# FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES 

 DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF LINGUISTICS
## MURAT IȘIK

# THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS OF THE GÖZLEVE BIBLE (1841): A COMPREHENSIVE ANALYSIS 

## Contents

Abbreviations ..... 6
Preface ..... 11
Acknowledgments ..... 12

1. Introduction ..... 13
1.1. General Remarks on the Aim, Scope, and Methodology of the Study ..... 13
1.2. Crimean Karaims ..... 15
1.2.1. Ethnic and Religious Heritage ..... 15
1.2.2. History ..... 17
1.2.3. Language ..... 20
1.2.3.1. Crimean Karaim and the Debates on Its Existence ..... 22
1.2.3.2. Crimean Karaim Varieties ..... 27
1.2.4. Written Sources ..... 30
1.2.4.1. Crimean Karaim Bible Translations and Associated Studies ..... 30
1.3. The Subject of the Dissertation ..... 33
2. The Linguistic Analysis of the Text ..... 35
2.1. Phonology ..... 35
2.1.1. Sound Inventory, Orthography and Transcription System ..... 36
2.1.1.1. Vowels ..... 37
2.1.1.1.1. Vowel System ..... 37
2.1.1.1.2. Orthography and Transcription of Vowel Sounds ..... 38
2.1.1.2. Consonants ..... 41
2.1.1.2.1. Consonant System ..... 41
2.1.1.2.2. Orthography and Transcription of Consonant Sounds ..... 42
2.1.2. Phonological Variations and Adaptations ..... 44
2.1.2.1. Vowels ..... 45
2.1.2.1.1. Vowel Assimilation ..... 45
2.1.2.1.2. Degree of Openness ..... 47
2.1.2.1.3. Degree of Roundness ..... 53
2.1.2.1.4. Addition of a Vowel ..... 54
2.1.2.2. Consonants ..... 56
2.1.2.2.1. Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Consonantal Alternations ..... 56
2.1.2.2.2. Other Consonantal Features ..... 65
2.1.2.2.2.1. Aspiration ..... 65
2.1.2.2.2.2. The Alternation Between $t-\sim c ̌$ - and $t-\sim k$ - ..... 66
2.1.2.2.2.3. Preservation and Devoicing of Final Lenes in Arabic and Persian Loanwords ..... 67
2.1.2.2.2.4. Consonant Deletion ..... 69
2.1.2.2.2.5. Addition of a Consonant ..... 69
2.1.2.2.2.6. Replacement of Arabic Epiglottal Stop Ayin and Glottal Stop Aleph ..... 70
2.1.2.2.2.7. Metathesis, ..... 72
2.1.2.3. Vowel-Consonant Sequences ..... 73
2.1.2.3.1. Vowel-Consonantal Alternation ..... 73
2.2. Morphology and Morphophonology ..... 74
2.2.1. Morphophonological Characteristics ..... 75
2.2.1.1. Intrasyllabic Vowel Harmony ..... 75
2.2.1.2. Consonant Harmony ..... 76
2.2.1.3. Intervocalic Lenition ..... 76
2.2.1.4. Vowel Deletion ..... 77
2.2.1.5. Consonant Deletion ..... 78
2.2.1.6. Metathesis ..... 79
2.2.1.7. The Alternation Between $\eta \sim n$ ..... 79
2.2.1.8. The Alternation Between $z \sim s$ ..... 79
2.2.2. Non-Verbal Categories ..... 80
2.2.2.1. Nominal Formation ..... 80
2.2.2.1.1. Suffixation ..... 80
2.2.2.1.1.1. Denominal Derivations of Nominals ..... 80
2.2.2.1.1.2. Deverbal Derivations of Nominals ..... 86
2.2.2.1.2. Compounding ..... 92
2.2.2.2. Nominal Predicative Markers ..... 94
2.2.2.3. Nouns ..... 98
2.2.2.3.1. Inflectional Categories ..... 98
2.2.2.3.1.1. Number ..... 98
2.2.2.3.1.2. Possessive Markers ..... 100
2.2.2.3.1.3. Cases ..... 103
2.2.2.4. Numerals ..... 110
2.2.2.4.1. Cardinal Numbers ..... 110
2.2.2.4.2. Fractional Numerals ..... 111
2.2.2.4.3. Ordinal Numerals ..... 112
2.2.2.4.4. Distributive Numerals ..... 113
2.2.2.5. Pronouns ..... 113
2.2.2.5.1. Personal Pronouns ..... 114
2.2.2.5.2. Demonstrative Pronouns ..... 115
2.2.2.5.3. Reflexive Pronouns ..... 117
2.2.2.5.4. Interrogative Pronouns ..... 117
2.2.2.5.5. Relative Pronouns ..... 118
2.2.2.5.6. Indefinite Pronouns ..... 119
2.2.2.6. Adjectives ..... 120
2.2.2.7. Adverbs ..... 120
2.2.3. Verbal Categories ..... 121
2.2.3.1. Verb Formation ..... 121
2.2.3.1.1. Suffixation ..... 121
2.2.3.1.1.1. Denominal Verb Formative Markers. ..... 122
2.2.3.1.1.2. Deverbal Verb Formative Marker ..... 125
2.2.3.1.2. Compounding ..... 126
2.2.3.2. Voice ..... 126
2.2.3.2.1 Active Voice ..... 126
2.2.3.2.2. Passive Voice ..... 127
2.2.3.2.3. Causative Voice ..... 128
2.2.3.2.4. Reflexive Voice ..... 131
2.2.3.2.5. Reciprocal Voice ..... 131
2.2.3.3. Tense ..... 132
2.2.3.3.1. Definite Past Tense ..... 132
2.2.3.3.2. Present Tense ..... 133
2.2.3.3.3. Aorist ..... 136
2.2.3.3.4. Future Tense ..... 137
2.2.3.4. Mood ..... 138
2.2.3.4.1. Imperative ..... 138
2.2.3.4.2. Voluntative ..... 140
2.2.3.4.3. Optative ..... 141
2.2.3.4.4. Conditional ..... 143
2.2.3.5. Converbs ..... 145
2.2.3.6. Participles ..... 147
2.2.3.7. Verbal Nouns ..... 150
2.2.4. Conjunctions ..... 151
2.3. Syntax and Morphosyntax ..... 152
2.3.1 Phrases ..... 152
2.3.1.1. Nominal Phrases ..... 152
2.3.1.1.1. Case Functions ..... 155
2.3.1.2. Verb Phrase ..... 167
2.3.1.2.1. Biblical Hebrew Infinitival Paronomasia ..... 167
2.3.1.3. Adjunct phrases ..... 169
2.3.1.3.1. Converbial Constructions ..... 169
2.3.1.3.2. Postpositional and Prepositional Constructions ..... 171
2.3.2. Sentences ..... 175
2.3.2.1. Simple Sentences ..... 175
2.3.2.2. Complex Sentences ..... 177
2.3.2.2.1. Coordinate Complex Sentences ..... 177
2.3.2.2.2. Subordinate Complex Sentences ..... 178
2.3.2.2.2.1. Relative Clauses ..... 178
2.3.2.2.2.2 Adverbial Clauses ..... 180
2.4. Lexicon ..... 184
2.4.1. Turkic Vocabulary ..... 185
2.4.2. Arabic Loanwords ..... 190
2.4.3. Persian Loanwords ..... 194
2.4.4. Biblical Hebrew Loanwords ..... 195
2.4.5. Loanwords from Other Languages ..... 198
2.4.6. Copies from Ottoman Bible Translations ..... 199
3. Conclusion ..... 204
3.1. Phonology ..... 204
3.2. Morphology and Morphophonology ..... 206
3.3. Syntax and Morphosyntax ..... 207
3.4. Lexicon ..... 208
3.5. Final Remarks ..... 209
References ..... 210
Appendix ..... 221
Transcription ..... 221
Translation ..... 282
Facsimile ..... 343

\author{

Abbreviations <br> Biblical Books <br> | Gen | Book of Genesis |
| :--- | :--- |
| Exo | Book of Exodus |
| Lev | Book of Leviticus |
| Num | Book of Numbers |
| Ruth | Book of Ruth |

}

## Bible Translations

4B.Or.131-1 (Kieffer 1827; Ot.Tur.B): It represents a revision of Ali Bey's Ottoman Bible translation from 1665, republished by Jean Daniel Kieffer in 1827 across two volumes. This revised edition can be found within the collection of the Bayerische Staats bibliothek in Munich. The initial endeavor to revise Ali Bey's translation was undertaken by Baron H. F. von Diez, commissioned by the British Bible Society in 1814. Following his passing in 1817, Jean Daniel Kieffer became part of the project. By 1819, the translation of the New Testament was disseminated. Subsequently, in Kieffer's 1827 Bible edition, he incorporated the first four books of Ali Bey's Pentateuch, previously edited by Baron H. F. von Diez, along with a revised version of the 1819 New Testament translation (Privratsky 2014: 44; Işık 2021: 347).

ADub.III. 73 (T.Kar.B): A mid-19 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ century Trakai Karaim Bible translation of the Torah and the Haftarah, available at:
https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se/manuscripts/middle-karaim/ADub.III. 73
BSMS 288: A Crimean Karaim Bible translation (see 1.2.4.1.)

Cod. Or. 1101a-f (Ali Bey 1665): Situated in the Warner Collection at the Leiden University Library resides the meticulous secretary's fair copy of an edition. This constitutes an Ottoman Turkish translation of the Bible, produced by Ali Bey, who is also known under the names Ali Ufkî, Wojciech Bobowski, Albert Bobowski, and Albertus Bobovius. Crafted between the years 1662 and 1664 in Istanbul, this fair copy was subsequently printed in Leiden in 1665. While not the first-ever translation of the Bible into Ottoman Turkish, it is
distinguished as the first comprehensive translation, encompassing the entirety of the Old Testament, inclusive of the Apocrypha, as well as the New Testament (Pawlina 2006: 34; Işık 2021: 347).

Cr.Tat.B: a Crimean Tatar Bible translation from 2016, see: https://ibtrussia.org/en/text?m=CRT\&l=Lev.1.1.1\&g=0

H 170: A Crimean Karaim Bible translation (see 1.2.4.1.)

JSul.III.01: A mid-19 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ century Halich Karaim Bible translation of the Torah and the Haftarah, available at: https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se/manuscripts/middle-karaim/JSul.III. 01

NAS 1977: New American Standard 1977 (via Bible Works 9)

RSO 1876: Russian Synodal Orthodox Version (via Bible Works 9)

## Languages

| Ar | Arabic |
| :--- | :--- |
| B.Heb | Biblical Hebrew |
| Cr.Kar | Crimean Karaim |
| Cr.Tat | Crimean Tatar |
| Cr.Tur | Crimean Turkish |
| E.Kar | Eastern Karaim |
| Eng | English |
| H.Kar | Halich Karaim |
| It | Italian |
| Kip. | Kipchak Turkic |
| Mong | Mongolian |
| Ogh. | Oghuz Turkic |
| Ot.Tur | Ottoman Turkish |
| Per | Persian |


| Sogd | Sogdian |
| :---: | :---: |
| T.Kar | Trakai Karaim |
| Trk | Turkish |
| Tur. | Turkic |
| W.Kar | Western Karaim |
| Linguistics |  |
| 1 | First person |
| 2 | Second Person |
| 3 | Third Person |
| ABL | Ablative |
| ABS | Absolute state |
| ACC | Accusative |
| AN | Actional nominal |
| AOR | Aorist |
| BOTH | Common gender |
| CARD | Cardinal numeral |
| CASE | Case markers |
| CAUS | Causative |
| CL | Clitic |
| COMP | Case Marked Complement |
| COND | Conditional |
| CONN | Connective |
| CONS | Consect |
| CONST | Construct state |


| CONV | Converbial marker |
| :---: | :---: |
| COP | Copula |
| DAT | Dative marker |
| DEM | Demonstrative |
| DER | Derivational marker |
| DISTR | Distributive |
| DUAL | Dual |
| EQU | Equative |
| FEM | Feminine |
| GEN | Genitive |
| HIP | Hiphil |
| HOP | Hophal |
| IMP | Imperative |
| IMPT | IMPERFECT |
| INF | Infinitive |
| LOC | Locative |
| MASC | Masculine |
| N | Noun |
| NEG | Negative |
| NOM | Nominative |
| O | Object |
| onom | Onomatopoeic |
| OPT | Optative |
| ORD | Ordinal numeral |


| PASS | Passive |
| :---: | :---: |
| PAST | Past tense |
| PERF | Perfect |
| PL | Plural |
| PN | Participant Nominal |
| POSS | Possessive |
| POST | Postposition |
| PRD | Predicative |
| PREP | Preposition |
| PRES | present/continuous |
| PRNM | Pronominal |
| PRO | Pronoun |
| PTCL | Particle |
| RECP | Reciprocal |
| REFL | Reflexive |
| S | Subject |
| SG | Singular |
| SUBJ | Subjunctive |
| TRANS | transitivized |
| V | Verb |
| VN | Verbal noun marker |
| Additional |  |
| ch. | chapter |
| chs. | chapters |

## Preface

This dissertation undertakes a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic features present in a biblical book found in the so-called Gözleve Bible, published in 1841 in what is now known as Eupatoria. The printed edition comprises translations of the entire Tanakh, with the exception of the Chronicles, and is divided into four volumes, all written in Hebrew script. The language of the edition is generally recognized as Crimean Karaim. However, its precise language, and even the very existence of the Crimean Karaim language itself, have stirred significant scholarly debates. Previous investigations addressing this linguistic conundrum have primarily focused on discrete sections of this edition, often analyzing short fragments and rarely a specific entire book. Therefore, the objective of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive review of an unstudied book from this edition, namely the Book of Leviticus. This review will include its transcription and translation, as well as a faithful reproduction of the original text in facsimile form. This examination will carry out a detailed linguistic assessment, comparing equivalent features found in the text with those in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and all three Karaim dialects since distinctions between Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak languages are crucial in discerning the variants of Crimean Karaim. Moreover, this comparison will also contribute to the discussion about whether the edition was written in a superficial language, as suggested by certain scholars.

This dissertation begins with a succinct overview of the ethno-religious background, history, language, and written sources of the Crimean Karaims. It engages with ongoing discussions concerning the existence of the Crimean Karaim language and debates associated with the language used in this edition. The subsequent chapters delve into an in-depth linguistic analysis of the data, encompassing phonology, morphology, morphophonology, syntax, morphosyntax, and lexicon. Following the conclusion, an appendix will be provided that includes the transcription and translation.

## Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I am profoundly grateful to the Tempus Public Foundation (Tempus Közalapítvány) for their support through the Stipendium Hungaricum scholarship, which facilitated my Ph.D. studies in Hungary. Throughout my studies, I have been fortunate to be surrounded by a network of supportive friends and family, all of whom have significantly contributed to my Ph.D. journey. While space constraints render it impossible to list each individual, I would be remiss not to recognize several key individuals who have provided unwavering support. Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Zsuzsanna Olach, for her support and for introducing me to the field of Karaim studies. I am also profoundly indebted to all my colleagues at the Department of Altaic Studies, including our former department head, Prof. Dr. István Zimonyi, and the current department head, Prof. Dr. Sándor Papp. Their consistent guidance and patience have been invaluable throughout the development and completion of my dissertation. I extend my appreciation to the opponents of my dissertation predefense, Assoc. Prof. Edina Dallos and Dr. Balázs Danka, for their invaluable contributions to the discussion. I also wish to express my gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Michał Németh and Prof. Emer. András Róna-Tas for their kind willingness to assist me whenever I had inquiries. My heartfelt thanks also go to Assoc. Prof. Zeynep Erk Emeksiz, and my dear friend Anita András, without whose efforts and support my Ph.D. journey in Hungary would have never commenced. Equally, I am immensely grateful for the unwavering and invaluable support I have received from my friends, Özgür Andaç and Kutse Altın. Finally, I am deeply grateful for the love and patience that I received from my family, whose unwavering support has been a beacon not only throughout my Ph.D. studies but also throughout my entire life. In addition, I would also like to acknowledge my little niece, Arven, whose birth not only brought joy to our family, but also has been a constant source of strength in my life.

Murat Işık
29.05.2023, Szeged/Hungary

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. General Remarks on the Aim, Scope, and Methodology of the Study

The primary objective of this research is to undertake an exhaustive exploration of a book from a complete printed Tanakh translation (excluding the Chronicles), known as the Gözleve Bible or Eupatorian print (1841). While the language of this Bible translation is generally identified as Crimean Karaim, it continues to be a topic of debate due to its heterogeneous properties. A relatively small number of studies have investigated the language of the Gözleve Bible, typically focusing on selected portions (refer to section 1.3.). The analyses and conclusions regarding this edition also raise skepticism from certain scholars about the existence of Crimean Karaim, which is usually considered an extinct Eastern dialect of Karaim. Analyzing the limited written resources available could prove valuable in the ongoing discourse about Crimean Karaim and the historical tradition of Bible translations in Karaim. Thus, this dissertation seeks to unveil a hitherto untranscribed ${ }^{1}$ and thoroughly unstudied book of the Gözleve Bible, specifically, the third book of the Torah, commonly referred to as the Book of Leviticus. It should be noted that the outcomes of this research strictly relate to the linguistic attributes of this specific book and do not reflect the language of the entire edition.

This dissertation presents a comprehensive transcription of the Book of Leviticus, originally written in Hebrew. As detailed in Section 2.1.1, the differentiation of values among certain Karaim vowel pairs in non-Biblical Hebrew words is not denoted in Hebrew script due to orthographic complexities. In such instances, we have considered Karaim phonotactics and descriptions found in Karaim dictionaries and studies. In the transcription, which is included in the appendix, we carefully addressed specific errors or challenges, systematically comparing them with other Bible translations across the three different Karaim dialects and, occasionally, some Ottoman Bible translations ${ }^{2}$ when equivalent portions existed in such translations. A more detailed description of the transcription notes can be found in the relevant section of the appendix.

An English translation of our text is also provided in the appendix. During the translation process, we adopted a philological approach, prioritizing the conveyance of the intended meaning. Concurrently, we aimed to mirror the structural elements of the original text in our

[^0]translated version, within the confines of the English language. This dual emphasis on meaning and structure defines our translation technique, which we term as 'meaning-based structural equivalence'. This term is introduced to characterize an approach that strives to strike a balance between semantic fidelity and structural preservation. It should be noted that in various examples where required, footnotes have been used to illustrate the literal meaning of certain instances. While this dissertation does not aim to conduct a detailed, systematic comparison with the Hebrew Bible, the literal meanings noted in the footnotes are systematically compared to Biblical Hebrew only in cases where discernible similarities exist, in order to show readers whether the discussed characteristics are possible calques from Biblical Hebrew or not. As for the translation notes, refer to the relevant part in the appendix.

This study employs a descriptive and comparative methodology for the linguistic analysis of the text. This involves a thorough examination of the phonological, morphological, morphophonological, syntactic, morphosyntactic, and lexical features of the text, with these categories being subsequently compared to their counterparts in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and three dialects of Karaim (Crimean, Halich and Trakai), where available sources exhibit relevant features. In the course of our descriptive analysis, we highlight specific characteristics within the text, diligently selecting examples that represent these attributes. When relevant and needed, all instances embodying these features are included. However, only representative samples are cited in most sections, as the frequency of occurrence of such features does not hold substantial relevance to our investigation. Thus, only representative examples will be showcased in our description, unless specifically mentioned. Regarding the comparative aspect of this study, various sources were consulted. For Crimean Turkish, our resources were primarily limited to a short section written by Doerfer (1959a), and consequently, comparisons involving Crimean Turkish are sparse, as noted in the relevant sections. For linguistic features related to Crimean Tatar, primary sources included works by Kavitskaya (2010), Jankowski (2010), and Doerfer (1959b), and the KRUS dictionary was primarily used for lexical items. For Ottoman Turkish, which notably consists of three main phases - Old Ottoman (13th-15th century), Middle Ottoman (16th-18th century), and New Ottoman (19th century to 1928), as outlined by Kerslake (2022: 176) - descriptions pertaining to New Ottoman features by Kissling (1960) and Hagopian (1907) were predominantly employed. Dictionaries utilized included ETD, LET, and occasionally ÖTS and YTL, along with a dictionary pertaining to Middle Ottoman, TLO. In addition, an array of studies on Karaim was consulted, encompassing works by Prik (written in 1949 but published in 1976), Musaev
(1964, 1977), Zajączkowski (1932), Gülsevin (2016), Çulha (2019), and Öztürk (2019). For lexical references, we primarily relied on two chief sources: CKED and KRPS. It is pivotal to note that when assessing the features of Crimean Karaim, our predominant reference was Prik's 1976 study, owing to its aptitude for comparing the Crimean Karaim Bible translations, which bear archaic features. This choice stands in contrast with Çulha's study, which is largely predicated on mejumas, and thereby predominantly showcases features heavily influenced by Crimean Turkish, often devoid of certain intrinsic Karaim properties. Moreover, in certain segments when needed, equivalent sections of the Crimean Karaim Bible translations (e.g., Jankowski 1997: 28-52, Németh 2016: 169-189, CrKB I: 165-217) and a Prayer Book from 1734 (e.g., Sulimowicz 1972: 56-64) were also utilized for comparative purposes.

It should be noted that in specific sections, selected examples from the Hebrew Bible and its translations in English, and occasionally Russian will be incorporated. These examples, collected from a software known as 'Bible Works 9', will be introduced where relevant. In addition, in syntax and morphosyntax section certain Bible translations from Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish and Western Karaim were used in order to demonstrate the Karaim bible translation strategies which exhibit significant influence from Biblical Hebrew. However, while some of these influences are discussed in their respective sub-chapters, it is important to note, as mentioned earlier, that the study does not specifically focus on conducting an in-depth analysis of Hebrew influence. As a result, a separate section solely dedicated to this topic is not included.

### 1.2. Crimean Karaims

### 1.2.1. Ethnic and Religious Heritage

Karaite religion, also known as the Karaite Judaism, originated as a movement in the second half of the eighth century in Baghdad (Poznański 1915: 662; Nemoy 1978: 604). Anan ben David, who lived during the reign of a caliph of the Abbasid dynasty, is generally acknowledged as the principal founder and the first lawgiver of the Karaite movement ${ }^{3}$ (Zajączkowski 1961: 24). He drafted the initial document, a code of laws ${ }^{4}$ called Sefer ha-Mitzvolt, 'The Book of

[^1]Precepts', written in Aramaic around the middle of the eighth century (Nemoy 1952: 8) ${ }^{5}$. This new movement ${ }^{6}$ emphasized the Tanakh ${ }^{7}$ as the sole source for interpretation, dismissing any supplements. Essentially, the central notion was to reject the Talmud, a written assembly of oral traditions deemed sacred by Rabbanites, followers of mainstream Judaism. Apart from this primary distinction between Karaites and Rabbanites, traces of Muslim law and philosophy are also apparent in the Karaite religion (Kohler and Harkavy 1904: 440; Ankori 1968: 3). These influences include avoiding anthropomorphic expressions in translations of the Tanakh, adopting a low prostration during prayers, removing shoes before entering a kenesa, and performing a form of ablution before praying ${ }^{8}$ (Kizilov 2009: 136; Zajączkowski 1961: 28-29; Besalel, 2001: 311).

The pinnacle of Karaite religious and scholarly activity occurred after its center moved from Iran and Iraq to Jerusalem and Cairo. From these hubs, it extended into Asia Minor, Africa, Cyprus, Spain, and the Byzantine Empire (Nemoy 1978: 604; Danon 1925: 288-289). By the second half of the twelfth century, post-second Crusade, new Karaite settlements had been established within the Byzantine Empire (Astren 2004: 124; Danon 1925: 290). It is generally acknowledged that the movement in Constantinople subsequently shifted to Crimea (Zajączkowski 1961: 36). As will be further discussed in the succeeding section (1.2.2.), through the Turkic Karaims, Karaite religion later expanded into Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and present-day Ukraine. At this point, it is worth distinguishing the Turkic (the Eastern European Karaites) from the non-Turkic believers of the Karaite religion, since the terms that have been used in the literature might be confusing. Anan's followers were first called 'Ananites' (Nemoy 1978: 604; Poznański 1915: 662), whereas some centuries later they were known as 'Karaim' or 'Karaite' in the literature ${ }^{9}$. In their Turkic vernacular, Karaims call themselves as karajlar

[^2](singular: karaj) which was derived from the Hebrew-Aramaic stem 'to read' ${ }^{10}$ and stands for 'readers', referring to people who (only) read the Holy Scripture. In most European languages, the Indo-European linguistic milieu suffix $\{$-it $\}$ has been also attached to this Hebrew-Aramaic stem and appears as Karaite to denote the believers of this religion (Harvianien 2003: 634). On the other hand, the word Karaim is the Hebrew plural form of the aforementioned word and is also widely used in other languages ${ }^{11}$. It is worth noting that apart from karay, karaylar, the Turkic believers prefer the word Karaim, since the word Karaite sounds pejorative in Turkic languages: kara ‘black’ it ‘dog’ (Harvianien 2003: 635). In some studies that are written in English, there is a tendency to use the term Karaim referring the Turkic believers and their language while the word Karaite was used to described the nonTurkic or all adherents of Karaite religion. However, along with Crimean Karaims, it is also possible to see the term 'Crimean Karaites' in reference to the Turkic adherents of Karaism. Nevertheless, in this study, to avoid confusion the term Karaim will be used to refer only to Turkic speaking believers of the Karaite religion, who mainly lived in Eastern Europe ${ }^{12}$, as well as to their Turkic vernacular language.

### 1.2.2. History

Circa 1180, Petahyah of Regensburg, a Rabbanite traveler, documented encountering a group of individuals in the Land of Kedar, present-day Ukraine, prior to his arrival in Crimea. His account portrayed these individuals not as Rabbanic Jews, but as heretics whose Sabbath eve was spent in darkness and whose prayers consisted solely of Psalms. Additionally, these individuals communicated to Petahyah their unfamiliarity with the Talmud. Generally, this account is considered the earliest reference that potentially pertains to the Karaites in the Crimean region, given the alignment of the described characteristics with those associated with Karaite customs. (Mann 1935: 288-290; Harvianien 2003: 636). Ankori (1968: 61-64) also concurs with the supposition that this group was likely composed of Crimean Karaites, albeit at a preliterate phase in their historical progression. He further proposes that the actual

[^3]migration from the Byzantine Empire to Crimea probably ensued once the Byzantine faction of Karaism had already attained its zenith, concurrent with the fourth Crusade (1204). ${ }^{13}$ Apart from this account, the initial reliable documentation of Karaims presence in the Crimean region traces back to the late thirteenth century (Harviainen 2003: 636, 639). Consequently, varied perspectives emerge concerning the historical backdrop of the Crimean adherents of the Karaite faith. A prominent theory suggests that the Karaims are the progeny of the Turkic Khazars, who embraced Karaitism around the mid-eighth century, thereby introducing the faith to the Crimean region following the fall of the Khazar Empire. This theory is predominantly endorsed by Karaim scholars (e.g., Zajączkowski 1961: 12-23; Szysman 1980: 73), who highlight the similarities between the Karaim language and the Codex Cumanicus as compelling evidence supporting the contention that the Turkic-speaking Karaims descend from the Khazars and Cumans ${ }^{14}$. Contrarily, some scholars argue that the Khazars spoke a language more akin to Bolgar Turkic, while the Karaim language exhibits no vestiges of Bolgar Turkic (Togan 1964: 402; Barthold 2004: 61; Jankowski 2004: 85). Moreover, the idea of discerning ethnicity based solely on linguistic evidence may be deemed misleading. This theory also contends that the Khazars practiced the Karaite variant of Judaism, which lacks any substantiated documentary support. In fact, Golden (2001:44) maintains that the Khazars converted to Rabbinical Judaism.

During the period when Batu Khan, the founder of the Golden Horde, launched his invasion in the 1220s, the Crimea was inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups, including Greek, Italian and Frankish minorities, Armenians, and some nomadic Turkic tribes, primarily located in the northern regions. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Turkic people rose to political prominence over the aforementioned groups under the Golden Horde's rule. This period also saw some Anatolian Turks settle in the region (Fisher 1978: 1-2). Subsequently, the Tatars established the first Crimean Khanate in the early 1440s. From the fifteenth century until the Russian annexation of Crimea in 1783, the Ottoman Empire exerted control over the region. During this time, Crimean Karaims enjoyed a privileged status in the Crimean Khanate, both economically and judicially (Zajączkowski 1978: 608). Post the Crusades, as other Karaite centers began to wane in their influence, Crimea emerged as a principal hub of Karaism (Kuzgun 2015: 223). Crimean Karaims were predominantly located in Solkhat (Eski Qırım,

[^4]Staryi Krym), Caffa (Kefe, Feodosia), Chufut-Kale (Qale, Qırkyer), and Mangup. The Muslim community later migrated to Bakhchysarai (Bahçesaray; lit. ‘Garden Palace'), constructed by the khan Mengli Giray. Consequently, Chufut Kale (lit. 'Jewish Castle') transformed into a city inhabited primarily by non-Muslims, including Jews (predominantly Karaims) and Armenians, (Smętek 2012: 11-12). In subsequent centuries, Gözleve (also known as Kezlev, Közlev, or Eupatoria) and Karasuv Bazar (currently Bilohirsk, previously known as Belogorsk) also emerged as important centers for the Karaim community in Crimea (Shapira 2003: 726).

It is generally accepted that during the fourteenth century, communities of Karaims emerged in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, particularly in Trakai. The presence of Karaims in Crimea is a matter of historical debate, as is their emergence in this northern region. According to numerous sources, Crimean Karaims migrated to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, predominantly to Trakai, at the end of the fourteenth century, later disseminating to other Lithuanian towns such as Volhynia and Podolia, currently known as Halich (Poznański 1915: 669; Schur 1992: 107; Kowalski 1929: xvi-xviii; Dubiński 1991: 216; Wexler 1983: 29-30; Jankowski 2008: 165-166). In contrast, Kizilov (2009: 30-38) labels this narrative as Karaim mythology, attributing its origin to a falsified copy of a chronicle by Joseph Solomon Lutski. Nevertheless, Kizilov concedes that the Karaims most likely made their first appearance at the dawn of the fifteenth century in Trakai, Lutsk, and Lvov, cities that were crucial for trade with Crimea and eastwards. This perspective is echoed by Shapira, who argued that the Karaim community in the west did not migrate from Crimea, but were rather descendants of the Golden Horde. These shared views have led to further questions regarding the existence of a unique Crimean Karaim language (see 1.2.3.1.).

Regarding the following centuries, it must be mentioned that the Russian annexation of Crimea in 1783 instigated substantial transformations in the lives of the Crimean Karaims. The community initially strived to regain their privileges within the new Russian administration. Their religion was formally recognized in 1837, and by 1852 , they were granted permission to establish residences anywhere within the Russian Empire. In 1863, they were awarded full privileges ${ }^{15}$ identical to those of the Christian inhabitants of Russian lands (Prohorov 2013: 209). Nonetheless, the upheavals of the 1917 revolution, along with the turbulence of World War II, compelled many Crimean Karaims to vacate their settlements (Gülsevin 2016: 15). The

[^5]advent of the Soviet regime brought about significant alterations to their lifestyle. Obligatory abdication of their religious rituals, closure of their prayer houses (kenesa), and the cessation of the long-standing tradition of Bible translation were among the stringent changes implemented. The so-called Qaray Bitikligi, known for its extensive collection of Karaim manuscripts, was also shuttered, and its invaluable collections were relocated to libraries in Russia, Poland, and Lithuania.

Currently, communities of Karaims are geographically dispersed, with primary population clusters identified in Russia (notably St. Petersburg and Moscow), Ukraine (Odessa and Kiev), Lithuania (Vilnius and Troki), and Poland (Warsaw, Wroclaw, Gdansk) (Smętek 2012: 14). Furthermore, Karaim settlements have been discovered in various countries such as Turkey, the United States, Switzerland, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Egypt, Israel, and Azerbaijan (Gülsevin 2013: 15). While precise population estimates remain challenging to ascertain, reports suggest that there are approximately 1,100 Karaims in Crimea, less than 300 in Lithuania and Poland, and globally the population probably does not exceed 5,000 (Jankowski 2015b: 452).

### 1.2.3. Language

The Karaim language is part of the Kipchak (Northwestern) branch of Turkic languages. A geographical delineation allows for the categorization of the language into Western and Eastern (Crimean) dialects. Western Karaim comprises two sub-branches: the Northwestern subbranch, or Trakai Karaim, referring to the dialect of communities currently located in Lithuania and Poland; and the Southwestern sub-branch, represented by the extinct Łuck and Halich Karaim dialects previously spoken in modern-day Ukraine. In contrast, Eastern Karaim denotes the extinct dialect native to the Crimean region. The schema of the dialect classification, adapted from Németh (2011b: 11), is displayed below ${ }^{16}$.

[^6]Table 1: Breakdown of Karaim Dialects and Their Variants


In accordance with Prohorov's research (2013: 210), during 1897, $21 \%$ of Crimean Karaims designated Russian as their native language, whereas $70 \%$ identified Karaim as their mother tongue. However, by the mid-twentieth century, as indicated by Prik in her Crimean Karaim grammar book (originally written in 1949 but published in 1976), the utilization of the native language by the Karaims had significantly dwindled. This suggests that the language shift among the Crimean Karaims potentially accelerated from the onset of the twentieth century. By 2004, the number of individuals reporting some proficiency in this dialect had dwindled to a mere few (Jankowski 2004: 87-88), leading to the dialect's complete extinction today. In relation to Western Karaim, it has been recorded that in 2006, only 50 individuals were using the Trakai dialect in their daily interactions, while fewer than 10 were conversant in the Halich dialect (Csató 2006: 395). Presently, however, the Halich dialect has no known speakers (Jankowski 2015: 453), and the Trakai Karaim dialect is likewise on the brink of extinction

The distinction between the western and eastern branches of the Karaim language is significant, characterized by an array of differences attributable to regional influences that have evolved over centuries. Jankowski (2015b: 462) posits that the western and eastern Karaim variants exhibit such a multitude of disparities that they might be considered two distinct languages. Contrary to Eastern Karaim (Crimean Karaim dialect), the western branch has experienced prolonged isolation from other Turkic languages, resulting in the preservation of many archaic characteristics of Kipchak Turkic. These include several resemblances with the Cuman language, as documented in the Codex Cumanicus, as well as with Armeno Kipchak (Kowalski 1929: lix-lxv, lxvi-xxi; Zajączkowski 1961: 38-40).

The status of Crimean Karaim is a subject of considerable complexity and scholarly debate with respect to its linguistic characteristics. Some scholars argue that the dialect exhibits numerous archaic features of West Kipchak, while also displaying influences from Oghuzic due to the geographical context of the Crimean region (Prik 1976: 8; Jankowski 2015b: 453).

However, it is worth noting that the existence of the eastern dialect and its archaic traits have been contested by certain scholars who posit that Crimean Karaim never existed and that the Karaim language was originally confined to the western regions. The subsequent section will examine this matter in detail.

### 1.2.3.1. Crimean Karaim and the Debates on Its Existence

The Ottoman conquest of Caffa (present-day Feodosia) in 1475 is widely recognized as a significant event that introduced numerous Oghuzic characteristics into the Turkic languages spoken in the Crimean region (Doerfer 1959: 272-280; Schönig 2010: 107-119). Given the interaction between Crimean Karaims and various Turkic-speaking communities, such as Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Krimchak, Urum, and Nogay, the language naturally assimilated regional influences. Consequently, some scholars have argued that Crimean Karaim and Crimean Tatar were not distinct languages. Radloff (1896: xvi), for instance, shared written and oral materials and posited that Crimean Karaim was identical to Crimean Tatar or Crimean Turkish. However, Radloff's viewpoint was challenged by Samoylovič (2000: 116) in 1917, who asserted that Radloff's materials only represented literature modified under Ottoman and Crimean Karaim influences and could not accurately depict spoken Crimean Karaim. Prik, who extensively documented the grammar of the Crimean Karaim dialect based on a small number of speakers in 1949, also noted significant differences between spoken Karaim and Radloff's materials from 1896 (Prik 1976: 16). Furthermore, Prik observed numerous characteristics of the old canonical language in Crimean Karaim, which were preserved in the contemporary spoken western branch of Karaim (Prik 1976: 9-10) based on samples from Bible translations. Similar perspectives were shared by Pritsak (1959: 320-321) and Musaev (1964: 36), who did not include the Crimean Karaim dialect in their grammars but acknowledged its historical existence and proposed that it had been assimilated by Crimean Tatar, losing its distinctive features over time.

After a long hiatus, scholars have begun to study Karaim anew and analyze both eastern and western Karaim texts, thus providing further detail to ongoing debates. Among these scholars, Shapira has reignited previous discussions with his views, which have been contested by many others. Specifically, he has asserted (2003: 661-665; 2013: 155-157) that Crimean Karaim was a ghost dialect that never existed. According to Shapira, the Crimean Karaim texts exhibiting characteristics of the old canonical language were originally composed in the west and brought by northern Karaims (from Lutsk, Kiev, and Troki), which explains the archaic features found
in these texts, primarily in Bible translations (Shapira 2013: 150-157) ${ }^{17}$. Shapira based his arguments on the Book of Nehamia from the Gözleve Bible (henceforth referred to as Göz. 1841), the subject of our study. He compared this translation with equivalent portions of the Łuck-Karaim text. Below, we share a part of his comparison (Shapira 2013: 165), where he used a transliteration system for Karaim translations.

Table 2: Comparison between Göz. 1841 and Mid-Eighteenth Century Łuck-Karaim (Shapira 2013: 165)

| English Translation | The mid-18th century Luck-Karaim | Göz. $\mathbf{1 8 4 1}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Honor/fame is to such a man, | sandır andıy k'išeg'e ki yür'um'es'e | san ol kišiga ki yurumadi kegaši |
| who does not walk with the | k'en'es'i blla raša 'larnın da yolunda | bilan raša larnig da yolinda |
| counsel of the wicked ones, | yazıqlırarnın tÿurmasa da olť̈urusunda | yaziqlilarnig turmadi da-oturašinda |
| and does not stand in the way | eliqcilarnin oltyurmasa | eriklavčilarnig oturmadi. |
| of the sinners, and does not |  |  |
| sit in the sitting(-place) of |  |  |
| mockers. |  |  |

In consequence of his analysis, he posits that these discrepancies can be primarily attributed to phonetic variations, largely influenced by the intrusion of local Slavic languages in the more contemporary translation. He hence posits that the disparities should not be ascribed to geographical diversities, but rather to chronological divergences. Additionally, he contends that the Western Karaim community did not originate from Crimea, but instead, were presumably progenies of the Golden Horde. The late 15th-century immigrants from the west, he suggests, brought their unique vernacular to Crimea (Shapira 2013: 152, 157). In this context, he postulates that the presence of Slavic lexical elements in what are purported to be Crimean Karaim texts lends further support to the hypothesis that the existence of a distinct Crimean Karaim language is improbable. The logic follows that if such a language did indeed exist, it would be devoid of Slavic influence. His interpretation of the Göz. 1841 provides additional substantiation for these assertions (Shapira 2003: 696):
'the so-called "Tirishqan translation" or "Gözleve Bible" was not a new translation, but rather a hasty attempt to Tatarize-or even vulgarize-earlier translations existing in

[^7]manuscripts. The main goal of this edition was to eradicate the Karaim-tinged "language of the educated (i.e., savants)" not fully understood by the Gözleve nouveaux riches, like Tirishqan himself or Simhah Babowicz. Lacking genuine Crimean-Tatar manuscripts, the editors took Karaim ones brought apparently from Luck, and changed some grammatical forms from Karaim to "Tatar," whatever this ambiguous term might mean, sometimes also substituting some Karaim words with their Tatar equivalents. The result was rather superficial Tatarization'.

Similar ideas have also been expressed by Kizilov. He argues that there is no concrete evidence supporting the belief that the initial Karaites in Crimea spoke a Kipchak Karaim language, despite its theoretical plausibility. Indeed, even if this were the case, Kizilov posits that the Crimean Karaims likely shifted their language to Crimean Tatar no later than the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Thus, he concurs that all known Karaite Turkic texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries exhibit characteristics of different variants of Crimean Tatar and Crimean Turkish (Kizilov 2013: 247-248).

However, some scholars, including Jankowski (2003a, 2008, 2015a, 2015b), Aqtay (2009: 16-18), and Németh (2015a: 179-180; 2015d, 2016), have contested Shapira's ideas. The primary disagreement between these opposing viewpoints stems from the controversy surrounding the emergence of Karaim settlements in northern areas. Indeed, the concept that the northern settlement of the Karaims spread from Crimea is much more prevalent among scholars, as previously demonstrated (see 1.2.2.). Furthermore, Shapira's argument suggesting the existence of Slavic lexical elements in eastern texts as evidence that Crimean Karaim did not exist seems erroneous. Firstly, these texts do not contain a significant number of Slavic lexemes. Secondly, as Jankowski also noted (2008: 166-167), some Slavic loanwords were already present in Middle Turkic languages as far as Central Asia, as well as in the Codex Cumanicus. Echoing prior theories, Jankowski (2009: 502) asserts that after migrating to Crimea, the originally Greek-speaking Karaim believers adopted a Kipchak Turkic language that was quite similar to the Kipchak Turkic present in the Codex Cumanicus. Over time, however, they adapted their language to Crimean Tatar or Turkish, as these Turkic languages were used by their overlords (Jankowski 2015a: 200). Thus, considering the historical context, he delineates the progression of the language chain as follows: Arabic $\rightarrow$ Greek $\rightarrow$ Kipchak Turkic $\rightarrow$ Crimean Turkish $\rightarrow$ Russian (Jankowski 2015a: 201).

