THE LANGUAGE OF THE PENTATEUCH TRANSLATION IN THE FUPATORIAN PRINTED EDITION FROM 1841

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Abstract. This paper provides an analysis of the language employed in the Pentateuch section of the Eupatorian print (Gözleve) edition, a comprehensive translation of the Old Testament into the Karaim language published in 1841. The objective of the study is to identify the specific Crimean Karaim variety employed in the translation through an examination of phonological, morphological, and lexical features. The analysis reveals that the translation displays features of both Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Crimean Turkish Karaim, and that the characteristics vary depending on the specific books and chapters of the edition.

Keywords: Karaim, Crimean Karaim, Bible translations, Gözleve Bible, Oghuzic, Kipchak

1. Preliminary Remarks

The so-called Eupatorian (Gözleve) Bible, is a full translation of the Old Testament (omitting the Chronicles) into Karaim in Hebrew letters. The translation was printed in four volumes in Gözleve/Kezlev (present-day Eupatoria) in 1841.

Recently, the language of this edition was discussed by some scholars, e.g., Shapira 2003, 2013; Németh 2015, 2016; Olach 2016; Işık 2018, 2020, 2021. Based on these studies, it is clear that the language of this edition is not homogenous though it is usually referred to as is written in some Crimean Karaim varieties. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the aforementioned studies were devoted only to certain limited parts of this edition. However, recently a full transcription of the edition's Pentateuch translation has become available online (see Işık 2022). Hereby, the present paper will briefly present the language of the Pentateuch translation of the Eupatorian print to determine its Crimean Karaim variety based on Jankowski's descrip-

tions (2008; 2015a). Considering that the syntax of Karaim Bible translations demonstrates a common characteristic as it mostly follows the syntax of Biblical Hebrew and therefore is not a distinctive feature to categorize Karaim dialects/varieties, the present paper will reveal only the features of the phonology, morphology, and lexicon of the text in brief.

2. Crimean Karaim Varieties

Based on the written sources, it is possible to divide Crimean Karaim into four varieties (Jankowski 2015b: 454):

- a. Crimean Kipchak Karaim
- b. Crimean Tatar Karaim
- c. Crimean Turkish Karaim (in the Crimea)
- d. Crimean Turkish Karaim (in the Ottoman Empire)

The demonstration of the exact nature of these dialects is quite difficult. However, based on Jankowski's descriptions (2008: 163–165; 2015a: 202–204), it is possible to list some main differences between the Crimean Karaim varieties. Most of these differences are usually based on the different characteristics of the Kipchak and Oghuz languages. It is worth noting that most of the Oghuzic features are common in both Crimean Tatar Karaim and Crimean Turkish Karaim. The main difference between these varieties appears only for some lexical elements. Therefore, in this paper, Oghuzic phonological and morphological features will be attributed to only Crimean Turkish Karaim for the sake of clarity.

3. The Language of the Pentateuch of the Eupatorian Print 3.1. Phonology

The voicing of the initial plosive *k*- is attested in the eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 19) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 274) and therefore is a Crimean Turkish Karaim feature (Jankowski 2015a: 204). However, the preservation of the initial *k*- is slightly predominant in the text as a Crimean Kipchak Karaim feature (Jankowski 2015a: 203).

Another feature is the voicing of the initial plosive *t*-, which is attested in the eastern dialects of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 19) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 275) and is also described as a feature of Crimean Turkish Karaim (Jankowski 2015a: 204). However, once again, the Kipchak counterpart of this Crimean Turkish Karaim feature is slightly predominant.

Table 1: The voicing and the preservation of the initial plosive k-

Biblical Books	k- ~ g- doublets
Genesis	[29:2] gör- 'to see' vs [32:31] kör- 'id'.
Exodus	[10:4] getir- 'to bring' vs [18:19] ketir 'id'.
Leviticus	[9:23] gel- 'to come' vs [14:46] kel- 'id'.
Numbers	[3:48] gümüš 'silver' vs [3:51] kümüš 'id.'
Deuteronomy	[1:46] gün 'day' vs [4:10] kün 'id.'

Table 2: The voicing of the initial plosive t-

Biblical Books	t-~d-doublets
Genesis	[2:8] dik- 'to plant' vs [3:7] tik- 'id'.
Exodus	[19:21] düš- 'to fall' vs [21:18] tüš- 'id'.
Leviticus	[6:14] dilim 'slice' vs [12:6] tilim 'id'.
Numbers	[31:15] <i>diši</i> 'female' vs [5:3] <i>tiši</i> 'id'.
Deuteronomy	[32:47] dirlik 'life' vs [4:9] tirlik 'id'.

The next Crimean Turkish Karaim feature is the deletion of the initial *b*-in some certain lexical items (Jankowski 2015a: 204), which is also present in the eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 379), and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959b: 275). However, the preservation of the initial *b*-is highly predominant in our text. Hereby, once again a Crimean Kipchak Karaim feature (Jankowski 2015a: 203) is predominant against its Crimean Turkish Karaim equivalent.

Table 3: The deletion and the preservation of the initial b-

Biblical Books	ol- vs bol- 'to be; to become' ilän vs bilän 'with'	
Genesis	[1:3] vs [31:44]	[12:8] vs [3:16]
Exodus	[21:4] vs [26:11]	[1:14] vs [9:35]
Leviticus	[7:20] vs [17:7]	[11:43] vs [4:2]
Numbers	[15:15] vs [13:33]	[12:13] vs [2:2]
Deuteronomy	[25:13] vs [9:16]	[5:11] vs [5:15]

The final phonological characteristic is the spirantization of the initial *b*- to initial *v*- in some lexical elements, which is present in the eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 379), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer

1959a: 275), and Crimean Karaim Turkish (Jankowski 2015a: 204). Note that, although as a Crimean Kipchak Karaim feature, the preservation of the initial *b*- can also be found, the Crimean Turkish Karaim feature is highly predominant against its Kipchak equivalent in the text.

