı* Num 3:28, 3:32, 31:30; *saqlovçu* Num 3:38], cf. C. Kar **saqlavçı** id. (CKED: 337; KRPS: 461–462).
- sarmusaq 'garlic' [Num 11:5], cf. C. Kar sarımsaq id. (CKED: 338; KRPS: 468).
- sepat 'face, look, countenance' [Num 33:52], cf. C. Kar sıfat id. (CKED: 349 KRPS: 495), sufat id. (CKED: 365; KRPS: 485).
- silaḥlan- 'to arm' [Num 31:3, 32:20], cf. Tur silahlan- id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 4237).
- silaḥly 'armed' [Num 31:5, 32:21, 32:27, 32:29, 32:30, 30:32], cf. Tur silahlı id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 4237).
- silinmek 'anointing' [Num 18:8].
- silmek 'anointing' [Num 4:16].
- siröv 'cattle' [Num 31:9, 32:1, 32:4, 32:16, 35:2, 35:3, 35:4, 35:5, 35:7], cf. C. Kar sirüv id. (CKED: 358; KRPS: 495), sirov id. (CKED: 354; KRPS: 495), sürüv id. (CKED: 368; KRPS: 485), sürü id. (CKED: 367: KRPS: 487).
- sosa- 'to get thirsty' [Num 30:15], cf. C. Kar suvsa- id. (CKED: 365; KRPS: 482), susa- id. (CKED: 365; KRPS: 485).
- sunmaq 'offering' [Num 18:11, 18:18].
- sürülgen 'divorced woman' [Num 30:10].
- sustur- 'to silence, to make quiet' [Num 13:30], cf. C. Kar sustur- id. (CKED: 365).
- suvruq 'pole, stick' [Num 4:6, 4:8, 4:10, 4:11, 4:12, 4:14, 13:23], cf. C. Kar suvuruq id. (CKED: 366; KRPS 483), suvuruq id. (CKED: 366; KRPS: 483), suvruq id. (CKED: 365; KRPS: 482), sırıq id. (CKED: 354; KRPS: 459).

# Ş

- **şafağat** 'mercy; compassion' [Num 14:18, 14:19], cf. C. Kar **şağafat** id. (CKED: 370).
- **şahadatlıq** 'testimony' [Num 1:53, 17:22, 17:23].
- **şamıdan** 'candlestick, candle holder' [Num 3:31, 4:9, 8:2, 8:3, 8:4], cf. C. Kar **şamdan** id. (CKED: 371).
- şara'at qıl- 'to judge' [Num 15:34], cf. C. Kar şara'at et- id. (CKED: 372). şaşırtıcılıq 'confusedness' [Num 22:22, 22:32].
- segirt 'apprentice' [Num 32:14].
- **şeḥedetlik** 'testimony' [Num 1:50, 1:53, 4:5, 9:15, 10:11, 17:19, 17:25, 18:2], cf. C. Kar **şaḥadlıq** id. (CKED: 370; KRPS: 645).

#### Т

- ta 'until' [Num 21:30, 34:49], cf. Tur (Ot; Oat) ta id. (Çağbayır 2007, 4: 4515).
- ta'am 'taste' [Num 11:8], cf. Heb טַעָם ta'am id. (Klein 1987: 247).
- taḥaş 'name of the animal whose skin was used for covering the tabernacle, possibly a dolphin' [Num 4:6, 4:8, 4:10, 4:11, 4:12, 4:14, 4:25], cf. Heb <sup>w</sup>Ṭī taḥaš id. (Klein 1987: 452; 699).
- **talov** 'plunder, pillage' [Num 14:3, 14:31, 31:32], cf. C. Kar **taluv** id. (CKED: 380; KRPS: 508).
- tar ver- 'to opress, to harm' [Num 33:55], cf. C. Kar tar ber- id. (KRPS: 514). tar vergen '(one) who opresses' [Num 10:9].
- **tayin id-, ta'in et-** 'to appoint' [*tajin id-* Num 27:23; *ta'in et* Num 27:16], cf. Tur (Ot) **tayin et-** id. (Çağbayır 2007, 5: 4652).
- **tayinli** 'appointed' [Num 7:2], cf. Tur **tayinli** 'appointed, definite' (Çağbayır 2007, 5: 4652).
- **temiz bol-** 'to be cleansed, to be cleaned' [Num 8:7, 19:12, 19:19, 31:23, 31:24].
- **temiz et-** 'to clean, to cleanse' [Num 5:28, 8:6, 8:7, 8:15, 8:21], cf. C. Kar **temizle-** id. (CKED: 393; KRPS: 563).
- tepila et- 'to pray' [Num 12:13].
- terapiz 'table' [Num 3:31, 4:7], cf. Tur tırapeze id. (Çağbayır 2007, 5: 4897).
- tıraş id- 'to shave' [Num 6:9, 6:18], cf. C. Kar tıraş et- id. (KRPS: 558).
- toplavçı '(one) who gathers' [Num 10:25].

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**topraqlı** 'a term to denote someone's hometown when it follows a proper place name' [Num 12:1].

tutulğan 'prisoner, captive' [Num 31:30, 31:47].

# U

**uçın** 'for' [Num 10:29, 14:34, 15:28, 17:11, 17:12, 18:32], cf. C. Kar **uçun** id. (CKED: 423; KRPS: 587).

urluqlan- 'to conceive children' [Num 5:28].