In 2014, Németh conducted a detailed examination and presentation of the oldest Western Karaim translation (expressed in a northern dialect), originating from the year 1720. This
manuscript, denoted as A.Dub.III.73, encompasses translations of the Torah and four other books from the Ketuvim: namely the Book of Ruth, the Book of Jeremiah, Ecclesiastes, and the Book of Esther (Németh 2014c). Subsequently, in a comprehensive study (Németh 2015c), he juxtaposed the language employed in the Book of Ruth in the A.Dub.III. 73 manuscript with equivalent segments of the Göz. 1841. Through this comparison, he demonstrates that the variances observed between these Western and Eastern Karaim translations were dialectal, largely attributable to the Oghuzic influence in the Crimea, e.g., A.Dub.III. 73 oltur- 'to sit; to dwell' vs. otur- 'id.' (Göz. 1841), tuv- 'to be born' vs. doy- 'id.' (Göz. 1841), the so-called negative infinitive, i.e. W.Kar \{+masḳa\} vs. E.Kar \{+mamaḳka\}, etc. (Németh 2015c: 105). However, it merits noting that despite exhibiting Oghuzic traits, the Crimean translation predominantly manifests Kipchak characteristics, typical of Crimean Kipchak Karaim (see section 1.2.3.2.), e.g., ber- 'to give' (Ruth 1:6), bol- 'to be' (Ruth 1:2), kel- 'to come' (Ruth 1:2), the optative $\{$-yay\} (Németh 2015c: 105). Consequently, he elucidates a few Northern/Western Karaim attributes that were not previously discerned in Crimean Karaim. For example, W.Kar bašak ${ }^{18}$ 'ear of grain', and the usage of optative \{-yay \}, e.g., kül baysïn 'may you do'. Ultimately, Németh postulates that the Book of Ruth in the Göz. 1841 was potentially constructed based on a preceding Western Karaim version or another Eastern Karaim manuscript, which was, in turn, derived from a Western Karaim prototype.

Table 3: Comparison of the Book of Ruth in the A.Dub.III. 73 and Göz. 1841 (Németh 2015c: 111)

| Ruth | English Standard Version | A.Dub.III. 73 (1720, W.Kar) | Göz. 1841 (E.Kar) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2:10 | Then she fell on her face, bowing to the ground, and said to him, "Why have I found favor in your eyes, that you should take notice of me, since I am a foreigner? | Da túš́tu juzĺari üstuńa bašurdu jerǵa da ajtty anar ne üčun taptym širinlik ḱozĺarijd’a tanyma meni da men jat qatyn men. | Da tüštü jüzläri üstünä bašurdu jergä da ajtty ajar ne učun taptym širinlik közläriŋä tanyma meni da men jat. |

Subsequently, a year later, Németh (2016) introduced crucial new data that enriched the discussion and shed light on specific theories concerning the language of Göz. 1841. In his

[^8]study, he unveiled the Book of Ruth from an Eastern Karaim translation, which was transcribed no later than $1687^{19}$, thus marking the oldest Eastern Karaim translation identified to date. In addition, he juxtaposed this translation with identical portions of the oldest Western translation (A.Dub.III.73) and the Göz. 1841. One remarkable outcome was the striking similarities between the JSul.III. 02 and the Göz. 1841. The distinctions between Eastern and Western translations were, yet again, dialectal, encompassing aspects such as phonology, morphonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, e.g., the genitive case \{+niy\} (E.Kar) vs. \{+nin\} (W.Kar), the so-called 'negative infinitive' \{+maḳa\} vs. \{+maska\} (W.Kar) etc. (Németh 2016: 199-200). As such, Shapira's hypothesis, positing that the transcriber of the Göz. 1841 hastily altered the language to fit a phantom dialect, was refuted. This is because these adaptations are already evident in another Crimean Karaim Bible translation written 200 years prior to the Göz. 1841. Furthermore, Németh also mentions that the Crimean Tatar loanwords were not present in the Book of Ruth translations of the JSul.III.02 and Göz. 1841. However, it is possible to identify certain specific Karaim features that are absent in Crimean Tatar: for instance, ïÿ̈r 'evening', tavus- 'to complete', the $\{-z a y\}$ optative, or the $\{+\mathrm{ka}\}$ suffix in the negative infinitive form \{+makka\} (Németh 2016: 201). Hence, Németh (2016: 202203) claims that it is misleading to assert that the Göz. 1841 was 'Tatarized' or 'vulgarized'; rather, it was 'Ottomanized' in response to the linguistic trends of the era.

Table 4: Certain Differences Between Jsul.III.02, Göz. 1841 and III. 73 (Németh 2016: 203)

| Line nr | Jsul.III.02 (E.Kar) | Göz. 1841 (E.Kar) | III. 73 (W.Kar) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 4 | edi | Boldy | edi |
| 6 | aty | ady | aty |
| 31 | asry | gajet | - |
| 43 | barča | šümlä | bar |
| 60 | keldi | keläjdir | keldi |
| 73 | qajdan | neden | qajdan |
| 84 | kibik | gibi | kibik |
| 106 | učramavajlar | učramasynlar | ki jadatmayajlar |

As for the large number of typical Western Karaim features found in Eastern texts, Németh posits that the Eastern Karaim translation of the Book of Ruth might have been prepared based on an earlier Western Karaim manuscript. However, as he also notes, given that the oldest

[^9]known Western Karaim Bible translation identified to date is actually more recent than the oldest Eastern Karaim Bible, this hypothesis remains uncertain. As an alternative explanation, he cites the idea of an Old Karaim linguistic heritage, a theory upheld by certain scholars such as Gordlevskij (1928: 87-88) and Dubiński (1993: 37-38). Lastly, he asserts that even if the Crimean texts were based on Western Karaim texts, this does not provide sufficient evidence to declare Crimean Karaim a ghost dialect, since the canonical language and the spoken language should not be regarded as identical (Németh 2016: 211).

Concerning these debates, it is crucial to acknowledge several pivotal considerations prior to discussing Crimean Karaim. Primarily, the language in supposed Crimean Karaim written sources was not designated as Karaim/Crimean Karaim, as Karaim communities, including those in the west, did not utilize a specific term ${ }^{20}$ for their Turkic vernacular for an extended period. In the Hebrew script, their language was commonly referred to as lešon 'language' qedar 'Crimea/Black Sea region', for instance, Lešon Qedar, lašon Qedari, bisfat Qedar, or yišma 'eli ‘Ishmailite’ (Jankowski 2015b: 454). In fact, the label lešon Tatar was also applied to the Göz. 1841, the subject of our dissertation. According to Jankowski (2018: 52), the language of this edition would have been barely decipherable to Crimean or Volga Tatars in the nineteenth century, indicating that classifying written sources based on their labels may lead to misconceptions. Another pivotal consideration is that the geographical origins of the publications may not yield precise insights into the language of the Karaim dialects. Consequently, a text published in Crimea should not be designated as Crimean Karaim solely on this basis (Jankowski 2015a: 202). In terms of the spoken language, extant colloquial material is significantly limited, for instance, Prik 1976, Jankowski 2003a, considering Crimean Karaim now exists as an extinct dialect of Karaim. Hence, scholars can only evaluate written resources, which may occasionally fail to shed light on the intricacies of the colloquial language (Smętek 2012: 18).

### 1.2.3.2. Crimean Karaim Varieties

In this section, the varieties of Crimean Karaim will be succinctly described, with reference to Jankowski's paper (2015a) which stands as the most comprehensive study on the subject to

[^10]date. As illustrated below, Németh (2011b) divides Crimean Karaim varieties into four subcategories:
a) Crimean Kipchak Karaim
b) Crimean Tatar Karaim
c) Crimean Turkish Karaim (in the Crimea)
d) Crimean Turkish Karaim (in the Ottoman Empire)

Given that the language and dialects were not standardized, it remains challenging to articulate the precise nature of these varieties. However, certain distinct features can be identified. Among these, Crimean Kipchak Karaim is the variety displaying the most prominent Kipchak characteristics, along with some Oghuzic influence. This variety, predominantly manifested in Bible translations, maintains more consistency compared to the other varieties ${ }^{21}$. Several common features are discernible in the Bible translations from Crimea. Drawing upon Jankowski’s delineation (2015a: 202-204), these features can be listed as follows:

Table 5: Some features of Crimean Kipchak Karaim

| Crimean Kipchak Karaim |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Phonological and | Rounded-unrounded vowel harmony is inconsistent, e.g., koyzïn 'put'. |
| Morphohonological | The lenition of voiceless stops $k, k$, and $p$ is present in verbs between vowels, e.g., čïzar- |
| Features | 'to push out', except for $-t$-, e.g., etär 'she/he/it does'. |
|  | The initial $t$ - and $k$ - are retained, along with $b$ - in bar- 'to go'; bar 'there is/are'; ber- 'to give', bol- 'to be; to become'. |
| Morphological | The genitive is $\{+\mathrm{nII}\}$, the accusative is $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$, and the dative is $\{+\mathrm{GA}\}$. |
| Features | The imperative is $\{$-QIn $\}$, and the subjunctive is $\{$-QAy $\}$. |
|  | Some actional forms such as kïmülday turyan 'she/he/it is moving' are present. |

It is important to note that some features of this dialect have evolved over time in response to the prevailing linguistic trends. However, Jankowski asserts that the Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Western Karaim translations (encompassing both southern and northern sub-branches) exhibit clear similarities. Despite this, there are many features found in Western Karaim Bible

[^11]translations that are absent in Crimean Kipchak Karaim, e.g., W.Kar oltur- 'to sit; to dwell' vs E.Kar otur- 'id.', ošol 'that over there’ vs E.Kar šol ‘id', W.Kar -bïla ~ -bile ‘with’ E.Kar bilän, W.Kar -doyač ‘when ...’ (Jankowski 2015a: 204).

Another variant, Crimean Tatar Karaim, is predominantly seen in literary works (e.g., short songs, poems, and the so-called mejumas), which were quite popular among the Crimean Turks and Tatars. According to Jankowski, the abundance of Crimean Tatar features makes it challenging to categorize this variant as Crimean Karaim. Notable examples are attested in various studies on mejumas, such as Aqtay 2009, Çulha 2010, and Jankowski 2013. Our understanding of Crimean Turkish Karaim is also limited. The initial examples of this dialect are found in a prayer book published in Venice in $1528 / 1529^{22}$. Subsequent attestations of this dialect are also presented in works by Shapira ${ }^{23}$ (2001: 79-92), Poznański (1913), Jankowski (2012), and Aqtay (2009: 102-113, 224-294). As per Jankowski (2015b: 460-461), a variety of examples (primarily translations or adaptations) were penned in the ensuing centuries by Western Karaim authors who were active in both Turkey and the Crimea. Consequently, the language primarily consists of Turkish, along with Crimean and even Western Karaim elements. The most substantial of these is a Bible translation printed between 1832 and 1835 in Ortaköy (Istanbul) under the supervision of Abraham Firkovich (see section 1.2.4.1.).

Table 6: Some Features of Crimean Turkish Karaim (based on Jankowski 2015a: 204-205)

| Crimean Turkish Karaim |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Phonological and Morphohonological Features | Initial $t-, k$ - are voiced to $d-, g^{-}$, which is also present for some words that do not show voicing in standard Turkish but do in Crimean Turkish, e.g., tut- vs dut- 'to hold, to grasp', taš vs daš ‘stone'; kendi vs gendi '-self’. |
|  | The deletion of the initial $b$ - is evident in words such as ol- 'to be; to become', ilen 'with', or its spirantization, var- 'to go', ver- 'to give', and var 'there is/are'. <br> Contrasting with Turkish, the change from $k \rightarrow h$ (most commonly denoted as $h$ ) is evident, e.g., kačan $\rightarrow$ hačan 'when', yakın $\rightarrow$ yah̆ın 'near'. |
| Morphological | The genitive is $\{+(\mathrm{n}) \mathrm{Iy}\}$, the accusative is $\{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{I}\}$, and the dative is $\{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{A}\}$. |
| Features | It is possible to find the perfect $\{-\mathrm{mIs}\}$, and progressive $\{-\mathrm{yUr}\}$. |
|  | The usage of the converb \{-DIQčAz \} 'as long as...' is present. |
|  | The usage of the converb \{-InčAz\}, 'until ...' is attestable. |
|  | The usage of the converb $\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{AndA}$ \}, 'when $\ldots$..' is present. |

[^12]|  | Crimean Turkish Karaim |
| :--- | :--- |
| Lexical Features | The present or progressive \{-AyIr\} and \{-Uyır\} is attestable. |
|  | The usage of čok instead of köp 'much, many'; kapu instead of ešik 'door'; gizle- instead <br> of yašir- 'to hide'; millet instead of $u l u s ~ ' n a t i o n ' ; ~ h a k k a ~ i n s t e a d ~ o f ~ k e r t i ~ ' t r u l y ' . ~$ |

### 1.2.4. Written Sources

Written sources serve as critical materials that reflect the fundamental beliefs, traditions, rituals, and perspectives of their respective communities. The first study of Karaim written sources was undertaken by Poznański (1909, 1910, 1913), whose work did not provide a detailed classification of the dialects present in his sources. Subsequent studies, including those by Zajączkowski (1926), Shapira (2003a), Walfish (2003), and Sklare (2003), primarily built upon Poznański’s foundational work.

Shapira (2003: 692) indicates that the earliest sources trace back to the mid-seventeenth century and encompass a variety of texts, including letters, notes, poems, glossaries, and fragments of Hebrew dictionaries. Until the advent of Karaim printing houses in the nineteenth century, comprehensive works were scarce. The nineteenth century, however, was considered a golden age of Crimean Karaim literature due to the proliferation of printed materials (Smętek 2009: 20). Yet, significant changes in their lifestyle in the twentieth century led to a decline in literary activities and the cessation of the longstanding tradition of Bible translations.

The available written materials can be broadly classified into two categories. The first group comprises compilations of literary materials, while the second primarily consists of translations of canonical texts and liturgies. Given that the present study is centered on the canonical materials, the following section will elaborate on these sources.

### 1.2.4.1. Crimean Karaim Bible Translations and Associated Studies

Given the nature of Karaim beliefs, it has always been essential for Karaims to read the Hebrew Bible in their vernacular. Consequently, Karaims have been translating the Holy Scripture into their Turkic vernacular for centuries ${ }^{24}$.

The Hebrew Bible, also known as the Tanakh, is divided into three sections: the Torah, Nevi'im, and Ketuvim ${ }^{25}$, each comprising various books of the Bible.

Table 7: The Books of Hebrew Bible (Tanakh)

[^13]| Torah (Pentateuch; Five Books of Moses) | Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Neviim | The Former Prophets | Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings |
|  | The Latter Prophets | Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel |
|  | The Twelve Minor Prophets | Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, |
| Ketuvim | The Three Poetic Books | Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi |
|  | The Five Megillot | Song of Songs (Song of Solomon), Ruth, Lamentations, |
|  |  | Ecclesiastes, Esther |
|  | Other Books | Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles |

The exact dates of the Bible translations remain elusive due to insufficient concrete evidence. The largest collection of Karaim manuscripts, which contain parts of Bible translations, resides at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. A significant number of these manuscripts were transferred there in 1928 or 1929 from the Crimean Karaim Library (Qaray Bitikligi). Established in the nineteenth century, this library was later closed by the Soviet Union (Jankowski 2018: 48). As noted by Sklare (2003: 904), there are 413 manuscripts from Gözleve at this institute. The renowned Karaim-Russian-Polish Dictionary (KRPS) enumerates 30 of these manuscripts, inclusive of the Tanakh translations into Karaim (KRPS: 28-29), with seven of these described in detail by Jankowski (2018: 4950). In addition to the collections at the aforementioned institute, Jankowski identified several significant manuscripts held in various other libraries, including BSMS 288 (Cambridge University Library), H 170 (John Rylands Library, Manchester), and Or. Ms. 629 (Edinburgh University Library). The remaining unspecified manuscripts are largely maintained in private collections.

Beyond manuscripts, it is known that two printed editions have also been identified ${ }^{26}$. The first, Göz. 1841, has a translation of the Book of Leviticus and is the subject of the present study (see 1.3.). The second is a translation of the Torah published in Ortaköy/Istanbul between 1832 and 1835. This edition displays predominantly Turkish features interspersed with some Karaim characteristics (Jankowski 2009: 516).

One of the first studies on Crimean Karaim Bible translations was conducted in 1826 by Ebenezer Henderson, who published a brief fragment of the Tanakh in Crimean Karaim. He examined the manuscript BSMS 288, which was purchased in 1816 by Robert Pinkerton

[^14](Henderson 1816: 332). Henderson also identified certain translation strategies influenced by Aramaic Targums and rabbinic interpretations. Later, Steinschneider (1871:38) presented the first two verses ${ }^{27}$ of the Book of Genesis from the four-volume manuscript H 170, currently held at the John Rylands Library in Manchester. Subsequently, a short fragment was analyzed by Harkavy and Strack, who provided a fragment of Lev. 1:1-3 from the manuscript Evr. I 143 and 144 in their catalogue (Harkavy and Strack 1875: 168).

The research initiated by Henderson was continued by Gordlevskij (1928), who studied a Crimean Karaim Tanakh translation. Subsequently, Kowalski presented brief fragments from the Göz. 1841 (1929: 287-288). Additionally, a prayer book from 1734, known as the Targum Seliḥot ${ }^{28}$, was also edited by Józef Sulimowicz (1972).

After an extended period of inactivity in the field, Jankowski revived the academic exploration of the Karaim Bible translations with a pivotal study in 1997. He produced both a transcription and transliteration of select portions of the H 170 manuscript, meticulously examining the text's grammar from a phonological, morphosyntactical, and lexical perspective. Notably, he characterized the manuscript's language as a northern dialect of Crimean Karaim.

In the subsequent years, Dan Shapira released several articles examining Crimean Karaim Tanakh translations. His 2006 study (264-270) presented comparative analysis of translations of Genesis 1:1-4 sourced from the H 170 manuscript shared by Jankowski (1997), the Göz. 1841 edition, the BSMS 288 introduced by Henderson (1826), and the Ortaköy 1832-1835 translation. More recent scholarship includes work by Shapira (2013) and Németh (2015c, 2016), who analyzed sections of the Göz. 1841. Alongside this, Olach (2016) conducted a linguistic comparison of the Song of Moses from the Karaim Bible translations, disseminating excerpts from the Göz. 1841 and BSMS 288. In a separate study, Smętek (2016) undertook lexical and phonological scrutiny of certain sections (the Book of Genesis, Leviticus, Job, and Psalms) of the manuscript known as BSMS 288. In 2018, Jankowski detailed the most recognized Tanakh translations of Crimean Karaim, additionally sharing fragments from the Evr. I 143, BSMS 288, Ortaköy 1832-1835, and Göz. 1841. In 2019, a critical edition of the Crimean Karaim Bible translation, encompassing the Torah, Five Scrolls, Book of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, from the BMS 288 manuscript, was published. This joint endeavor by academics, including Jankowski, Aqtay, Cegiołka (formerly Smętek), Çulha, and Németh, resulted in a comprehensive work spanning two volumes and including both

[^15]transcription and translation (refer to CrKB in references). Furthermore, from 2018 to 2021, Işık has contributed several articles, each focusing on specific issues regarding the Lev of Göz 1841.

### 1.3. The Subject of the Dissertation

The so-called Göz. 1841 represents a comprehensive translation of the Tanakh (excluding the Chronicles) into Karaim. Published in four volumes ${ }^{29}$ in Gözleve/Kezlev (modern-day Eupatoria) in 1841 (Jankowski 2018: 51), this translation was commissioned to commemorate the wedding of the future Russian Tsar Alexander II, and it simultaneously celebrated the newly granted administrative and religious rights of the Crimean Karaims (Shapira 2013: 134). Known also as the Eupatorian print or the Tirishqan translation, this edition was produced at the printing house of the renowned merchant Mordechaj Tirishkan in Eupatoria. The exact title of the translation is Sefer Targum ha-Torah bilšon Tatar, translating as 'The Targum Translation of the Torah in Tatar'.

According to Poznański (1916: 88), the Prophets and Writings in this publication were founded on the translation of Jacob b. Mordecai, completed in 1672. However, Shapira (2013: 135-151) contends that Jacob b. Mordecai was responsible for the copy, not the translation. Despite this, an unequivocal conclusion on the matter remains elusive. Additionally, the language of this translation underwent modernization by its editors, resulting in an inhomogeneous linguistic output. Alongside Karaim features, it displays certain Crimean Turkish traits identifiable in Crimean Tatar (Dubiński 1993: 37-38; Jankowski 2018: 52). However, as previous studies have focused solely on specific sections of the Göz. 1841, a comprehensive examination of the entire translation is warranted. In light of this, the present study aims to scrutinize the translation of the Book of Leviticus in Göz. 1841 to enrich the discussion. This text, representing the third book of the Torah, is referred to as [wayyiqrā̄]a title that echoes the opening verse of the book, [Lev 1:1], 'And He (God) called'. Predominantly, it encapsulates laws and priestly rituals. For a detailed structural analysis, one can refer to the overview provided by Wenham (1979: 4).

Table 8: Structure of the Book of Leviticus

[^16]| I. Laws on Sacrifice | A. Instructions for the | 1. The burnt offering (ch. 1) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| (chs. 1:1-7:38) | Laity | 2. The cereal offering (ch. 2) |
|  | (chs. 1:1-5:26) The peace offering (ch. 3) |  |
|  |  | 4. The purification offering (chs. 4:1-5:13) |
|  | 5. The reparation offering (chs. 5:14-26) |  |


| B. Instructions for the | 1. The burnt offering (chs. 6:1-6) |
| :--- | :--- |
| Priests | 2. The cereal offering (chs. 6:7-11) |
| (chs. 6:1-7:38) | 3. The priest's cereal offering (chs. 6:12-16) |
|  | 4. The purification offering (chs. 6:17-23) |
|  | 5. The reparation offering (chs. 7:1-10) |
|  | 6. The peace offering (chs. 7:11-36) |
|  | 7. Summary (chs. 7:37-38) |

II. Institution of the A. Ordination of Aaron and his Sons (ch. 8)
priesthood (chs. 8:1- B. Aaron's First Sacrifices (ch. 9)
10:20) C. Judgement on Nadab and Abihu (ch. 10)
III. Uncleanness and A. Unclean Animals (ch. 11)
its Treatment (chs. B. Uncleanness of Childbirth (ch. 12)
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { 11:1-16:34) } & \text { C. Unclean Diseases (ch. 13) } \\ \text { D. Cleansing of Diseases (ch. 14) } \\ \text { E. Unclean Discharges (ch. 15) } \\ & \text { F. Purification of the Tabernacle from Uncleanness (ch. 16) }\end{array}$
IV. Prescriptions for A. Basic Principles about Sacrifice and Food (ch. 17)

Practical Holiness B. Basic Principles of Sexual Behaviour (ch. 18)
(chs. 17:1-27:34) C. Principles of Neighbourliness (ch.19)
D. Capital and other Grave Crimes (ch. 20)
E. Rules for Priests (ch. 21)
F. Rules about Eating Sacrifices (ch. 22)
G. Religious Festivals (ch.23)
H. Rules for the Tabernacle (ch. 24:1-9)
I. A Case of Blasphemy (ch. 24:10-23)
J. Sabbatical and Jubilee Years (ch. 25)
K. Exhortation to Obey the Law: Blessing and Curse (ch. 26)
L. Redemption of Votive Gifts (ch. 27)

The present study utilizes a printed copy, specifically JSul.IV. $02 \mathrm{~A}^{30}$, which constitutes the first volume of Göz. 1841 and encompasses the five books of Moses. In this edition, the Book of Leviticus is contained within folios $93 \mathrm{r}^{\mathrm{o}}-121 \mathrm{r}^{\mathrm{o}}$, thus spanning 57 pages of the translation and comprising 27 chapters written in Hebrew script. It is noteworthy that one verse (Lev 26:38) is absent from this translation ${ }^{31}$. Consequently, on the 4th line of folio 120 r $^{\mathrm{o}}$, verse 26:39 succeeds verse 26:37. The missing verse is exhibited below.

Table 9: Missing Verse in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

| Lev | Göz. 1841 | Eng. Bible (NAS 1977) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 26:37 | Da sürünürlär har kiši kardaši bilän tutki aldïndan kėiličnïy da kuvuvčï yoktïr da bolmaz sizgä turmak aldïna dušmanlarïyïnï̈. | They will therefore stumble over each other as if running from the sword, although no one is pursuing; and you will have no strength to stand up before your enemies. |
| 26:38 | - | But you will perish among the nations, and your enemies' land will consume you. |
| 26:39 | Da ol kalyanlar sizdä čürirlar gunaḥlarï bilän yerlärindä dušmanlarïïznï̄ da dayïn gunaḥlarï bilän atalarïn̈̈y birgälärinä čürirlär. | So those of you who may be left will rot away because of their iniquity in the lands of your enemies; and also because of the iniquities of their forefathers they will rot away with them. |

## 2. The Linguistic Analysis of the Text

### 2.1. Phonology

In this section, a thorough examination of the phonological features within the text shall be conducted. It is important to note that the investigation of morphophonology, which pertains to the phonology of morphological elements, will be carried out concomitantly with the morphology section (refer to section 2.2.). Consequently, the current section will focus exclusively on the features of uninflected forms. As shall be demonstrated, the dataset encompasses a diverse array of phonological properties. In this context, the prevalence of these features will be delineated and juxtaposed with those observed in Crimean Tatar, Crimean

[^17]Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and the three dialects of Karaim. However, due to the constraints of accessible data, comparisons with Crimean Turkish will be based on only certain select features.

Finally, it is essential to acknowledge that, due to the orthographical challenge of vocalization (refer to section 2.1.1.1.2.), Crimean Karaim dictionaries were utilized in select instances to clarify specific vowel values.

### 2.1.1. Sound Inventory, Orthography and Transcription System

The investigation of phonemic variations in the data under analysis presents difficulties due to multiple factors, including the extinction of the Crimean Karaim language, the limited application of the Hebrew script in representing specific Turkic phonemic attributes, and the dearth of resources on spoken Crimean Karaim ${ }^{32}$. As a result, this research does not directly address phonetic concerns. Nevertheless, given that orthography occasionally pertains to certain phonemic variations, concise descriptions of these variations will be provided without an extensive examination. It can be posited that the phonemic inventory of Crimean Karaim demonstrates typical features of Turkic languages in Crimea, resulting in minimal deviation from languages such as Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, and Ottoman Turkish. In contrast, it does not exhibit the unique phonemes of Western Karaim languages, which have evolved under the influence of a Slavonic linguistic milieu.

As previously mentioned, due to orthographic constraints, it is of paramount importance to elucidate the orthographic features of the text and their transcription within the context of our investigation. In the present printed edition, the traditional Hebrew script is utilized, written from right to left. The text is fully vocalized, except for some Hebrew incipits ${ }^{33}$, and certain words appear within parentheses. Notably, the transcription system bears a close resemblance to that in CrKB I: XXIV-XXV. Since, in our text, Biblical Hebrew words were consistently written in their original forms, thereby displaying Biblical Hebrew orthographic features, taking into consideration Harvianien's work (2013: 453-457) was essential for further clarification.

[^18]
### 2.1.1.1. Vowels

### 2.1.1.1.1. Vowel System

In Prik's (1976: 25) analysis of Crimean Karaim, eight vowel phonemes are identified: front unrounded $/ \mathrm{i} /$ and $/ \mathrm{a} /$, front rounded $/ \ddot{\mathrm{u}} /$ and $/ \mathrm{o} /$, back unrounded $/ \mathrm{a} /$ and $/ \mathrm{i} /$, and back rounded $/ \mathrm{o} /$ and $/ \mathrm{u} /$. These vowel phonemes are identical to that of Trakai Karaim, but differ from Halich Karaim, which possesses only six phonemes, as it lacks /ö/ and /ü/, which have been replaced by /ä/ and /i/, respectively (Musaev 1977: 9). In relation to Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 17) and Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 6), both languages display an identical set of eight phonemes, a characteristic also observed in our dataset.

As previously stated, the analysis of phonemic variations in the data under investigation presents difficulties owing to numerous factors. However, it is essential to explain a vowel phoneme variation that is apparent in the orthography. It is widely acknowledged that in Crimean Karaim Bible translations, the phoneme /ä/ displays variations, including $\ddot{a}^{34}$ and a closed variant $e^{35}$. As illustrated in the following section (see 2.1.1.1.2.), in our text, the variations, $\ddot{a}$ and $e$ can be distinguished, with $\ddot{a}$ being denoted through orthographic strategies akin to those for phoneme /a/, while being differentiated by the frontness and backness of the word. It is important to highlight that Doerfer (1959a: 273) also distinguishes $\ddot{a}$ from the closed $e$ variant in Crimean Turkish and maintains that $\ddot{a}$ appears solely in non-initial syllables. A comparable phenomenon is also documented in Western Karaim, as the distribution of $e$ and $\ddot{a}$ as variants of $/ \ddot{a} /$ is determined by their position in Northwest Karaim, with $\ddot{a}$ primarily occurring in non-first syllables and $e$ situated in first syllables (Berta and Csató 2022b: 320). In fact, Prik (1976: 26) also mentions the same system in spoken material of Crimean Karaim. Conversely, our analysis of the dataset reveals that, although the majority of the data adheres to the established rules, some fluctuations are observed where the vowel $\ddot{a}$ appears in initial syllables and $e$ in non-initial syllables in Turkic words. It should be noted that we do not consider such examples as scribal errors and present them in their original forms. Notably, a similar fluctuation has also been mentioned by Jankowski (1997: 7; CrKB I: XXV). Consequently, it is worth emphasizing that the vowels $\ddot{a}$ and $e$ are phonemic variations of the phoneme /ä/ and can be used interchangeably within the same words (see 2.1.2.1.2.).

[^19]
### 2.1.1.1.2. Orthography and Transcription of Vowel Sounds

Before presenting the transcription of vowels sounds in our study, it is essential to acknowledge the existence of two primary methods for denoting vowels in Hebrew script. The first approach involves employing a combination of consonants known as matres lectiones, such as he (ה) aleph (א), waw (1) and yodh ( $\left.{ }^{( }\right)$along with vowel points (niqqud), such as patach (), qamatz (), tzere (), kubutz (), segol (), mobile shewa (); holam male ( ), interrupted patach (), interrupted qamatz (), interrupted segol (). The second method entails the sole usage of the aforementioned vowel points. It is essential to emphasize that the rationale behind the Hebrew script exhibiting this range of combinations is to indicate the position of vowels and various Biblical Hebrew vowel qualities, such as short, long, and interrupted (chataf). This comprehensive inventory is mirrored in Karaim, even though Karaim lacks the specific vowel values found in Biblical Hebrew. It is well known that in Karaim materials written in Hebrew script, Hebrew words are invariably written in their distinct forms, thus reflecting only orthographical characteristics rather than phonemic values. This is also the case for our text. However, similar to other Karaim materials written in Hebrew script, our text also presents alternative methods for denoting same vowel values in non-Hebrew words. It is crucial to understand that these different methods do not represent any phonemic variations; they are solely orthographical variations.

A significant observation to consider is that the Hebrew script does not allow for the distinction between particular vowel pairs, such as $\ddot{i}-i, o-\ddot{o}, u-\ddot{u}$, and $a-\ddot{a}^{36}$. Comparable to the Arabic script, which has been utilized in a range of Turkic languages and persists in use among some Turkic languages today, the frontness-backness differentiation within a word is vital for identifying the back-front correspondences of these vowels. However, aside from consonant pairs like $k-k$ (refer to section 2.1.1.2.1) that indicate whether the vowels in non-Hebrew words are articulated in the back or front ${ }^{37}$, it is not feasible to ascertain whether the word contains back vowels or front vowels. In such cases, the mentioned vowel pairs can only be distinguished by context, and therefore the use of dictionaries is crucial, but it is not always the complete solution.

[^20]
## Table 10: Transcriptional System of Vowels

| Vowels | Letters |
| :---: | :---: |
| a | _(patach): Frequent; appears only in word-medial positions. |
|  | (qamatz): Rare; appears only in word-medial positions, and usually in Biblical Hebrew words. |
|  | _(chataf patach): Rare; appears only in word-medial positions, and only in Biblical Hebrew words. |
|  | $\underline{\text { w }}$ (aleph+patach): Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | $\underset{\sim}{\aleph}$ (aleph+qamatz): Rare; appears only in word-initial positions, and usually in Biblical Hebrew words. |
|  | $\aleph_{\text {_ (patach+aleph): Frequent; appears mostly in word-final positions and occasionally in word- }}$ medial positions. As will be mentioned (see 2.1.1.2.1.), only in Hebrew and Arabic words, and only in word-medial positions, aleph ( $\mathcal{N}$ ) is not a mater lectionis but denotes a Hebrew/Arabic glottal stop consonant, which is denoted by ['] in our transcription, but does not have a phonemic value in Karaim. Thus, such Arabic/Biblical Hebrew examples differ from this combination. |
|  | $\aleph_{T}($ qamatz+aleph): Rare; appears only in word-final positions. |
|  | त_(patach+he): Frequent; appears only in word-final positions. |
|  | $i_{\mathrm{T}}$ (qamatz+he): Rare; appears only in word-final positions. |
| ä | (patach): Frequent; appears mostly in word-medial positions and rarely in word-final positions. |
|  | ¢(qamatz): Rare; appears only in word-medial positions. |
|  |  |
|  | $\aleph_{N}$ (patach+aleph): Frequent; appears only in word-final positions. |
|  | $\mathrm{T}_{-}$(patach+he): Frequent; appears only in word-final positions. |
| e | ..(tzere): Frequent; appears mostly in word-medial positions and rarely in word-final positions. |
|  | (segol): Rare; appears in word-medial positions. |
|  | : (mobile shewa ${ }^{38}$ ): Rare; appears only in word-medial positions and always after the first letter of the word. Moreover, it is found exclusively in Biblical Hebrew words ${ }^{39}$, with the exception of one Turkic word, e.g., [Lev 12:2] yedi. Note that, with the exception of a few instances, the Turkic word yedi was consistently written using mobile shewa. |

N (aleph+tzere): Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions.
§ֶ (aleph+segol): Rare; appears only in word-initial positions.

[^21]| Vowels | Letters |
| :---: | :---: |
|  |  |
|  | $\aleph_{*}$ (segol+aleph): Rare; appears only in word-final positions. |
|  | ה..(tzere+he): Rare; appears only in word-final positions. |
|  | $\mathrm{T}_{\text {( }}$ (tzere+ segol): Rare; appears only in word final positions. |
|  | '..(segol+yodh) Rare; appears in word-final positions. |
| i, i | יִ (aleph+hiriq+yodh): Frequent; only in word-initial positions. |
|  | . (hiriq+yodh): Frequent; appears in word-medial and word-final positions. |
|  | (hiriq): Rare; appears only in word-medial positions. |
| o | או (aleph+waw): Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | ix (aleph+holam male) : Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | I (waw): Frequent; appears only in word-medial positions and word-final positions. |
|  | í (holam male): Frequent; appears only in word-medial positions and word-final positions.. |
|  | (holam haser): Rare; appears only in word-medial positions and only in Biblical Hebrew words. |
|  | (qamatz): Rare; only in word-medial positions, and exclusively in a few Biblical Hebrew words, e.g., the word קָרקָ is transcribed as korban and not as karban. In Modern Hebrew, this vowel point is named as qamatz qatan, which does not differ in shape from the so-called qamatz gadol that represents the phoneme $/ \mathrm{a} /$. |
| ö | או (aleph+waw): Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | iא (aleph+holam male) : Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | I (waw): Frequent; appears in word-medial and word-final positions. |
|  | i (waw with holam): Frequent; appears only in word-medial and word-final positions. |
| $\mathrm{u}, \mathrm{u}$ | או (aleph+waw): Frequent; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | או (aleph+shuruk): Frequent; appears only in word initial positions. |
|  | Nֻ (aleph+kubutz): Rare; appears only in word-initial positions. |
|  | I (waw): Frequent; appears only in word-medial positions and word-final positions. |
|  | I (shuruk); Frequent; appears in word-medial and word-final positions. |
|  | $\ldots(\mathrm{kubutz})=$ Rare; appears only in word-medial positions. |

There are certain orthographical features related to the notation of vowels in Hebrew script that warrant further clarification. Our text presents one such feature, known as patach furtivum. In specific Hebrew words, when a patach () - representing the vowel $a$ (refer to Table 10) appears after particular consonants such as cheth ( $\pi$ ), he with mappiq ( $(\mathbb{\pi})$, or ayin (ע), the vowel
$a$ is pronounced before, rather than after, these consonants. It is noteworthy that the provided text contains only one instance of this phenomenon, occurring a total of 87 times. This word
 'altar'. However, due to the presence of the patach furtivum feature, the correct transcription should be mizbeah.

### 2.1.1.2. Consonants

### 2.1.1.2.1. Consonant System

In our dataset, there are a total of 21 consonant phonemes: /b/, /̌丂/, /č/, /d/, /f/, /g/, /h/, /h/, /k/, $/ \mathrm{l} /$, /m/, /n/, /y/, /p/, /r/, /s/, /s/, /t/, /v/, /y/, and /z/. This inventory of consonant phonemes is almost identical to those found in other Turkic languages such as Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 10), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 275), and Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 1-9). However, the inventory does not include specific consonants found in Western Karaim (Musaev 1977: 12-14), such as the palatalized Trakai Karaim consonants ( $\dot{b}, \dot{\zeta}, \dot{c}, \dot{d}$ etc.) or the Halich Karaim alveolar affricates 3 and $c$, which developed under Slavic influence ${ }^{40}$.

It should be emphasized that determining the precise phonetic values of the phonemes in our dataset is a challenging task ${ }^{41}$. However, clear phonemic variations can also be observed. For instance, the phoneme /g/ demonstrates three distinct variants: a front variant, the voiced stop $g$; and two back variants, the voiced fricative $\delta$ and the voiced stop $\dot{g}$ (Prik 1976: 29). Notably, the phonemic variant $\dot{g}$ is absent in Turkic lexemes, appearing only in certain loanwords (Prik 1976: 32). Following established orthographic conventions, this variant is represented in our transcription by $g$, which also denotes the front variant $g$. Crucially, the voiced fricative $y$ does not manifest in Biblical Hebrew words located within a syllable consisting of back vowels, unlike in other words in our dataset. Similarly, the phoneme $/ \mathrm{k} /$ also has two variants: a front stop $k$ and a back stop $k$ (Prik: 1976: 29). It is important to mention that in Arabic-HebrewPersian words, these variants can appear in reverse since these words are written based on their original orthographic form and does not follow Turkic characteristic.

[^22]It is also vital to recognize that certain orthographic characteristics of our text are inherent to the Hebrew script features for Biblical Hebrew and Arabic words, representing some consonant phonemes that lack equivalents in Turkic languages. Among these characteristics, the consonant aleph ( $\mathbb{N}$ ) signifies a glottal stop in certain Arabic/Hebrew words and lacks an equivalent in Karaim. As will be demonstrated, aleph ( $(\mathbb{)}$ ) was also utilized to indicate vowels in specific combinations, given its role as a mater lectionis (see 2.1.1.1.2.). Nevertheless, aside from these functions, in medial positions within Biblical Hebrew and Arabic words in our text, aleph is represented by ['] in our orthography, which cannot be considered to possess phonemic value in Karaim and will therefore not be addressed in subsequent sections. Another notable aspect is the letter ayin (ע), which was traditionally recognized as a voiced pharyngealized fricative but later evolved into a pharyngealized glottal stop in Hebrew, also lacking an equivalent in Karaim. However, in Arabic and Biblical Hebrew words within our translations, ayin (y) is consistently represented as ['] in every position of a word, which likewise does not possess phonemic value in our text and will therefore be excluded from subsequent section.

It is of paramount importance to recognize the orthographic discrepancy between the characters $h$ and $h$, as identifying their exact phonemic distinctions presents a substantial challenge, an issue similarly underscored by Németh (2020: 29). Both characters are presumably representative of a voiceless fricative glottal. Interestingly, the transcriptional letter $h$ cannot be employed in Turkic words within the analyzed text, unlike the letter $h$, which contrasts with Németh's observations in a Trakai Karaim Bible translation. Given the imperative to faithfully render Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian words in their (possible) authentic form utilizing the Hebrew script, it is plausible that $h$ merely operates as an orthographic variant of $h$. A related phenomenon can be observed in Ottoman Turkish concerning the Arabic letters $h a h(\tau)$, typically transcribed as $h$, and khah ( $\dot{\tau}$ ), typically transcribed as $h$. It has been suggested that these characters did not represent distinct phonemes or phonemic variations in Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 4).