Table 4: The spirantization of the initial b-

Biblical Books	ver- vs ber- 'to give'	var- vs bar- 'to go'	var vs bar 'there is/are'
Genesis	[31:9] vs [31:36]	[31:30] vs [31:30]	[44:26] vs [33:9]
Exodus	[13:9] vs [31:36]	[32:7] vs [31:30]	[15:11]vs [33:9]
Leviticus	[15:14] vs [-]	[-] vs [-]	[25:30] vs [-]
Numbers	[14:1] vs [31:16]	[22:7] vs [-]	[13:20] vs [-]
Deuteronomy	[5:20] vs [9:10]	[10:11] vs [14:25]	[29:14] vs [4:29]

3.2. Morphology

The text presents highly predominant Kipchak morphological/morphonological features and thus shows Crimean Kipchak Karaim characteristics. Nevertheless, in some specific parts of the text we exceptionally encounter Crimean Turkish Karaim features as well. For example, although the text demonstrates Kipchak ACC markers as {+nI}, {+nU}, and after 3SG/3PL. POSS markers as {+n}, only in Chapter II of Lev, we encounter 10 different lexical items where the Oghuzic ACC marker {+(y)I} is attached to words, e.g., [Lev II:3] tirnakli+yi 'unguiculate+ACC'; [Lev II:45] siz+i 'you (2PL)+ACC', etc. There exist also only 6 examples in Chapters 6, 11, and 15 of Lev that show the Crimean Turkish Karaim DAT marker {+(y) A} instead of the Crimean Kipchak Karaim DAT marker {+GA}, e.g., [Lev 6:16] ateš+ä 'fire+DAT'; [Lev II:24] 'ahšam+a 'evening+DAT'; [Lev II:39] ye-me+ye 'eat-VN+DAT'. Among the case markers, there also exists a limited Oghuzic-Kipchak opposition for GEN marker in the text as it appears as Oghuzic {+(n)In} only in four examples in Chapter II of Lev, e.g., [Lev II:2] Yisra'el+in 'Israel+GEN'; [Lev II:47] Mïsir+in 'Egypt+GEN', etc.

Another distinctive feature between Crimean Turkish Karaim and Crimean Kipchak Karaim is the opposition of the Kipchak participle {-GAn} and the Oghuzic {-(y)An}. Similar to the to previous examples, the Crimean Turkish Karaim feature is mostly attested in Chapter II of Lev throughout the Pentateuch translation of the Eupatorian print, e.g., [Lev 2:7] piš-en cook-PTCP; [Lev II:25] taši-yan 'carry-PTCP'.

Finally, the Pentateuch translation of the edition also presents the optative marker {-QAy}, which is attested in Western Karaim dialects and listed for Crimean Kipchak Karaim (Jankowski 2015a: 203), e.g., [Gen 27:44] kayt-kay-Ø 'return-OPT-3SG'; [Exo 5:21] bak-kay-Ø 'to look-OPT-3SG'; [Lev 23:2] čaķir-ġay-siz 'to call-OPT-2PL'; [Num 27:20] ešit-käy-lär 'listen-OPT-3PL2'; [Deu 1:11] alģišla-ġay-Ø 'bless-SUBJ-3SG'.

3.3. Lexicon

The main vocabulary of the corpus consists of a large number of Turkic lexical items. Some of these Turkic elements present Oghuzic-Kipchak opposition as well. Although the Kipchak lexical elements are highly predominant against the Oghuzic ones throughout the text, the corpus presents examples of Oghuzic lexicon as well, e.g., [Gen 9:23] ört- 'to cover'; [Gen 26:1] baška 'another, other'; [Exo 31:14] gizli 'hidden'; [Exo 34:28] gečä 'night'; [Lev 5:8] ensä 'back of the neck, nape'; [Lev 27:18] eksil- 'to decrease; to disappear'. [Num 9:19] čok 'many, much, a lot, often'; [Num 10:17] en- 'to descend, to go down'. It should be noted that Chapter II of Lev presents many lexical copies from some Ottoman Bible translations and therefore demonstrates Ottoman Turkish characteristics (for more details, see Işık 2020; 2021) that were not used in Crimean Kipchak Karaim, e.g. [Lev 11:5] ve 'and'; [Lev II:13] evlad 'son'; [Lev II:13] deniz kartali 'sea eagle' [Lev II:14] ak baba 'vulture'; [Lev II:29] kapli baġa 'turtle'. The rest of the vocabulary consists of many Arabic, and Persian words together with some Hebrew loanwords which are common in all three dialects of Karaim.

4. Conclusion

The language of the Pentateuch translation of the Eupatorian print shows many similarities to other Karaim Bible translations. Due to the linguistic trends of the period, the text presents many Crimean Turkish Karaim phonological adaptations together with the expected Crimean Kipchak Karaim equivalents. However, most of the morphological and lexical features are only present in some limited chapters (mostly/solely Chapter II of Lev). Thus, as for the language of the Pentateuch translation of the printed edition, it is possible to state that it was written in Crimean Kipchak Karaim consisting of strong Crimean Turkish phonological characteristics.

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Abbreviations

2PL = second person plural; 3SG = third person singular; 3PL = third person plural ABL = ablative case; ACC = accusative case; Deu = Book of Deuteronomy; Exo = Book of Exodus; GEN = genitive case; Gen = Book of Genesis; Lev = Book of Leviticus; Num = Book of Numbers; PTCP = participle; POSS = posssessive marker; OPT = optative mood; VN = verbal noun.

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