- urta 'middle, intermediate' [Num 35:5], cf. C. Kar orta id. (CKED: 260; KRPS: 431).
- **uruvçı** 'killer, slayer' [Num 35:11, 35:15, 35:21, 35:24, 35:30], cf. C. Kar **uru-vçu** '(one) who beats' (CKED: 428; KRPS: 581).

uturaș 'dwelling' [Num 21:15], cf. C. Kar oturaș id. (CKED: 262; KRPS: 435).

# Ü

üliş 'portion, share' [Num 15:9, 35:8], cf. C. Kar ülüş id. (CKED: 433-434; KRPS: 589).

üzre 'toward' [Num 6:21], cf. C. Kar üzere id. (CKED: 435).

# V

**vekil et-** 'to appoint' [Num 1:50, 3:10].

vekillik, vekillik 'oversight' [*vekillik* Num 4:16; *vekillik* Num 3:32, 3:36, 4:16], cf. Tur vekillik 'proxy' (Çağbayır 2007, 5: 5104).

vicud 'body' [Num 19:19], cf. C. Kar vucud id. (CKED: 437–438).

vir- 'to give' [Num 35:8], cf. C. Kar ver- id. (CKED: 437, KRPS: 158).

# Y

yapıraçıq 'bud, sprout' [Num 8:4].
yarıq et- 'to shine' [Num 6:25].
yegerle- 'to saddle' [Num 22:21], cf. C. Kar egerle- id. (CKED: 147; KRPS: 654).
yekpare 'solid; steadyingly' [Num 8:4, 10:2], cf. Tur (Ot) yekpare 'one-piece; undividedly' (Çağbayır 2007, 5: 5276).
yibirmek yeri 'pasture land' [Num 35:2, 35:3].
yolduz 'star' [Num 24:17], cf. C. Kar yıldız id. (CKED: 463; KRPS: 264), yulduz id. (CKED: 471).

- yoqary 'upward' [Num 1:3, 1:18, 1:20, 6:20], cf. C. Kar yuqarı id. (CKED: 473), yoğarğı id., yoğarı id. (CKED: 467–468; KRPS: 246).
- yub- 'to wash' [Num 19:10], cf. C. Kar yuv- id. (CKED: 474; KRPS: 251).
- yügür- 'to run' [Num 11:27], cf. Tur (Oat) yügür- 'to run fast; to walk' (Çağbayır 2007, 5: 5395).
- yüzlü 'have a... face' [Num 4:7], cf. C. Kar yüzli id. (CKED: 477; KRPS: 261). yüzüm suyu 'grape juice' [Num 6:3].

#### Ζ

- **zapt id-** 'to seize; to capture' [Num 21:32, 32:39, 32:41, 32:42], cf. C. Kar **zaft** et- id. (CKED: 478; KRPS: 188).
- **zapt ol-** 'to be seized, to be captured' [Num 32:22, 32:29 *zapt ol-*; Num 32:29 *zapt ul-*].

zav 'discharge' [Num 5:2], cf. Heb Int zowb id. (Klein 1987: 195).

zayedeʻ ʻmuch, more' [Num 12:3], cf. C. Kar ziyade id. (CKED: 482), ziyada id. (CKED: 482; KRPS: 188), ziyede id. (CKED: 483), ziyada id. (CKED: 481; KRPS: 190).

#### 3. Conclusion

In this paper, we have presented a total of 226 lexical items. Among these, 119 appear as slightly different variants of those listed in CKED or KRPS, while 107 are not found in these dictionaries. Of these 119 unlisted variants, most examples exhibit vowel alternations previously noted in Crimean Karaim written materials, such as  $o \sim \ddot{o}$ ,  $u \sim \ddot{u}$  (Jankowski 1997: 9),  $e \sim i$  (Smetek 2016: 52), etc. Additionally, the majority of examples also show certain Ottoman Turkish influences, for instance, the voicing of k- > g-, t- > d-, the spirantization of b - > v- etc., which were also noted in Crimean Karaim sources (Smetek 2016: 50-51; Işık 2018: 69-72). Regarding the unlisted lexical items and expressions, our study predominantly uncovers numerous Turkic, Arabic, Persian, and some Hebrew lexical items. Many lexical items are compounds or derivatives, consistent with the common and expected Turkic derivation strategies, and are often found in Turkish. These findings, therefore, underscore the Ottoman influence on Crimean Karaim. At the same time, they also demonstrate that examining recently available sources can significantly broaden the documented vocabulary of Crimean Karaim.

# Abbreviations

B. Heb	=	Biblical Hebrew
C. Kar	=	Crimean Karaim
Exo	=	Book of Exodus
H. Kar	=	Halich Karaim
Heb	=	Hebrew
Num	=	Book of Numbers
Oat	=	Old Anatolian Turkish
Ot	=	Ottoman Turkish
T. Kar	=	Trakai Karaim
Td	=	Turkish Dialects
Tur	=	Turkish

### **Bibliographic Abbreviations**

CKED	=	Aqtay, Gulayhan & Henryk Jankowski. 2015. A Crimean Karaim-
		-English Dictionary. Poznań.

KRPS = Baskakov, Nikolaj Aleksandrovič & Ananiaš Zajončkovskij & Seraja Markovič Šapšal (eds.). 1974. Karaimsko-russko-polskij slovaŕ. Słownik karaimsko-rosyjsko-polski. Moskva

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# Acknowledgements





European Research Council Established by the European Commission

The research upon which this publication is based has been awarded funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement number: 802645; acronym: KaraimBible).