### 2.1.1.2.2. Orthography and Transcription of Consonant Sounds

Within the realm of Hebrew script, consonantal characters predominantly exhibit a single form consistently appearing in all word positions. However, certain circumstances necessitate the adoption of a distinct word-final form for specific consonants. It is crucial to highlight that, in contrast to the majority of Karaim Bible translations and prayer books examined in previous studies (e.g., Jankowski 1997; Sulimowicz 1972; Németh 2011, 2020; CrKB I), the current text
abstains from employing the so-called raphe () to differentiate the stops $b, g, k$, and $p$ from their corresponding fricative counterparts $v, \gamma, h$, and $f$. Rather, when particular letters, such as beth (ב), gimel ( X ), kaf (כ), and pe (פ), lack a dagesh $($ ), they signify both mentioned fricatives and their stop counterparts together. Conversely, in the presence of a dagesh with these letters, they exclusively denote the stops of these phonemes. Furthermore, this text lacks a specific combination to distinguish the fricative $\gamma$ from the stop $g$ and the velar $\eta$.

Table 11: Transcriptional System of Consonants

| Consonants | Letters |
| :---: | :---: |
| b | ב (beth): In all word positions. |
|  | $\mathfrak{\rightrightarrows}$ (beth with dagesh): In all word positions. |
| 3 | 'ג (gimel with geresh): In all word positions. |
| č | צ (tsade): In word-initial and word-medial positions. |
|  | $\gamma$ (final tsade) In word-final positions. |
| d | 7 (dalet): In all word positions. |
| f | פ (pe): In all word positions. |
| g, Y | $\lambda$ (gimel): In all word positions. |
| h | $\pi$ (he): In all word positions. |
| h | $\pi$ (chet): Only in non-Turkic words (e.g., Biblical Hebrew, Arabic, Persian words), and in all positions. |
| h | כ (kaph): In word-initial and word-medial positions. |
|  | 7 (final kaph): In word-final positions. |
| k | כ (kaph with dagesh): In all word positions. |
|  | כ (kaph): In all word positions (Rare). |
| k | $\bar{P}$ (qoph): In all word positions. |
| 1 | $\rangle$ (lamed): In all word positions. |
| m | a (mim): In word-initial and word-medial positions. |
|  |  |
| n | J (nun): In word-initial and word-medial position. |
|  | \} (final nun): In word final position. |
| y | $\lambda$ (gimel): In word-medial and word-final positions. |
| p | פ (pe with dagesh): In word-initial and word-medial positions. |
|  |  |


| Consonants | Letters |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | ๆ (final pe with dagesh): In word-final positions. <br> ๆ (final pe): In word-final positions (Rare). |
| r | ר (resh): In all word positions. |
| s | O (samekh): In all word positions. <br> $\mathfrak{E}$ (shin with sin dot): Only in some Biblical Hebrew words in all word positions. |
| š | $\mathscr{ש}$ (shin with shin dot): In all word positions. <br> $\boldsymbol{ש}$ (shin): In all word positions. |
| t | ט (tet): In all word positions. <br> $丹$ (tav with dagesh): In all word positions (Rare). <br> $\Omega$ (tav): In all word positions. |
| v | I (waw): In all word positions. <br> 11 (double waw): In all word positions (Rare). |
| y | ' (yodh): In all word positions. <br> $י \quad$ (double yodh): In all word positions (Rare). |
| z | T (zayin): In all word positions. |

In our text, there are two notable orthographical tendencies regarding consonants. The first tendency is the avoidance of utilizing the waw (ו) letter three times consecutively. As illustrated, waw can represent the vowels $o, u, \ddot{\partial}, \ddot{u}$, as well as the consonant $v$. Nonetheless, in specific words where there should be three characters for denoting the sequence קוֹושש $\operatorname{kov}(u) \check{s}_{\text {. }}$ It is important to note that this phenomenon has also been observed in other Karaim texts (Németh 2011: 119-120). The second characteristic is the avoidance of using two kaph (כ) characters in succession in certain instances. Although this characteristic is not consistently observed, it is present in the majority of examples encountered, e.g., [Lev 15:33] ארְכַּכּּה erkäk(k)e.

### 2.1.2. Phonological Variations and Adaptations

In this section, we will discuss the phonological variations and adaptations identified in our dataset, offering pertinent examples from the Crimean Karaim, Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and Western Karaim languages, when applicable. For the majority of non-Turkic
lexemes, it may be more fitting to categorize the differences exclusively as adaptations, considering the disparities between the Turkic phonemic inventory and those of other languages. Furthermore, it is crucial to take into account the orthographical features of Hebrew and Arabic scripts when analyzing such lexical items.

### 2.1.2.1. Vowels

It is vital to stress that in the examination of phonological variations concerning vowels, Biblical Hebrew lexemes will not be investigated within this subsection's analysis. This is due to their primary representation of original Biblical Hebrew forms rather than providing accurate phonological values. Conversely, this characteristic is not regularly observed in Arabic-Persian lexemes, as the Hebrew script employed in our text markedly diverges from the classic Arabic script in terms of vowel representation. More precisely, the short vowels in Arabic and Persian words were not represented in classic Arabic orthography, unlike the Hebrew script that has been adapted in our text ${ }^{42}$. On the other hand, it becomes imperative to recognize that some attributes which will be presented pertaining to Arabic-Persian words may, in fact, reflect the complexities inherent in Arabic orthography, rather than phonological adaptations.

### 2.1.2.1.1. Vowel Assimilation

Concerning uninflected words ${ }^{43}$, it is well-recognized that intersyllabic harmony, characterized by frontness versus backness, is a prevalent feature in most Turkic languages. Nonetheless, this rule encounters exceptions, notably in some polysyllabic native words and certain non-Turkic lexemes. This phonological principle is applicable to Ottoman Turkish and Karaim dialects, specifically within native words. While this harmony is generally attested, documented deviations do exist in the context of Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 273) and Crimean Tatar (Berta and Csató 2022b: 322).

In the Lev of Göz. 1841, we also do not find any uninflected Turkic words that conspicuously lack intersyllabic front versus back harmony ${ }^{44}$. Pertaining to non-Turkic words, in the majority

[^23]of instances, their original forms, which lack fronting harmony, are maintained. Contrarily, in selected Arabic and Persian loanwords, occurrences arise where uninflected words, initially absent of front harmony, have adapted to incorporate fronting harmony by vowel assimilation. Predominantly in these instances, the assimilation is driven by the initial syllable. In several examples, it can be observed that, in addition to fronting, the degree of openness (see 2.1.2.1.2.) is also respected when the vowel in the initial syllable drives the assimilation of the vowel in the succeeding syllable.

Table 12: Vowel Assimilation in Arabic and Persian Loanwords 1

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| هن [hafte] <br> 'week' <Per> <br> (NS: 335) | hafta <br> [Lev 12:15] | hafta <br> (CKED: 174) | afta <br> (KRUS: 78) | hafta <br> (ETD: 1120) | afta; <br> vafta <br> (KRPS: 85) | hafta afta (KRPS: 607) |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { ثيراث [mīrās] } \\ & \text { 'heritage' <Ar> } \\ & \text { (NS: 596) } \end{aligned}$ | meräs <br> [Lev 20:24] | meres <br> (CKED: 239) | miras <br> (KRUS: 358) | miras <br> (ETD: 1070) | - | ḿeŕeś <br> (KRPS: 415) |
| نيّة [niyya (t)] <br> 'intention; aim' <Ar> <br> (NS: 648) | inyät <br> [Lev 22:21] | inyet; niyet (CKED: 197) | niet <br> (KRUS: 393- 394) | niyet <br> (ETD: 172) | niyet <br> (KRPS: 419-420) | niyet <br> (KRPS: 420) |
| شاهد [šāhid] <br> 'witness' <Ar> <br> (NS: 828) | šahad <br> [Lev 5:1] | šaḥad; šahat <br> (CKED: 370) | šaat <br> (KRUS: 745) | šahid <br> (ETD: 754) | - | - |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { شريعة [šarı̄'a(t)] } \\ & \text { ‘law; religious } \\ & \text { regulations' <Ar> } \\ & \text { (NS: 837) } \end{aligned}$ | šara'at [Lev 18:4] | šara'at <br> (CKED: 371) | šeryat <br> (KRUS: 754) | šeriat <br> (ETD: 758) | - | šarayat (KRPS: 644) |

In contrast, one instance of assimilation exhibits a regressive pattern.
Table 13: Vowel Assimilation in Arabic and Persian Loanwords 2

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| غريب [farīb] | gerip | karib; gerip; | varip | varib | garip; | varib |
| 'stranger' <Ar> | [Lev 17:15] | гarip; _erip | (KRUS: 146) | (ETD: 840) | zarib | (KRPS: |
| (NS: 305) |  | (CKED: 294) |  |  | (KRPS: | 164) |
|  |  |  |  |  | 158) |  |

It should be noted that our dataset does not contain any exceptional examples that are not accounted for in Crimean Karaim dictionaries. Notably, in these instances, our text deviates from Ottoman Turkish forms while typically displaying Crimean Tatar characteristics. On the other hand, with one exception, it also exhibits similarities to Western Karaim. This could indicate that the adoption of such words into Crimean Karaim was not influenced by Ottoman Turkish. Nevertheless, in several instances, our text clearly exhibits the influence of Ottoman Turkish, as reflected in the use of Arabic or Persian words that originally featured fronting harmony but dissolved in Ottoman Turkish and are similarly represented in our text. Notably, this observation aligns with findings in the CKED dictionary, which suggests that the examples listed in the table below were adapted from Ottoman Turkish.

Table 14: Vowel Assimilation in Arabic and Persian Loanwords 3

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| آتش [ātaš] 'fire' <br> <Per> <br> (NS: 78-79) | ateš <br> [Lev 18: 21] | ateš; öteš <br> (CKED: 55) | ateš <br> (KRUS: 75) | ateš <br> (ETD: 434) | - | - |
| أو لاد [awlād] <Ar> 'children' <br> (NS: 265) | evlad <br> [Lev 11:2] | evlad <br> (CKED: 158) | evlat <br> (KRUS: 767) | evlad <br> (ETD: 508) | - | - |
| بياض [bayād] <br> 'white' <Ar> <br> (NS: 116) | beyaz <br> [Lev 13:24] | beyaz <br> (CKED: 81) | beyaz <br> (KRUS: 109) | beyaz <br> (ETD: 550) | - | - |

### 2.1.2.1.2. Degree of Openness

In the dataset under examination, various vowel transformations associated with the degree of openness are observed. These alternations manifest in both systematic and sporadic manners.

A-) /ä/ ~ /i/: One such transformation is the fluctuation between $i$ and $\ddot{a}$, which typically transpires in Turkic lexemes that previously contained a closed $e$. This fluctuation has its roots in Old Turkic (Róna-Tas 2022b: 122) and has been documented in various Turkic languages, including Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 274), Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 376), Ottoman Turkish (Kerslake 2022: 177-178), Halich Karaim (Musaev 1964: 57) and Trakai Karaim (Gülsevin 2016: 41). It should be noted that in our data, both variations are exhibited exclusively in specific lexical items.

Table 15: Fluctuations Between the Vowels /ä/ ~/i/ in Turkic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\dot{e}: d-$ 'to do' <Tur> (EDPT: 36-37) | $i t-/ i d-$ vs $e t$ <br> [Lev <br> 4:20/11:43; <br> 20:25] | $e t ; e d-$ <br> (CKED: 157) | $e t-; i t-; i d-$ <br> (KRUS: 791- 792) | $\begin{aligned} & e t-; i t- \\ & \text { (ETD: 434; } \\ & \text { LET: 255- } \\ & 256 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | et(KRPS: 671) | et(KRPS: 672) |
| te: $g$ - <br> 'to touch' <br> <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 475) | tiy- vs deg- <br> [Lev 5:2; <br> Lev 11:8] | tiy-; deg- <br> (CKED: 405) | tiy-; deg- <br> (KRPS: 585) | deg- <br> (ETD: 690) | tiy- <br> (KRPS: <br> 526) | tiy- <br> (KRPS: <br> 526) |
| yégirmi <br> 'twenty' <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 915) | yegirmi; <br> yigirmi <br> [Lev 27:3; <br> 27:5] | yigirmi; <br> 亏̌igirmi; <br> yigirme <br> (CKED: 466) | yigirmi; <br> ふ̌ïyïrmï; yirmi <br> (KRUS: 213) | yigirmi <br> (ETD: <br> 1139) | egirmi <br> (KRPS: 654) | egirmi; igirme (KRPS: 654) |

In these examples, with the exception of $t e: g^{-}$, all instances exhibit etymological closed $e$. As observed, the languages presented display different characteristics for each lexeme, making it difficult to assert a systematic change. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that in certain instances, our data does not exhibit fluctuations and instead displays the phonemic variation $e$ for the etymological closed $e$.

Table 16: Degree of Openness in Turkic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| èkki 'two' <Tur> (EDPT:100-101) | eki [Lev 3:4] | eki (CKED: 148) | eki (KRUS: 773) | iki (ETD: 518) | $e k i ; i k i$ (KRPS: 656) | eki (KRPS: 656) |
| $\dot{e} n$ - 'to go down' <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 168) | en <br> [Lev 9:22] | en- <br> (CKED: 151) | en- <br> (KRUS: 783) | in- <br> (LET: 228) | en- <br> (KRPS: 662) | eń(KRPS: 664) |
| ésidd- 'to hear' <br> <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 257- 258) | ešit- <br> [Lev 26:15] | ešit- <br> (CKED: 157) | ešit- <br> (KRUS: 795) | išit- <br> (ETD: 516) | esit- <br> (KRPS: 669) | ešit(KRPS: 673) |

Moreover, three instances exemplify the variability in transmission, demonstrating the transition from high to low vowels in the initial syllables of non-Turkic words.

Table 17: Degree of Openness in Non-Turkic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ميراث $[m \bar{i} r \bar{a} s]$ <br> 'heritage' <Ar> <br> (NS: 596) | meräs <br> [Lev 20:24] | meres <br> (CKED: 239) | miras <br> (KRUS: 358) | miras <br> (ETD: 1070) | - | meres <br> (KRPS: 415) |
| ويران [vīrān] 'ruined' <Per> (NS: 942) | veran <br> [Lev 26:22] | veran; viran <br> (CKED: 437) | viran <br> (KRUS: 135) | viran <br> (ETD: 1114) | veren <br> (KRPS: <br> 158) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { véŕań (KRPS: } \\ & 157 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ |
|  | miskal vs <br> meskal <br> [Lev 27:3; <br> 27:4] | - | - | miskal <br> (LET: 680) | mitkal <br> (KRPS: <br> 408) | mitkal <br> (KRPS: 408) |

As observed, the rationale behind this transformation cannot simply be attributed to orthographical difficulties, as the vowels in the first syllables of the examples ويران [vir $\bar{\imath} n]$ and ميراث $[m \bar{r} r \bar{a} \underline{s}]$ should have been represented by the vowel $i$ in the aforementioned Turkic languages. It is noteworthy that the characterization in these examples displays a common Karaim attribute, deviating from that of Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish.

Finally, we encounter a single instance involving a Turkic lexeme where the vowel $i$ has transitioned into the vowel $\ddot{a}$.

Table 18: Degree of Openness in Turkic Words 2

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| teriy 'deep' | terän/derän | teren | deren; teren | derin | teren | tér̈̈́n |
| <Tur> | $[$ Lev 13:3/25] | (CKED: 396) | (KRUS: 159) | (ETD: 687) | (KRPS: 567) | (KRPS: |
| (EDPT: 551) |  |  |  |  |  | 522) |

Ottoman Turkish once again demonstrates a distinction from the other examples under consideration.

B-) /a/ ~ /i/: As Musaev (1964: 57) states, the alternation between /a/ and /i/ predominantly takes place in Halich Karaim, with a particular focus on suffixes. Furthermore, a few instances can be observed in Trakai Karaim as well. Nonetheless, the juxtaposition of $/ \mathrm{a} / \mathrm{and} / \mathrm{i} /$ is found in only a single non-Turkic example within our dataset and therefore it cannot be attributed to systematic characteristics.

Table 19: Transition between /a/ ~ /i/

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| هكروه [makrūh] | mïkruḥa vs mïkruh | - | mekruh | mekruh | - | - |
| 'abominable' <Ar> | [Lev 11:23; 11:11] |  | (KRUS: 345) | (ETD: 1045) |  |  |

(NS: 574)
$\mathbf{C}-) \mathbf{e} \sim$ ä: As previously noted (see 2.1.1.1.1.), a certain opposition exists between $e$ and $\ddot{a}$ in various Turkic languages, encompassing Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 26) and Trakai Karaim (Berta and Csató 2022b: 320). In these languages, $e$ consistently materializes in the initial syllables, while $\ddot{a}$ appears in the subsequent syllables. Nevertheless, as corroborated by Jankowski (1997: 7; CrKB I: XXV) in Crimean Karaim Bible translations, variations between $e$ and $\ddot{a}$ can also be identified. Although the aforementioned pattern is predominantly observed in our text as well, certain examples exhibit fluctuations, with the vowel $\ddot{a}$ manifesting in the initial syllables and $e$ in the following syllables. It is worth noting that the fluctuation between $e$ and $\ddot{a}$ in the first syllables is also found in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 274).

Table 20: Fluctuations Between the Vowels $e \sim \ddot{a}$

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| et 'flesh; | et vs ät | et | et | et | et | et |
| meat' <Tur> | [Lev 13:14; | (CKED: 157) | (KRUS: 790- | (ETD: 433) | (KRPS: 671) | (KRPS: |
| (EDPT: 33) | 10:19] |  | $791)$ |  | 671) |  |
| temel | temel vs temäl | temel | temel | temel | - | - |
| 'foundation; | [Lev 25:47; | (CKED: 393) | (KRUS: 568) | (ETD: 602) |  |  |
| base' <Gre> | 4:7] |  |  |  |  |  |

(NS: 875)

D-) $/ \mathbf{o} / \sim / \mathbf{u} / ; / \ddot{\mathbf{o}} / \sim / \mathbf{u} /:$ : In the given dataset, several instances reveal that there exists fluctuation between the vowels $o \sim u$ and $\ddot{o} \sim \ddot{u}$, in accordance with fronting harmony. These alternations have been documented in another Crimean Karaim Bible translation (Jankowski 1997:9) and identified in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 79-80) as well as Trakai Karaim (Musaev 1964: 57).

Table 21: Fluctuations Between the Vowels $O \sim U$

| Examples | Göz． 1841 | C．Kar | C．Tat | Ot．Tur | H．Kar | T．Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bol－＇to be＇＜Tur＞ （EDPT：331－332） | $\begin{aligned} & \text { ol- vs ul- } \\ & \text { [Lev 25:54 } \\ & \text { vs 25:49] } \end{aligned}$ | bol-; ol- <br> （CKED：89） | bol-; ol- <br> （KRUS：119） | ol－ （ETD：508） | bol－ （KRPS： 128) | bol－ （KRPS： 128) |
| buz－ <br> ＇to destroy＇＜Tur＞ <br> （EDPT：389－390） | boz－vs buz－ <br> ［Lev 11：35 <br> vs 26：15］ | buz－ <br> （CKED：98） | boz－；buz－； <br> büz－ <br> （KRUS：117） | boz－ <br> （ETD：546） | buz－ （KRPS： 136) | buz－ <br> （KRPS： <br> 136） |
| kögürčgün <br> ＇pigeon；dove＇ <br> ＜Tur＞（EDPT： <br> 713） | gögürčün vs <br> gügürčin <br> ［Lev 15：14； <br> 12：16］ | kögirčin； <br> kögürčün； <br> kögirčin <br> （CKED：216） | gogerگ̌in； <br> koger亏̌ï； <br> koger亏̌in； <br> kogerčï； <br> köger亏̌in <br> （KRUS：141） | $\begin{aligned} & \text { gügerگ̌in } \\ & \text { (ETD: 944) } \end{aligned}$ | tigircin <br> （KRPS： 525) | ḱuǵurč́uń； koǵurčun （KRPS： 396) |
| مراد［murād］ <br> ＇wish；desire＇ <br> ＜Ar＞ <br> （NS：611） | murad vs <br> morad <br> ［Lev 22：29 <br> vs 19：5］ | mïrad；murad； murat <br> （CKED：241） | murat；mürat （KRUS：367－ 368) | murad <br> （ETD：1002） | － | － |
| öl－＇to die＇＜Tur＞ （EDPT：125－126） | öl－vs ül－ <br> ［Lev 10：2 vs $11: 31]$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { öl- } \\ & \text { (CKED: 267) } \end{aligned}$ | öl－ （KRUS：413） | uil－ <br> （ETD：508） | el－ （KRPS： 658) | öl－ （KRPS： 440） |
| uluš＞$>$ ulus <br> ＇country；nation＇ <Tur> <br> （EDPT：152） | ulus vs olus <br> ［Lev 9：7； $7: 20]$ | ulus <br> （CKED：425－ 426) | － | － | ulus <br> （KRPS： 578) | ulus <br> （KRPS： 578) |

As observed in our dataset，these fluctuations manifest in both Turkic and non－Turkic lexemes． There are instances in which the etymological low rounded vowels $o$ and $\ddot{o}$ transform into high rounded vowels $u$ and $\ddot{u}$ ，as well as the reverse．

E－）$/ \mathbf{a} / \sim / \ddot{\mathbf{a}} /$ ：In our text，both $a$ and $\ddot{a}$ are represented by the same strategies（refer to section 2．1．1．1．2）；nevertheless，the frontness or backness of a word can be determined due to the presence of suffixes containing the phoneme $/ \mathrm{k} /$ ，as the phonemic variants $k$ and $k$ are denoted by different letters（refer to section 2．1．1．2．1）．Jankowski（CrKB I：XXVI）reports that alterations involving $a$ and $\ddot{a}$ are also evidenced in a Crimean Bible translation，potentially attributable to the preceding phoneme $/ \mathrm{y} /$ ．Conversely，the vowel－consonant sequence ay
undergoes a transformation to $e y$ in Trakai Karaim, with these changes taking place prior to the phoneme /y/ (Musaev 1964: 55-56).

Table 22: Fluctuations Between the Vowels /a/ ~ /ä/ in Turkic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| sač- 'to scatter; to sprinkle’ <Tur> (EDPT: 794) | sač- vs säč- <br> [Lev 1:5; 26:5] | sač-; seč- <br> (CKED: 331) | sač- <br> (KRUS: 484) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { sač- } \\ & \text { (ETD: } \\ & 768) \end{aligned}$ | cac- <br> (KRPS: <br> 613) | čač- <br> (KRPS: 625) |
| yaraštur- 'to set in order; make ready' <Tur> (EDPT: 973) | yaraštïrmak vs yäräštirmäk [Lev 24:7; 24:6] 'arrangement' | yaraštïr'to fit; to arrange’ <br> (CKED: 449) | yaraštïr'to fit; to arrange' (KRUS: 649) | yaraš'to beseem; to suit' (ETD: 1135) | - | yaraštïr'to fit; to arrange' <br> (KRPS: 232) |
| yaš 'fresh, moist; <br> a year of one's <br> life’ <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 975-976) | $y a \check{s ̌ ~ v s ~} y a ̈ s ̌$ 'years; age' [Lev 27:7; 27:6] | yaš 'years; age' (CKED: 454) | yaš; ̧̌aš 'years; age' <br> (KRUS: 831) | yaš <br> 'years; <br> age' <br> (ETD: <br> 1128) | - | $y a s ̌$ <br> 'years; age' <br> (KRPS: 242) |

Aside from the examples sač- 'to sprinkle' vs seč- 'id', the remaining examples showing the $a$ $>\ddot{a}$ change are not present in Crimean Karaim dictionaries and the languages listed in the table above. It is also worth noting that these examples in our data might be attributed to scribal errors.

Finally, we also identify instances of non-Turkic words in our dataset where the phoneme $/ \mathrm{a} /$ has been adapted as $/ \mathrm{a} /$. It is noteworthy that when examining the examples listed in the table below, the phonemic value of such adapted vowels in our text is not reflected in the original Arabic forms, and thus this adaptation might be dependent on orthographical difficulties. However, it should be noted that such alterations do not occur in Western Karaim.

Table 23: Transformation of /a/ into /ä/ in non-Turkic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| پشٌ [pašmān] | pešman | pešman; | pešman | pišman | pasman | fašman |
| 'repentat' <Per> | $[$ Lev 5:5] | fešman | (KRUS: 539) | (ETD: 560) | (KRPS: 593) | (KRPS: |
| (NS: 706) |  | (CKED: 277) |  |  |  | 593) |


| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| تراز [tarāzū] | täräzi vs | terezi | teraze | terazi | tarazuv | tarazu; |
| 'scales'<Per> | teräzi | (CKED: 396) | (KRUS: 574) | (ETD: 579) | (KRPS: 514) | tarazuv |
| (NS: 879-880) | $[$ Lev |  |  |  |  | (KRPS: |
|  | $19: 35 ; ~$ |  |  |  | $514)$ |  |
|  | $19: 36$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 2.1.2.1.3. Degree of Roundness

Our text exhibits specific modifications pertaining to vowel roundness. The majority of these instances occur quite sporadically. As demonstrated in these examples, the degree of roundness varies bidirectionally, encompassing both the rounding of unrounded vowels and the unrounding of rounded vowels.

Table 24: Degree of Roundness in Non-Turkic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| خمير [hamir] | hamur | hamur | hamur; hamür | hamur | hamur | hamur |
| 'leaven; dough' | [Lev 2:11] | (CKED: 175) | amur; kamir | (ETD: 675) | (KRPS: | (KRPS: |
| <Ar> |  |  | (KRUS: 672) |  | 599-600) | 599-600) |
| (NS: 340) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| مطلق [mutlak] | mütlak | mütlak; mutlak | mütlak; mutlak | mutlak | - | - |
| 'absolute; surely | [Lev 2:11] | (CKED: 242) | (KRUS: 371) | (ETD: 1027) |  |  |
| <Ar> |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (NS: 614) |  |  |  |  |  |  |

However, a notable pattern emerges where the consonant $v$, when present in certain contexts, influences mostly the subsequent unrounded vowel, causing it to shift to a rounded vowel. Note that this characteristic is also notable in some examples found in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 83) and Western Karaim (Berta and Csató 2022b: 321).

Table 25: Influence of the Consonant phoneme /v/ on Unrounded Vowels

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| ayїl 'an | avul | avul; avïl | avul; avïl | aÿ̈l | avul | avul |
| enclosure for | $[$ Lev 4:12] | (CKED: 58) | 'settlement; | 'a fold, or | 'camp' | 'camp' |
| livestock; cattle- | 'camp' | 'camp' | village' | pound for | (KRPS: 42) | (KRPS: |
| pen; sheep-fold; |  |  | (KRUS: 24) | sheep' |  | 42) |


| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a settlement of group of tents' |  |  |  | (ETD: 472) |  |  |
| <Tur> (EDPT: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 83) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { دور [dawr] } \\ & \text { 'return; cycle; } \\ & \text { time; era' <Ar> } \\ & \text { (NS: 205) } \end{aligned}$ | dävür <br> [Lev 3:17] <br> 'generation' | devir <br> (CKED: <br> 137) | devir <br> (KRUS: 153) | devir <br> (ETD: 694) | - | - |
| tavišyan 'hare' <br> <Tur> (EDPT: <br> 447) | tavušan <br> [Lev 11:6] <br> 'hare; rabbit' | davšan; tavšan; tafšan 'hare; rabbit' (CKED: 133) | tavšan <br> 'hare; rabbit' <br> (KRUS: 537) | tavšan <br> (ETD: 796) <br> 'hare; rabbit' | davsan; <br> dafsan <br> (KRPS: 168) <br> 'hare; rabbit' | - |

It is noteworthy that our dataset illustrates systematic transitions from the fricative Old Turkic consonant $y$ to $v$, as is also evident in one of the examples shown above. However, in certain instances, we observe a vowel-consonant sequence shift ([ïy]; $[a y]>[u v] \sim[o v]:$ ), where the influence of rounding tends to be solely regressive (refer to section 2.1.2.3.1).

### 2.1.2.1.4. Addition of a Vowel

Within the Lev of Göz. 1841, the incorporation of additional vowel sounds is predominantly observed in non-Turkic lexemes. Notably, this linguistic phenomenon manifests in three specific word positions.

Table 26: Addition of a Vowel in Word-Initial Positions

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| مردار [murdār] 'unclean, impure, dirty' <Per> (NS: 611-612) | umundar vs mundar <br> [Lev 11:25; 5:2] | mïndar; mundar <br> (CKED: 241) | murdar <br> (KRUS: 368) | murdar <br> (ETD: <br> 1004) | murdar <br> (KRPS: <br> 411) | murdar <br> (KRPS: <br> 411) |
| رنگ [rang] 'colour' <br> <Per> <br> (NS: 737-738) | irenk vs renk [Lev 14:52; 13:55] | renk; reng <br> (CKED: 328) | renk <br> (KRUS: 458) | renk <br> (ETD: <br> 716) | reng <br> (KRPS: 453) | - |

As illustrated in the table above, the addition of vowels in word-initial positions is observed in some specific lexemes within our dataset. These examples coexist with their counterparts that do not exhibit the addition of vowels. Notably, this phenomenon is absent in the other languages demonstrated above for these lexemes, which have not been listed in Crimean Karaim dictionaries either.

Table 27: Addition of a Vowel in Word-Medial Positions

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| آبدان [ābdān]+lïk <br> <Per>+ <Tur> <br> 'tackle' <br> (NS: 80) | avadanlïk <br> [Lev 11:32] | - | - | avadanlïk <br> (ETD: 438) | - | - |
| عيب ['ayb] 'fault; error; shame' <Ar> (NS: 84) | aÿ̈p <br> [Lev 15:3] | ayїb; aÿ̈p <br> (CKED: 60) | aÿ̈p <br> (KRUS: 42) | ayїp <br> (ETD: 835) | aÿ̈p <br> (KRPS: <br> 56) | aÿ̈; <br> ayip <br> (KRPS: <br> 56) |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { غَبْ [zayb] <Ar> } \\ & \text { 'lost' (NS: 456) } \end{aligned}$ | kaÿ̈p <br> [Lev 23:30] | kayp; уауїp; <br> јayb (CKED: <br> 309; KRPS: <br> 163) | fayïp <br> (KRUS: 145) | kaÿ̈p <br> (ÖTS 3: <br> 2494) | - | - |
| tavišyan 'hare' <br> <Tur> (EDPT: 447) | tavušan <br> [Lev 11:6] <br> 'hare; rabbit' | davšan; <br> tavšan; tafšan 'hare; rabbit' <br> (CKED: 133) |  | tavšan <br> (ETD: <br> 796) <br> 'hare; <br> rabbit' | davsan; dafsan (KRPS: 168) 'hare; rabbit' | - |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { 'twakt] <Ar> } \\ & \text { 'time' (NS: 932) } \end{aligned}$ | vakït vs vaht [Lev 14:56; 16:2] | vaht; vahït; <br> vaküt <br> (CKED: 436) | vakit; vakït <br> (KRUS: <br> 131) | vakit <br> (ETD: <br> 1112) | vaht <br> (KRPS: 156) | vaht <br> (KRPS: 156) |

The occurrence of additional vowels in the medial position of certain non-Turkic lexemes is a well-documented phenomenon in numerous Turkic languages, as illustrated by the languages detailed in the table above. This phenomenon can be ascribed to Turkic phonotactic constraints, which generally ${ }^{45}$ cause consonant clusters to be separated in terminal positions.

[^24]Table 28: Addition of a Vowel in Word-Final Positions

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| هورو [makrūh] | mïkruha vs mïkruh | - | mekruh | mekruh | - | - |
| 'abominable' <Ar> | $[$ Lev 11:23; 11:11] |  | (KRUS: 345) | (ETD: 1045) |  |  |

(NS: 574)

The final instance showcases a singular example where the additional vowel appears in a wordfinal position. This case may be attributable to an orthographical peculiarity, in which the wordfinal haa (o) in the Arabic script also represents $e$ or $a$ in Ottoman Turkish. Given that the word was not documented in Karaim dialects but in Ottoman Turkish and Crimean Tatar, it is possible that it was borrowed via Ottoman Turkish.

### 2.1.2.2. Consonants

### 2.1.2.2.1. Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Consonantal Alternations

It is broadly acknowledged that numerous phonological distinctions exist between Oghuzic and Kipchak languages. The dataset at our disposal exhibits these contrasts, predominantly in the form of consonantal alternations. In light of the minor disparities between Ottoman Turkish and other Oghuzic languages ${ }^{46}$, as well as the pervasive Ottoman Turkish influence throughout Crimea (refer to section 1.2.3.1.), we have opted to describe these features as 'Ottoman Turkish characteristics', even though the majority of them can also be classified as Oghuzic characteristics. As previously mentioned, the extensive Ottoman Turkish influence on the Crimean Karaim language serves to differentiate the varieties of Crimean Karaim (refer to section 1.2.3.2.). Consequently, the distribution of these linguistic features is essential for characterizing the language employed within the text.

Finally, It is worth noting that, given the absence of sections discussing detailed consonantal characteristics or alternations in Prik's description (1976) of Crimean Karaim, and Çulha's description (2019) being based solely on Crimean Karaim mejumas, selected portions of published Crimean Karaim Bible translations are utilized in the following section to illustrate the characterizations of Crimean Karaim with respect to these variations.

[^25]A-) $\boldsymbol{k}$ - $>\boldsymbol{g}$-: In Ottoman Turkish and other Oghuzic languages, the voicing of the initial unvoiced plosive $k$ - in Turkic lexemes containing front vowels can be mostly observed in various instances (Johanson 2022b: 100). In contrast, the preservation of $k$ - is a hallmark of such lexemes in the majority of Kipchak languages, encompassing Western Karaim (Çulha 2019: 68). With respect to Crimean Karaim Bible translations, the Kipchak characteristic is evident, e.g., kötär- 'to lift', kök ‘sky; heaven' (Jankowski 1997: 28-52), kel- 'to come', kelin 'bride; daughter-in-law' (Németh 2016: 178), kibik ‘like; as', and kün ‘day’ (CrKB I: 166-217). Notably, the Ottoman Turkish feature pertaining to this trait has been observed in the Eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 19) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 274), concomitant with the Kipchak characteristic.

It is noteworthy that our dataset encompasses 26 unique instances of the aforementioned Ottoman Turkish feature, cumulatively appearing 387 times.

Table 29: Voicing of the Initial $k$ -

| Lev | Examples |  | Occurrence |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 25, 26, 27 | geč- | 'to pass' | 4 |
| 6, 8 | gečä | 'night' | 2 |
| 25 | gečin- | 'to live on' | 2 |
| $\begin{aligned} & 9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,19 \\ & 21,23,25 \end{aligned}$ | gel- | 'to come' | 23 |
| 11 | gelinčik | 'weasel' | 1 |
| 1, 9, 15, 16, 19, 23 | gendi | '-sef; the same' | 14 |
| $2,4,5,6,7,10,11,12,13,14$ $15,17,18,20,23,24,26$ | getir- | 'to bring' | 38 |
| 11 | gevše-; <br> gevšemek | gevšemäk getir'to chew the cud' | $5+1+2$ |
| 11, 18 | gez- | 'to wander' | 8 |
| $\begin{aligned} & 4,5,6,7,9,10,12,13,14,15 \\ & 18,19,20,22,25,26,27 \end{aligned}$ | $g i b i$ | 'like; as' | 32 |
| 10, 16 | gir- | 'to enter' | 6 |
| 4, 6,10 11, 16 | girgiz- | 'to let in; to bring in' | 8 |
| 6, 8, 16, 21 | giy- | 'to wear' | 11 |
| 7, 18, 20 | gizli | 'hidden' | 4 |
| 26 | gök | 'sky, heaven' | 1 |
| 8,10,16 | gölmäk | 'shirt' | 4 |


| Lev |  | Examples | Occurrence |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| 19,26 | göyül | 'heart' | 3 |
| $5,9,13,14,20,25,27$ | gör- | 'to see' | 55 |
| 25,27 | görä | 'according to; as to' | 7 |
| 5,26 | gövdä | 'body' | 5 |
| $4,10,11,13,14,20,21,24,26$ | göz | 'eye' | 12 |
| $5,12,15$ | gügürčin/gögürčün 'pigeon' | $1+3$ |  |
| $5,25,27$ | gümüš | 'silver' | 9 |
| $1,5,6,7,8,9,10,12,13,14,15$, | gün | 'day' | 111 |
| $16,19,22,23,24,25,26$ |  |  | 1 |
| 11 | güneš | 'sun' |  |

In the given dataset, the highest incidences of the specific Ottoman Turkish feature are found in Chapter 13 ( 63 words), Chapter 23 (43 words), and Chapter 14 ( 28 words). Conversely, the lowest frequencies of this attribute are observed in Chapter 2 ( 1 word), Chapter 1 (2 words), and Chapter 3 (2 words). Contrasting with this prominent Ottoman Turkish characteristic, the text includes a mere nine distinct lexical items, which appear 35 times ( $8 \%-92 \%$ ) across 18 separate chapters, and retain the initial $k$-.

Table 30: Preservation of the Initial $k$ -

| Lev | Examples | Occurrence |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| 14 | kel- | 'to come' | 2 |
| 18,20 | kelin | 'bride; daughter in law' | 2 |
| 13 | ket- | 'to go' | 1 |
| $1,3,4,7$ | ketär- | 'to take away; to remove' | 11 |
| $2,4,5,14,17,19$ | ketir- | 'to bring' | 7 |
| 6 | kiy- | 'to wear' | 1 |
| $1,14,15$ | kögürčin/kögürčün | 'pigeon' | $3+1$ |
| $5,7,9,10,15,16$ | kötär- | 'to lift' | 6 |
| 27 | kümüš | 'silver' | 1 |

It is worth noting that among the examples, only five lexemes appear alongside their doublets in the text.

Table 31: Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Doublets 1

| Glosses | Lev | Kip. Form | Occurrences | Lev | Ot.Tur Form |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| 'to come' | 14 | kel- | 2 vs. 23 | $9,11,12,13,14,15$, | gel |
|  |  |  |  | $16,19,21,23,25$ |  |
| 'to bring' | $2, ~ 4, ~ 5, ~ k e t i r-~$ | 8 vs. 38 | $2,4,5,6,7,10,11$, | getir- |  |
|  | $14,17,19$ |  |  | $12,13,14,15,17$, |  |
|  |  |  | $18,20,23,24,26$ |  |  |
| 'to wear' | 6 | kiy- |  |  |  |
| 'pigeon' | $1,12,14$, | kögürčin/kögürčün | $4+1$ vs. $1+3$ | 5,15 | giy- |
|  | 15 |  |  |  | gügürčin; gögürčün |
| 'silver' | 27 | kümüš | 1 vs. 9 | $5,25,27$ | gümüš |

This Ottoman Turkish feature also prevails over the Kipchak characteristic in the doublets, as there are 85 instances exhibiting the voicing of the initial $k$-, while only 17 examples display the opposite $(83 \%-17 \%)$. Consequently, the Lev of Göz. 1841 presents a significant number of an Ottoman Turkish feature, which were uncommon in older canonical Crimean Karaim texts, and not listed in Prik's Crimean Karaim description.

B-) $\boldsymbol{t}$ - > $\boldsymbol{d}$-: Another Ottoman Turkish characteristic involves the voicing of the initial plosive $t$-, which manifests as an initial $d$ - in various Oghuzic languages for specific lexemes, while it is maintained in the majority of Kipchak languages (Johanson 2022b: 100), including Western Karaim (Çulha 2019: 78-79). Concerning Crimean Karaim Bible translations, the Kipchak characteristic prominently surfaces, e.g., tiri 'alive', tiši 'female' (Jankowski 1997: 35), tigim 'slice', tüz ‘straight, plain,' (Németh 2016: 177), töš ‘breast, bosom', taya- 'to prop up’ (CrKB I: 178). Analogous to the previous feature, this attribute is also discernible in the eastern dialects of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 19) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 275), accompanied by contrasting Kipchak characteristics.

Our dataset demonstrates the presence of the Ottoman Turkish feature, encompassing a total of 161 occurrences across 33 unique lexemes. These instances are distributed throughout 24 distinct chapters within the text.

Table 32: Voicing of the Initial $t$ -

| Lev | Examples |  | Occurrence |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| $13,25,26$ | dayïn | 'still; so far; yet; more' | 12 |
| 21 | dahï | 'still; so far; yet more' | 1 |
| 1 | damla- | 'to drip' | 1 |


| Lev | Examples |  | Occurrence |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11 | deg- | 'to touch' | 5 |
| 11, 13, 15, 27 | degil/dügül | 'not' | $1+8$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & 6,7,8,11,12,13,14,15,19 \\ & 22,23,24,25,26,27 \end{aligned}$ | degin/deginčä | 'up to; till' | 49+1 |
| 13 | degiš- | 'to exchange' | 9 |
| 26 | demir | 'iron' | 1 |
| 11 | depiz | 'sea' | 3 |
| 11 | deri | 'skin' | 1 |
| 13 | derän | 'deep' | 1 |
| 11 | deve | 'camel' | 2 |
| 6 | dilim | 'slice' | 1 |
| 11, 16 | diri | 'alive' | 3 |
| 16,17 | diril- | 'to keep alive' | 2 |
| 24 | diš | 'tooth' | 2 |
| 3 | diši | 'female' | 1 |
| 11 | $d i z$ | 'knee' | 1 |
| 11, 12, 18, 22 | doy- | 'to be born' | 17 |
| 19 | dogru | 'straight; right' | 4 |
| 19 | dogrulik | 'rightness; correctness’ | 1 |
| 1,16 | doyuš | 'birth' | 2 |
| 25 | dokuzuņ̌i | 'nineth' | 1 |
| 16, 21 | doldur- | 'to fill' | 2 |
| 25 | dolÿ̈ņ̌a | 'enormously; fully' | 1 |
| 2, 5, 16 | dolu | 'full' | 4 |
| 19, 23 | dördün亏̌i | 'fourth' | 2 |
| 11, 20 | dört | 'four' | 6 |
| 11 | duyan | 'falcon' | 1 |
| 5,19 | dut- | 'to hold' | 4 |
| 7,11,15,19 | dürli/dürlü | 'various' | 3+1 |
| 11 | düš- | 'to fall' | 5 |
| 14 | düz | 'open field' | 2 |

The prominence of this Ottoman Turkish feature is most evident in Chapter 11 (44 words), Chapter 13 (18 words), and Chapter 15 ( 17 words). Conversely, Chapters 4, 9, and 10 lack this feature, while Chapters 2, 3, 5, 8, and 13 each exhibit only a single pertinent instance. Moreover, the initial $t$ - is preserved in the text within 27 unique words, appearing a total of 233 times, and is found in every chapter with the exception of Chapter 23.

Table 33: Preservation of the Initial t-

| Lev | Examples |  | Occurrence |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 7,27 | tay | 'mountain' | 2 |
| 5 | tam- | 'to drip' | 1 |
| 19 | tamya | 'brand-mark' | 1 |
| 1,3, 4, 8, 16, 24, 25 | taya- | 'to prop up' | 15 |
| 21 | tayak | 'stick' | 1 |
| 13 | terän | 'deep’ | 7 |
| 1, 4, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16 | teri/täri | 'skin' | $27+1$ |
| 21 | teš- | 'to pierce' | 1 |
| 26 | tïnč | 'quiet' | 3 |
| 19,26 | tik | 'straight' | 2 |
| 19 | tik- | 'to plant/set up' | 1 |
| 2 | tilim | ‘slice' | 1 |
| 2 | tilimlä- | 'to portion out' | 2 |
| 15,27 | tip | 'bottom' | 2 |
| 16 | tiri | 'living; alive' | 2 |
| 17, 18, 19, 20, 25 | tiril- | 'to keep alive' | 10 |
| 3, 4, 5, 14, 15, 27 | tiši | 'female' | 9 |
| 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 15, 21, 22 | tiy- | 'to touch' | 24 |
| 23, 25 | tokuz | 'nine' | 2 |
| 19 | tol- | 'to become full' | 1 |
| 8,9 | toldur- | 'to fill-' | 2 |
| 26, 25 | toyzunča | 'enough' | 2 |
| 1, 2, 4, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 26 | tök- | 'to spill out' | 23 |
| 7, 8, 9, 10 | töš | 'breast; bosom' | 9 |
| 15 | töšäk | 'bed' | 7 |
| 21,22 | tul | 'widow' | 2 |
| 9, 13, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27 | tur- | 'to get up; stand; stop' | 13 |
| 14, 19, 25, 26, 27 | tut- | 'to hold' | 22 |
| 1, 5, 7, 11, 18, 19, 20, 24, 25, 27 | tuvar | 'cattle; animal' | 30 |
| 9,21, 26 | tüš- | 'to fall down' | 5 |
| 17, 26 | tüz | 'straight; plain' | 3 |

Upon examination of the data, it is evident that the Kipchak feature exhibits a modest predominance over the Ottoman Turkish characteristic, constituting 59\% as opposed to $41 \%$. In relation to doublets, the analysis reveals the presence of 13 unique terms.

Table 34: Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Doublets 2

| Glosses | Lev | Kip. Form | Occurrences | Lev | Ot.Tur Form |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'to drip' | 5 | tam- | 1 vs 1 | 1 | damla- |
| 'deep' | 13 | terän | 6 vs 1 | 13 | derän |
| 'skin; leather' | 1, 4, 7, 9, 13, 15, 16 | teri; täri | $52+1$ vs 1 | 11 | deri |
| 'slice' | 2 | tilim | 1 vs 1 | 6 | dilim |
| 'alive' | 16 | tiri | 2 vs 3 | 11,16 | diri |
| 'to keep alive' | 17, 18, 19, 20, 25 | tiril- | 10 vs 2 | 16,17 | diril- |
| 'female' | 3, 4, 5, 12, 14, 15, 27 | tiši | 11 vs 1 | 3 | diši |
| 'to touch' | $\begin{aligned} & 5,6,7,11,12,15 \\ & 21,22,23 \end{aligned}$ | tiy- | 24 vs 6 | 11 | deg- |
| 'nine' vs. 'nineth' | 23, 25 | tokuz | 2 vs 1 | 25 | dokuzïņ̆i |
| 'to fill' | 8, 9 | toldur- | 2 vs 2 | 16, 21 | doldur- |
| 'to hold' | 14, 19, 25, 26, 27 | tut- | 22 vs 4 | 5,19 | dut- |
| 'to fall' | 9, 21, 26 | tüš- | 5 vs 5 | 5 | düš- |
| 'plain' | 17, 25, 26 | tüz | 4 vs 2 | 14 | düz |

Among the doublets, 143 instances display the Kipchak form, which prevails over the 30 documented Ottoman Turkish-type examples ( $83 \%-17 \%$ ). While this Ottoman Turkish feature does not predominate as markedly as the preceding one, it still offers a substantial number of instances that were uncommon in Kipchak languages including Western Karaim (Çulha 2019: 79 ) and not enumerated in Prik's Crimean Karaim description (1976: 29-34).
$\mathbf{C}$-) $\boldsymbol{b}$ - $\boldsymbol{>} \boldsymbol{\emptyset}$-: In a restricted group of lexemes, the omission of the initial $b$ - is discernible in Ottoman Turkish and other West Oghuz languages, as opposed to Kipchak languages (Johanson 2022b: 101). This feature can also be found in the eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 379) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959b: 275), alongside contrasting examples. It should be noted that the Kipchak characteristic of preserving the initial $b$ - in specific words is evident in Western Karaim (Çulha 2019: 48), and it frequently appears in Crimean Karaim Bible translations, e.g., bilän (Németh 2016: 170), bol- 'to become' (Jankowski 1997: 29; CrKB I: 165). Nevertheless, our data displays mixed features in two distinct words.

Table 35: Opposition Regarding the Initial b-

| Glosses | Lev | Kip. Form | Occurrence | Ot.Tur Form | Lev |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| 'with' | All, except 11 and 13 | bilän | 188 vs 4+1 | ilän/ilen | 11 |


| Glosses | Lev | Kip. Form | Occurrence | Ot.Tur Form | Lev |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| 'to be; to become; | All, except 11 | bol- | 297 vs 37 | ol- | $1,2,4,11,12$, |
| to happen' |  |  |  |  | $20,22,24$ |

The occurrence of the initial $b$ - in these two words is clearly predominant over the Ottoman Turkish characteristic ( $92 \%$ vs $8 \%$ ). It is noteworthy that a significant proportion of this Ottoman Turkish feature (67\%) is attested in Chapter 11, which does not exhibit any preservation of the initial $b$ - for the demonstrated words.

D-) $\boldsymbol{b}$ - $\boldsymbol{>} \boldsymbol{v}$-: In West Oghuz languages, the spirantization of the initial $b$ - is attested in some lexemes (Johanson 2022b: 101). Conversely, the preservation of the initial $b$ - in such lexemes is evidenced in Western Karaim (Çulha 2019: 47) and frequently maintained in Crimean Karaim Bible translations, e.g., ber- 'to give' (Jankowski 1997: 47; CrKB I: 211), bar- 'to go' (Németh 2016: 169). On the other hand, both Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Turkic characteristics can be observed in the eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 379) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 275).

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, merely two distinct items display this Ottoman Turkish feature, with these instances occurring a total of 88 times $^{47}$.

Table 36: Spirantization of the Initial b-

| Glosses | Lev | Occurrence | Ot.Tur Form |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | ---: |
| 'there is/are' | 25 | 1 | var |
| 'to give' | all except $3,12,13,21$ | 87 | ver- |

It is essential to highlight that the Kipchak counterparts ber- 'to give' and bar 'there is/are', or any other Kipchak forms contrasting the Ottoman Turkish feature of spirantization of the initial $-b$, are not present in our dataset. In this regard, the Lev of Göz. 1841 unequivocally demonstrates an Ottoman Turkish characteristic.

E-) $\boldsymbol{b}$ - $>\boldsymbol{m}$-: The nasalization of the initial $b$ - to initial $m$ - is typically observed in Turkic languages, encompassing both Kipchak and Oghuzic languages, with the exception of Ottoman Turkish (Johanson 2022b: 101). Notably, together with Ottoman Turkish, the retention of the

[^26]initial $b$ - in specific terms can also be observed in the context of the eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 383) and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 277), providing contrasting instances. Contrarily, the nasalization of the initial $b$ - to initial $m$ - is well documented in Western Karaim (Çulha 2019: 47) and frequently attested in Crimean Karaim Bible translations, e.g., men 'I' (Jankowski 1997: 33; Németh 2016: 185), munї 'this+ACC' (CrKB I: 213).

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, seven distinct lexemes manifest these opposing attributes. Of these, three words also appear alongside their respective doublets.

Table 37: Nasalization of the Initial b-

| Glosses | Lev | Kip. Form | Occurrences | Lev | Ot.Tur Form |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'brain' | - | - | 0 vs 1 | 24 | beyin |
| 'I' | $\begin{aligned} & 11,14,17,18,19,20,21 \\ & 23,24,25,26 \end{aligned}$ | men | 67 vs 2 | 11 | ben |
| 'I+GEN' | 25 | menim | 1 vs 0 | - | - |
| 'moustache' | 13 | müÿ̈k | 1 vs 0 | - | - |
| 'saddle beast; saddle' |  | - | 0 vs 1 | 15 | binek |
| 'this+DAT' | 10, 13, 14, 25 | mипа/тииа | $28+1$ vs 1 | 23 | buŋa |
| 'this+ACC' | 26 | mипї | 1 vs 3 | 11,26 | bunu/bunї |
| 'this+GEN' | 16, 26 | munïŋ | 2 vs 0 | - | - |

Nonetheless, the Kipchak forms are more prevalent than the Ottoman Turkish forms, with a ratio of $93 \%$ to $7 \%$.

F-) $\boldsymbol{b}$ - > $\boldsymbol{p}$-: In specific Turkic lexemes, the devoicing of an initial $b$ - to a $p$ - is observed in a limited number of attested instances (Johanson 2022b: 101). This type of devoicing is found in certain words within Ottoman Turkish, such as parmak (TLO I: 647). In Crimean Tatar, fluctuations are observed even for the same lexemes, e.g., barmak 'finger' vs parmak 'id' (KRUS: 97; 431). Conversely, in Western Karaim, the preservation of the initial $b$ - is encountered (Çulha 2019: 48), e.g., T.Kar barmaḥ 'finger', biš- 'to cook' (KRPS: 103; 125); H.Kar barmak ‘finger', bis-'to cook' (KRPS: 103; 123).

In a number of examples within our dataset, these blended attributes are discernible, yet there are no occurrences of doublets. Notably, the Kipchak traits surpass the Ottoman Turkish traits, constituting $86 \%$, compared to the latter's $14 \%$.

Table 38: Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak Doublets 3

| Glosses | Lev | Kip. Form | Occurrences | Ot.Tur form | Lev |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | ---: |
| 'finger' | $4,8,9,14,16$ | barmak | 24 vs 0 | - | - |
| 'grape molasses' | 2 | bekmäz | 1 vs 0 | - | - |
| 'to cook' | - | - | 0 vs 4 | pišir- | $2,8,24,26$ |

G-) $\boldsymbol{o l}>\boldsymbol{o}:$ The final characteristic manifests in the word-final position, where the Turkic third person singular personal and demonstrative pronoun ol typically appears without the terminal sonorant $-l$ as o in West Oghuz languages, encompassing Ottoman Turkish. Conversely, in Western Karaim, the sole form is ol (Prik 1976: 98-100). Prik's depiction of Crimean Karaim reveals the presence of the Oghuzic form $o$ (Prik 1976: 96-100), while in Crimean Karaim Bible translations, only the variant ol is encountered (Jankowski 1997: 31; Németh 2016: 174; CrKB I: 165). Notably, the $o$ variant is also found in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45-46) and coexists with its counterpart ol in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 277).

In our dataset, there are 78 instances where the demonstrative and third person personal pronoun ${ }^{48} o$ can be attested. With the exception of a single example in Chapter 7 (Lev 7:8), all pertinent occurrences are found in Chapter 11. Meanwhile, the Kipchak counterpart ol appears 1,377 times. As a result, the Kipchak feature significantly dominates the Ottoman Turkish trait ( $95 \%$ vs. $5 \%$ ). However, Chapter 11 persistently exhibits the Ottoman Turkish characteristic, which is atypical in other Crimean Karaim Bible translations.

### 2.1.2.2.2. Other Consonantal Features

### 2.1.2.2.2.1. Aspiration

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the aspiration of the velar voiceless plosive $-k$ - to velar fricative $h$ - can be attested in medial position in some Turkic and non-Turkic origin lexemes.

Table 39: Aspiration of $-k->-h$ -

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| akča | aȟ̌a | akča; | akča; | $a k \check{c} a$ | ahca; | ahča |
| 'money' | [Lev 22:11] | ahča; ahčĭ | akče; akčil | (ETD: 477) | akca | (KRPS: 86) |
| <Tur> (CC: 39) |  | (CKED: | (KRUS: |  | (KRPS: 58; |  |
|  |  | 35; 44) | 46-47) |  | 86) |  |

[^27]| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { "[wakt] 'time' } \\ & \text { <Ar> } \\ & \text { (NS: 932) } \end{aligned}$ | vaht vs vaküt <br> [Lev 16:2; 14:57] | vakït; vaht; <br> vahït <br> (CKED: <br> 436) | vaküt; <br> vakit <br> (KRUS: <br> 131) | vakt; vakit <br> (ETD: 1112) | vaht <br> (KRPS: 156) | vaht <br> (KRPS: 156) |
| adruk 'different form; superior to (others)' <Tur> (EDPT: 65) | ayruhsï <br> [Lev 6:9] | ayruhsï; <br> ayruksu; <br> ayruksï <br> (CKED: <br> 62) | - | - | ayrïksï <br> (KRPS: 54) | ayrïhsï; <br> ayrïksï <br> (KRPS: 55) |
| yakiž"- 'to <br> approach' <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 908-909) <br> > yahšĭ 'good; good looking' ${ }^{\text {4 }}$ <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 908) | yahši <br> [Lev 5:4] | yahší; yakši (CKED: 441) | yahšĭ <br> (KRUS: <br> 830) | yakïsik; <br> yakī̈̈iklï <br> (suitable; <br> handsome, <br> beautiful) <br> (ETD: 1129) | yaksï <br> (KRPS: 219) | yahšï; yakšǐ <br> (KRPS: 219; <br> 241) |
| takï̈ ‘and; also; more' <br> <Tur> (EDPT: 466) | dahï <br> [Lev 21:11] | daḥ̈̈; daha; <br> dahan; <br> daḥ̈̈n <br> (CKED: <br> 130; 131) | taa; daa; <br> taya <br> (KRUS: $534 ; 537)$ | daha <br> (ETD: 700) | dahän; dayїn <br> (KRPS: 168) | dahïn <br> (KRPS: 168) |

This feature is also present in other Crimean Karaim Bible translations, e.g., vaht 'time' (Sulimowicz 1972: 61; Németh 2016: 175; CrKB I: 213); ahča 'money’ (Jankowski 1997: 41). It further manifests in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 272), appears sporadically in Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 372), and is also found in Ottoman Turkish (Kerslake 2022: 178). Notably, this feature is prevalent in Western Karaim, particularly in Trakai Karaim (Musaev 1964: 71).

### 2.1.2.2.2.2. The Alternation Between $t-\sim c c_{-}$and $t-\sim k$ -

In certain lexical items of Crimean Karaim Bible translations, the initial consonant $t$ - preceding front vowels occasionally undergoes a shift to the affricate $\check{c}$ - or, at times, to the stop $k$-, which is a distinct feature of Western Karaim (Jankowski 1997: 9). This particular characteristic cannot be attested in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, or Ottoman Turkish. In this regard, the

[^28]Lev of the Göz. 1841 also presents a few instances of this phonological change, with one example appearing alongside its counterpart.

Table 40: Consonant Shift Between $t->c ̌-$ and $t->k-$

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| topla- <br> 'to collect' <br> <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 440) | čöplä̈ ${ }^{50}$ - vs <br> topla- <br> [Lev 19:10; <br> 23:39] | topla-; čöple- <br> (CKED: 126- $127 ; 408)$ | topla- <br> (KRUS: <br> 600) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { topla- } \\ & \text { (ETD: 802-803) } \end{aligned}$ | topla-; <br> copla- <br> (KRPS: 538; 614) | topla-; ćopla; <br> (KRPS: 538; 628) |
| tile'to desire' <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 492) | kilä- <br> [Lev 26:21] | kile-; dile(CKED: 138; 211) | tile- <br> (KRUS: 587) | dile- <br> (ETD: 691-692) | kile- <br> (KRPS: 326- 327) | kláa(KRPS: 327) |
| tilek <br> 'wish desire' <br> <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 498) | kiläk <br> [Lev 26:30] | dilek; kilek <br> (CKED: 138; 211) | tilek <br> (KRUS: 587) | dilek <br> (YTL: 343) | klek <br> (KRPS: 327) | klak (KRPS: 327) |

### 2.1.2.2.2.3. Preservation and Devoicing of Final Lenes in Arabic and Persian Loanwords

It is widely acknowledged that the majority of Turkic languages contain a significant number of Arabic and Persian loanwords. The incorporation of these words leads to varying phonotactic patterns among the Turkic languages. For example, the fortition of final voiced stops in Arabic and Persian loanwords is predominantly observed in contemporary Turkish. Indeed, the subsequent table also demonstrates that Karaim dialects and Crimean Tatar exhibit devoicing of final lenes in most of the provided examples, which are uninflected forms. ${ }^{51}$ Notably, the Ottoman Turkish examples may not accurately reflect this phenomenon, as their phonological values were not consistently recorded in dictionaries.

In the majority of examples from our dataset, the preservation of final lenes in Arabic and Persian words is evident, as illustrated by the table below.

Table 41: Preservation of Final Lenes in Arabic and Persian Loanwords

[^29]| Examples | Göz． 1841 | C．Kar | C．Tat | Ot．Tur | H．Kar | T．Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { أولاد [awlād] 'children' } \\ & \text { <Ar> (NS: 265) } \end{aligned}$ | evlad <br> ＇child；son＇ <br> ［Lev 11：2］ | evlad <br> ＇child；son＇ <br> （CKED：158） | evlat <br> ＇child；son＇ <br> （KRUS：767） | evlad <br> ‘child；son’ <br> （ETD：508） | － | － |
| ```در [dard] 'pain; sorrow; trouble' <Per> (NS: 202)``` | derd <br> ［Lev 13：57］ | dert；derd <br> （CKED：136） | dert <br> （KRUS：160） | derd <br> （ETD：685） | － | － |
| خharāb］ <br> ＇devastated；destroyed＇ <Ar> (NS: 343) | harab <br> ［Lev 26：33］ | harap；harab <br> （CKED：177） | harap <br> （KRUS：673） | harab <br> （ETD：667） | － | harap （KRPS： 600) |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { بساب [hisāb] } \\ & \text { 'calculation' <Ar> } \\ & \text { (NS: } 359 \text { ) } \end{aligned}$ | hesab <br> ［Lev 25：27］ | hesab；hesap； esap <br> （CKED：184） | esap <br> （KRUS：788） | hesab <br> （ETD：650） | － | － |
| مراد［murād］ <br> ＇wish；desire＇＜Ar＞ <br> （NS：611） | murad vs <br> morad <br> ［Lev 22：29； 19:5] | mïrad；murad； <br> murat <br> （CKED：241） | murat；mürat （KRUS：367－ 368) | murad <br> （ETD：1002） | － | － |
| شاهد［šāhid］＇witness＇ <br> ＜Ar＞（NS：828） | šahad <br> ［Lev 5：1］ | šaḥad；šahat <br> （CKED：370） | šaat （KRUS：745） | šahid <br> （ETD：754） | － | － |

However，despite the consistent presence of this feature，the Lev of the Göz． 1841 also exhibits a few inconsistent cases，which occur infrequently．

Table 42：Devoicing of Final Lenes in Arabic and Persian Loanwords

| Examples | Göz． 1841 | C．Kar | C．Tat | Ot．Tur | H．Kar | T．Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ［＇ayb］عيب <br> ＇fault；error； <br> shame＇＜Ar＞ <br> （NS：84） | aÿ̈p <br> ［Lev 15：3］ | ayїb；aÿ̈p <br> （CKED：60） | ауїр <br> （KRUS：42） | $\begin{aligned} & \text { аӱ̈p } \\ & \text { (ETD: 835) } \end{aligned}$ | aÿ̈p <br> （KRPS： <br> 56） | aÿ̈p；ayip <br> （KRPS：56） |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { آز [āzād] 'free' } \\ & \text { <Per> (NS: 86) } \end{aligned}$ | azat <br> ［Lev 19：20］ | azat <br> （CKED：64） | azat <br> （KRUS：34） | azat <br> （ETD：451） | azat <br> （KRPS： <br> 48） | azat <br> （KRPS：48） |
| جومرد［弓̌ōmard］ <br> ＇generous＇ <br> ＜Per＞（NS：157） | క̌omart <br> ［Lev 22：18］ | 亏̌omart <br> （CKED：106） | క̌emert； <br> 亏̌umert <br> （KRUS： <br> 734） | 亏̌umerd <br> （ETD：626） | 3omart <br> （KRPS： <br> 173） | క̌omart <br> （KRPS：176） |

### 2.1.2.2.2.4. Consonant Deletion

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, three examples exhibit consonant deletion. In two instances, the deletion occurs in Arabic loanwords that initially possessed double medial consonants.

Table 43: Consonant Deletion in Arabic Words

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| سنّة $[$ sunna(t) $]$ | sünät | sünet | sünnet | sünnet | sunet | - |
| 'tradition'; | [Lev 12:3] | (CrKB: 366) | (KRUS: 528) | (ETD: 743) | (KRPS: |  |
| 'circumcision' |  |  |  |  | $484)$ |  |
| <Ar> (NS: 822) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| (kuwwa(t)] | kuvat | kuvat | kuvet; kuvvet | kuvvet | kuvat | kuvat |
| 'power; strength' | [Lev 26:26] | (CrKB: 323) | (KRUS: 297) | (ETD: 896) | (KRPS: | (KRPS: |
| <Ar> |  |  |  |  | 342) | 342) |
| (NS: 519) |  |  |  |  |  |  |

The examples clearly establish a differentiation between Karaim dialects and Crimean Tatar, along with Ottoman Turkish, as the double consonants have been omitted in all three Karaim dialects and the analyzed text.

In the final example, a Turkic lexeme displays the deletion of the initial $y$ - in the text. It is widely recognized that the initial $y$-in Old Turkic has experienced particular shifts in modern Turkic languages. Although the initial $y$ - is present in Karaim (Johanson 2022b: 96) and our dataset, we encounter a single instance exhibiting deletion.

Table 44: Deletion of Initial y-

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| yüksek | öksä̈k | öksek; yüksek | yüksek; öksek | yüksek | - | - |
| 'tall; high' <Tur> | [Lev 8:13] | (CKED: 266) | (KRUS: 800) | (ETD: 1147) |  |  |

(EDPT: 915-916)

### 2.1.2.2.2.5. Addition of a Consonant

In our corpus, we present a solitary instance that demonstrates the incorporation of a consonant within an Arabic lexical unit.

Table 45: Addition of a Consonant

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| حيلة [hāla(t)] | hillä | hillä | - | hile | - | - |
| 'trick; ploy; <br> stratagem' <Ar> | [Lev 21:17] | (CKED: 185) |  | (ETD: 661) |  |  |
| (NS: 364) |  |  |  |  |  |  |

Additionally, there is a feature in the Arabic script, the adoption of which exhibits variations in our text and several Turkic languages. In Arabic, the so-called taa marbuta (i) is transcribed as $t$ and signifies the feminine gender of a noun or adjective. However, in its base form, the taa marbuta is not pronounced as a $t$. Yet, in specific grammatical contexts, such as when followed by a word beginning with a vowel or when the word is made definite with the definite article ال [ $\bar{a} l]$, the taa marbuta may be pronounced as a $t .{ }^{52}$

In our text, there are instances where the $t$ is not pronounced in Arabic yet appears, whereas in other cases, it is not displayed.

Table 46: Variability in the Adoption of Arabic Taa Marbuta

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| شريعة [šarī̈a $a(t)]$ <br> ‘law; religious <br> regulations' <br> <Ar> <br> (NS: 837) | šara'at <br> [Lev 18:4] | šara'at <br> (CKED: 371) | šeryat <br> (KRUS: 754) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { šeriat } \\ & \text { (ETD: 758) } \end{aligned}$ | - | šarayat <br> (KRPS: <br> 644) |
|  <br> 'benefit; <br> advantage' <br> <Ar> <br> (NS: 275) | fayda <br> [Lev 27:37] | fayda <br> (CKED: 160) | fayda; payda (KRUS: 651) | fa'ide; fayda <br> (TLO II: <br> 3460) | fayda <br> (KRPS: <br> 592) | fayda <br> (KRPS: <br> 592) |

As a result, the presence of the final $-t$ in certain Arabic lexemes throughout our text and other Turkic languages displayed in the table above cannot be considered as the addition of a consonant, but rather as a fluctuation in the adoption of the Arabic phenomenon.

### 2.1.2.2.2.6. Replacement of Arabic Epiglottal Stop Ayin and Glottal Stop Aleph

In the preponderance of Arabic lexemes examined within our corpus, we do not discern any particular phonotactic adaptation concerning the representation of the Arabic epiglottal stop

[^30]ayin $(\varepsilon)$ and glottal stop aleph $\left({ }^{( }\right)$, even though such consonants are typically absent in a majority of Turkic languages, encompassing Karaim, Crimean Tatar, and Ottoman Turkish. Given that the Hebrew script incorporates the corresponding characters present in Arabic, specifically aleph [ x$]$ and ayin [ v$]$, these consonants frequently manifest in our transcriptions, despite their lack of phonological relevance in the dataset under investigation, e.g., [Lev 25:36] fa'iz ‘interest; usury’ > فائض [ $f \vec{a}$ ’ id] ] ‘surplus; excess; overflowing’ (NS: 270). Nevertheless, in four instances, we observe that the adopted consonant in a medial position has been replaced by a consonant or a vowel, contingent upon the placement of the specified letters. For instance, in three cases, aleph is situated between two vowels and is substituted by the consonant $y$.

Table 47: Replacement of Arabic Glottal Stop Aleph

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'continuing; lasting' <Ar> (NS: 184) | dayïm <br> [Lev 6:6] | dayїm <br> (CKED: 133) | daim; dayїm (KRUS: 149) | da' im <br> (ETD: 242) | - | - |
| ```\ [fă' ida(t)] 'benefit; advantage' <Ar> (NS: 275)``` | fayda <br> [Lev <br> 27:37] | fayda <br> (CKED: 160) | fayda; payda <br> (KRUS: 651) | fa'ide; fayda <br> (TLO II: <br> 3460) | fayda <br> (KRPS: <br> 592) | fayda <br> (KRPS: <br> 592) |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { فيئات فئات [fiyāt] or } \\ & {\left[f f^{\prime} ' a t\right] \text { <Ar> 'in; }} \\ & \text { at+PL }{ }^{53} \text { (NS: 288) } \end{aligned}$ | fihat <br> 'price' <br> [Lev 19:20] | fiyat <br> 'price' <br> (CKED: 163) | fiyat; piyat <br> 'price' <br> (KRUS: 661) | fi'at <br> 'price' <br> (ETD: 861) | - | - |

As evidenced, a similar strategy is also observed in other languages, as indicated in the table shown above.

In a particular instance involving a word of Arabic origin, the original letter ayin, situated between two consonants, is replaced by the vowel $\ddot{i}$ in our text. The subsequent table reveals that this distinctive arrangement of the word has not been identified in the other languages illustrated.

Table 48: Replacement of Arabic Epiglottal Consonant Ayin

[^31]| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| شٌ $[$ šam' $]$ 'candle' + | šam̈̈dan | šamdan | šamdan | šamdan | - | - |
| دان $[$ dān $]$ 'holder' $=$ | [Lev 24:4] | (CKED: 371) | (KRUS: 748) | (KRUS: |  |  |
| 'candlestick' <Ar> + |  |  |  | $763)$ |  |  |
| <Tur> (NS: 830) |  |  |  |  |  |  |

### 2.1.2.2.2.7. Metathesis

There are two types of metathesis in the text, with a total of five examples. The first occurs between the final consonant of the first syllable and the first consonant of the second syllable.

Table 49: Metathesis

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| yaymur | уатуии | yaymur | yaymur | yaymur | yamyur | yamyur; |
| 'rain' <Tur> | [Lev 26:4] | (CKED: 440) | (KRUS: 809) | (ETD: 273) | (KRPS: | yanyur; |
| (EDPT: 903- |  |  |  |  | 224-225) | уаууиг; |
| 904) |  |  |  |  |  | (KRPS: |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | 224-225) |
| könlek | gölmäk | kölmek; | gölmek; kölmek | gömlek | kelmek | kelimak |
| 'shirt' < Tur> | [Lev 8:7] | gölmek | (KRUS: 141) | (ETD: 317) | (KRPS: 302) | (KRPS: |
| (EDPT: 732) |  | (CKED: 216- |  |  |  | 302) |
|  |  | 217; 167 ) |  |  |  |  |

It can be discerned that the phenomenon of metathesis in köylek is prevalent in Karaim dialects and Crimean Tatar. Conversely, metathesis in yaymur is exclusively observed in Western Karaim. Notably, the demonstrated examples do not showcase this feature in Ottoman Turkish sources.

Additional instances of metathesis transpire within the same syllable, specifically in a vowelconsonant sequence. It is worth noting that examples illustrating metathesis are found alongside their counterparts in Crimean Karaim dictionaries. Nevertheless, the other languages exhibited in the subsequent table do not display this form of metathesis.

Table 50: Metathesis 2

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| roba 'clothes; | urba vs ruba | ruba; urba; uruba | ruba; urba | ruba | - | - |
| dress' <It> |  | (CKED: 328; 427) | (KRUS: 461) | (ETD: 717) |  |  |


| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (NS: 743) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { [Lev 11:40; } \\ & 11: 28] \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| $\begin{aligned} & \text { نيّة }[n i y y a(t)] \\ & \text { 'intention' <Ar> } \\ & \text { (NS: 648) } \end{aligned}$ | inyet <br> [Lev 7:16] | inyet; niyet <br> (CKED: 197) | niet <br> (KRUS: 393) | niyyet <br> (ETD: 172) | niyet <br> (KRPS: <br> 419- <br> 420) | niyet <br> (KRPS: <br> 420- <br> 421) |
| قرمزى [kirmizī] <br> 'red' <Per> <br> (NS: 472) | kïrïmzï [Lev 14:49] | ḳïrïmzü; kïrmïzi <br> (CKED: 305) | ḥïrmïzï; <br> kïrmïzï <br> (KRUS: 684) | kïrmïzï <br> (ETD: 279) | kïrmïzï <br> (KRPS: 387) | kïrmïzï <br> (KRPS: 387) |

### 2.1.2.3. Vowel-Consonant Sequences

### 2.1.2.3.1. Vowel-Consonantal Alternation

A-) [öy] > [ev]: In the dataset under analysis, we observe a vowel-consonant variation, specifically [öy] transitioning to [ev]. This shift was previously noted by Jankowski, who posited that it is commonplace in Crimean Karaim and is likely rooted in the southern dialect of the Crimean Tatar language. Illustrative examples provided by Jankowski include evle, a variation of öyle 'so; such; thus', and sevle-, a variation of söyle- 'to say' (Jankowski 2010: 88). Remarkably, our corpus also manifests a single occurrence of sevlä-, which is likewise attested in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 277). In fact, this specific element exclusively emerges in Chapter 11, a section predominantly characterized by the linguistic traits of Crimean Turkish.

Table 51: Shift from [öy] > [ev]

| Example | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| sözle- 'to speak; | sevlä- vs sözlä- | sözle- | söyle-; söle- | söyle- | sezle- | śoźĺa |
| to say' | $[$ Lev 11:2; 1:1] | (CKED: 363) | (KRUS: 489) | (ETD: | (KRPS: | (KRPS: |
| (EDPT: 863) |  |  |  | $749)$ | $497)$ | 471 ) |

B-) $\left[\ddot{\boldsymbol{z}}_{\boldsymbol{\gamma}}\right] ;\left[a_{\gamma}\right]>[\boldsymbol{u v}] \sim[\boldsymbol{o v}]$ : It is widely recognized that the Old Turkic fricative $\gamma$ has diverse manifestations in the common Turkic languages, each adopting distinct strategies. It is of note that in numerous Kipchak languages, the phoneme presents itself as $v$. As noted in section 2.1.2.1.3, the consonant $v$ has been observed to trigger a shift from unrounded to rounded vowels in select instances. Therefore a vowel-consonant sequence $[\mathrm{X} \gamma]$ in certain words in Old Turkic typically resonates as [O], [Uv], and [Iv] in a variety of Kipchak languages, commencing from the Middle Kipchak period (Berta and Csató 2022a: 154). In the context of Ottoman

Turkish, the fricative intervocalic and syllable-final $\delta$ generally experiences elision (Kerslake 2022: 178).

Within our dataset, a systematic transition from Old Turkic [ïy] and $\left[a_{\gamma}\right]$ into $[u v]$ or $[o v]$ is observed, attributable to the aforementioned factors.

Table 52: Shift from [̈̈z] and [ay] to [uv] ~ [ov]

| Examples | Göz. 1841 | C.Kar | C.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| arïy 'clean; pure' <br> <Tur> (EDPT: 213) | aruv <br> [Lev 6:4] | aruv <br> (CKED: 50) | aruv 'good' <br> (KRUS: 70) | arï <br> (TLO I: <br> 152) | aruv <br> (KRPS: <br> 76) | aruv <br> (KRPS: <br> 76) |
| arkay 'the woof (or weft) of a woven material' <Tur> (EDPT: 213) | arkuv <br> [Lev 13:48] | arkuv 'weft' <br> (CKED: 49) | - | - | - | - |
| buzayи 'calf' <br> <Tur>; buza, ${ }^{54}$ <br> 'calf' <Tur> <br> (EDPT: 391) | büzov <br> [Lev 9:2] | büzuv; buzuv <br> (CKED: 83) | buzav <br> (KRUS: <br> 124) | buzayï <br> (ETD: <br> 545) | buzov <br> (KRPS: <br> 137) | buzov <br> (KRPS: <br> 137) |
| tarıylay 'cultivated field; field’ <Tur> (EDPT: 541) | tarlov <br> [Lev 19:19] | tarla; tarlav; tarlov; tarluv (CKED: 385) | tarla <br> (KRUS: <br> 551) | tarla <br> (ETD: <br> 799) | tarlav <br> (KRPS: 515) | tarlav <br> (KRPS: 515) |

As the table above demonstrates, our data, the three Karaim dialects, and Crimean Tatar exhibit a common characteristic regarding this feature in most cases, unlike Ottoman Turkish.

### 2.2. Morphology and Morphophonology

In this section, the analysis of morphology and morphophonology within the dataset will be carried out, with comparisons drawn between Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and all three dialects of Karaim. It is important to acknowledge that the availability of Crimean Turkish data is limited, which may lead to gaps in various categories. As specified in the relevant sections, the usage of most categories within sentences, along with their functions, will be analyzed in the syntax section (2.3.). As a result, this section's primary focus will be on

[^32]presenting specific markers, their classification, morphological variants, and their corresponding equivalents in the Turkic languages under investigation.

### 2.2.1. Morphophonological Characteristics

### 2.2.1.1. Intrasyllabic Vowel Harmony

As previously stated (refer to section 2.1.2.1.1), the majority of Turkic languages demonstrate intersyllabic vowel harmony concerning backness and frontness in Turkic lexemes. Regarding inflected lexical items, we observe the same pattern of intrasyllabic vowel harmony in our text, and this is also evident in most Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar, Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and Karaim. However, exceptions also arise in specific cases, due to unvariable suffixes, such as $\{+$ Daš $\}$, $\{+$ mač $\}$, and $\{+$ Day $\}$ in Crimean Tatar, the $\{-y o r\}$ suffix in Ottoman Turkish, and Halich Karaim copula suffixes (Berta and Csató 2022b: 322). Moreover, the shifting of $[a y]$ to $[a ̈ y]$ in Trakai Karaim also leads to the dissolution of intersyllabic vowel harmony (Musaev 1964: 55-56). However, our data does not present any such anomalies.

In relation to rounding harmony in inflected words, our data generally does not demonstrate complete rounding harmony, mirroring the pattern seen in other Crimean Karaim Bible translations.

| (1) | $[$ Lev 7:33] | bol-sïn | to be-3SG.VOL | 'it shall be'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $[$ Lev 26:16] | urlu[k> $]]+\ddot{y} \ddot{̈}$ | offspring+2PL.POSS | 'your offspring' |

However, our data does contain contrasting examples. Similar fluctuations are also observed in the Eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 26), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 274), and all three Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 50-51; Çulha 2019: 38-39). Regarding Ottoman Turkish, it is important to highlight that the development of rounded suffix harmony was a lengthy and intricate process, which did not culminate until the eighteenth century (Johanson 2022b: 106).
(2) [Lev 7:33] ol-sun
to be-3SG.VOL
'it shall be'.

It warrants mentioning that the deverbal nominal formative marker $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{v}\}$ (refer to section 2.2.2.1.1.) demonstrates in certain instances that the terminal unrounded vowels of the verb stems undergo rounding prior to the application of this marker due to regressive assimilation.

$$
\text { (3) }[\operatorname{Lev} 8: 35] \text { sakla-v > saklov to keep-DER 'holding'. }
$$

Finally, it is noteworthy that the rounding of suffixes, along with their distribution and occurrence, is an important and distinctive characteristic within Crimean Karaim Bible translations. Therefore, such variations of suffixes will be presented in detail in the relevant sections devoted to them.

### 2.2.1.2. Consonant Harmony

In several Turkic languages, a progressive assimilation process occurs whereby suffixes featuring initial voiced consonants are devoiced when they affix to words concluding with final voiceless consonants. This characteristic is observed in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 34), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 275) Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 27-28; 44), and across all three dialects of Karaim (Çulha 2019: 89-91; Berta and Csató 2022b: 322). For instance, in our data, the past tense marker $\{+\mathrm{DI}\}$ undergoes morphophonological alterations influenced by both fronting harmony and consonant harmony when attaching to verb stems.
(4) [Lev 6:10] ver-di-m to give-PAST-1SG 'I have given'.
[Lev 16:2] ayt-ti-Ø to say; to tell-PAST-3SG '|Lord| said'.
However, there exist certain instances where we encounter exceptions.
(5) [Lev 26:43] hor it-di-Ø to despise-PAST-3PL 'they despised'.

It should be noted that all such exceptions will be discussed in the relevant section dedicated to the corresponding suffixes.

### 2.2.1.3. Intervocalic Lenition

In a range of Turkic languages, final stops, such as $p, k, k, t$, and $\check{c}$, can be observed in both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words, undergoing lenition when preceding a vowel in specific instances (Johanson 2022a: 28). This feature is also corroborated in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 10), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 277), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 22, 2526), and across all three dialects of Karaim ${ }^{55}$ (Musaev 1964: 82-83; Prik 1976: 43). Nonetheless, it is important to mention that this characteristic manifests sporadically, contingent upon the particular lexemes. In addition, it can be examined under two categories: those found within verb stems and those within nominal stems. In the context of nominal stems, this attribute is observed in numerous instances within our collected data.

[^33][Lev 1:11] $u \check{c}+u>u \check{u} u$
end+3SG.POSS
[Lev 1:3] ešik+i+nä> ešiginä
[Lev 8:15] barmak+ $+\ddot{i}>$ barmayï
[Lev 18:18] aÿ̈p+ + > ayübü
[Lev 26:11] surat+ïm > suradïm
entrance+3SG.POSS+DAT
finger+3SG.POSS
nakedness+3SG.POSS
face+1SG.POSS

However, there exist a few instances, albeit infrequent, that demonstrate inconsistencies.
[Lev 2:2] avuč+ï> avučï handful+3SG.POSS
[Lev 11:33] kap+ï>kapï vessel+3SG.POSS
[Lev 13:55] $a r t+\ddot{u}+n+d a>$ arẗ̈da back+3SG.POSS+PRNM+LOC
As for verb stems, According to Jankowski's description (2015a: 202), the lenition of the voiceless stops $-k-,-k$ - and $-p$ - between vowels in verbs is also present in Crimean Kipchak Karaim variant, with the exception of the case of $-t$-, e.g., etär '(she/he/it) does'. Examples showing this feature are evidenced in other Crimean Bible translations as well, e.g., čïzar- 'to take out; to extract; to bring out; to raise' (Jankowski 1997: 31; Németh 2016: 178; CrKB I: 191). In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there exist two examples that show the lenition of the voiceless $k>{ }_{\gamma}$ and $t>d$ in a verb stem. However, a counterpart of this example is also present.
(8) $\quad$ [Lev 6:4; 26:33] čilk-ar-vs čïz-ar- to go out-CAUS
[Lev 26:34; 26:30] id-är-Ø vs et-är-Ø to make-AOR-3SG
Notably, in the majority of the examples, we do not observe the lenition of such plosive consonants in verb stems when they are affixed with certain suffixes.
[Lev 7:4]
ketär-
čakür-
$e t-a ̈ r-\emptyset$
[Lev 16:30] to make-AOR-3SG

### 2.2.1.4. Vowel Deletion

In various Turkic languages, it is observed that when suffixes initiating with vowels applied to polysyllabic words bearing high vowels $(i, i, u, \ddot{u})$ in their final syllables, frequently induce the elimination of these vowels. This phenomenon is further substantiated by instances found in

Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 274), Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 376-377), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 30-36), and the three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 60; Çulha 2019: 40-41). Notably, this feature is primarily attested in our dataset.

| $\left[\right.$ (10) $\begin{array}{lll}{[\text { Lev 8:7; 24:10] }} & \text { oqul+ïlu }> & \text { oglїloglu }\end{array}$ | son+3SG.POSS |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $[$ Lev 19: 17] | göทil $+i>$ | göyli |

### 2.2.1.5. Consonant Deletion

Within our dataset, two types of consonantal deletion are evident. The first instance involves the deletion of the consonant in the aorist marker $\{-\mathrm{Ir}\}$ (refer to section 2.2.3.3.3). This occurs sporadically when the marker precedes the first-person singular and second-person plural markers.
[Lev 26:25] veril-i-siz to give-AOR-2PL
[Lev 26: 19] sïndïr-ï-mïn to break-AOR-1SG
[Lev 26:36] getir-i-min to bring-AOR-1SG
The observed deletion could conceivably be ascribed to a scribal error. However, the fact that this particular form of consonantal deletion appears 21 times within our data suggests that it might extend beyond a mere isolated error. Thus, these instances could potentially be interpreted as evidence of a tendency towards consonantal deletion.

The second and the final example involves the combination of the relative pronouns nečik 'how' and ki 'that; which', which appears as nečiki 'so as; so that' in our text (see for example Lev 4:10), whereas it appears as nečik ki in other Crimean Karaim Bible translations (Sulimowicz 1972: 57; Jankowski 1997: 35; CrKB I: 178). It should be noted that the combination nečik ki also appears in a Trakai Karaim Bible translation (Németh 2021: 622) and a Halich Karaim Bible translation (Olach 2013: 346), whereas it does not occur in Crimean Tatar ${ }^{56}$ and Ottoman Turkish. In fact, this consonant deletion in our text might be attributed to an orthographical tendency where, in some instances, the text avoids using two kaph characters (כ), representing the letter $k$, in a row (see 2.1.1.2.2.). Consequently, the status of this type of consonant deletion remains questionable.

[^34]
### 2.2.1.6. Metathesis

The phenomenon of metathesis in uninflected lexemes has been previously discussed (refer to section 2.1.2.2.2.7.). Notably our dataset presents only a single instance where this feature manifests due to the attachment of a marker.
(12) [Lev 19:27] etraf $+\ddot{i}+n>$ etarfin surroundings+3SG.POSS+ACC

### 2.2.1.7. The Alternation Between $\boldsymbol{\eta} \sim \boldsymbol{n}$

In specific instances, an alternation is observed between the dental $n$ and velar $\eta$ in various case, mood, and possessive markers. This fluctuation between these consonants has also been documented in Crimean Turkish by Doerfer (1959a: 272). Furthermore, the assimilation of the velar $\eta$ by $m$ or the dental $n$ was noted to occur during the middle phases of Ottoman Turkish (Kerslake 2022: 178), which might have influenced similar phenomena in our dataset.
[Lev 7:3 vs 25:24] ver-iniz vs ver-iniz to give-2PL.IMP
[Lev 26:21 vs 26:18] yazïklar+üÿ̈z vs yazïklar+ünïz sins+2PL
[Lev 26:27 vs 26:23] yürü-sä-yiz vs yürü-sä-niz to walk-COND-2PL
[Lev 27:28 vs 27:22] tutuvlu( $k>\gamma)+\ddot{+}+n \ddot{y}$ vs tutuvlu( $k>\gamma)+\ddot{u}+n \ddot{n}$
possession+3SG.POSS+GEN
It is important to highlight that the assimilation of velar $\eta$ to dental $n$ is infrequent in our data. One might presume that the letter gimel ( $)$, representing velar $\eta$, and nun ( 1 ), signifying dental $n$, due to their visual similarity, could present a challenge to distinguish from each other, thereby attributing this fluctuation potentially to scribal error. However, the situation becomes clearer regarding the genitive case markers, which have a final $-\eta$ or $-n$. The Hebrew letter nun in the final position (〕) differs from its initial and medial word form (נ), thereby clearly distinguishing it from the letter gimel (a). This observation, in turn, suggests that the fluctuation cannot be explained solely due to orthographic difficulties.

### 2.2.1.8. The Alternation Between $z \sim s$

In our dataset, the negation in the aorist marker appears as $\{-\mathrm{maz}\}$ and as $\{-\mathrm{mas}\}$ (refer to section 2.2.3.1.1.2.), indicating a variation between $-z$ and $-s^{57}$. It's worth noting that this

[^35]alternation has been documented in both Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 279) and Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 385; Jankowski 2010: 78). In contrast, Crimean Karaim \{-mAz\} (Prik 1976: 138), Ottoman Turkish \{-mAz\} (Kissling 1960: 99-101), and Western Karaim \{-mAs\} (Musaev 1964: 285) each display only one of these forms.
[Lev 7:18] sayïl-maz-Ø to be counted-NEG.AOR-3SG
[Lev 27:11] yuvuklaštir-mas-lar to bring forward-NEG.AOR.-3PL

### 2.2.2. Non-Verbal Categories

### 2.2.2.1. Nominal Formation

In Turkic languages, nominal formation exhibits a pervasive characteristic that can be traced back to their early development stages. To demonstrate these shared characteristics and elucidate the morphophonological distinctions among the Turkic languages examined in this study, it would be beneficial to refer to the early stages of Turkic languages. Therefore, in this section, the situation of certain markers in earlier stages of Turkic will also be referred when applicable.

### 2.2.2.1.1. Suffixation

The derivation of nominal forms in Turkic languages involves the use of various morphological markers, which can be classified into two main categories: denominal markers and deverbal markers. Denominal markers derive nominal forms from existing nouns and adjectives, while deverbal markers derive nominals from verbs. Within each of these categories, there are many productive and unproductive suffixes that can be used to derive nominals. Our study will undertake an analysis of both productive and unproductive markers, including the investigation of already lexicalized items. The status of these markers will be determined based on the three categories listed in Zajączkowski (1932): productive, semi-productive, and unproductive ${ }^{58}$.

### 2.2.2.1.1.1. Denominal Derivations of Nominals

This section presents the denominal markers that are used to create other nominals by attaching them to nominal bases within the corpus. Additionally, certain markers, such as the ordinal markers $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n} \check{I}\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n} \check{I}\}$ (see 2.2.2.4.3), and the distributive marker $\{+(\check{\mathrm{s}}) \mathrm{Ar}\}$ (see

[^36]2.2.2.4.4), are discussed in separate sections, despite also functioning as denominal formative markers for nominals.
$\mathbf{A - )}\{+(\mathbf{A}) \mathbf{K}\}$ : This unproductive marker is found in a limited number of examples within our corpus, and its origins can be traced back to earlier periods of Turkic languages where it originally functioned as a kind of diminutive marker to indicate a smaller version of the base object in some examples (Erdal 1991a: 40-44).
(15) [Lev 8:7] gölmek > könül+ek chest+DER 'shirt'.
[Lev 19:9] baš+ak head+DER 'ear of grain ${ }^{59}$,
The marker has been identified in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 219) and all three dialects of Karaim, as reported in studies by Prik (1976: 56), Zajączkowski (1932: 17-18), and Musaev (1964: 177). Nouns containing this unproductive marker have also been observed in Ottoman Turkish, e.g., bašak 'ear' and gömlek ‘shirt' (TLO I: 664; II: 4093).

B-) \{+An\}: Zajączkowski (1932: 18-19) posits that the marker under scrutiny originally served as a diminutive marker but later lost its diminutive function and no longer conveyed a distinct meaning from the base word. His examples that contain this unproductive marker with an etymological basis can be traced back to Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, all three dialects of Karaim, and our corpus, e.g., oylan 'son', özen 'river'. However, it is worth noting that this marker is frequently cited as indicating collectivity in such words (Róna-Tas 2022a: 65; Erdal 1991a: 91-92). Alongside the aforementioned lexemes, our corpus features one example where the marker is employed to create an adjective, potentially departing from Zajączkowski's description.
(16) [Lev 15:3] suv+an water+DER 'liquid; watery'.

Notably, this particular instance has only been attested in Crimean Karaim (KRPS: 482; CKED: 365), and not in the other languages mentioned, such as Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and Western Karaim dialects.
$\mathbf{C - )}\{+(\mathbf{A}) \check{\mathbf{s}}\}:$ In our study, this specific marker is identified in a single instance and appears a total of 13 times (see, for example, Lev 23:3) as oturaš. It is crucial to emphasize that the word oturaš encompasses two separate meanings in Crimean Karaim, 'dwelling’ and 'island’

[^37](CKED: 232), possibly stemming from the same etymological origins. Clauson (EDPT: 65) lists the word otruy 'island' and posits that it is more likely associated with the verb otur-, meaning 'to cut off', rather than the verb otur-meaning 'to sit'. This reasoning is grounded in the fact that otur 'to sit' is a relatively recent adaptation from the verb olur-. Notably, while the term 'island' is identified as atayladay > ada in some Oghuz languages, it is represented as otrač in the Kuman language, potentially integrating the diminutive marker $\{+(\mathrm{X}) c ̌\}$ (see Erdal 1991a: 44-47). It is plausible that the deverbal nominal formative marker was dissolved and integrated by the diminutive marker $\{+(\mathrm{X}) \check{c}\}$ after being succeeded by it. Upon scrutinizing the term oturaš in Karaim dialects, phonological disparities become evident, as demonstrated by C.Kar oturaš/otraš (CKED: 232), T.Kar otrač ‘island’ (KRPS: 434-435), and H.Kar otrac; otlac 'island' (KRPS: 434). As a result, this variation is likely a phonological manifestation of the marker $\{+(\mathrm{X}) \check{c}\}$ in Crimean Karaim. It is possible that the meaning 'dwelling' in Crimean Karaim may have been derived later due to the homonymous verb otur- meaning 'to sit ${ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime}$. Finally, it should be noted that neither the word oturaš or otrač nor the variant $\left\{+(A) s{ }_{s}\right\}$ marker appears in Crimean Tatar or Ottoman Turkish.

D-) $\{+\breve{\zeta} \mathbf{A}\}$ : The equative marker $\{+\check{\zeta} A\}$ has been observed across various stages of Turkic languages, from early periods to modern forms (Johanson 2022a: 42). This marker predominantly attaches to nominals to produce adverbs (see 2.2.2.7.). Nevertheless, in a limited set of examples, it operates to derive adjectives from other adjectives.

| [Lev 13:19] | $k i ̈ r m i ̈ z z ̈ l$ |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | reǰa | DER | 'reddish'. |
| [Lev 13:49] | $y a ̈ s ̌ i l l+\grave{a ̈ a}$ | green+DER | 'greenish'. |

The denominal derivational function of the $\{+\check{\zeta} \mathrm{A}\}$ marker has been documented in all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 43; Musaev 1964: 189-190; Çulha 2019: 141), as well as in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 59) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 76). Notably, Zajączkowski (1932: 54) characterizes this marker as productive.

E-) $\{+$ čA $\}$ : Erdal (2004: 177) emphasizes that the marker $\{+$ čA $\}$, which serves as a diminutive marker, is not present in Old Turkic. Instead, it has been borrowed from Modern Persian into certain Turkic languages. Consequently, it should not be confused with the equative marker

[^38]$\{+\check{\mathrm{J}} \mathrm{A}\}$. In the current dataset, there are instances where the marker functions to derive a noun from an adjective.
(18) $[\operatorname{Lev} 22: 11] \quad a h+c \check{a} a \quad$ white+DER 'money'.

Furthermore, there are cases in which the aforementioned marker generates nouns from other nouns.
(19) [Lev 18:14] yeng $\ddot{a}+c \check{c} \ddot{a} \quad$ sister in law+DER 'uncle's or elder brother's wife'.
[Lev 25:49] aya+ča elder brother; leader+DER 'uncle'.
Notably, this unproductive marker has been identified in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 236), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 76), and all three dialects of Karaim, as documented in studies by Zajączkowski (1932: 23-24) and Öztürk (2019: 56).

F-) \{+dAš\}: This derivational marker, denoting joint ownership or possession between two or more individuals, has been observed in Turkic languages since earlier periods (Erdal 1991a: 119-120). In all instances, it serves to generate nouns from other nouns.
(20) [Lev 18:18] kün+däš female slave+DER 'co-wife'.
[Lev 25:35] din+daš religion+DER 'co-religionist'.
This particular unproductive marker has been recorded in all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 36-37; Musaev 1964: 108; Prik 1976: 55), as well as in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 39) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 78).

G-) $\{+\mathbf{I I}\} ;\{+\mathbf{I U}\}:$ The markers $\{+\mathbf{I I}\}$ and $\{+\mathbf{l U}\}$ are employed to derive adjectives from nominals and are prevalent in other Turkic languages, tracing back to the $\{+\mathrm{lXg}\}$ marker in earlier stages of Turkic languages (Erdal 1991a: 139-155). These quite productive markers generally convey possession or the material characteristics of an object.
(21) $[\operatorname{Lev} 1: 9] \quad$ ot $+l u \quad$ fire + DER 'fiery'.
[Lev 8:26] yay+lï oil+DER 'oily'.
However, there are instances where the derived adjective signifies the origin or location of the subject or object.
(22) $[$ Lev 16:29] yer $+l i \quad$ place+DER 'local'.

$$
\left[\begin{array}{lll}
{[\text { Lev 24:10] }} & \text { Mïsïr }+l i ̈ \quad \text { Egypt+DER } & \text { 'Egyptian'. }
\end{array}\right.
$$

The note-worthy point to consider in our dataset is that adherence to rounding harmony was not uniform across all instances of adjective derivation using the $\{+1 I\}$ and $\{+1 \mathrm{U}\}$ markers.
(23) [Lev 11:37] dür $+l u ̈$ vs [Lev 15:22] dür+li variety+DER 'various'.

Finally, it is important to mention that these markers have also been attested in all three dialects of Karaim, as well as in Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish. Notably, except for Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 55; 81), the rest of the languages discussed in this study also present the rounded variant $\{+1 \mathrm{U}\}^{61}$ (Hagopian 1907: 75; Zajączkowski 1932: 31-32; Musaev 1964: 172174; Kavitskaya 2010: 55).

H-) $\{+\mathbf{I I K}\} ;$; $\mathbf{I U K}\}$ : These markers are frequently utilized and productive in Turkic languages, as highlighted by Erdal (1991a: 121-131). They are commonly employed to derive abstract nominal forms from other nominals. Within our dataset, we observe only two variations of these markers: $\{+$ lIK $\}$ and $\{+$ luk $\}$.
[Lev 7:35] kohen + lik priest+DER 'priesthood'.
[Lev 23:7] kul+luk servant+DER 'service'.

In some examples, these markers are used to derive adjectives from nouns or vice versa.
[Lev 3:17] ömür+lik life+DER 'lifelong'.
[Lev 25:18] emin+lik sure+DER 'security'.

As anticipated, this productive marker and its morphophonological variations have been attested in other Turkic languages, such as Crimean Tatar $\{+1 \mathrm{IIK}\} ;\{+\mathrm{lUK}\}$ (Kavitskaya 2010: 40; 55), Crimean Karaim \{+lIK\} (Prik 1976: 54; 81), Ottoman Turkish \{+lIK\}; \{+lUK\} (Hagopian 1907: 77-78), as well as in Western Karaim, including Trakai Karaim \{+lIK\}; \{+IUK\} and Halich Karaim \{+lIK\}; \{+luk\} (Zajączkowski 1932: 29-31; Musaev 1964: 104107).

[^39]I-) \{+sA\}: Zajączkowski (1932: 37-38) has listed ${ }^{62}$ the unproductive derivational marker $\{+\mathrm{sA}\}$ for Western Karaim, with only one example provided. Similarly, our dataset features the same example where the marker appears as $\{+\mathrm{sa}\}$.
[Lev 26:13] boyun+sa neck+DER 'yoke'.
It should be noted that this lexical item is listed in both Crimean Tatar (KRUS: 122) and Crimean Karaim (CKED: 94), but it does not appear in Ottoman Turkish ${ }^{63}$.
$\mathbf{J}-$ ) $\{+\mathbf{S I}\}$ : In our dataset, only two instances have been identified to contain the unproductive denominal marker $\{+\mathrm{si}\}$, which is observed to derive adjectives from nominals.
[Lev 3:4] artikk+sï surplus+DER 'extra'.
[Lev 6:9] ayruh+sï holy+DER 'holy'.
The morpheme $\{+\mathrm{sii}\}$ can be traced to its origins in Old Turkic, specifically $\{+\mathrm{sIg}\}$, which functions to generate adjectives connoting similarity (Erdal 1991a: 70-73). This marker has been documented in both Ottoman Turkish and Western Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 39). Furthermore, the aforementioned lexemes incorporating this marker have also been identified in Crimean Karaim, e.g., artiksï, ayruhsï (CKED: 49; 62). Nonetheless, sources pertaining to Crimean Tatar do not appear to reference this particular morpheme.

K-) $\{+\mathbf{s I z}\}$ : The present marker has been identified in the earlier stages of Turkic languages (Erdal 1991a: 131-139) and serves to indicate a state of deficiency or absence. It is noteworthy that our corpus only includes a solitary instance of this productive marker. ${ }^{64}$

$$
\text { (28) }[\text { Lev 12:2] ar+sïz shame+DER 'shameless'. }
$$

Lastly, the marker in question has been documented in all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 32; Prik 1976: 81; Musaev 1977: 34), as well as in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 55) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 77).

[^40]$\mathbf{L}-)\{+\mathbf{y i}\} ;$;+ki\}: Within the current dataset, the denominal adjectival formative markers $\{+\boldsymbol{i} \mathbf{i}\}$ and $\{+\mathrm{ki}\}$ can be observed. These productive elements have been documented in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 55), Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 35), and across all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 33-35; Prik 1976: 81; Musaev 1977: 176-177).
[Lev 4:21] burun+ $\quad$ before; nose+DER 'first'.
In certain cases, the marker $\{+\mathrm{ki}\}$ occurs following the locative marker $\{+\mathrm{DA}\}$, which signifies the location of the subject or object under description. It is noteworthy that the $\{+$ DAki $\}$ marker is prevalent in a multitude of Turkic languages, encompassing those previously mentioned.
[Lev 19:11] karšï+da+ki+si
[Lev 21:5] kenar $+\ddot{\imath}+n+d a+k i$
opposite+LOC+DER+3SG.POSS 'opposite; the other (person)'.
edge +3 SG.POSS + PRNM + LOC + DER
'the one at its edge'.

### 2.2.2.1.1.2. Deverbal Derivations of Nominals

This section aims to elucidate the presence of derivational markers within our dataset, which facilitate the generation of nominal forms from verb roots. Upon examination, it becomes evident that certain non-finite verb modifiers, particularly some verbal noun markers (refer to Section 2.2.1.7.) and participle markers (refer to Section 2.2.1.6.), possess the ability to nominalize verbs. As a result, these markers have been incorporated into this section. Furthermore, it should be noted that a number of prominent verbal noun markers, such as $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{v}\},\{-(\mathrm{I}) \check{s}\}$, and $\{-(\mathrm{U})$ š\}, serve exclusively as derivational markers within the analyzed texts. Consequently, these markers will not be subject to further scrutiny as verbal nouns.
$\mathbf{A - )}\{-(\mathbf{A}) \mathbf{K}\}$ : The marker $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{K}\}$ is a widely used but an unproductive morpheme in Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 221), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 214) and all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 61-62; Musaev 1964: 111-112 ${ }^{65}$; Prik 1976: 56). Its origin can be traced back to Old Turkic \{-(g)Ak\} (Erdal 1991a: 74-76).

| (31) | $[$ Lev 15:9] | bin-ek | to mount-DER |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'saddle; saddle beast'.

[^41]B-) $\{-(\mathbf{A}) \mathbf{t}\}:$ Several instances of these unproductive markers have been observed in a limited number of cases within our dataset. Zajączkowski (1932: 84-85) identified these markers and their variations in Western Karaim and verified their existence in Ottoman Turkish. Previous stages of Turkic languages also exhibited this marker, which was documented as $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{t}\}$ (Erdal 1991a: 308-316). However, it has not been listed in studies exclusively focused on Crimean Karaim.
[Lev 26:25] öl-̈̈t ${ }^{66}$ to die-DER 'plague; fatal disease'.

C-) $\{-\check{c}\} ;\{$-(I)č $\}$ : The $\{-\check{c}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \check{c}\}$ derivational markers are employed to form nominals from verb stems as productive markers, but they exhibit subtle differences in their attachment to such stems. Specifically, the $\{-\mathrm{c}\}$ marker is typically affixed to verb stems that end in $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$ and were previously documented as $\{-(\mathrm{X}) \mathrm{nc}\}$ in Old Turkic. The final $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$ in the verb stem and the verbal noun marker $\{-(\mathrm{X}) \mathbf{s}\}$ underwent subsequent development, leading to the evolution of [nš] to [nč], as evidenced by the appearance of the [nč] form (Erdal 2004: 152). Our dataset indicates a case of the $\{$-ič $\}$ marker affixed to a verb stem that lacks the final $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$.

| [Lev 11:3] | ay $(i$ ï $)$--ič $>$ ayrïč | to separate-DER | 'cleft'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 26:34] | ẗ̈n-č | to become silent+DER | 'silent'. |

This marker was documented in all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 87-89; Musaev 1964: 113; Prik 1976: 56-57) and Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 42). Furthermore, nouns marked by this derivational marker can also be observed in Ottoman Turkish, e.g., sevinč ‘joy; rejoice’ (Zajączkowski 1932: 89).

D-) $\{-\check{c} I\}$ : Our dataset reveals the presence of a sole instance in which the productive marker $\{$-či $\}$ is affixed to a verb stem in order to produce an adjective. This phenomenon can be traced back to earlier phases of Turkic languages, where it was expressed as $\{-(\mathrm{X}) \mathrm{nčU}\}$ (Erdal 1991a: 285-290).
[Lev 20:25] irän-či to hate+DER 'disgusting; hateful'.
Zajączkowski (1932: 89-90) notes that the marker \{-čI $\}$ occurs sparingly, typically with verbs that end in $-m$ or $-n$ to create nominals or verbal adjectives. This phenomenon has also been

[^42]observed in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 42), Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 90), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 113; Öztürk 2019: 49-50).

E-) \{-dA彡̆I\}; \{-dİ̌̌I\}: The text presents the use of an unproductive marker, $\{$-däži\}, and its variant, $\{$-diži\}. According to Erdal (2004: 282), the marker \{-dAčI\} has been attested in earlier phases of Turkic languages.
$\left.\begin{array}{llll}\text { (35) } & {[\text { Lev 20:6] }} & \text { bil-dä̆̌i } & \text { to know-DER }\end{array}\right]$ 'sorcerer'.

This example has also been documented for Crimean Karaim (CKED: 83). Furthermore, Zajączkowski (1932: 89) includes this marker for Western Karaim and cites the same example as presented in our text. However, it has not been listed for Ottoman Turkish or Crimean Tatar.

F-) $\{-\mathrm{I}\} ;$;-U\}: The unproductive deverbal derivational markers $\{-\mathrm{U}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{I}\}$ are utilized to create nouns and adjectives and are commonly observed in various Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 42), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 213), and all three dialects of Karaim ${ }^{67}$ (Zajączkowski 1932: 103-105; Musaev 1964: 177-178; Prik 1976: 57). Erdal (1991a: 172-223) notes that these markers, which can be traced back to $\{-(\mathrm{X}) \mathrm{g}\}$ in earlier stages of Turkic languages, are used as subjects for intransitive verbs and objects for transitive verbs.
[Lev 16:12]
dol-u
[Lev 19:28;21:11] öl-ü/öl-i to die-DER 'dead’.
[Lev 19:28]
$y a z-i ̈$
to write-DER 'full'.
'dead'.
'writing'.

G-) $\{-(\mathbf{I}) \mathbf{K}\} ;$ \{-(U)K\}: Two markers, namely $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{K}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{K}\}$, have been identified in our data as productive derivational suffixes that are attached to verb roots to form nominals. These markers typically signal the object or patient that is affected by the action expressed by the verb root. The origin of these suffixes can be traced back to Old Turkic, where they were documented as $\{-(\mathrm{O}) \mathrm{k}\}$ (Erdal 1991a: 224-261).
[Lev 13:10] šiš-ik
[Lev 13:25] küy-ïk to burn-DER 'burn'.

[^43]| [Lev 17:14] | karïs-ik | to mix-DER | 'mixed'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 21:7] | boz-uk | to break-DER | 'broken'. |
| [Lev 22:19] | kilä-k | to wish-DER | 'wish'. |

This type of deverbal derivation is present in the grammar of all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 63; Musaev 1964: 111-112; Prik 1976: 57), as well as in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 42) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 214). Among the aforementioned languages, it is noteworthy that the rounded variants of this suffix have not been documented ${ }^{68}$ in Crimean Tatar and Crimean Karaim. The outcome of our research yields yet another instance of rounded variants of a suffix that has not been accounted for in Prik's grammar of Crimean Karaim.
$\mathbf{H}-)\{-(\mathbf{I}) \mathbf{m}\} ;\{-(\mathbf{U}) \mathbf{m}\}:$ By attaching to verb stems, this marker serves to generate nominals.

| [Lev 1:6] | buv-um | to choke-DER | 'joint'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 8:11] | tak-ïm | to attach-DER | 'tool'. |

[Lev 13:3; 13:34] gör-üm; gör-im to see-DER 'appearance'.

This unproductive particular suffix has been traced back to the early stages of Turkic languages, as documented by Erdal (1991a: 290-300). Its presence has also been attested in all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 57-58; Musaev 1964: 113; Prik 1976: 57), as well as in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 41) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 213). It is worth noting that the rounded variant $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{m}\}$ has not been included in the aforementioned languages of Crimean Tatar and Crimean Karaim ${ }^{69}$.

I-) $\{$-(I)n\}: Another unproductive marker, $\{$-(I)n\}, has been recorded in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 43) as well as in all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 78-79; Musaev 1964: 178; Öztürk 2019: 50-51), along with Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 78). It has also been documented in earlier stages of Turkic languages as $\{-(\mathrm{X}) \mathrm{n}\}$ (Erdal 1991a: 300-308). This marker is used to derive nouns and adjectives from verbs.
[Lev 4:13] yašir-ïn to hide-DER 'hidden'.

[^44][Lev 11:37] ek-in to sow-DER 'crop'.
$\mathbf{J - )}\{-(\mathbf{I}) \mathbf{s ̌}\} ;\{\mathbf{- ( U ) s ̌}\}$ : In our dataset, the semi-productive markers $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \check{s}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{U})$ š $\}$ are added to verb stems to create nouns, and have been recorded as $\{-(\mathrm{X})$ š $\}$ since earlier stages of Turkic languages, as documented by Erdal (1991a: 262-275).
(40) [Lev 1:16] doy-uš to be born+DER 'birth ${ }^{70}$.
[Lev 23:17] üle-š> ülüš to share+DER 'share'.

This particular usage of the verbal noun marker has also been documented across all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 58-59; Musaev 1964: 112-113; Prik 1976: 57), as well as in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 42) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 214).
$\mathbf{K - )}\{-(\mathbf{I}) \mathbf{v c ̌ I}\} ;\{-(\mathbf{u}) \mathbf{v c ̌ i}\}$ : In our dataset, certain verbal adjectives formed with the productive markers $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{včI}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{u})$ vči $\}$ can also function as nominals. These markers, along with their variations, and their nominalizing functions are attested in Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and all three dialects of Karaim (see 2.2.3.6.). In most cases, these markers can serve as both nominalizers and verbal adjectives simultaneously.
[Lev 17:14]

$$
\begin{equation*}
a s ̌ a-v c \check{c}+1+l a r \tag{41}
\end{equation*}
$$

to eat-PART+PL 'the ones who eat; eaters'.
[Lev 18:25] otur-ïvčï+lar to sit-PART+PL
'the ones who dwell; dwellers'.
[Lev 24:18] ur-uvčï to strike-PART 'the one who strikes (kills); beater; killer'.
$\mathbf{L}-$ ) $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ : The verbal noun marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ (refer to 2.2.1.7.) additionally serves as a semiproductive derivational device, a characteristic frequently observed in Turkic languages (Erdal 1991a: 319-320) such as Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 41), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 213), and all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 92-93; Musaev 1964: 114; Prik 1976: 55-56). In our examples, it derives both nouns and adjectives.
(42) [Lev 2:2] tütid-mä to burn incense-DER 'incense'.

[^45][Lev 26:16] kïzdïr-ma to heat-DER 'fever'.

M-) $\{-\mathbf{m A K}\}$ : The infitive marker $\{-\mathrm{mAK}\}$ also generates nominals from verb stems, typically deriving entities associated with the base verb, a feature observable in the early phases of Turkic languages (Erdal 1991a: 110).
[Lev 21:5] čız-mak to draw a line-DER 'line'.
[Lev 22:4] tök-mäk to spill-DER ‘drop’.
This productive marker has been documented for all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 95-96; Musaev 1964: 109-110; Prik 1976: 56), Crimean Tatar (Johanson 2010: 221) and Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 96).
$\mathbf{N}-$ ) $\{-\mathbf{m A n}\}$ : There exists only one example ${ }^{71}$ where the unproductive marker $\{-\mathrm{man}\}$ is attached to a verb stem and derives a noun in our data.
(44) [Lev 15:3] ak-man to flow-DER ‘discharge’.

The derivational marker $\{-\mathrm{mAn}\}$ that forms nouns from verbs has been attested in earlier phases of Turkic languages (Erdal 1991a: 387-389), as well as in Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 27) and all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 26-27; Öztürk 2019: 53). In addition it is also possible to find words having this derivational marker in Crimean Tatar, e.g., šiš-man; to swell up+DER 'fat' (KRUS: 758).

O-) \{-QAn\}: In addition to its use as a participle marker (as discussed in section 2.2.3.6), \{-QAn\} is also a productive marker for deriving nominals from verbs. This marker is commonly used in many Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 76), Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 80), and all three Karaim dialects (Zajączkowski 1932: 79-81; Öztürk 2019: 63).
[Lev 2:14] čirkin-gän
to scorch-PART
'scorched'.
[Lev 27:33] degiš-kän to change-PART 'substitute'
$\mathbf{P}-)$ \{-KI\}: The available data only provides a single instance of the unproductive deverbal derivation marker $\{$-ki\} which is used to form nouns from verb stems

[^46]The derivational marker $\{-\mathrm{gI}\}$ can be traced back to earlier stages of Turkic languages and is used to form nouns and adjectives that denote the object of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitive verbs, as noted by $\operatorname{Erdal}$ (1991a: 320-323). This marker is listed in all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 66-68; Musaev 1964: 112; Çulha 2019: 151), Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 221) and Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 68).

R-) $\{-(\mathbf{U}) \mathbf{v}\}$ : The final deverbal derivational marker that converts verbs into nouns in our dataset is denoted as $\{-(\mathbf{u}) \mathbf{v}\}$. This productive marker has been documented in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 43) as well as all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 73-75; Musaev 1964: 177-178; Prik 1976: 57-58). Originally, it functions as a verbal noun marker; however, in our text, it is used solely as a derivative device. It is noteworthy that this marker has not been included in the list for Ottoman Turkish (Kerslake 2022: 187),

| [Lev 25:14] | sat-uv | to sell-DER | 'sale'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[$ Lev 8:35] | sakla-v > saklov ${ }^{72}$ | to keep-DER | 'holding'. |

### 2.2.2.1.2. Compounding

In numerous Turkic languages, a prevalent similarity can be observed in the formation of compound nouns. The primary structure frequently encountered involves the possessive pattern, which consists of 'noun noun+3SG.POSS'. While this pattern exhibits a close association with genitive constructions, it is important to note that the attributed element is solely capable of accepting plural suffixes, and cannot accommodate any other suffixes including the genitive case markers.
[Lev 2:13] šart tuz+ ̈̈
[Lev 4:7] otyam+lar tütsü+si
spice+PL incense+3SG.POSS 'spice incense'.
[Lev 25:9] kipurim gün+ $\ddot{u}$
atonement day+3SG.POSS 'atonement day'.

[^47]An alternative complement structure can be observed, characterized by the 'noun+noun' form. In this arrangement, the attribute often signifies the category, gender, variety, or material of the head. As a consequence, the attribute may assume the role of an adjective or indeed be an adjective, while the head invariably functions as a noun. Consequently, these constructions may be referred to as descriptive phrases.

| [Lev 6:21] | bakür sayït | copper vessel | 'copper vessel'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 13:23] | ak lekä | white dirt | 'bright spot'. |
| [Lev 13:47] | yün uprak. | wool dress | 'woollen garment'. |
| [Lev 18:9] | küz kardaš | girl sibling | 'sister'. |

Besides the given instances, the text displays a range of compound nouns copied from the Hebrew Bible as well, which can also be found in numerous Karaim Bible translations.
[Lev 8:31] Göz. 1841; ohel mo 'ed
[Lev 23:3] Göz. 1841; šabat šabaton
B.Heb; 'ōhel mōw êed 'tabernacle of meeting'.
B.Heb; šabbat šabbātōwn
'Sabbath of solemn rest'.

It should be noted that it is also possible to identify compound constructions that contain three elements, with one of the elements typically being an adjective.
[Lev 2:4]
özäk
wheat flour
kalïn
thick
mačalar
unleavened breads
'unleavened cakes of wheat flour'.
Finally, it is worth noting that the attribute within such constructions can also manifest as a participle.
[Lev 7:36] sil-dig-i gün to anoint-PART-3SG.POSS day 'the day that (the Lord) anointed'.

It is essential to highlight that all of the aforementioned strategies are prevalent across various Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 44), encompassing Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 44; Johanson 2010: 223-224), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 41-42), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 101-102; Prik 1976: 53).

### 2.2.2.2. Nominal Predicative Markers

Nominal predicative markers are affixed to nouns, pronouns, or adjectives to form non-verbal sentences. Our available data provides a limited number of examples for such suffixes. With regard to the 1 SG.PRD, our dataset has revealed the use of three markers: $\{+i \mathrm{~m}\},\{+\mathrm{mIn}\}$, and \{+men\}.
[Lev 11:44] kuduš+ïm holy+1SG.PRD 'I am Holy'.
[Lev 11:44] men+min $Y W Y$ 1SG.PRO+1SG.PRD YWY 'I am the Lord'.

It is noteworthy that the marker $\{+\min \}$ is used exclusively with 1SG.PRO men. Moreover, only one example illustrates the use of the 1SG.PRD marker $\{+$ mïn\}, whereas $\{+$ men\} is exemplified in only two instances.

| [Lev 19:2] | ayruhsï $+d \ddot{r}+$ men | holy+COP+1SG.PRD | 'I am Holy'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 20:26] | ayruhsï + dïr + mïn | holy+COP+1SG.PRD | 'I am Holy'. |

According to our corpus, the third person singular present tense lacks any markers; nevertheless, in most cases nominals are affixed to the copula $\{+\mathrm{DIr}\}$ and $\{+\mathrm{dur}\}^{73}$. The $\{+\mathrm{DIr}\}$ marker manifests in different forms, which depend on the harmony of the front vowel and whether the word ends in a voiced/voiceless consonant or vowel.
[Lev 1:9] 'ola+Ø+dïr burnt offering+3SG.PRD+COP
'It is a burnt offering'.
[Lev 4:24] hatat $+\varnothing+$ dïr $\sin$ offering+3SG.PRD+COP
'It is a sin offering'.
[Lev 25:12] yovel + Ø+ dir jubilee $+3 S G . P R D+C O P$
'It is a jubilee'.
The corpus contains a total of three examples (for the same lexical item) that display the \{+dur\} marker and, consequently, exhibit rounding harmony.

[^48]The marker $\{+$ tIr $\}$ only occurs after words that end in a voiceless consonant, and this is contingent on fronting harmony.
[Lev 18:17] iränčilik $+\emptyset+$ tir abomination +3 SG.PRD+COP
'It is an abomination'.
[Lev 18:22] ïkrahlikk+ + +tür abomination+3SG.PRD+COP
'It is an abomination'.
Pertaining to the 3PL.PRD, the corpus unveils a multitude of suffixes. Among these, the primary one exhibits the identical combination observed in the 3SG.PRD, specifically $\{+\emptyset+\mathrm{DIr}\}$. Customarily, in such circumstances, the third person plural pronoun is employed to delineate the personal ending.
(58) [Lev 8:28] milu' im + Ø+ dir alar ordination offering+3PL.PRD+COP they
'They are ordination offering'.
[Lev 18:17] yuvuk+ Ø + tür alar relative +3 PL.PRD+COP they
'They are relatives'.
The subsequent suffix manifests as $\{+1 \mathrm{Ar}\}$, which additionally precedes the copula marker $\{+\mathrm{dIr}\}$.
(59) [Lev 11:26] murdar+lar+dïr olar unclean+3PL.PRD+COP they
'They are unclean'.
Furthermore, there are instances where the order of the 3PL.PRD $\{+1 \mathrm{Ar}\}$ and the COP marker $\{+\mathrm{DIr}\}$ is reversed.
(60) [Lev 23:2] bular + dïr $+l a r \ldots$ these+COP+3PL.PRD 'these are...'.

In order to elucidate the circumstances in other Turkic languages under investigation within this study, Table 53, presented subsequently, compiles the nominal predicative markers for Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 61), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 277), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 64-65), the corpus, Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 63-64), along with Halich and Trakai Karaim (Musaev 1977: 25).

Table 53: Comparision of Nominal Predicative Markers

|  | Cr.Tat | Cr.Tur | Ot.Tur | Lev of Göz. 1841 | Cr.Kar | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{+(I)m | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{Im}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{Um}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{mIn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{mUn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{mAn}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{Im}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{Um}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\operatorname{Im}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{mIn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{men}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\operatorname{Im}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{m}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{men}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{m}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{+mIn $\}$ |
| 2SG | \{+sIn\} | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{sIn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{SIn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{sUn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{SUn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{sAn}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{sIn}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{sUn}\} \end{aligned}$ | - | \{+sIn\} | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { sen }\}, \\ & \{+s\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\sin \}, \\ & \{+s\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3SG | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\varnothing\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DIr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\varnothing\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DIr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\varnothing\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DIr }\}, \\ & \{+D U r\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { DIr }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { dur }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\{+\varnothing\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{DIr}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{Dur}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{DI}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{Du}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{D}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{DIr}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{DUr}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{DI}\},\{+\mathrm{DU}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{D}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 1PL | \{+mIz $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{Iz}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{Uz}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{is}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{i}\}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{Iz}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{Uz}\} \end{aligned}$ | - | \{+mIz \} | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{+bIz\}, } \\ & \{+ \text { buz }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { lArbIz }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{bIz}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{bUz}\} \\ & \{+\mathrm{lArbIz}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2PL | \{+SI(yI)z $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { sInIz }\} \\ & \{+ \text { sInIs }\} \\ & \{+ \text { sInIz }\} \\ & \{+ \text { sIs }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { sInIz }\} \\ & \{+ \text { sUnUz }\} \end{aligned}$ | - | \{+sIz\} | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { sIz }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { suz }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { IArsIz }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{sIz}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{sUz}\} \\ & \{+\mathrm{lArsIz}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\varnothing\} \\ & \{+ \text { DIr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{lAr}\} \\ & \{+\mathrm{DIrlAr}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\varnothing\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DIrlAr }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DUrlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{DIr}\}, \\ & \{+\mathrm{DIrlAr}\}, \\ & \{+1 \mathrm{ArDIr}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\varnothing\}, \\ & \{+1 \mathrm{Ar}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { DIrlAr }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DUrlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+ \text { DIrlAr }\}, \\ & \{+ \text { DUrlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ |

As observed, the examples from the corpus bear a striking resemblance to the description provided for Crimean Turkish. Additionally, with the exception of the 1SG.PRD variant $\{+\mathrm{mIn}\}$ and $\{+\mathrm{men}\}$, it also shares a significant similarity to the descriptions for Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and Prik's description for Crimean Karaim. Although there are some similar forms found in Western Karaim, it is evident that the corpus does not exhibit certain specific Western Karaim markers.

In our text, negation is realized through the employment of particles, such as dügül, found in eight instances. This particle appears as tuvul in the Northern dialect of Crimean Tatar and
as degil in Eastern dialects (Kavitskaya 2010: 112-113). The particle degil is also commonly used in Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 35), while Prik (1976: 65) lists dügül as the negation particle for Crimean Karaim. Additionally, Western Karaim presents several other phonological variants, e.g., T.Kar t́uv́uí, H.Kar tivil (KRPS: 568; 524). Only in one example mentioned in Chapter 11, the Ottoman Turkish variant degil is used together with the copula $\{+$ dir $\}$. As a result, it is noteworthy that the particle dügül predominates in usage, comprising $89 \%$ of the instances, while degil accounts for a mere $11 \%$ within our dataset.
(61) [Lev 13:4] terän dügül 'it is not deep'.
[Lev 11:4] ayrï tïrnaklï degildir 'it is is not cloven-hoofed'.
In several infrequent occurrences, the examined data exhibits the employment of the definite past tense, wherein the clitic $e$ - is sequentially succeeded by the definite past tense marker \{-dI\}. (62) [Lev 9:1] edi ol sekiziň̌i gündä 'it was on the eighth day'.

Besides, it merits mention that instances arise where nominals are utilized in conjunction with the conditional mood, exhibiting a comparable strategy in which the clitic $e$ - or $i$ - precedes the conditional marker $\{-\mathrm{sA}\}$.
(63) [Lev 13:3] terän isä 'if it is deep'.

Notably, the utilization of the clitic $e$-, succeeded by tense markers or conditional mood markers for nominal predicatives, is discernible in various other Turkic languages. This includes Ottoman Turkish, wherein the clitic manifests as $i$ - (Hagopian 1907: 35), as well as Crimean Karaim, Crimean Tatar, and Western Karaim, where the clitic is also presented as e(Kavitskaya 2010: 61; Musaev 1964: 120-130; Prik 1976: 66).

Finally, our data also shows the usage of existential predications, e.g., var 'existing' (occurring once), and yok 'non-existing' (occurring seven times), which were utilized under nominal predicatives to indicate whether the subject possessed or lacked the property described by the predicative.
(64) [Lev 25:30] ol säḥärdä ki var ajar kala

$$
\text { Lit. 'it is in the city which there is to it wall }{ }^{74} \text {. }
$$

[^49]'it is in the walled city'.
[Lev 26:37] kuvuvči yoktïr 'there is no one who drives away'.
Notably, the mentioned existential predications are also present in other Turkic languages, e.g., Cr.Tat bar, yok (Kavitskaya 2010: 33); Ottoman Turkish var, yok (Hagopian 1907: 36); C.Kar bar, yok (Prik 1976: 66); T.Kar bar, yoh/yoht (KRPS: 102; 250); H.Kar bar, yoht (KRPS: 102; 251). It is noteworthy that the spirantization of the initial $b$ - in the word bar reflects the influence of Ottoman Turkish in our text (see section 2.1.2.2.1.).

### 2.2.2.3. Nouns

### 2.2.2.3.1. Inflectional Categories

### 2.2.2.3.1.1. Number

The plural is shown by the marker $\{+1 \mathrm{Ar}\}$, which is very common among Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 33), including Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 276), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 35), Ottoman Turkish (Kerslake 2022: 181) and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 124; Prik 1976: 62).

(65) | $[$ Lev 6:4] | uprak+lar | garment+PL | 'garments'. |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $[$ Lev 11:11] | et + ler | flesh+PL | 'fleshes'. |
|  | $[$ Lev 16:33] | kohen+lär | priest+PL | 'priests'. |

In examining the utilization of the plural suffix within the corpus, certain attributes exhibit nonTurkic features, particularly prevalent in Karaim Bible translations. For example, in our dataset, words succeeding numerals predominantly bear the plural suffix. This trait is present in other Karaim Bible translations across three dialects and is generally associated with Slavonic and Hebrew influence (Olach 2013: 122-124; Berta and Csató 2022b: 325).
[Lev 23:3] altï gün + lär
six day + PL $\quad$ 'six days ${ }^{\text { }}{ }^{75}$.
Another non-Turkic characteristic regarding the plural suffix is its attachment to a noun when preceded by an adverb of quantity.
(67) [Lev 13:46] 亏̌ümlä gün+lär all day+PL 'all days'76.

[^50][Lev 15:25] čok gün+lür many+PL 'many days' ${ }^{77}$.
It is worth noting that this particular characteristic in Crimean Karaim should be attributed to Biblical Hebrew influence. This is supported by our analysis, which indicates that the usage of non-characteristic plural suffixes is based on the original Biblical Hebrew structure. For example, if the Hebrew expression lacks any numeral for 'two' but employs a dual form of the noun, the nouns modified by the numeral eki for 'two' appear in the singular form in our data.
(68) [Lev 12:5] B.Heb; šabِu'ayim week.MASC.DUAL.ABS lit. 'two week'.
[Lev 12:5] Göz. 1841; eki ḥafta two week lit. 'two week'.
On the other hand, it is worth noting that Biblical Hebrew expressions containing the numeral 'two', which are conveyed through the use of plural nouns, were also expressed using plural nouns in Lev of Göz. 1841.

| (69) B.Heb | $[$ Lev 5:7] šatê $\quad$ tōrîm |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | two.CARD:FEM.DUAL.CONST turtledove.N:FEM.PL.ABS |

Göz. 1841 [Lev 5:7] eki kumru+lar two turtledove+PL
lit. 'two turtledoves'.
Furthermore, the corpus showcases four instances where the employment of the plural suffix exhibits an atypical feature in Turkic languages. Intriguingly, these unconventional uses of the plural suffix also display a parallelism with Biblical Hebrew. In two examples, the plural suffix is affixed to adjectives, denoting similarity to the base item.

| [Lev 14:37] | yäšil+lär | green+PL | 'greenish ${ }^{\text {,78 }}$. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| [Lev 14:37] | kïrmïzï+lar | red+PL | 'reddish'79. |

In the remaining two examples, adjectives that function as adverbs within the sentence are observed to incorporate the plural suffix.

[^51]deprived+PL to be-3PL.VOL 'they shall being deprived |of children|' ${ }^{80}$.
[Lev 23:15] tamam+lar bolsïnlar complete+PL to be-3PL.VOL 'they shall be complete ${ }^{\text {s }}$.

It is worth noting that some examples, certain uncountable nouns are also affixed with the plural suffix to indicate an abundance of types. It is important to note that unlike the aforementioned usages, this feature exists in some other Turkic languages as well.

| [Lev 11:9] | deniz+ler | sea+PL | 'seas'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| $[$ Lev 11:9] | özän + lär | river+PL | 'rivers'. |
| $[$ Lev 15:27] | suv+lar | water+PL | 'waters'. |
| $[$ Lev 26:4] | yamyur+lar | rain+PL | 'rains'. |

### 2.2.2.3.1.2. Possessive Markers

Lev of Göz. 1841 introduces possessive markers for all persons, and the examples provided show similarities to many other Turkic languages where such markers are typically manifested only as morphophonological differences.

In our data, examples for 1SG.POSS markers are exclusively observed in words that end with a consonant. Among these, the marker $\{+\operatorname{Im}\}$ is affixed only to words that have an unrounded vowel in their final syllable.
$\left.\begin{array}{clll}\text { (73) } & {[\text { Lev 15:31] }} & \text { miškan+ïm } & \text { tabernacle+1SG.POSS }\end{array}\right]$ 'my tabernacle'.

Overall, there are only two examples in which the 1SG.POSS marker is affixed to a word with a rounded vowel in its final syllable. In these examples, the marker undergoes rounding harmony and appears as $\{+u m\}$.
[Lev 18:30; 22:9] saklov+um testament+1SG.POSS 'my testament'.

[^52]The 2SG.POSS markers are observed as $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathfrak{\eta}\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{y}\}$. It should be noted that rounding harmony was not always respected in the usage of these markers.
(75) [Lev 18:7] $a n a+y$ mother+2SG.POSS 'your mother'.
[Lev 18:15] kelin+in daughter-in-law+2SG.POSS 'your daughter-in-law'.
[Lev 18:21] kul+uך servant+2SG.POSS 'your servant'.
[Lev 18:21] urluk+ï̈ > urluÿ̈ך offspring+2SG.POSS 'your offspring'.
[Lev 27:4] kïyas+ïך value+2SG.POSS 'your valuation'.
The 3SG.POSS markers, based on both rounding and fronting harmony, are observed as $\{+\mathrm{I}\}$ and $\{+\mathrm{U}\}$ after words that end in consonants. However, it should be noted that rounding harmony was not always respected in all examples.

| [Lev 1:4] | kol+u | hand+3SG.POSS | 'his hand'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 1:16] | yün $+\ddot{u}$ | feather+3SG.POSS | 'its feathers'. |
| [Lev 5:11] | korban $+\ddot{i}$ | offering+3SG.POSS | 'his offering'. |
| [Lev 5:17] | з̌ürüm $+i$ | iniquity +3SG.POSS | 'his iniquity'. |
| [Lev 6:3] | et+i | flesh+3SG.POSS | 'his flesh'. |

The 3SG.POSS marker appears as $\{+\mathrm{sI}\}$ after words that end in vowels, and therefore it does not undergo rounding harmony.
(77) [Lev 7:8] teri + si skin+3SG.POSS 'its skin'.
[Lev 14:57] tora+sï law+3SG.POSS 'its law'.
A singular occurrence exists within the corpus where the 1PL.POSS marker is discerned as \{+(i)mïz\}.
(78) [Lev 25:20] tah̆̈l + ïmïz crop+1PL.POSS 'our crop'.

The second person plural markers manifest as $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{IIz}\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \eta \mathrm{gz}\}^{82}$. In some examples, the connecting vowel in the suffixes undergoes rounding harmony.

| [Lev 8:33] | kol+uŋ̈z | hand+2PL.POSS | 'your (2PL) hand'. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 11:43] | aķill+ïyiz | brain+2PL.POSS | 'your (2PL) mind'. |
| [Lev 16:29] | orta+ $\quad$ ïz | middle +2 PL.POSS | 'among you'. |
| [Lev 19:4] | $\ddot{\partial} z+\ddot{u} \eta i z$ | oneself+2PL.POSS | 'yourselves'. |
| [Lev 26:20] | yer+ipiz | place+2PL.POSS | 'your (2PL) place'. |

Lastly, the corpus comprises several possessive markers for the 3PL form. As anticipated, some of the 3PL.POSS markers are congruent with their 3SG.POSS counterparts.

| [Lev 14:42] | or (u)n+ $n+n a$ | ol | taš $+l a r+n \ddot{y}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | place+3PL.POSS+DAT |  |  |
|  | 'to the place of those stones'. |  |  |
| stone+PL+GEN |  |  |  |

In alternative instances, the 3PL.POSS marker manifests as $\{+1 \mathrm{ArI}\}$.

| [Lev 20:24] | yer + läri | place+3PL.POSS | 'their place'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 26:44] | Tenri + läri | God+3PL.POSS | 'their God'. |

In our text, if the possessed item is plural, then the word is attached with the plural marker $\{+1 \mathrm{Ar}\}$ before the POSS marker. It should be noted that if the possessed item is plural and the possessor is in the 3SG or 3PL form, then it is marked with $\{+\mathrm{I}\}$, making it dependent on the context to determine the number. In other personal conjugations, the pertinent markers ensue after the plural suffix $\{+1 \mathrm{Ar}\}$ within the word.
[Lev 22:31] mičva+lar+ïm commandment+1SG.POSS 'my commandments'.
[Lev 26:7] dušman+lar+ïyïz enemy+PL+2PL.POSS 'your enemies'.
[Lev 26:43] گ̌an+lar+ï soul+PL+3PL.POSS 'their souls'.

[^53]Table 54 presented below compiles the possessive markers for Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 61), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 29-37), the corpus, and all three dialects of Karaim (Prik 1976: 67; Musaev 1977: 26).

Table 54: Possessive Markers

|  | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | Lev of Göz. 1841 | Cr.Kar | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{+(I)m | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{m}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{m}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{+(I)m $\}$, $\{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{m}\}$ | \{+(I)m | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{m}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{m}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{m}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{m}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2SG | $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{y}\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\},\{(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n}\},\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{y}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{y}\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{n}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{y}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{y}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3SG | \{+(s)I $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{I}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{U}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{I}\} \\ & \{+\mathrm{U}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{+(s)I $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{I}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{u}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{I}\},\{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{U}\}$ |
| 1PL | \{+(I)mIz | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{mIz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{mUz}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{+(i)mïz | \{+(I)mIz $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{mIz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{muz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{mIz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{mUz}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2PL | $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{yIz}\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{nIz} ;+(\mathrm{I}) \mathfrak{y} \mathrm{Iz}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{nUz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y} \mathrm{z}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathfrak{y} \mathrm{Iz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y U z}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{y} \mathrm{Iz}\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{nIz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{nuz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{yIz}\} \\ & \{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{yUz}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{lAr}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{I}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{+\mathrm{l} \mathrm{ArI}\}, \quad\{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{I}\}, \\ & \{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{U}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{+lArI $\},\{+\mathrm{I}\}$ | \{+(s)I $\}$ | \{+lArI $\}$ | \{+lArI $\}$ |

As can be seen, all the listed languages exhibit similar possessive markers with some phonological variations. The main difference between our text and Prik's description of Crimean Karaim is the use of rounded variants of the aforementioned markers.

### 2.2.2.3.1.3. Cases

Our dataset includes six distinct grammatical cases: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, and ablative. This section aims to demonstrate and compare the case markers of these categories with those found in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and all three dialects of Karaim dialects. It is important to note that various functions of these cases (see 2.3.1.1.1.), their constructions with postpositions (see section 2.3.1.3.2.), and their conjugations with pronouns (see section 2.2.2.5.) will be thoroughly investigated in the relevant sections.

It is worth noting that our corpus presents some archaic and unproductive case markers, including the Old Turkic orientational formative marker $\{+$ DXn (Erdal 2004: 376), attested in our data as $\{+$ tIn \}, which appears in expressions such as [Lev 14:41] ičkärtin 'inside; from inside' and [Lev 24:3] čilhartïn 'outside; from outside'. The Old Turkic directive marker $\{+(\mathrm{g}) \operatorname{ArU}\}$ (Erdal 2004: 370-371) is also present in the corpus, attested as $\{+(\mathrm{g}) \mathrm{ArI}\}$, and
appears in lexical items such as [Lev 4:12/10:5] čïharïlč̈̈zarï 'outside’, [Lev 7:34/27:7] yokarilyoyarï 'above; upwards', and [Lev 11:2] üzeri 'on; upon; on the surface of'. Besides, the Old Turkic directive-locative marker \{+rA\}, found in expressions such as [Lev 18:3] ora 'there' and [Lev 6:13/11:32] sonralsora 'after', is also present in the corpus. In addition, our data attests to the presence of the equative marker $\{+\check{\zeta} \mathrm{A}\}$ in several examples. In most cases, it functions as a derivational device (as explained in section 2.2.2.1.1.1) or appears in already lexicalized nominals, such as [Lev 25:23] an亏̌a 'only'. There are also some examples where its semantic function remains intact, such as in cases of abstract accordance or quantitative approximation, as in [Lev 5:10] töräc̆ä 'according to the regulation' and [Lev 1:6] buvumlarïn亏̌a 'as many as its pieces'. It merits mention that these unproductive markers are present in several lexical items across numerous Turkic languages. Nevertheless, this section does not aim to examine these unproductive case markers in depth.

### 2.2.2.3.1.3.1. Nominative Case

Consistent with the pattern observed in other Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 34), the nominative case in our text is unmarked by a case ending.
[Lev 14:4] kohen $+\emptyset \quad$ priest+NOM 'priest'.
[Lev 27:26] ögüz $+\emptyset \quad$ ox+NOM 'ox'.

### 2.2.2.3.1.3.2. Accusative Case

Throughout the book, the accusative case is expressed through three primary variants (along with their respective morphophonological variations), which exhibit limited instances of rounding harmony. One of these variants is marked by the $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ suffix.
[Lev 4:4]
buya+nï
bull+ACC
[Lev 14:5] kuš+nü bird+ACC
[Lev 14:6]
$e z o ̈ v+n i$
hyssop+ACC
The marker $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ is attested in several Kipchak languages, including the central and northern dialects of Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 208) and all three Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 153-154; Prik 1976: 71). Additionally, this marker has been recorded in Crimean Turkish
(Doerfer 1959a: 276). While rounding harmony with this marker is relatively rare in our dataset, there are four instances ${ }^{83}$ where the suffix adopts the $\{+n u\}$ form.
[Lev 9:20]
[Lev 11:3] $o+(n) u$
[Lev 11:9; 11:21] $b u+(n) u$
oil+PL+ACC
3SG.PRO+PRNM.ACC
DEM.PRO+PRNM.ACC

Another manifestation of the accusative marker is $\{+\mathrm{n}\}$, which is exclusively observed following the 3SG.POSS and 3PL.POSS markers. In the given corpus, it serves as an alternative to the $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ marker.
[Lev 1:12] $\quad b a \check{s}+\ddot{\imath}+n \quad$ head+3SG.POSS+ACC
[Lev 1:15] baš+ $\mathbf{~} \quad$ +nï head+3SG.POSS+ACC
In the dataset under analysis, 430 instances feature an accusative marker appended to a 3SG.POSS or 3PL.POSS marker. Among these, 138 cases ( $32 \%$ ) employ the $\{+\mathrm{n}\}$ marker, while the $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ suffix is used in 292 instances ( $68 \%$ ). The distribution of these markers is inconsistent, with occurrences of both markers sometimes appearing within the same sentence. It is noteworthy that the $\{+\mathrm{n}\}$ accusative marker is a pervasive feature across various Kipchak languages, including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 37), typically manifesting after the 3SG.POSS or 3PL.POSS markers. Prik (1976: 74) highlights that in such structures Trakai Karaim exhibits the $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ marker, while Halich Karaim and Crimean Karaim employ $\{+\mathrm{n}\}$. In contrast, Ottoman Turkish exclusively utilizes the $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ marker (Kissling 1960: 40-41).

The $\{+(y) I\}$ accusative marker, identified as the final marker in our analysis, occurs merely 11 times in Chapter 11 of the dataset. This marker is frequently considered the Oghuzic equivalent of the Kipchak $\{+\mathrm{nI}\}$ and has been documented in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 276), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 25-27), and Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 381). While Prik's description (1976) does not mention it, Çulha's account of Crimean Karaim (2019: 87) notes the presence of this variant in mejumas, which predominantly display Crimean Turkish characteristics. Consequently, only a small portion of the analyzed text exhibits Crimean/Ottoman Turkish features regarding this marker.
[Lev 11:3] tïrnaklï+yï unguiculate+ACC

[^54]$b u+l a r+\ddot{i}$
tavušan+ï
hünzür $+\ddot{i}$
kuzуun+ï
duyan+ $\ddot{i}$
balïkč̈̈n+ï
olar $+\ddot{i}$
亏̌an $+l a r+\ddot{\eta} \ddot{̈ z}+\ddot{\imath}$
$s i z+i$
this+PL+ACC
rabbit+ACC
pig+ACC
[Lev 11:15]
[Lev 11:16]
[Lev 11:19]
[Lev 11:42]
[Lev 11:43]
[Lev 11:45]
raven+ACC
hawk+ACC
heron+ACC
they+ACC

2PL.PRO+ACC
soul+PL+2PL.POSS + ACC

### 2.2.2.3.1.3.3. Genitive Case

The genitive marker $\{+\mathrm{nII}\}$ is the primary form observed in the Lev of the Göz. 1841, although it appears as $\{+\mathrm{nIn}\}$ in only two instances. Moreover, the marker appears as $\{+n u n\}$ once throughout the book, demonstrating the presence of rounding harmony.
[Lev 1:2]
Yišra'el+nin
Israel+GEN
[Lev 1:5]
sïz̈̈r $+n \ddot{\eta}$
catlle+GEN
[Lev 11:3]
tïrnak+nün
fingernail+GEN
[Lev 11:10] suv+nun water+GEN

We observe the occurrence of another genitive marker, represented by $\{+(\mathrm{n})$ In $\}$, exclusively in Chapter 11 of our dataset. This marker is observed only four times.
[Lev 11:2]
Yisra' el+in
Israel+GEN
[Lev 11:45]
Mïsïr + ïn
Egypt+GEN
[Lev 11:47]
haram+ïn
unclean+GEN
[Lev 11:47]
helal+in
clean+GEN

The markers $\{+\mathrm{nXy}\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{n}) \mathrm{Xn}\}$ are present in many Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 34). Generally, the form $\{+(n) \mathrm{Xn}\}$ is found in Oghuzic languages ${ }^{84}$, while the $\{+\mathrm{nXy}\}$ marker is observed in Kipchak languages. In Ottoman Turkish, it appears as $\{+(\mathrm{n}) \mathrm{Xn}\}$ (Kissling 1960: 22-24). Crimean Turkish exhibits both variants (Doerfer 1959a: 276), while Crimean Tatar features Oghuzic variants in its eastern dialect and Kipchak forms in its central and northern dialects (Doerfer 1959b: 381). This variation is also observed in Çulha's (2019: 86) description of Crimean Karaim. However, Prik's description (1976: 71-74) and Musaev's study (1977: 41) only document the expected Kipchak variants, such as C.Kar $\{+\mathrm{nII}\} ;$ T.Kar $\{+\mathrm{nIn}\},\{+\mathrm{nUn}\}$; H.Kar $\{+n I n\}$, and $\{+$ nun $\}$.

### 2.2.2.3.1.3.4. Dative Case

Within the scope of our dataset, the dative marker primarily manifests as $\{+Q A\}$. Its prevalence is dictated by a harmony that is evident both at the level of vowels and consonants.
[Lev 2:14]
[Lev 14:41] yer+ge
[Lev 18:23]
[Lev 25:47] zarip+kä
fire + DAT place+DAT cattle+DAT stranger + DAT

Additionally, the suffix appears as $\{+\mathrm{nA}\}^{85}$ after the 3SG.POSS and 3PL.POSS markers.
[Lev 4:7] temäl $+i+n \ddot{a}$ base+3SG.POSS+DAT
[Lev 21:6] Tenri+läri+nä God+3PL.POSS+DAT
Following the 1SG.POSS and 2SG.POSS markers, the dative marker emerges as $\{+\mathrm{A}\}$, which is a prevalent feature in both Oghuzic and Kipchak languages.
(92) [Lev 10:3] yuvuk+lar+ïm+a near+PL+1SG.POSS+DAT
[Lev 25:14] dost $+u \eta+a \quad$ friend+2SG.POSS+DAT

[^55]Apart from the forms previously mentioned, certain chapters within the book exhibit the Oghuz-type $\{+(y) A\}$ marker. However, except for Chapter 11, the expected Kipchak forms are predominantly utilized throughout the book. More specifically, this Oghuzic variant is only observed 32 times across six different items, present in two different chapters ${ }^{86}$.
[Lev 6:16]
ateš+ä
[Lev 11:4; 11:5]
$s i z+\ddot{a} ; s i z+e$
2PL.PRO+DAT
[Lev 11:24] ahšam+a evening+DAT
[Lev 11:31
olar $+a$
they+DAT
[Lev 11:39]
$y e-m e+y e$
to eat+VN+DAT

It is worth noting that 31 out of the 32 examples of this phenomenon appear in Chapter 11, while Chapter 6 only presents one example, resulting in a ratio of $97 \%$ to $3 \%$.

These Oghuzic-Kipchak variants are found together in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 276), Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 381), and Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 71-74), whereas Western Karaim only displays the Kipchak variants (Musaev 1977: 32). Ottoman Turkish, as expected, only exhibits the Oghuzic variants (Kissling 1960: 24-25). Thus, with the exception of a few limited examples, the text features the Crimean Kipchak Karaim characteristic for this marker.

### 2.2.2.3.1.3.5. Locative Case

Within our dataset, the locative marker emerges as $\{+\mathrm{DA}\}$, which is a prevalent feature in several Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 37), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 27-28), and all three dialects of Karaim (Prik 1976: 71-74; Musaev 1977: 2933). As anticipated, this marker also emerges in accordance with both vowel and consonant harmonies ${ }^{87}$.

[^56][Lev 2:7] tän亏̆ärä+dä
saucepan+LOC
[Lev 7:9] tandur $+d a \quad$ oven+LOC
[Lev 13:3] hastalikk+ta disease+LOC
It merits mention that if the word contains 3SG.POSS or 3PL.POSS markers, the pronominal -nfollows the word stem before LOC markers, which is a common feature in Turkic languages.
[Lev 14:11] eši $[k>g]+i+n+d \ddot{a}$
door+3SG.POSS+PRNM+LOC
[Lev 21:1] ulus+larï+n+da nation+3PL.POSS+PRNM+LOC

### 2.2.2.3.1.3.6. Ablative Case

In our data, we encounter the ablative case marker as $\{+\mathrm{DAn}\}$, which is the expected ablative suffix in Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 34). This exact form is found in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 37), Crimean Karaim (Çulha 2019: 90), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 28-29), and all three dialects of Karaim (Prik 1976: 71-74; Musaev 1977: 33).

Analogous to the prior instances, the marker undergoes both vowel and consonant harmony when affixed to words ${ }^{88}$.
[Lev 1:14]
kuš+tan
bird+ABL
[Lev 7:25] tuvar+dan cattle+ABL
[Lev 8:32] ötmäk+tän bread+ABL
[Lev 13:4] teri+dän skin+ABL
Once again, it is worth noting that if the last vowel of a word is part of the 3SG.POSS or 3PL.POSS marker, the pronominal - $n$ - is attached to the word stem before the ablative marker \{+dAn\}.
[Lev 11:11]
et $+l e r i+n+d e n \quad$ meat+3PL.POSS + PRNM + ABL
[Lev 14:8] čadïr $+\ddot{i}+n+$ dan tent+3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL

[^57]
### 2.2.2.4. Numerals

In this section, numerals from throughout the book will be analyzed. The data presents a few limited instances of cardinal, fractional, ordinal, and distributive numerals.

### 2.2.2.4.1. Cardinal Numbers

The numeral system is a fundamental feature shared by Turkic languages, exhibiting slight variations in phonology. In our data, we have identified a total of 20 different cardinal numbers. Cardinal numbers are essential to denote quantity, and play a crucial role in various aspects of the language, including counting, measuring, and expressing mathematical concepts.

Table 55: Cardinal Numerals

| Numerals | Lev of Göz. 1841 | Ot.Tur | Cr.Tat | C.Kar | T.Kar | H.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| one | bir | bir | bir | bir | bir | bir |
| two | eki | iki | eki | eki | èki | eki |
| three | üč | üč | üč | üč | üč | ic |
| four | dört | dört | dört | dört | dorí | dert |
| five | $b e s ̌$ | beš | $b e s ̌$ | $b e s ̌$ | beš | bes |
| six | altii | altï | alti | altii | altii | altii |
| seven | yedi | yedi | yedi | yedi | yedi | yedi |
| eight | sekiz | sekiz | sekiz | sekiz | ṡgizí | segiz |
| nine | tokuz/dokuz | dokuz | dokuz | dokizz | toyuz | toyuz |
| ten | on | on | on | on | on | on |
| twelve | on eki | on iki | on eki | on eki | on èki | on eki |
| fifteen | on beš | on üč | on üč | on beš | on üč | on ic |
| twenty | yegirmi/yigirmi | yirmi | yigirmi | yigirmi | ègirme/ègirmi | egirmi |
| thirty | otuz | otuz | otuz | otuz | otuz | otuz |
| thirty-three | otuz üč | otuz üč | otuz üč | otuz üč | otuz üć | otuz ic |
| fourty-nine | kïrk tokuz | kïrk dokuz | kïrk dokuz | kïrk tokuz | kïrk toyuz | kïrk toyuz |
| fifty | elli | elli | elli | elli | eili | enli |
| sixty | altmiš | altmiš | altmiš | altmiš | altimisis | altümis |
| sixty-six | altmiš altï | altmis̈ altï | altmiš alti | altmiš alti | altïmiš alti | altimis̈s altï |
| hundred | yüz | yüz | yüz | yüz | yuż | $i z$ |

The forms in our corpus sometimes present certain Oghuzic-Kipchak phonological oppositions, e.g., tokuz vs dokuz 'nine', as the initial $t$ - becomes voiced in Oghuz languages in certain words while it is preserved in Kipchak languages (see section 2.1.2.2.1.).

In addition to the numerals listed above, our data features the lexeme [Lev 26:8] tümen, which refers to 'a division of ten thousand' and is typically employed as a military term. This term has been borrowed and is attested in numerous Turkic languages, ranging from early varieties to modern forms (EDPT: 507), e.g., Cr.Tat, tümen (KRUS: 622); Ot.Tur tümen (TLO I: 1480); T.Kar, tuḿań (KRPS: 570); H.Kar kimen, timen (KRPS: 320; 528).

### 2.2.2.4.2. Fractional Numerals

In Prik's Crimean Karaim description (1976: 87), there are examples of fractional numerals, such as $1 / 3$ expressed as $\ddot{u} c ̌+i n \not ̌ i ~ p a y+\ddot{l}(t h r e e+O R D ~ p o r t i o n+3 S G . P O S S) ~ a n d ~ 4 / 6 ~ a s ~ d o ̈ r t ~ k e r e ~$ altï+nži pay+ï (four times six+ORD portion+3SG.POSS). However, in our data, fractions are constructed by adding a locative marker $\{+\mathrm{DA}\}$ to the denominator of the fraction, followed by the numerator and the word pay, meaning 'portion', which is then followed by a third person singular possessive marker.

| $[$ Lev 14:21] | on + da $\quad$ bir pay+ $̈ \quad$ | özäk |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | ten+LOC $\quad$ one portion+3SG.POSS | wheat flour |
|  | 'one tenth portion of wheat flour'. |  |

The aforementioned structure is also observed in other Turkic languages, such as Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 50) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 94). Similarly, in Western Karaim, a comparable structure to Prik's description of Crimean Karaim is encountered, where the denominator includes an ordinal marker preceding a word meaning 'portion', such as helek or üles, followed by 3SG.POSS, e.g., T.Kar üčuńču heléegi 'one third'; H.Kar besinci helegi 'one fifth' (Musaev 1964: 211). Note that Western Karaim Bible translations demonstrate alternative structures for expressing fractions as well ${ }^{89}$.

The present corpus features another structure that is similar to what is encountered in genitive constructions (see Section 2.3.1.1.). However, this specific structure is not mentioned

[^58]in the descriptions of Crimean Tatar or Ottoman Turkish, and it is not present in Western Karaim Bible translations.

| [Lev 14:10] | üč pay+ï | on+nïy | özäk |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | three portion+3SG.POSS | ten+GEN | wheat flour |
|  | 'three tenths of wheat flour' |  |  |
| [Lev 23:13] | eki pay+ï | on+nïy | özek |
|  | two portion | ten+GEN | wheat flour |
|  | 'two tenth portions of wheat flour' |  |  |

Note that, fractions in the corpus are also indicated by certain lexemes, e.g., [Lev 27:30] ondasi ‘tithe; one tenth', [Lev 6:13] yarïmïsï ‘half', [Lev 25:30] tamam ‘full'.

### 2.2.2.4.3. Ordinal Numerals

In our corpus, the ordinal numeral markers appear as $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n} \check{\mathrm{I}}\}$ or $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n} \check{\mathrm{I}}\}$ attached to the numeral stem. This feature can be traced back to early periods of Turkic languages (Johanson 2022c: 137). Similar patterns are also observed in Crimean Tatar with the marker $\{+(\mathrm{I}) n \breve{U}\}$ (Kavitskaya 2010: 51), Crimean Karaim with \{+(I)n亏̌I\} (Prik 1976: 89), Ottoman Turkish with $\{+(\mathrm{I}) n \breve{I}\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n}$ گ̌U $\}$ (Kissling 1960: 61), Trakai Karaim with $\{+(\mathrm{I}) n c ̌ I\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n} \check{\mathrm{C}} \mathrm{U}\}$, and Halich Karaim with $\{+(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{ncI}\}$ and $\{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{ncu}\}$ (Musaev 1977: 39).

When the final syllable of a numeral in our corpus has a rounded vowel, the ordinal marker takes the form of $\{+$ Uny̌l $\}$, with one exception in Lev 25:22.
[Lev 5:11]
[Lev 7:17]
[Lev 19:24]
[Lev 25:22] dokuz+ïņ̆i nine+ORD 'ninth'.

The marker, represented by $\{+$ in $\check{i}\}$, appears after numerals that have a final consonant and a front, unrounded vowel in their last syllables.
[Lev 5:24]
[Lev 12:3] sekiz+iņ̌i
five+ORD
eight+ORD
‘eighth'

Nonetheless, when the numeral concludes with a vowel, the suffix $\{+n \overline{\mathrm{z}} \mathrm{i}\}$ is employed:

| (102) | [Lev 8:22] | $e k i+n \check{i} i$ | two+ORD | 'second'. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [Lev 13:6] | yedi $+n \check{\mathrm{z}} \mathrm{i}$ | seven+ORD | 'seventh'. |
|  | [Lev 25:11] | $e l l i+n$ ¢̌i | fifty+ORD | 'fiftieth'. |
|  | [Lev 25:21] | altï + ¢̌̌i | six+ORD | 'sixth'. |

In our corpus, we have identified two adjectives that express the meaning of 'first'. One of these lexemes employs the $\{+\chi$ ï $\}$ marker (as discussed in section 2.2.1.1.1.) to form the adjective 'first' from the postposition burun, which means 'before'. For instance, [Lev 23:5] features the word burunyï, which appears five times in our data. Another adjective that conveys the meaning of 'initial' or 'first' is ilk, which has been attested in earlier stages of Turkic languages (Johanson 2022c: 137). It is important to note that the expected counterpart, birinži, meaning 'first', is not present in our data. The word burunyï and its similar variants are not found in Ottoman Turkish, but they are present in Crimean Tatar (KRUS: 127) and all three dialects of Karaim (KRPS: 141). Conversely, ilk is present in Ottoman Turkish (TLO I: 393), Crimean Tatar (KRUS: 192), and all three dialects of Karaim (KRPS: 199).

### 2.2.2.4.4. Distributive Numerals

The corpus provides an example of a lexeme attached with a distributive marker, and since this particular lexeme ends in a consonant, the suffix takes the form of $\{+e r\}$. This suffix goes back to the typical Turkic distributive marker $\{+(\check{s}) \mathrm{Ar}\}$ (Johanson 2022a: 35), which is also attested in other Turkic languages, such as Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 51), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 96), Trakai Karaim (as $\{+(\check{s}) \operatorname{ArI}\}$ ), and Halich Karaim (as $\{+(\mathrm{s}) \mathrm{Ar}\}$ ) (Musaev 1977: 39-40).
(103) [Lev 7:14] bir+er one+DISTR 'one each'.

### 2.2.2.5. Pronouns

In this section, we will analyze the personal, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns found in the Lev of the Göz. 1841.

### 2.2.2.5.1. Personal Pronouns

The corpus presents a limited number of personal pronouns examples, including those in all six cases, which are listed below.

Table 56: Personal Pronouns

| Cases | 1SG | 2SG | 3SG | 1PL | 2PL | 3PL |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| NOM | ben/men | sen | ol/o | - | siz | olar/alar |
| GEN | menim | - | onïy/anïy | - | - | - |
| DAT | maya | saya | ona/ayar | - | sizgä/size | alarza/olara |
| ACC | - | - | anї/onи | - | sizni/sizi | alarnї/olarï |
| LOC | - | - | anda | - | sizdä | alarda |
| ABL | - | - | andan | - | sizdän | alardan/olardan |

In our dataset, the personal pronouns in the nominative case have some phonological counterparts, including ben 'I' versus men 'id.', and ol 'she/he/it' versus o 'id.'. Nevertheless, the form ben, which is attested in Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 47), appears only twice in the entire book (in Chapter 11). Conversely, the word men, which is common in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45) and all three dialects of Karaim (Prik 1976: 96; Musaev 1977: 41), is highly predominant, occurring 71 times ( $99 \%$ versus $1 \%$ ). Furthermore, the third-person singular pronoun ol, documented in Western Karaim (Musaev 1977: 41), appears 127 times. In contrast, the form $o$, identified in Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 96), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45), and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 47), is observed a mere 12 times as a personal pronoun, accounting for $9 \%$ in comparison to the $91 \%$ prevalence of ol .

In addition to the previously mentioned counterparts, there exist further phonological alternations within personal pronouns, such as olar 'they' contrasted with alar. In our dataset, the third person plural pronoun olar appears solely 16 times, all in Chapter 11, while alar is encountered 133 times ( $11 \%$ as opposed to $89 \%$ ). The form olar is documented for Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45) and Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 96), whereas alar is recorded for Western Karaim (Musaev 1977: 41) and onlar for Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 48).

In instances of the genitive case, the 1 SG pronoun is accompanied by the suffix $\{+i m\}$, as evidenced in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45), Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 96), and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 47). However, in Western Karaim (Musaev 1977: 41), it is found with the suffix $\{+\mathrm{in}\}$. On the other hand, the 3SG pronoun marked with the genitive case suffix only appears once [Lev 19:17] as onïy, while it appears 34 times as an̈̈y ( $1 \%-99 \%$ ). Such
similar variants are also present in other Turkic languages, such as Crimean Tatar onïg (Kavitskaya 2010: 45), Crimean Karaim anï̈ (Prik 1976: 96), Ottoman Turkish onuך and anïŋ (Hagopian 1907: 47), and Western Karaim anïn (Musaev 1977: 41).

In instances of the dative case, our dataset presents various counterparts, such as 3SG.PRO+DAT as ayar ( 64 times) and ona ( 5 times); 2PL.PRO+DAT as sizgä ( 43 times) and sizälsize ( $5+14$ times); 3PL.PRO+DAT as alarya ( 33 times) and olara (once). Among these variations, the form ona is listed for both Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 48) as oŋa, while size and olara are present in Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 47-48; Kerslake 2022: 183). These Ottoman Turkish influences on personal pronouns are exclusively observed in Chapter 11. It is also worth mentioning that the non-Ottoman Turkish form sizge is attested in both Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45) and all three dialects of Karaim, while alarya is documented solely for the three Karaim dialects (Prik 1976: 97; Musaev 1977: 41) among the languages cited. Lastly, the 3SG.PRO with dative case example ayar is a specific form prevalent in Western Karaim (Musaev 1977: 41) as anar and can be traced back to earlier stages of Turkic languages (Johanson 2022c: 136).

In instances of the accusative case, the Kipchak forms anï, sizni, and alarnï are frequently observed (altogether 340 times). Among them, sizni is also present in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 45), while Karaim dialects (Prik 1976: 97; Musaev 1977: 41) include all the mentioned examples. In the data at our disposal, we only find three instances (all in Chapter 11) where the accusative case forms onu, sizi, and olarï appear, which are typical of Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 47-48; Kerslake 2022: 183).

Finally, another pair of counterparts can be observed between olardan '3PL+ABL' (3 times) and alardan 'id.' (9 times). As with the previous examples, an Ottoman Turkish form, olardan (Kerslake 2022: 183), appears only in Chapter 11 within our data.

### 2.2.2.5.2. Demonstrative Pronouns

The following are the demonstrative pronouns found in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. Many of the doublets are due to differences in the Kipchak and Oghuzic/Ottoman Turkish case suffixes.

## Table 57: Demonstrative Pronouns

| Cases | Singular Demonstrative Pronouns |  | Plural Demonstrative Pronouns |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | this | this one | that | these | those |
| NOM | bu | ušbu | ol/o | bular | alar/olar |
| GEN | munїy | - | onïŋ/ an̈̈̈ | - | - |


| Cases | Singular Demonstrative Pronouns |  | Plural Demonstrative Pronouns |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | this | this one | that | these | those |
| DAT | buna | - | ona/anar | - | alarya/olara |
|  | mипа |  |  |  |  |
| ACC | bunї/bunu/munї | - | anї/onи | bularnї/bularї | alarnї/olarï |
| LOC | - | - | anda | - | alarda |
| ABL | - | - | andan | bulardan | alardan/olardan |

The provided examples demonstrate that when certain case markers are attached to the demonstrative pronoun $b u$, the initial $b$ - becomes nasalized, as evident in munïg, muŋa, and типї. It is significant to highlight that the forms featuring an initial $b$ - are present in Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 70-72), the eastern dialects of Crimean Tatar (Doerfer 1959b: 383), and documented for all three dialects of Karaim (Prik 1976: 99; Musaev 1977: 42). The nasalization of the initial $b$ - to $m$ - can be traced back to earlier periods of Turkic languages (Johanson 2022c: 136) and is also observed in some modern Turkic languages such as Turkmen, Kazakh, and Karakalpak (Karakoç 2022: 272; Abish 2022: 341).

It should be noted that the demonstrative pronoun ol/o is prevalently utilized in Karaim Bible translations as a result of the literal translation approach. This pronoun serves to represent the Biblical Hebrew definite article הם [ha-], notwithstanding the absence of a definite article in Turkic languages. This method is prevalent in the majority of Karaim Bible translations ${ }^{90}$, as observed by Kowalski (1929: xxxix) and Pritsak (1959: 331).
(104) [Lev 5:13] ol kohen DEM.PRO priest 'the priest'.
[Lev 11:21] o yer DEM.PRO land 'the land'.
According to our data, the demonstrative pronoun ol is used 1,256 times for this function, while the variant $o$ is used only 55 times ( $96 \%$ vs $4 \%$ ). This opposition is also observed in other Turkic languages, e.g., C.Tat, C.Kar, Ot.Tur, $o$ 'that' (Kavitskaya 2010: 46; Prik 1976: 99-100; Hagopian 1907: 70-71) vs Western Karaim ol 'id.' (Musaev 1977: 41).

[^59]
### 2.2.2.5.3. Reflexive Pronouns

The data indicates that both $\ddot{z} z$ and gendi are used to express the concept of self, specifically reflexivity. These pronouns are typically accompanied by personal possessive markers to indicate the subject's reflexivity.

| (105) | [Lev 16:6] | gendi | 'self; herself; himself; itself; own'. |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | [Lev 9:7] | gendi $+\eta$ | self+2SG.POSS | 'yourself'. |
|  | [Lev 23:14] | gendi + si | self+3SG.POSS | 'herself/himself/itself' |
|  | [Lev 1:2] | gendi $+\eta i z$ | self+2PL.POSS | 'yourselves'. |
|  | [Lev 16:22; Lev 9:2] | $\ddot{\partial} z+i / \ddot{z} z+\ddot{u}$ | self+3SG.POSS | 'herself/himself/itself' |
|  | [Lev 26:1] | $\ddot{z} z \ddot{u}+\eta i z$ | oneself +2 PL.PO | 'yourselves'. |

Kavitskaya (2010: 45) asserts that, within the Crimean Tatar, öz represents a more neutral means of expressing reflexivity, while kendi is predominantly employed in the eastern dialect. In studies focused on Karaim, $\ddot{z}$ is also frequently used as a reflexive pronoun (Prik 1976:105106; Musaev 1977: 44), while kendi is more prevalent in Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 48). As previously mentioned (see section 2.1.2.2.1.), the word gendi demonstrates an influence of Crimean Turkish, as it exhibits the voicing of the initial $k$ - to $g$-. This phonetic change is not observed in Ottoman Turkish for this particular lexical item.

### 2.2.2.5.4. Interrogative Pronouns

The collected data exhibits the anticipated interrogative pronouns $n e$ ? which is widespread in many Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 48), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 82), and Karaim dialects (Prik 1976: 101; Musaev 1977: 42). It is noteworthy that interrogative pronouns in Turkic languages have the ability to take case and possessive markers, as stated by Johanson (2022c: 136).

Our dataset indicates that these pronouns are mainly used as relative pronouns, as evidenced by section 2.2.1.5.5. For instance, the interrogative pronouns kim 'who' and nečik 'how' only appear in a relative pronoun function within our dataset. It is worth noting that only two instances were identified in which the pronoun $n e$ and its compound form with the postposition ис̌un (i.e., nučun, signifying ‘why') functioned as interrogative pronouns.
(106)
[Lev 10:17] nučun eat-NEG-PAST-2PL
[Lev 25:20] ne aša-lïm what eat-1SG.VOL 'what shall we eat?'.

### 2.2.2.5.5. Relative Pronouns

As previously discussed, the interrogative pronouns ne 'what' and kim 'who', along with their inflected forms modified by case suffixes, can function as relative pronouns. In our dataset, these pronouns consistently precede another relative pronoun, $k i$ 'which, that', which is of Persian origin and should not be confused with the homophonous Hebrew conjunction ki 'for, since, because' that frequently appears in our dataset. Moreover, the petrified form nečiki, meaning 'so as; so that', derived from the combination of the interrogative pronoun nečik 'how?' and the relative pronoun $k i$, also functions as a relative pronoun. It is essential to note that relative clauses in Turkic languages are typically based on participles, and structures incorporating relative pronouns are untypical (Johanson 2022a: 43). However this atypical Turkic characteristic can be seen in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 225), Ottoman Turkish (Kerslake 2022: 192) and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 220-224; Jankowski 1997: 22-23) as well. For information on the structure of relative clauses introduced by these relative pronouns in our dataset, please refer to the relevant section (see section 2.3.2.2.2.2.).
$\left.\begin{array}{llll}\text { (107) } & {[\text { Lev 4:20] }} & \text { neči }[k] k i & \text { how that }\end{array}\right]$ 'so as; so that'.

### 2.2.2.5.6. Indefinite Pronouns

The numeral one functions as an indefinite article ${ }^{91}$ in Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 33) which is utilized to establish indefinite phrases, e.g., [Lev 4:27] bir 丂̌an 'anyone' (lit. one soul'). Additionally, there are certain quantifiers that also create indefinite phrases in our data, such as ร̌ümlä ‘all’, [Lev 21:18] క̌ümlä kiši ‘every person’; her/här ‘every', [Lev 7:6] här erkäk ‘every man'; and čok 'many, much', [Lev 15:25] čok günlär 'many days'. Negative pronouns are formed by hič 'any', e.g., [Lev 17:12] hič 亏̌an 'nobody'. Equivalent quantifiers can also be found in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 46-47), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 84-86), and all three dialects of Karaim (Öztürk 2019: 77-79).

Our data reveals the existence of various indefinite pronouns. In most cases, the numeral bir meaning 'one', and its various forms which, are followed by a 3SG.POSS marker once or twice, is used as an indefinite pronoun. This is also common in all three dialects of Karaim
(108) $[\operatorname{Lev} 5: 5 ; 11: 33 ; 13: 1 ; 20: 16 ; 23: 19]$

```
birgä; birisi; birsi; biri; bir ‘one |of|; someone'.
```

In the majority of other cases, the formation of indefinite pronouns in our data is primarily based on interrogative pronouns, which may be followed by some enclitics.
$\left.\begin{array}{lll}\text { (109) } & {[\text { Lev 6:12] }} & \text { här kim }\end{array}\right]$ 'everybody; nobody'.

The rest of the indefintie prouns as follows:
[Lev 11:32] her šey
[Lev 19:11] karšïdaki
'everything'.
'the other person'; lit. 'the one opposite'.

[^60]
### 2.2.2.6. Adjectives

Adjectives can serve both attributive and predicative functions in Turkic languages as well as in our data.
[Lev 16:24] ayruhsï yer
'holy place'.
[Lev 19:2] ayruhsï+dïr+men 'I am Holy'.
Clear differentiation between adjectives and nouns in our data is challenging due to the common practice in Turkic languages, as noted by Johanson (2022a: 34).
[Lev 1:3] saylam erkäk 'healthy male'.
[Lev 19:11] saylamnï yuvuklaštürsïn 'he shall bring the healthy one'.
A similar ambiguity can exist between some adjectives and adverbs, as illustrated by the example below, where the adjective koyu meaning 'thick', functions as an adverb.
(113) [Lev 15:3] koyu ak̈̈p kapadï ise 'if it has flowed thickly and covered'.

As previously indicated (see 2.2.2.1.1.1.), specific markers may be affixed nominals to create adjectives. In addition, participles, i.e. verbal adjectives are addressed separately (see 2.2.3.6.).

### 2.2.2.7. Adverbs

Our text presents a variety of adverbs, including those that indicate time, such as [Lev 11:24] ahšam 'evening' and [Lev 19:13] ertä 'morning'; manner, for instance, [Lev 24:19] alay 'in that way' and [Lev 7:21] gizli 'secretly'; spatial and directional references, exemplified by [Lev 6:4] čïharï 'outside' and [Lev 18:3] anda 'there'; and degree, including [Lev 25:16] az 'little, few' and čok 'many; much'. The text also contains conjunctive adverbs that provide supplementary or complementary information to the previous clause or sentence, such as [Lev 25:45] dayїn 'also'. Comparable categories and adverbs can be found in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 57-58), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 130-131), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 188; Prik 1976: 92; Öztürk 2019: 80-86), as evidenced by the cited scholarly sources. As elucidated in the prior section (see section 2.2.2.6), most adjectives and other nominals can serve as adverbs without overt marking. However, certain suffixes are employed to generate adverbs from nominals. Among these, unproductive and productive case markers (see 2.2.2.1.1.1.) are found to be utilized in attaching nominals to form adverbs, as demonstrated in our data and commonly observed in Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 41).

| [Lev 10:18] | ič+käri | inside+DIR | 'into; inside'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 20:4] | ačïk+tan | open+ABL | 'openly'. |
| [Lev 25:30] | dolyïn+弓̌a | full+DER | 'fully'. |

Notably in other examples nominals with postpositions also function as adverb.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
\text { [Lev 26:13] } & \text { tik boy bilän straight stature with }  \tag{115}\\
& \text { '|keeping your| head up high'; lit. 'with upright stature'. }
\end{array}
$$

In a specific adverb, (occuring a total of 15 times within our dataset), we encounter a common strategy of reduplication, a phenomenon frequently observed in many Turkic languages, which is prevalent in both adjectives and adverbs. The technique involves the preposition of a reduplicated first syllable. If such a syllable ends with a consonant, the final consonant is subsequently replaced with an $m, n, r$, or $s$. On the other hand, in instances where the syllable ends with a vowel, these aforementioned consonants are directly appended to the reduplicated segment that precedes the word stem (Johanson 2022a: 34).
(116) [Lev 1:5] čüvre 'around' > čüpčüvrä 'all around; roundabout'.

Finally, with regard to verbal adverbs, otherwise known as converbs, a distinct analysis will be conducted, as discussed in Section 2.2.3.5. For a detailed examination of the diverse structures that shape adverbial clauses, please refer to section 2.3.2.2.2.2.

### 2.2.3. Verbal Categories

### 2.2.3.1. Verb Formation

Similar to the Nominal Formation section (2.1.1.1.), the current section aims to demonstrate and compare the derivational markers of our dataset with those found in Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and all three dialects of Karaim. Moreover, we will refer to the early phases of Turkic languages to present the common shared characteristics and distinctions of the Turkic languages.

### 2.2.3.1.1. Suffixation

The process of verb derivation in Turkic languages involves the utilization of diverse morphological markers, which can be categorized into two principal groups: denominal markers and deverbal markers. Denominal markers are employed to create verbs from
nominals, while deverbal markers produce verbs from existing verbs. Each of these categories comprises a multitude of productive and unproductive suffixes that can be utilized for deriving verbs. Our study will conduct an analysis of both productive and unproductive markers, encompassing the investigation of already lexicalized items. The status of these markers will be ascertained on the basis of the three categories outlined in Zajączkowski's (1932) framework: productive, semi-productive, and unproductive ${ }^{92}$.

### 2.2.3.1.1.1. Denominal Verb Formative Markers

$\mathbf{A - )}\{+\mathbf{A}\}$ : The denominal verb-forming marker $\{+\mathrm{A}\}$ is frequently observed in Turkic languages, dating back to their early developmental stages (Erdal 1991b: 425-429). This semiproductive marker manifests in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 78), Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 130), and all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 130-132; Musaev 1964: 236; Prik 1976: 110). However, in the dataset under examination, only the marker $\{-\mathrm{a}\}$ appears to serve this specific function.
(117) [Lev 23:15] san $+a$ number+DER 'to count'.
[Lev 21:22] $a \check{s}+a$ food+DER 'to eat'.
B-) $\{+\mathbf{A y}\}$ : Another example of a semi-productive marker is $\{+(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{y}\}$, which in earlier stages takes the form of $\{+(A) d\}$ (Erdal 1991b: 485-492), but is present in Crimean Tatar as $\{+(A) y\}$ (Jankowski 2010: 119), Ottoman Turkish (Zajączkowski 1932: 138), and all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 136-137; Musaev 1964: 237-238; Prik 1976: 110). Our text presents only one instance of this marker.
(118) [Lev 26:9] $k \ddot{o}(p>b)+a ̈ y-$ many; much+DER 'to multiply'.
$\mathbf{C}-)\{+\mathbf{d A}\}$ : This unproductive marker is attested as a variant of the highly productive denominal verb-forming marker $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$ (see entry G ), most likely to avoid using the sonorant $l$ - in the marker, occasionally after some nominals having final coronal consonants, such as $-t,-d,-s,-z$, $-l,-r$, or $-n$. Notably, our data provides only a single example for this marker.
(119) [Lev 19:11] $a l+d a$ cheat ${ }^{93}+$ DER 'to cheat'.

[^61]It is worth noting that this marker is attested in a limited number of examples in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 119) and Western Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 148-149). Furthermore, the same verb originally featuring this marker can also be found in Ottoman Turkish and Crimean Karaim, e.g., alda- 'to cheat' (TLO I: 1176; CKED: 38).

E-) \{+KIr\}: This semi-productive marker typically appears in an onomatopoeic word stem to form a verb and is commonly attested from the early stages of Turkic languages (Erdal 2004: 228). In our text, the $\{+$ ḳir $\}$ variant of this marker is found in a limited number of examples.

| (120)$[\operatorname{Lev} 9: 1]$ $\check{c} a^{94}+k \ddot{r}$ onom.+DER | 'to call'. |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $[$ Lev 9:24] | kïč $+k \not ̈ r$ | onom.+DER |$\quad$ 'to shout; to cry'.

In Western Karaim, this marker has been documented (Zajączkowski 1932: 139-140; Musaev, 1964: 239). It should be noted that petrified verbs originally featuring this marker can also be found in various other Turkic languages, such as C.Tat čakür- (KRUS: 689), C.Kar čąïr-/čakïr(CKED: 109; 112), and Ot.Tur čaÿ̈r- (TLO I: 1552), which all mean 'to call'.

F-) $\{+\mathbf{l A}\}$ : One of the most productive denominal verb formative markers is $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$, which is observed in diverse Turkic languages and has the same form in the early stages of Turkic languages (Erdal 1991b: 429-455).

| (121) | $[\operatorname{Lev} 1: 1]$ | $s o ̈ z+l a ̈$ | word; speech+DER |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'to speak'.

It is important to mention that the marker $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$ can be combined with certain voice markers (see section 2.2.3.2.), including passive $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$, causative $\{-\mathrm{t}\}$, reflexive $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$, and reciprocal $\{-\mathrm{s}\}$. Given that there are instances where the marker $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$ cannot function independently without a voice marker in the verb stem ${ }^{95}$, scholars also catalog such combinations separately. However, in this study, we present the markers $\{+1 \mathrm{An}\},\{+1 \mathrm{As}\}$, and $\{+1 \mathrm{At}\}$ under this entry and do not explore them individually.
(122) [Lev 13:51] sïz+la-t onom.+DER-CAUS 'to cause pain'.

[^62][Lev 5:8] yuvuk+laš close+[DER-RECP] 'to approach'.
[Lev 8:4] top $+l a-n$ full+DER-REFL 'to gather'.
[Lev 8:35] sïmar+la-n commandment+DER-PASS 'to be commanded'.
It is important to note that the denominal verb-forming marker $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$ and its combinations with the mentioned voice markers are also prevalent in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 121), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 235), and all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 147-150; Musaev 1964: 231-233; Prik 1976: 109).

G-) \{+rA\}: The presence of this particular unproductive morpheme in our dataset may be subject to debate. As per Erdal (1991b: 469-474), this morpheme can be observed in onomatopoeic nouns that are transformed into verbs, such as čokra 'to bubble; to boil'; maŋra, 'to shout'; kükre 'to roar, to bellow, or to thunder'. Nevertheless, Erdal also asserts that the base forms of these verbs are not documented in Old Turkic (1991b: 473). In the texts we have examined, there are two instances ${ }^{96}$ that could potentially feature these suffixes.

| (123) | $[$ Lev 11:21] | sïč + ra | onom*+DER | 'to jump; to leap'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $[$ Lev 13:51] | kalt + ra | onom*+DER | 'to shiver; to tremble'. |

Erdal (1991b: 471) also examined these two verbs in his study, wherein he categorizes kaldra-, meaning 'to rustle (of a garment)', under this marker, but expresses uncertainty regarding the verb sïčra-, due to its potential relation to sač-, which signifies 'to sprinkle; to scatter'. In Zajączkowski's research (1932: 142), this marker is observed for Western Karaim. However, some of his examples, such as tepre- 'to move; to stir; to shake' and titre- 'to shiver; to shake'in the context of Western Karaim and Ottoman Turkish, may be considered questionable, given that their etymological origins are debated ${ }^{97}$.

[^63]
### 2.2.3.1.1.2. Deverbal Verb Formative Marker

It is important to emphasize that all voice markers, with the exception of the active voice which lacks a distinct marker, are encompassed in this category. A comprehensive analysis of these markers will be provided in Section 2.2.3.2. Apart from these voice markers, only one suffix in our dataset can be classified as a deverbal verb formative marker, specifically, the negation marker.

The negation marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$, along with its phonological variants, has been attested in basic and derived verb stems in Turkic languages since their early phases (Johanson 2022a: 37). This morpheme manifests in an identical manner across numerous instances within the dataset under examination.
[Lev 5:17] bil-mä-di-Ø to know-NEG-PAST.3SG 'he did not know'.
[Lev 13:5] yay-ïl-ma-dï- $\varnothing$ to spread-PASS-NEG-PAST.3SG 'it did not spread'.

Notwithstanding the consistent presence of the negative marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ prior to any mood or tense marker within a verb stem, the negative aorist displays a distinct form. Particularly, in combination with the aorist, the negative marker materializes as $\{-\mathrm{mAz}\}$ or $\{-\mathrm{mAs}\}$ before the 2SG, 2PL, 3SG, and 3PL personal endings. In contrast, it assumes the form $\{-\mathrm{mAm}\}$ for the 1 SG conjugation, representing a petrified form that incorporates the 1 SG personal marker ${ }^{98}$.
[Lev 26:11] hor id-mäz-Ø
[Lev 26:26] toy-maz-sïz
[Lev 26:31] kabul et-mäm-dir
[Lev 27:11] yuvuklašttr-mas-lar
to despise-NEG.AOR-3SG 'it will not despise'. to be satiated-NEG.AOR-2PL 'you do/will not be satiated'. to accept-1SG.NEG.AOR-COP 'I do/will not accept'. to offer-NEG.AOR-3PL
'they do/will not offer'.

It is important to note that the negation marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ and its associated forms with the aorist have also been identified in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 65, 111-112), Crimean Turkish

[^64](Doerfer 1959a: 279), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 99-104), and across all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 127; Musaev 1964: 263-264, 285; Prik 1976: 125; 138).

### 2.2.3.1.2. Compounding

A highly productive strategy in Turkic languages for forming verbs from nominals involves the compounding of certain auxiliary verbs subsequent to the nominals. In our dataset, we observe the presence of bol-/ol-'to become', et-/it- 'to do', ver- 'to give' koy- 'to put; to set', and kïl- 'to do' verbs in such phraseological constructs. It is important to note that the nominals in these structures may have both Turkic and non-Turkic origins. Notably, these constructions are prevalent in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 79-80), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1964: 152153), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 242-244; Prik 1976: 111).
(126) [Lev 6:23] keparat et-
atonement to make 'make atonement'.
[Lev 5:6] yazïklï bol-
sinful to become 'to be sinful'.
[Lev 5:23] amanat koy-
deposit to put 'to commit'.
[Lev 11:24] mundar ol-
unclean to become 'to become unclean'.
[Lev 20:12] ïkraḥlïk kïl-
disgustingness to do 'to do |something| disgusting'.
[Lev 24:19] hillä ver-
blemish; trick to give 'to cause a blemish'.

### 2.2.3.2. Voice

### 2.2.3.2.1 Active Voice

In the active voice, the sentence's subject serves as the agent of the action, indicated by personal suffixes on the verb stem, a feature prevalent across Turkic languages. It is important to recognize that both transitive and intransitive verbs can be found within this category.
[Lev 10:1] sïmarla-ma-dï- $\emptyset$ to order-NEG-PAST-3SG 'I did not ordered'.

### 2.2.3.2.2. Passive Voice

In opposition to the active voice, the passive voice denotes the target of the action as the subject. Both transitive and intransitive verbs may exhibit passive forms, signified by specific markers. In our dataset, suffixes representing passivity appear as $\{-(\mathrm{I}) 1\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) 1\},\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\}$, and $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n}\}$, and are subject to rounding harmony in some examples. If the verb stem concludes with a vowel, the passive voice is typically denoted by the suffix $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$. Nonetheless, there exists an instance of a verb terminating in a vowel with the suffix $\{-1\}$ affixed.
 to eat-PASS-NEG-3SG.VOL 'it shall not be eaten'.

Aside from this instance, the passive marker $\{-1\}$ is not observed in verbs whose stems end with a vowel. Additionally, verbs containing the derivational suffix $\{-1 \mathrm{~A}\}$ (refer to 2.2 .2 .1 .1 .1 .) within their stems consistently employ $\{-\mathrm{n}\}$ to signify the passive voice, rather than using $\{-1\}$.
[Lev 10:13] sïmarla-n-dï-m
[Lev 11:43] kapa-n-ïr-Ø
to command-PASS-PAST-1SG
'I have been commanded'. to close-PASS-AOR-3SG 'it is/will be closed'.

Within the analyzed corpus, the affixes $\{-\mathrm{In}\}$ or $\{-\mathrm{Un}\}$ are observed when the verbal root concludes with the sonorant $l$.
(130) [Lev 1:4] kabul ol-un-ïr- $\emptyset$ to be accepted-PASS-AOR-3SG
[Lev 4:28] bil-in-sä- $\emptyset \quad$ to know-PASS-COND-3SG
'if it is known'.

The suffixes $\{-\mathrm{Il}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{Ul}\}$ are discernible in all other verbs that lack a terminal sonorant $\{-1\}$ in their stems.
(131) [Lev 10:14] ver-il-di-lär to give-PASS-PASS-3PL 'they were given'.
[Lev 10:16] küydür-ül-di-Ø to burn-PASS-PAST-3SG 'it was burnt'.

In Prik's grammar (1976: 112) the passive voice markers are listed as $\{-(\mathrm{I}) 1\}$, $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\}$, for Crimean Karaim. The similar markers are common in other Turkic languages as well, e.g., Cr.Tat $\{-(\mathrm{I}) 1\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) 1\},\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n}\}$ (Kavitskaya 2010: 74); Ot.Tur, $\{-(\mathrm{I}) 1\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) 1\},\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n}\}$ \{-(U)n\} (Hagopian 1907: 116); T.Kar \{-(I)l\}, \{-(U)l\}, \{-(I)n\} \{-(U)n\} (Musaev 1977: 47); H.Kar $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{n},\{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{n}\}$ (Musaev 1977: 48). As a result, the disparity between our dataset and Prik's account lies solely in the presence of rounded variants pertaining to the relevant affixes.

### 2.2.3.2.3. Causative Voice

In sentences displaying the causative voice, a causative agent is generally present alongside the primary agent. The causative agent bears responsibility for initiating or provoking the primary agent to execute the action.
(132) [Lev 26:13] yürü-t-ti-m siz+ni to walk-CAUS-PAST-1SG 2PL.PRO+ACC
'I made you walk'.
In fact, the causative construction primarily exhibits ambiguity when dealing with impersonal verbs, complicating the process of distinguishing between two discrete agents. In these situations, the primary agent is an impersonal subject, which further hinders the differentiation between the agents involved. It is worth noting that all the impersonal verbs in Turkic languages are intransitive.

$$
\begin{equation*}
a v u c ̌+\ddot{\imath}+n \ddot{ } \tag{133}
\end{equation*}
$$

palm+3SG.POSS+ACC
to become full-CAUS-PAST-3SG
'he filled his palm'; lit. 'he caused his palm to be full'.
[Lev 6:4]

| c̈ilk-ar-sïn | ol külni |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to go out-CAUS-3SG.VOL | the | ash+ACC |

'he shall take out the ashes'; lit. 'he shall cause the ash|es| to go out'.

The examples presented illustrate that the addition of causative markers to intransitive verbs results in the formation of transitive verbs, while the transitivity of already transitive verbs remains unaltered.

| (134) [Lev 9:16] | yuvuklaš-tïr-dï- $\varnothing$ | ol | ola+nï |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | to come near-CAUS-PAST-3SG | the | burnt offering+ACC |

lit. 'he made the burnt offering to come near'; 'he brought the burnt offering'.
Our dataset encompasses numerous productive, semi-productive and unproductive markers for this distinct voice, including $\{-\mathrm{Ar}\},\{-\mathrm{Ur}\},\{-\mathrm{t}\},\{-\mathrm{DIr}\},\{-\mathrm{dUr}\},\{-\mathrm{tär}\},\{-\mathrm{\gamma uz}\}$ and $\{$-giz $\}$. In other Turkic languages, the same voice category can be identified, accompanied by similar causative markers, such as Cr.Tat, $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{t}\}$, $\{$-(U)t $\},\{-\mathrm{Ir}\},\{-\mathrm{Ur}\},\{-\mathrm{DIr}\},\{-\mathrm{DUr}\}$ (Kavitskaya 72-74); Ot.Tur $\{-(\mathrm{I}) t\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{t}\},\{-\mathrm{Ar}\},\{-\mathrm{Ir}\},\{-\mathrm{Ur}\},\{-\mathrm{DIr}\},\{-\mathrm{DUr}\},\{-\mathrm{GUr}\}$ (LET: 96-98; Kerslake 2022: 184); T.Kar, $\{-\mathrm{t}\},\{-\mathrm{Ir}\},\{-\mathrm{Ar}\},\{-\mathrm{Ur}\},\{-\mathrm{DIr}\},\{-\mathrm{DUr}\}$; and H.Kar $\{-\mathrm{t}\},\{-\mathrm{Ar}\}$, \{-Ir\}, \{-ur\}, \{-DIr\}, \{-Dur\} (Musaev 1964: 248).

In the examined text, the morphemes $\{-\mathrm{Ar}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{Ur}\}$ predominantly ${ }^{99}$ manifest in monosyllabic stems characterized by a terminal consonant.
[Lev 6:4] čilk-ar-sïn
[Lev 12:2] doy-ur-sa-Ø to be born-CAUS-COND-3SG 'if she gives birth'.

In addition, there is a single instance, as previously demonstrated in (132), wherein a verb stem ends with a terminal vowel and is followed by the causative suffix $\{-\mathrm{t}\}$. In other instances where the verb stem concludes with voiced consonants, the causative suffix employed is $\{-\mathrm{dIr}\}$.
[Lev 8:7] giy-dir-di-Ø anar
to wear-CAUS-PAST-3SG him 'he clothed him'.

In the remaining examples, with the exception of the verb id- 'to do', verbs concluding with voiceless consonants are accompanied by the suffix $\{-\mathrm{tIr}\}$.
[Lev 8:33] aliž-tïr-ïr- $\emptyset$

$$
\begin{equation*}
k o l+u \eta \ddot{z}+n \ddot{i} \tag{137}
\end{equation*}
$$

[^65] 'it makes your hand get accustomed'.

| [Lev 11:43] | ikrah id-tir-mä- - iz | گ̌an+lar+ $̈ n i ̈ z+\ddot{i}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | to disguise-CAUS-NEG-2PL.IMP | soul+PL+2PL.POSS+ACC |
|  | 'you shall not make your souls disgusted'. |  |

Notably, a singular occurrence of an unproductive ${ }^{100}$ causative marker is attested as $\{$-tär\}, followed by an additional causative marker. It is worth noting that the same marker has been documented for Crimean Tatar as an unproductive causative marker (Kavitskaya 2010: 73) and also listed for Western Karaim in a limited number of examples (Zajączkowski 1932: 123).
(138) [Lev 22:16] ček-tär-t-sinlär to bear-CAUS-CAUS-3PL.VOL
'they shall make them bear'.
Lastly, it merits attention that our dataset showcases three distinct verbs featuring the semi-productive ${ }^{101}$ causative markers $\{-\mathrm{yuz}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{giz}\}$.

| [Lev 4:16] | gir-giz- | to enter- CAUS | 'to let in; to bring in'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 16:7] | tur--yuz- | to stand-CAUS | 'to set up; to erect'. |
| [Lev 23:43] | otur-子uz- | to sit-CAUS | 'to seat'. |

It is important to highlight that these markers have also been documented for Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 73-74) and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 251; Prik 1976: 113). Indeed, the verb turguz is present in all three dialects of Karaim (KRPS: 547) and attested in numerous Kipchak languages, such as C.Tat turyuz (KRUS: 608), as well as in Ottoman Turkish in a slightly different form, e.g., Ot.Tur turğur- 'to stop; to bring a halt; to raise' (not present in modern Turkish) (EDPT: 541). However, the verbs oturyuz- and girgiz- (listed as kirgiz-) were found exclusively in Crimean Karaim (KRPS: 322; 435). Upon observation, the final consonant $-r$ in the East Old Turkic causative marker $\{-G U r\}$ (Johanson 2022c: 137) undergoes a transformation to $-z$ in the marker $\{-\mathrm{GUz}\}$, a phenomenon which probably initially emerged during the Middle Kipchak period (Berta and Csató 2022a: 156).

[^66]
### 2.2.3.2.4. Reflexive Voice

In the reflexive voice, the agent carries out an action upon themselves. Our text features two verbs that exhibit reflexive voice through the attachment of the suffixes $\{-\mathrm{un}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{in}\}$ to their stems. Prik's grammar (1976: 112) also lists reflexive markers \{-(I)n\} and \{-(U)n\} for Crimean Karaim. Notably, similar reflexive markers are prevalent in many Turkic languages, such as Cr.Tat \{-(I)n\}, \{-(U)n\} (Kavitskaya 2010: 74), Ot.Tur \{-(U)n\}, \{-(I)n\} (Hagopian 1907: 117), T.Kar \{-(U)n\}, \{-(I)n\}, and H.Kar \{-(u)n\}, \{-(I)n\} (Musaev 1977: 47).
(140) [Lev 14:8] yuv-un-sïn to wash-REFL-3SG.VOL 'he shall wash himself'.
[Lev 23:40] sev-in-iyiz to like-REFL-2PL.IMP 'you shall rejoice'.

Jankowski (1997: 15) notes that the reflexive pronoun kendi, 'herself/himself/itself,' is used as a lexical means of expressing reflexivity in a Crimean Karaim Bible translation. This method of conveying reflexivity is also observed in other Turkic languages, as pointed out by Johanson (2022a: 48), and within our dataset.
[Lev 15:11] gendisi+n yayka-ma-dï-Ø
himself+ACC to wash-NEG-PAST-3SG
'he has not wash himself'.

### 2.2.3.2.5. Reciprocal Voice

In our dataset, the reciprocal marker is identified as $\{-(i) \check{s}\}$, a form that is prevalent in numerous Turkic languages with similar variations, such as Cr.Kar $\{$-(I)š $\}$, $\{-(\mathrm{U})$ š $\}$ (Prik 1976: 112), Cr.Tat $\{-(\mathrm{I})$ š\}, $\{-(\mathrm{U})$ š\} (Kavitskaya 2010: 74), Ot.Tur $\{-(\mathrm{I})$ š\}, $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{š}\}$ (Hagopian 1907: 116117), T.Kar $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{s}\},\{-(\mathrm{U})$ š $\}$; H.Kar $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{s}\},\{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{s}\}$ (Musaev 1977: 47). This voice involves multiple subjects who partake in a shared action. Nevertheless, in some cases, a verb followed by a cooperative marker may express a distinct action from its base form and, consequently, not demonstrate a reciprocal function. Verbs of this nature require etymological analysis to ascertain whether these verbs originally had reciprocal functions and underwent semantic evolution to acquire new significance. For instance, in our data, [Lev 9:15] al-means 'to take' whereas [Lev 8:33] alïš- means 'to get accustomed'. According to Clauson (EDPT: 153), the
verb aliž- is derived from al-, possessing a cooperative function initially. However, in later stages, it acquired a new cognate meaning, 'to get accustomed', in some Turkic languages. Nevertheless, one example below clearly presents the reciprocal voice in our dataset.
[Lev 24:10] tala-š-tï-lar
to bite-RECP (to fight)-PAST-3PL
'they fought each other'.

### 2.2.3.3. Tense

### 2.2.3.3.1. Definite Past Tense

In the present text, the markers $\{-\mathrm{DI}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{Du}\}$ are utilized to indicate the definite past tense, and they are subsequently followed by personal endings. The adoption of identical and similar forms is an extensively observed linguistic phenomenon across numerous Turkic languages, which includes Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 131), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 66), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 69), and Western Karaim (Musaev 1964: 272).

Table 58: Definite Past Tense Markers

|  | Lev of Göz. <br> 1841 | Cr. Kar | Cr. Tat | Ot. Tur | T. Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{-DIm \} | \{-DIm \} | \{-DIm \} | \{-DIm \}, \{-DUm \} | \{-DIm \}, \{-DUm \} | \{-DIm \},\{-Dum \} |
| 2SG | - | \{-DIn\} | \{-DIn\} | \{-DIn \}, \{-DIn \} | \{-DIy\}, \{-DUy \} | \{-DIn $\},\{$-Dun $\}$ |
| 3SG | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{D} I\}, \\ & \{-\mathrm{Du}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-DI\} | \{-DI\} | \{-DI\}, \{-DU \} | \{-DI\}, \{-DU \} | \{-DI\}, $\{$-Du $\}$ |
| 1PL | - | \{-DIK \} | \{-DIK \} | \{-DIK\}, \{-DUK \} | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{-Dïh, \{-Dik\}, } \\ & \{\text {-Duhb, }\{\text {-Dük } \end{aligned}$ | \{-DIK\}, \{-Duk \} |
| 2PL | \{-dïniz\} | \{-DInIz $\}$ | \{-DİIz $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-DIgIz }\}, \\ & \{- \text { DUnUz }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-DIyIz \}, \{-DUyIz \} | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-DInIz }\} \\ & \{\text {-Dunïz } \end{aligned}$ |
| 3PL | \{-DIIAr\} | \{-DIIAr\} | \{-DIIAr\} | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-DIIAr }\}, \\ & \{\text {-DUIAr }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-DIIAr\}, \{-DUIAr\} | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-DIIAr\}, } \\ & \{\text {-Dular } \end{aligned}$ |

The table above illustrates that the primary distinction between our data and that of Crimean Tatar, Crimean Karaim, and Ottoman Turkish is the use of the $\{-\mathrm{Du}\}^{102}$ suffix. It is noteworthy that this particular suffix occurs only four times in total, and across three distinct verb stems within the book.

[^67][Lev 10:3] sus-tu- $\varnothing$ to keep silent-PAST-3SG 'he kept silent'.
[Lev 18:3] otur-du-yїz to dwell-PAST-2PL 'you dwelt'.
[Lev 18:25/28] kus-tu- $\varnothing$ to vomit-PAST-3SG 'it vomited'.
With the exception of the instances that utilize the $\{-D u\}$ suffix, the past tense marker for all other cases is $\{$-DI $\}$, irrespective of the roundness of vowels present within the verb stems.
(144) [Lev 5:1] gör-di- $\emptyset$ to see-PAST-3SG 'he saw'.
[Lev 8:15] tök-ti-Ø to pour out-PAST-3SG 'he poured out'.
[Lev 8:17] küy-dür-di- $\varnothing$ to burn-CAUS-PAST-3SG 'he burned'.

In other instances, we observe that, contrary to rounding harmony, consonant harmony is generally adhered to when the marker is appended to words ${ }^{103}$.
(145) [Lev 6:10] ver-di-m to give-PAST-1SG 'I have given'
[Lev 8:5] ayt-tï- $\varnothing$ to say-PAST-3SG 'he said'.
[Lev 10:5] sözlä-di- $\emptyset$ to say-PAST-3SG 'he had said’.

### 2.2.3.3.2. Present Tense

Doerfer (1959a: 278) identified several markers in Crimean Turkish and classified them as praesens durativum, which include $\{$-(A)yIr $\}$, $\{$-(I)yIr $\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{yUr}\},\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{yUr}\},\{$-(I)yur\}, \{-(U)yur\}, and \{-(A)yor\}. While these suffixes are not present in Prik's grammar (1976), Çulha (2019: 120) refers to them as present continuous tense markers and lists them for Crimean Karaim based on some Crimean Karaim mejumas that exhibit influences from Crimean Turkish features. It should be noted that this marker has been preserved since the early phases of Ottoman language in the 14th century. The marker was formed through the combination of a converb in $\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{A}\} \sim\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{I}\}$ with the aorist of the auxiliary verb yüri- 'to walk' (Kerslake 2022: 186). Subsequently, this form acquired a shortened version $\{$-(A)yür \}/\{-(I)yür \} by the end of the fifteenth century and eventually developed into the form \{-(I)yor\}, which appears as a progressive tense marker in Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 80). However, it is worth noting that these markers are absent in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 63-64), Western Karaim

[^68](Musaev 1977: 54-55), and texts written in Crimean Kipchak Karaim (Jankowski 2015a). This provides strong evidence for the influence of Ottoman Turkish on the analyzed data.

Table 59: Present Tense Markers

|  | Cr.Kar (based on mejumas) | Ot.Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{-(A)yIrIm \} | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-(I)yorum }\}, \\ & \{\text {-(U)yorum }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{Am}\} \\ & \{-\mathrm{yIm}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-AmIn \}, \{-Am \}, <br> \{-ymIn\}, $\{$-ym $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-Amen }\}, \\ & \{\text {-Am }\}, \\ & \{\text {-ymen }\}, \\ & \{\text {-ym }\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2SG | \{-(A)yIrsIn $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-(I)yorsun }\}, \\ & \{\text {-(U)yorsun }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-AsIy | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{AsIn}\},\{-\mathrm{As}\}, \\ & \{\text {-ysIn }\},\{-\mathrm{ys}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{- \text { Asen }\}, \\ & \{-A s\}, \\ & \{-y s e n\}, \\ & \{-y s\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3SG | \{-(A)yIrlAr $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{-(I)yor }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \text { yor }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-A\}, \{-y | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-AdIr }\},\{-\mathrm{AdI}\}, \\ & \{\text {-ydIr }\},\{-\mathrm{ydI}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-AdIr }\},\{-\mathrm{AdI}\}, \\ & \{\text {-ydIr }\},\{-\mathrm{ydI}\}, \\ & \{\text {-At }\},\{\text {-yt }\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 1PL | \{-(A)yIrIz | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \text { yoruz }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \text { yoruz }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{AmIz}\}, \\ & \{-\mathrm{ymIz}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-AbIz, , -ybIz | \{-AbIz $\}$, \{-ybIz \} |
| 2PL | \{-(A)yIrsIz \} | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{-(I)yorsuyuz }\} \\ & \{\text {-(U)yorsuyuz } \end{aligned}$ | \{-AsInIz\} | \{-AsIz $\},\{-y s I z\}$ | \{-AsIz, , -ysIz \} |
| 3PL | \{-(A)yIr $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{-(I)yorlar }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \text { yorlar }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{A}(\mathrm{lAr}), \\ & \{-\mathrm{y}(\mathrm{lAr})\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-AdIrlAr }\} \\ & \{\text {-AdlAr }\} \\ & \{\text {-ydlrlAr }\} \\ & \{\text {-ydlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-AdIrlAr }\},\{\text {-AdlAr }\} \\ & \{\text {-ydIrlAr }\},\{- \text {-ydlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ |

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, it is possible to find the markers $\{$-(a)yïr $\},\{$-yur $\}$ and $\{$-ïyïr $\}$, altogether 6 times. However, it is worth noting that except for one example in Chapter 25, all the examples appear in Chapter 11, which consists of the highest Crimean Turkish and/or Ottoman Turkish features among the other chapters. Hence, once again, the Lev of Göz. 1841 presents some Crimean Turkish features which are not present in Crimean Kipchak Karaim (and thus not in the most of the Crimean Karaim Bible translations), but Crimean Turkish Karaim.
[Lev 11:26]
ayïr-ma-yur- $\emptyset$
to divide-NEG-PRES-3SG
'it does not divide'
[Lev 11:26] gevšemäk getir-me-yir- $\emptyset$ to chew cud-NEG-PRES-3SG 'it does not chew the cud'.
[Lev 11:41/42] doy-ayür-Ø
to be born-PRES-3SG
'it swarms'.
[Lev 11:43]
kozla-yür-Ø
to lay eggs-PRES-3SG
'it lays eggs'.
[Lev 25:16]
sat-ïyür-Ø
to sell-PRES-3SG
'he is selling'.
Another present tense marker occurs in the book as \{-AydIr\}. Jankowski (1997: 15) also mentions this type of present tense marker which indicates the progressive actions in contrast to habitual ones. In our data, there are only examples of 1 SG : $\{$-eydirmin $\}, 3 \mathrm{SG}:\{$-AydIr $\}$, and 3PL: \{-aydïrlar\}, which appears altogether 13 times.
(147) [Lev 14:34]
[Lev 15:23]
[Lev 17:5, 21:9]
[Lev 17:7]
[Lev 18:3, 20:22] getir-äydir-min
[Lev 18:24, 20:23] sür-äydir-min
[Lev 21:6]
[Lev 21:8]
ver-äydir-min
otur-aydïr- $\varnothing$
et-äydir-lär
az-aydïr-lar
yuvuklaštir-aydïr-lar
yuvuklaštïr-aydïr
to give-PRES-1SG
'I am giving'.
to sit-PRES-3SG
'she is sitting'.
to do-PRES-3PL
'they are doing'.
to go astray-PRES-3PL
'they are going astray'.
to bring-PRES-1SG
'I am bringing'.
to drive away-PRES-1SG
'I am driving away'.
to bring forward-PRES-3PL
'they are bringing forward'.
to bring forward-PRES-3SG
'he is bringing forward'.

It should be emphasized that while the aforementioned marker bears resemblance to those delineated in Table 59 for Western Karaim, the precise forms have not been documented for Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and Prik's (1976) Crimean Karaim grammar.

### 2.2.3.3.3. Aorist

The aorist marker $\{-(\mathrm{X}) \mathrm{r}\}$ is a feature shared by Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 39), and as a result, we can find similar forms of this marker in Crimean Turkish ${ }^{104}$ (Doerfer 1959a: 278), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 64-65), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 152-153), and all three dialects of Karaim (Prik 1976: 138; Musaev 1977: 55-56).

Table 60: Aorist Markers

|  | Cr.Kar | Ot. Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-(A)rIm }\}, \\ & \{\text {-(I)rIm }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rIm}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rIm}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rUm}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rIm}\} \\ & \{\text {-(I)rIm }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rmIn}\}, \\ & \{\text {-(I)rmIn }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rmIn}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rmen}\}, \\ & \{\text {-(I)rmen }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \text { rmen }\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2SG | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIn}\} \\ & \{\text {-(I)rsIy }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIn}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsIn}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rsUn}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIy}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsIn}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIn}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsIn}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rs} \mathrm{Un}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \text { rsen }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsen}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{rsen}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3SG | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{r}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{r}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{r}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 1PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rmIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rmIz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-(A)rIz }\}, \\ & \{\text {-(I)rIz }\}, \\ & \{\text {-(U)rUz }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rmIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rmIz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rbIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rbIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rbIz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rbIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rbIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{rbIz}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIz}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsIz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIgIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsInIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rs} U \eta \mathrm{Uz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \operatorname{rsI}(\mathrm{yI}) \mathrm{z}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \operatorname{rsI}(\mathrm{nI}) \mathrm{z}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIz}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rsIz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rsIz}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rsIz}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{rsIz}\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 3PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rlAr}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rl} \mathrm{Ar}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rl} \mathrm{Ar}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}(\mathrm{l} \mathrm{Ar})\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}(\mathrm{AAr})\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{rlAr}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{rlAr}\} \end{aligned}$ |

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, aorist markers are used to form the future/present tense. These markers manifest as $\{-(\mathrm{i}) \mathrm{r}\},-\{(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}$, and $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{r}\}$ depending on the fronting and rounding harmony, and are followed by personal endings that differ slightly from those described in

[^69]Prik's grammar (1976: 138), e.g., 1SG: \{-ArmIn \}; 2SG: -; 3SG: \{-Ar\}, \{-ur\}, \{-ir\}; 1PL: -; 2PL: $\{-\operatorname{ArsIz}\} ; 3$ PL: $\{-\operatorname{Ar}(1 \mathrm{Ar})\}$. It can be observed that the 1 SG personal marker $\{-\mathrm{mIn}\}$ is not present in the aforementioned languages, except for Trakai Karaim. However, the fluctuation in 1SG: $\{-\mathrm{Im}\},\{-\mathrm{mIn}\},\{-\mathrm{men}\}, 2 \mathrm{SG}:\{-\mathrm{sIn}\},\{-\mathrm{sIy}\},\{-\mathrm{sen}\}$, and 2PL: $\{-$ sIz $\},\{-\mathrm{sIjIz}\},\{-$ sInIz $\}$ can be noticed in Crimean Turkish (1959a: 278-279) as well.

There exists a slight discrepancy between our data and Prik's description in terms of rounding harmony. Specifically, in the Lev of the Göz. 1841, only 13 occurrences were found for six distinct lexical items, where verb stems had rounded vowels, and the same rounding was reflected in the aorist suffix.
(148) [Lev 11:32] yap-ul-ur- $\varnothing$ to do-PASS-AOR-3SG 'it is done'.
[Lev 11:39] ül-ür-s̈̈-Ø to die-AOR-COND-3SG 'if it dies'.
[Lev 11:32] ol-ur- $\emptyset$ to become-AOR-3SG 'it will become'.
[Lev 25:19; 26:5] otur-ur-sïz to dwell-AOR-2PL 'you will dwell'.
However, in the majority of examples, the rounding harmony was not observed for this marker.
(149) [Lev 13:34] temiz bol-ïr- $\emptyset$ to become clean-AOR-3SG 'he will be clean'.
[Lev 22:9] öl-är-lär to die-AOR-3PL 'they will die'.
The variation in the use of the aorist marker in the text could be attributed to the specific characteristics of some chapters that display a strong influence of Oghuzic and/or Ottoman Turkish features. This could be seen in the presence of the variant of the aorist marker $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{r}\}$ in Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 278) and Ottoman Turkish (as indicated in Table 60), which could have had an impact on the usage of the marker in the text.

### 2.2.3.3.4. Future Tense

The present text furnishes a solitary illustration for the categorical future tense marker, namely $\{-\mathrm{A} \check{\mathrm{Ak}}\}^{105}$, which conveys an event's anticipated occurrence in the future. Nevertheless, the aforementioned marker performs a distinctive function in the example expounded below, wherein it serves as a thematic marker that is succeeded by an auxiliary verb attached to the conditional mood marker $\{$-sa (see section 2.2.3.4.4.).

[^70]Similar forms of the categorical future tense marker are found in several Turkic languages, e.g., C.Tat, \{-Ǎ̌Ak\}, \{-y̌̌Ak\} (Kavitskaya 2010: 66); C.Tur, \{-eక̌ek\}, \{-ažaḥ\} (Doerfer 1959a: 279); C.Kar, \{-Ǎ̧Ak\}; \{-y̧̌Ak\}; Ot.Tur \{-Ǎ̧Ak\} (Kissling 1960: 75-76). However, it is important to mention that in Western Karaim languages, the categorical future tense is marked by the use of the marker \{-QAy\}, which also serves as an optative mood marker (Musaev 1977: 54-55). Additionally, it should be acknowledged that the optative marker \{-QAy\} has been found to have prospective functions in other Turkic languages as well (Johanson 2022b: 113). Nevertheless, in our data, the marker \{-QAy\} only appears in the optative mood and not in any instance of the future tense, as indicated in section 2.2.2.4.3. Consequently, the use of this tense marker in our text differs from that of Western Karaim.

### 2.2.3.4. Mood

The present study's data encompasses four categories of mood, namely imperative, voluntative, optative, and conditional. It is worth noting that there exists a close connection between the imperative, voluntative, and optative moods in Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 39). As shown below, some scholars have made different categorizations for the same markers in certain Turkic languages. In the interest of clarity, this study has adopted the descriptions of other studies for the purpose of categorization.

### 2.2.3.4.1. Imperative

The imperative mood, customarily employed to issue directives, is exemplified extensively in the dataset, given that the Book of Leviticus predominantly comprises imperative sentences. This mood is formed with various markers in the Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 269; Prik 1976: 143), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 70), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 278), and Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 88-89). It typically has forms for the second person singular and plural.

Table 61: Imperative Mood Markers

|  | Cr.Kar | Cr.Tur | Ot. Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2SG | $\{-\varnothing\}$ | $\{-\varnothing\}$ | $\{-\varnothing\}$ | $\{-\varnothing\}$ | $\{-\varnothing\},\{-$ QIn $\}$, | $\{-\varnothing\},\{-$ QIn $\}$, |


|  | Cr.Kar | Cr.Tur | Ot. Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | \{-QUn\} | \{-kun\}, \{-yun\} |
| 2PL | \{-(I)ŋIz \} | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{In}\},\{-\mathrm{In}\}, \\ & \{-\mathrm{IgIz}\}, \\ & \{-\mathrm{Ig} \mathrm{Iz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{I}(\mathrm{yI}) \mathrm{z}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{U}(\mathrm{n} \mathrm{U}) \mathrm{z}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-(I) yIz \} | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{yIz}\} \\ & \{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{yUz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{nIz}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{nuz}\} \end{aligned}$ |

As noted, Prik (1976: 144) does not include the 2SG.IMP markers \{-QIn\} and \{-QUn\} for Crimean Karaim in her description, instead considering them as features of Western Karaim. However, Jankowski's study (1997: 16) and Çulha's description (2019: 122-123) both include these forms for Crimean Karaim. Consistent with these sources, our data includes examples of the 2SG.IMP suffix as $\{$-QIn $\}$, while the 2PL.IMP suffix appears as $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathfrak{y} \mathrm{Iz}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y I z}\}$, or $\{-(U) \mathfrak{y} U z\}$.

As expected, in our dataset, the diverse forms of the imperative marker \{-QIn\} are determined in accordance with both the vowel and consonant harmony present within the verb stem.
(151) [Lev 2:15] ver-gin to give-2SG.IMP 'give'.
[Lev 9:2] al-yïn to take-2SG.IMP 'take'.
[Lev 19:10] kemiš-kin to throw away-2SG.IMP 'throw away'.
[Lev 25:3] sač-k̈̈n to sow-2SG.IMP 'sow'.
In the matter of 2PL.IMP markers, it is significant to note that the variant $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{yUz}\}$ appears in a mere three instances within the text, where both complete and partial rounding harmony are adhered to in the context of the 2PL.IMP suffix.
(152) [Lev 11:44/45] ol-uŋuz to be-2PL.IMP 'you shall be'.

Aside from these three instances identified in Chapter 11, rounding harmony is exclusively witnessed in the initial connective vowel of the 2PL.IMP as $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{gIz}\}$ when the verb stem concludes with a consonant in a rounded syllable, a scenario that only presents itself in two occurrences.
(153) [Lev 8:35] otur-uŋïz to sit-2PL.IMP 'you shall sit'.
[Lev 20:15] öldür-üyiz to kill-2PL.IMP 'you shall kill'.

Finally, it is worth noting that the bare verb stem was not used to form the 2SG.IMP mood in the Lev of the Göz. 1841, which is a common practice in many Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, and Ottoman Turkish (Johanson 2022a: 39). Although this type of 2SG.IMP is also listed for Western Karaim, the specific markers listed in Table 61 are mostly encountered in Western Bible Karaim translations. Therefore, this feature distinguishes the language of our data from Crimean Turkish Karaim.

### 2.2.3.4.2. Voluntative

In our text, the voluntative mood is expressed through forms for $1 \mathrm{SG}, 1 \mathrm{PL}, 3 \mathrm{SG}$, and 3PL and is used to convey offers for actions by the subject or to represent the subject's indirect commands, wishes, and demands.

In our data, we encounter only two examples of the 1SG.VOL marker \{-äyim\} and the 1PL.VOL marker $\{-\mathrm{lïm}\}$.
(154) [Lev 20:24] ver-ä-yim to give-VOL-1SG 'I shall give; let me give'.
[Lev 25:20] aša-lïm to eat-VOL-1PL 'we shall eat; let us eat'.
The text features 3SG.VOL markers in the forms of $\{-\mathrm{sIn}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{sUn}\}$, while 3PL.VOL markers are represented by $\{$-sInlAr\} and $\{$-sUnlAr $\}$. Notably, the application of rounding harmony in the examples containing these markers in the text is generally inconsistent. In the majority of examples, the rounding harmony is not observed.
[Lev 1:11] soy-sïn to slay-3SG.VOL 'he shall slay'.
[Lev 6:11] ayruhsï bol-sïn to be sacred-3SG.VOL 'he shall be sacred'.
[Lev 13:3] gör-sin to see-3SG.VOL 'he shall see'.
However, it should be noted that there are a total of 13 instances in Chapters 11 and 23 where the rounded variants $\{-\mathrm{sUn}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{sUnlAr}\}$ are attested.
(156) [Lev 11:11/35] ol-sunlar to be-3PL.VOL 'they shall be'.
[Lev 11:35] boz-ul-sun to destroy-PASS-3SG.VOL 'it shall be destroyed’.
[Lev 23:42] otur-sunlar to dwell-3PL.VOL 'they shall dwell'.

Similar and different markers are found in other Turkic languages as well. The table below illustrates the situation in Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 269, 286; Prik 1976: 143, 145),

Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 278), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 171), and Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 70; Doerfer 1959b: 387).

Table 62: Voluntative Mood Markers

|  | Cr.Kar | Cr.Tur | Ot. Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{-(A)yIm | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{yIm}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{ym}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{yIn}\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-(y)AyIm \} | \{-(A)yIm | \{-(A)yIm \} | \{-(A)yIm |
| 2SG | - | $\begin{aligned} & \{-s A n A\}, \\ & \{-s A \eta A\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-sAnA | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{sAnA}\} \\ & \{-\mathrm{sAyA}\} \end{aligned}$ | - | - |
| 3SG | \{-sIn $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{- \text { sIn }\}, \\ & \{- \text { sUn }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-sIn }\}, \\ & \{- \text { sUn }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-sIn \} | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-sIn }\} \\ & \{\text {-sUn }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{- \text { sIn }\}, \\ & \{- \text { sun }\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 1PL | \{-(A)yIK | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{yIK}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{a}) \mathrm{yïh}\} \\ & \{\text {-(A)yK }\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{a}) \mathrm{yh}\}, \\ & \{\text {-(A)IIm }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-(y)AIIm \} | \{-(A)yIK $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{yIK}\} \\ & \{\text {-(a)yïh }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-(A)yIK }\}, \\ & \{\text {-(a)yïḥ }\} \end{aligned}$ |
| 2PL | - | - | \{-sAyIzA | - | - | - |
| 3PL | \{-sInlAr $\}$ | \{-sInlAr | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-sInlAr }\}, \\ & \{\text {-sUnlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-sInlAr $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-sInlAr }\} \\ & \{\text {-sUnlAr }\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-sInlAr }\}, \\ & \{\text {-sunlar }\} \end{aligned}$ |

The 1SG.VOL marker $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{yIm}\}$ is attested in all of the languages listed above. However, the 1PL.VOL marker $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{IIm}\}$ is not listed in Crimean Tatar, Western Karaim, and Prik's Crimean Karaim grammar. Therefore, this marker appears to be a feature of Crimean Turkish and/or Ottoman Turkish, as demonstrated in the Table 62. On the other hand, the 3SG and 3PL voluntative mood markers $\{$-sIn $\}$ and $\{$-sInlAr $\}$ are present in all of the languages listed, including Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 269; Prik 1976: 143), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 70), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 278), and Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 87). It is worth noting that the presence of rounded counterparts of these affixes in our dataset has not been documented in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Karaim, and Crimean Turkish. Their appearance might be attributed to Ottoman Turkish influence.

### 2.2.3.4.3. Optative

The optative mood is closely related to the voluntative mood as it also expresses the subject's desires, wishes, hope, and also polite commands. In specific structures, it is also used as the
subjunctive mood (Jankowski 1997: 16). Thus in our dataset, it is difficult to distinguish these two moods. In Prik's Crimean Karaim grammar (1976: 143-145) and Doerfer's description for Crimean Turkish (1959a: 278), there is no distinction between the optative and imperative mood markers. However, Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 88), Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 70-71), and Western Karaim (Musaev 1964: 286) present some different optative mood markers.

Table 63: Optative Mood Markers

|  | Ot. Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{-(y)Am $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-QAydIm }\}, \\ & \{\text {-QAyIm }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-GeymIn\}, <br> \{-heymIn\} | \{-QAymen\} |
| 2SG | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{AsIn}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{AsUn}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{-QAydIn\}, } \\ & \{\text {-QAysIn }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-GeysIn\}, <br> \{-heysIn\} | \{-QAysIn \} |
| 3SG | \{-(y)A $\}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{-\mathrm{QAydI}\}, \\ & \{-\mathrm{QAy}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-Gey }, \\ & \{\text {-hey } \end{aligned}$ | \{-QAy \} |
| 1PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{AyIz}\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{AyUz}\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \{-QAydIK\}, } \\ & \{\text {-QAymIz } \end{aligned}$ | $\{\text {-GeybIz }\},$ <br> \{-heybIz\} | \{-QAybIz |
| 2PL | $\begin{aligned} & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \operatorname{AsI}(\mathrm{yI}) z\}, \\ & \{-(\mathrm{y}) \operatorname{AsU}(\mathrm{g} U) z\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-QAydIyIz }\}, \\ & \{-\mathrm{QAyI}(\mathrm{gI}) z\} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-GeysIz\}, } \\ & \{\text {-heysIz }\} \end{aligned}$ | \{-QAysIz\} |
| 3PL | \{-(y)A(1Ar) $\}$ | \{-QAydIIAr\}, | $\begin{aligned} & \{\text {-GeylAr }\}, \\ & \{\text {-heylAr } \end{aligned}$ | \{-QAylAr\} |

Our data exhibits a mixed characteristic from the languages mentioned above, as it contains both $\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{A}\}$ and $\{-\mathrm{QAy}\}$ markers that are attached to verb stems. Among them, the 3SG.OPT marker $\{-(y) a\}$ appears five times ${ }^{106}$ in the text.
(157) [Lev 15:3; 20:9/11/12] ol-a- $\varnothing$ to be-OPT-3SG 'it shall be'.

In other examples, we find the 2PL.OPT markers $\{-(y) e s i z\}$ and $\{-(y)$ äsiz $\}$ a total of 6 times. In these examples, we also find the negation marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$, which is attached to the verb stems.
(158) [Lev 11:4/42] ye-me-yesiz to eat-NEG-2PL.OPT 'you shall not eat'.

[^71][Lev 11:9] ye-yesiz to eat-2PL.OPT 'you shall eat'.
[Lev 11:44] id-me-yäsiz to do-NEG-2PL.OPT 'you shall not do'.
The dataset reveals that optative mood markers manifest as \{-QAy\} a total of 11 times, which have not been documented for Ottoman Turkish.
(159) [Lev 17:5] korban et-käy-lär to make sacrifice-OPT-3PL
'they shall make sacrifice'.
[Lev 19:17] ček-mä-gäy-sin
to bear-NEG-OPT-2SG 'you shall not bear'.
[Lev 23:2] čakür-уay-sïz
to call-OPT-2PL
'you shall call'.
According to Prik's grammar (1976: 145-146), the optative mood marker \{-QAy\} is characterized as a feature of Western Karaim. Similarly, Doerfer (1959a: 279) suggests that the markers \{-yay\} and \{-gey\} occasionally appear in Crimean Turkish due to influence from Northern Crimean Tatar. Consequently, our dataset exhibits a combination of both Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak linguistic characteristics for this mood.

### 2.2.3.4.4. Conditional

The conditional mood marker in many Turkic languages, including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 70), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 278), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 81, 8385), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 290; Prik 1976: 148), takes the form of $\{-s A\}$ attached to the verb stem. This suffix undergoes fronting harmony and is followed by the personal endings.

Table 64: Conditinal Mood Markers

|  | Cr.Kar | Cr.Tur | Ot. Tur | Cr.Tat | T.Kar | H. Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1SG | \{-sAm $\}$ | \{-sAm $\}$ | \{-sAm $\}$ | \{-sAm $\}$ | \{-sAm \} | \{-sAm $\}$ |
| 2SG | \{-sAn\} | \{-SAn\} | \{-sAn\} | \{-sAn\} | \{-sAy $\}$ | \{-sAn\} |
| 3SG | \{-sA $\}$ | \{-sA $\}$ | \{-sA\} | \{-sA $\}$ | \{-sA\} | \{-sA\} |
| 1PL | \{-sAK \} | \{-sAK $\}$ | \{-sAK $\}$ | \{-sAK $\}$ | \{-sah \}, \{-sek \} | \{-sAK $\}$ |
| 2 PL | \{-sAnIz $\}$ | \{-sAnIz $\}$ | \{-sAnIz $\}$ | \{-sAnIz $\}$ | \{-sAyIz $\}$ | \{-sAnIz $\}$ |
| 3PL | \{-sAlAr | \{-sAlAr $\}$ | \{-sAlAr\} | \{-sAlAr $\}$ | \{-sAlAr\} | \{-sAlAr $\}$ |

The conditional relation may be emphasized through the use of the conjunction egär which was borrowed from Persian. However, it is not obligatory to use this conjunction. The majority of examples in our data show that the conditional marker $\{-\mathrm{sA}\}$ is attached to the verb stem without any tense markers. This type of conditional structure refers to hypothetical actions or states in many Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 42). However, a detailed investigation of the context reveals that it does not necessarily imply a hypothetical or unlikely scenario, but rather potential actions or states that may happen in the future.
$\left.\begin{array}{llll}\text { (160) } & {[\text { Lev 14:34] }} & \text { ver-sä-m } & \text { to give-COND-1SG }\end{array}\right]$ 'if I give'.

In our dataset, we found a total of 13 examples in which the conditional suffix is attached to the verb stem following the aorist marker. In contrast, in two examples, the conditional suffix is attached to the $e-/ i$ - clitic, which comes after a thematic stem composed of an aorist marker. These structures are frequently encountered in other Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 42) and refer to potential actions or states of the subject. Therefore, our data does not reveal any distinction between these structures and the previously discussed one.
(161) [Lev 3:1] yuvuklaštïr-ïr e-sä- $\emptyset$ to bring forward-AOR CL-COND-3SG 'if he brings forward'.
[Lev 11:34] gel-ir-se-Ø
to come-AOR-COND-3SG
'if he comes'.
[Lev 11:39] ül-ür-sä- $\emptyset$
to die-AOR-COND-3SG
'if it dies'.

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, a total of 11 examples can be found where the conditional mood is used to indicate actions that may have already occurred. It is noteworthy that all of these examples contain the clitic $e-/ i-$. The past tense marker is attached to the thematic stem, and the clitic $e-/ i$ - is followed by the conditional marker.
[Lev 5:21] al-dï i-sä-Ø
to take-PAST
CL-COND-3SG
'if he has taken'.
[Lev 13:4] degiširil-mä-di e-s̈̈-Ø to change (int.)-NEG-PAST CL-COND-3SG 'if it has not changed'.
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { [Lev 13:37] } & \text { tur-di } & e \text {-sä- } \varnothing & \text { to stop-PAST } \\ & & \text { 'if it has stopped'. }\end{array}$
In a single example found in the text, the conditional marker was attached to thematic stem, whereas the past tense marker followed the clitic $e$-. However, it is worth noting that the personal marker was attached to both the thematic stem and the clitic $e$ - in this instance, which could possibly be attributed to a scribal error.
(163) [Lev 10:19] aša-sa-m e-y-dim to eat-COND-1SG CL-CONN-PAST-1SG 'if I had eaten'.

Finally, in our dataset, a solitary instance exhibits the future tense marker \{-aǰak\} succeeded by an auxiliary verb bearing the conditional marker. This conditional mood construction represents hypothetical actions or states that may occur any time in the future.
[Lev 1:2] yuvuklaštir-ažak to bring forward-FUT 'if he ever brings |it| forward'.
ol-sa-Ø
AUX-COND-3SG

### 2.2.3.5. Converbs

It is important to acknowledge that the data being examined encompasses a variety of converbs, which arise from the integration of thematic suffixes, adverbial cases, possessive suffixes, and postpositions. Combinations such as [\{QAN\}+POSS+CASE+ POST] and [\{DIK\}+POSS+CASE+ POST] will be explored in a separate section (see section 2.3.1.3.1.). This section is devoted exclusively to the analysis of individual markers. Prior to enumerating the relevant markers, it is pertinent to highlight that the verbal noun marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ operates as a converb marker in merely a single lexeme, which appears with considerable frequency (a total of 50 instances).
(165) [Lev 1:1] de-mä to say-VN 'saying'.

Musaev (1964: 296) likewise noted an analogous occurrence of this marker in Trakai Karaim, as demonstrated by comparable examples, e.g., d́eḿa 'saying'; ḱorḿa 'seeing'. Nevertheless, this marker will not be categorized as a converb marker in the present discussion, as its employment is ascribed to the impact of Biblical Hebrew. This influence adheres to the
source text, rather than exemplifying a generative application, for which additional instances could be identified.
(166) [Lev 1:1] B.Heb: lê.mōr Preposition-l.to-say.V:QAL.INF.CONS
$\mathbf{A - )}\{\mathbf{- A}\} ;\{-\mathbf{y}\}:$ The marker under investigation is manifested as $\{-\mathrm{A}\}$ in verbs with terminal consonants in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 77), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 95-96), and Karaim dialects (Prik 1976: 122; Musaev 1977: 61). Conversely, following verbs with final vowels, it adopts the shape of $\{-y\}$ in Crimean Tatar and Karaim dialects, while it is presented as $\{-y A\}$ in Ottoman Turkish.

Within the analyzed data, a sparse two lexicalized items were initially marked by the converb marker under investigation. The first example is the postposition görä, representing 'according to' and derived from the verb gör 'to see'. The postposition assimilated the converb marker $\{-a ̈\}$. Another instance discovered in the data is the solidified verbal adjective ayayturyan, which conveys the meaning of 'flowing'. This word is composed of the verb $a k$ 'to flow', followed by the converb marker $\{-\mathrm{a}\}$, subsequently $\{-\mathrm{y}\}$, and the auxiliary verb tur- with the participle $\left\{-\mathrm{z}^{2}\right\}$. It is likely that this structure originated from an inadvertent error, as it encompasses both the converb marker $\{-\mathrm{a}\}$ and the $\{-\mathrm{y}\}$. The participle ayayturyan is found in Crimean Karaim (CKED: 34; KRPS: 43), while in Western Karaim, the simultaneous use of two converb markers is not present in the equivalent form of the aforementioned term, e.g., [Lev 20:24] H.Kar (J.Sul.III.01) aktïradoyan; T.Kar (ADub.III.73): ayadoyan ‘flowing’.

B-) $\{-\mathbf{I p}\} ;\{-\mathbf{U p}\}:$ This morpheme is frequently observed in Turkic languages, typically represented as $\{-(X) p\}$, such as in Crimean Tatar $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{p}\}$ (Kavitskaya 2010: 77), Crimean Karaim \{-(I)p\} (Prik 1976: 121), Trakai Karaim \{-(I)p\}, \{-(U)p\}, and Halich Karaim \{-(I)p\}, \{-(u)p\} (Musaev 1977: 61). In Ottoman Turkish, however, the forms $\{-(y) I p\}$ and $\{-(y) \mathrm{Up}\}$ are encountered (Hagopian 1907: 208). Both of these variants are also present in Crimean Turkish, exemplified by sävläyip, meaning 'saying', and its synonymous term, sävläp (Doerfer 1959a: 278).

The dataset includes 20 instances of this particular converb marker. Nevertheless, since all verb stems in these examples conclude with a consonant, it remains unclear whether the marker would incorporate the linking $-y$-, which is solely identifiable in verbs with vowel-ending stems. In the majority of cases within the dataset, the markers manifest as $\{$-Ip $\}$.

> al-їp
to take-CONV 'taking'.
[Lev 8:33] toldur-ïp to fill-CONV 'filling'.
[Lev 11:24] tiy-ip to touch-CONV 'touching'.
Notably, in a pair of verbs (appearing five times in total) within our dataset, it has been observed that the converb markers undergo vowel rounding harmony, a characteristic that has not been documented for Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, and Crimean Karaim.
(168) [Lev 19:13] dut-up to hold-CONV 'holding'.
[Lev 19:20] ol-up to be-CONV 'being'.

### 2.2.3.6. Participles

A-) \{-(A)r\}: Our dataset features a single lexical item that appears six times, in which the unproductive participle marker $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}$ is demonstrable. This marker is also found in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 190-191), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 81), and all three dialects of Karaim (Zajączkowski 1932: 99-101; Çulha 2019: 132).
(169) [Lev 12:6] yaša-r to live-PART 'years old'.

B-) $\{-(\mathbf{I}) \mathbf{v c ̌} \mathbf{I}\} ;\{-(\mathbf{u}) \mathbf{v c ̌ i ́}\} ;\{-\mathbf{i z ̌} i \mathbf{i}\}:$ Participles formed with these markers typically convey properties related to the subject or object they refer to. Analogous variants of these markers have been documented in several other Turkic languages, e.g., C.Tat $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{v}$ §̆I $\}$, $\{-\mathrm{I} \check{\mathrm{J} I}\}$ (Jankowski 2010: 190, 221); C.Kar \{-(I)vక̌I\}, \{-(I)vక̌U\} (Öztürk 2019: 36); Ot.Tur\{-(y)Uక̌U\}, \{-(y)İ̌̌I\} (Zajączkowski 1932: 97-98); T.Kar \{-(U)včU\}, and H.Kar \{-(u)vcu\}, \{-(i)vci\} (Zajączkowski 1932: 61-62; Musaev 1964: 308). In the entire Lev of the Göz. 1841, two instances of the same lexical item were identified, featuring the marker $\{$-(i) $\overline{\mathrm{i}} \mathrm{i}\}$.
to ache-CAUS-PART 'the thing which causes pain'.

Nonetheless, the text also exhibits forms such as $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{vč} \mathrm{I}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{vči}\}$, fulfilling the same function. In several instances, rounding harmony was solely observed in their connective vowels.

| (171) [Lev 17:14] aša-včïlar | to eat-PART-PL |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | 'the ones who eat'. |

[Lev 20:8] ayruhsï et-ivči to sanctify-PART
[Lev 24:18] $u r-u v c ̌ i$ 'the one who sanctifies'. to kill-PART 'the one who kills'.

As previously stated (refer to Section 2.2.1.1.1.2), in a significant number of instances, this marker functions as a deverbal formative marker for nominals.
$\mathbf{C}-)\{-(\mathbf{y}) \mathbf{A}$ 今̌AK $\}$ : It is employed five times throughout the entire text and can be found in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 77) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 187). However, it is not present in Western Karaim and Prik's Crimean Karaim Grammar ${ }^{107}$.
[Lev 11:47] aša-l-ă̧ak. to eat-PASS-PART
'the thing that is going to be eaten'.
[Lev 14:4] temiz bol-ă̧ak to be clean-PART
'the one who will be cleansed'.
[Lev 25:22] gel-ḝäk to come-PART
'the thing that is going to be come in'.
In one example we find the negation marker $\{-m a\}$, that is attached to the verb stem, where the connective $-y$ - in $\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{A}$ 今̌AK $\}$ also appears.
(172) [Lev 11:47] aša-l-ma-y-ă̧ak to eat-PASS-NEG-CONN-PART
'the thing which is not going to be eaten'.
D-) \{-QAn\}; \{-(y)An\}: The participle $\{-\mathrm{QAn}\}$ is prevalent in a multitude of Turkic languages, encompassing the central and northern dialects of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 76), Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 279), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 304; Prik 1976: 118). In fact, an Oghuzic variant of this morpheme exists, materializing as $\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{An}\}$ in Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 90), the Southern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 76), and Crimean Turkish (Doerfer 1959a: 279). Mirroring the situation in Crimean Turkish, our data showcases both variants, thereby highlighting the heterogeneous nature of

[^72]this participle. It is important to note that these markers signify entities engaged in or subjected to past or continuous actions ${ }^{108}$.

In the dataset at hand, the participle \{-QAn\} manifests itself a cumulative total of 297 times throughout all chapters, with the sole exception of Chapter 1. Predictably, this form is created in accordance with both vowel and consonant harmony when appended to verb stems.

| (173) | sev 7:14] | sač-kan | to sprinkle-PART |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | 'the one who sprinkles'.

As previously elaborated, the participle $\{-(y) A n\}$ represents the Oghuzic equivalent of the Kipchak participle marker \{-QAn\}. This variant is identified a total of 27 times (involving 16 distinct verbs) within the text, rendering the Kipchak variant significantly more prevalent than this specific Oghuzic participle marker ( $92 \%$ to $8 \%$ ). Furthermore, the Oghuzic feature appears in chapters $1,2,4,11,21,23$, and 27 , with Chapter 11 exhibiting remarkable results, as nearly $75 \%$ of the examples ( 20 instances) are found in that particular chapter.
(174) [Lev 1:16] tök-il-än to pour-PASS-PART 'the thing which was poured'.

| [Lev 2:7] | piš-en | to be cooked-PART | 'the thing which was cooked'. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 11:25] | taši-yan | to carry-PART | 'the one who carries'. |
| [Lev 11:46] | doyur-an | to give birth-PART | 'the one who gives birth'. |

E-) \{-mIš\}: This postterminal participle is discernible in the Eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 189), Crimean Karaim (Prik 1976: 118), and Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 89-90). Contrastingly, it is absent in Western Karaim as per Musaev's accounts (1964: 302-309; 1977: 62) ${ }^{109}$. Within our data, a sole example of the participle marker $\{$-miš $\}$ is presented.

[^73]F-) \{-DIK\}: In our dataset, this participle invariably follows possessive markers, during which the consonant $k / k$ consistently undergoes voicing to $\gamma / g$ (with the exception of verbs containing the 3PL.POSS marker). It is documented in the Eastern dialect of Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 193) and Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 187). Nonetheless, it is unattested in Prik's Crimean Karaim grammar and Western Karaim. Within our dataset, all occurrences are observed in the context of 3 SG.
yuvuklaštïr-d̈̈z-̈̈
to offer-PART-3SG.POSS
'on the day that he offers'.

| [Lev 7:36] | sil-dig-i | gün + dän |
| :--- | :--- | ---: |
|  | to anoint-PART-3SG.POSS | day+ABL |

### 2.2.3.7. Verbal Nouns

A-) $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ : The verbal noun marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ is frequently observed in Turkic languages, with evidence present in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 191-192), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 90-91), and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 294-296; Prik 1976: 116).

| (177) | $[$ Lev 11:21] | sičra-ma | to leap-VN |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'leaping'.

B-) $\{-\mathrm{mAK}\}$ : The infinitive marker $\{-\mathrm{mAK}\}$ is quite common starting from early stages of Turkic languages (Johanson 2022c: 138), including Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 75), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 68-69) and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 296; Prik 1976: 115).
$\left.\begin{array}{clll}\text { (178) } & {[\text { Lev 8:15] }} & \text { et-mäk+kä } & \text { to make-INF-DAT }\end{array}\right]$ 'to make'.

### 2.2.4. Conjunctions

Our analysis has identified a variety of conjunctions present in the text. Notably, these conjunctions are predominantly of foreign origin, a characteristic shared among many Turkic languages, such as Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 2010: 268-272), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 230-233), and three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 321-327; Prik 1976: 157-158).

A significant feature observed in the use of conjunctions in Karaim Bible translations relates to the interpretation of the Biblical Hebrew conjunction - ! [və], which conveys meanings such as 'and', 'but', 'also', and 'then' (LVTL: 244-246). In Karaim translations, this Hebrew conjunction is represented by $d a$, primarily defined as 'and', 'too', or 'also' (CKED: 130). However, due to the literal translation approach, $d a$ also functions in the mentioned meanings. The high frequency of this conjunction in the original text is reflected in our dataset, with a total of 1,761 instances recorded.

Below, we showcase the conjunctions identified in our dataset, categorized based on their respective functions.

## A-) Connective

[Lev 1:1]
[Lev 11:3; 11:7]
$v e ; v a ̈$
[Lev 18:7; 19:23]
ya'ne; ya'ni

## B-) Disjunctive

[Lev 7:26]

$$
\begin{equation*}
\text { ne... ne }(d a) \ldots \tag{180}
\end{equation*}
$$

[Lev 10:7]
[Lev 21:2]

$$
y a \ldots(y a) \ldots
$$

## C-) Adversative

[Lev 2:12]
$d a$
amma
[Lev 11:4] farzam ki 'although'.
'and; then; also'.
'and'.
'that is (to say)'.
[Lev 11:4]
[Lev 21:22]
lakin

## D-) Conditional

[Lev 13:26]
[Lev 26:37]
tutki 'as if'.

E-) Causal
[Lev 17:5;]
[Lev 12:5; 16:34]
[Lev 17:11] zira
[Lev 11:44] ki (of Hebrew origin) 'for, since; because'.

### 2.3. Syntax and Morphosyntax

This section will succinctly outline the syntactic and morphosyntactic characteristics of our dataset. It's important to note that all translations in the Karaim Bible consistently exhibit a common trait: they strictly adhere to the word and sentence order of Biblical Hebrew and show numerous instances of code copying (see Kowalski 1929: xxxviii-xxxix; Pritsak 1959: 338339; Musaev 2004; Csató 2011; Olach 2013: 151-185;). It is worth noting that some of these properties do not appear in the spoken language (Musaev 1977: 69), while most of them can also be attributed to Slavic influence due to areal contacts (Csató 2011: 177-180). Given that a detailed analysis of the influence of Biblical Hebrew would not serve as a distinct feature to determine the language of our dataset, this study does not delve into an exhaustive examination of its impact ${ }^{110}$. Instead, it provides a brief overview of the general characteristics. Finally, in this section, we primarily provide examples from Biblical Hebrew with English glosses, except for the parts that require further examination.

### 2.3.1 Phrases

### 2.3.1.1. Nominal Phrases

The word order within nominal phrases partly exhibits Turkic traits. Among these traits, a commonly encountered Turkic order pattern in a nominal phrase can be seen: 'cardinal

[^74]number+adjective attribute+head' (Johanson 2022a: 43), e.g., [Lev 8:26] bir kalïn mača 'one unleavened cake'. Note that due to the meticulous rendering of the Hebrew Bible's definite article $\begin{array}{r}\text { ar } \\ \square\end{array}$ ha] by the Karaim demonstrative pronoun ol (see section 2.2.2.5.2.), an atypical order also frequently appears in such phrases, e.g., [Lev 14:12] ol bir koy 'one lamb'; lit. 'the one lamb'. Among the typical Turkic characteristics, we observe the compound pattern of 'noun+noun+3SG.POSS' (Johanson 2022a: 44), e.g., [Lev 4:8] hatat buyasï 'the bull of the sin offering'. However, a notable deviation in the genitive constructions within the text is readily apparent. In Turkic languages, the element order within a genitive construction is 'possessor+possessed item' (Johanson 2022a: 44). However, the examined corpus predominantly exhibits the reverse order. ${ }^{111}$ This distinctive feature can be ascribed to both Hebrew and Slavonic influence (Kowalski 1929: xxxviii-xxxix; Csató 2011: 177-178; Olach 2013: 153-154).

Table 65: Inverse Order of the Genitive Constructions

| Lev |  | Hebrew Bible |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{9 : 6}$ | kabōwd | Yahweh |
|  | glory-of | Jehovah |
|  | Göz. 1841 |  |
|  | kavod+ï | YWY+nïy |
|  | glory+3SG.POSS | YWY+GEN |
|  | 'the glory of the Lord' |  |

Upon analysis of various Bible translations in Turkic languages, we do not typically observe this untypical Turkic characteristic in the translation of Lev 9:6, e.g., Cr.Tat.B, Rabbinin šureti 'the glory of the Lord', Ot.Tur.B, Rabbiy క̌elali 'the glory of the Lord'. However, in Western Karaim Bible translations, we see the influence of Biblical Hebrew word order, as demonstrated in H.Kar.B šekinasï H-nïn, T.Kar.B šehinasï Adonay\{nïn\} 'the divine presence of the Lord'.

Of interest is the observation that our dataset contains a small number of infrequent instances where we observe the expected Turkic order of genitive constructions, as exemplified by [Lev 26:22] tüz+niy kiyi[k>g]+i; field+GEN animal+3SG.POSS ‘animals of the field'. Beyond such isolated examples, our text notably exhibits the prevalent feature of Karaim Bible translation.

[^75]Finally, a distinctive feature observed within our data is clearly showing the influence of Biblical Hebrew. For emphasis in Biblical Hebrew, the reduplication of certain nominals and nominal phrases ${ }^{112}$ frequently creates universal quantification (see Waltke and O'Connor 2003: 116-117), which is typically indicated by specific quantifiers (see 2.2.2.5.6.) in Turkic languages. However, in our text, we encounter instances where this characteristic was replicated faithfully, adhering strictly to the original structure.

Table 66: Biblical Hebrew Reduplication 1


Upon examining the translation of Lev 17:3 and Lev 24:8 in some other Turkic Bible translations, it is notable that this particular feature of reduplication is not observed in either the Crimean Tatar or Ottoman Turkish versions, e.g., Cr.Tat.B birev 'someone'; er raatlikk kunü̈ 'in every freeness day'; Ot.Tur.B her adam 'every man'; her sebt günü̈nde 'in every Sabbath day'. Interestingly, this pattern is also absent in the Western Karaim Bible translations of Lev 17:3, e.g., H.Kar.B har kisi 'every man', T.Kar.B nendiy kiši 'any man'. However, an examination of Leviticus 24:8 reveals a similar pattern to our dataset, where reduplication of noun phrases occurs, interestingly in the Trakai Karaim Bible, it appears alongside the quantifier, e.g., H.Kar.B ol šabat künde ol šabat künde; T.Kar.B. har šabat künündá har šabat künündá. However, it is also noteworthy that these reduplications are also present in the so-called BSMS

[^76]288 manuscript, another Crimean Karaim Bible translation, e.g., [Lev 17:3] kiši kiši 'any person’; [Lev 24:8] ol šabat kündä ol šabat kündä (CrKB I: 196, 209).

### 2.3.1.1.1. Case Functions

In this chapter, we aim to demonstrate the semantic functions of the case markers (see section 2.2.2.3.1.3) within our dataset. Note that petrified forms and specific verbs which require certain case governance will not be analyzed in depth. Instead, the general characteristics will be demonstrated. Given the scarcity of sources that offer an in-depth analysis of case functions in Karaim, Crimean Tatar, and Ottoman Turkish collectively, our exploration will be based on specific biblical verses from translations in these languages. However, it is critical to acknowledge that due to varied translational strategies, these verses might not perfectly encapsulate the true linguistic characteristics of the aforementioned languages. Consequently, our primary objective is to discern whether the functions observed in our data are unique to these translations, are a reflection of the structures found in Biblical Hebrew present exclusively in Karaim translations, or are widespread across these languages. Therefore, the descriptions provided herein do not constitute an exhaustive inventory of the case functions in Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, or Western Karaim. Instead, they aim to depict the characteristics of our data in relation to case functions. Consequently, during the comparisons, some biblical verses from the Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and Western Karaim translations that are not suitable for specific contexts will not be included. However, this does not imply the absence of such functions in these languages, unless explicitly discussed in detail.

A-) Nominative Case: It precedes the following:
(i) subject
(184) [Lev 8:5] ayt-tï-Ø Moše
to say-3SG.PAST Moses 'Moses said'.
See also, [Lev 8:5] Cr.Tat.B. Musa క̌emaatka böyle dedi' 'Moses said to the congregation as such'; Ot.Tur.B. Musa cemaate dedi 'Moses said to the congregation'; H.Kar.B. ayttï Mošé; Tkar.B. ayttï Moše 'Moses said'.
(ii) subject complement:
(185) [Lev 18:11] küz kardaš+̈̈y+dïr ol
sister+2PL.POSS+COP she 'she is your sister'.

See also, [Lev 18:11] Cr.Tat.B; küz kardašïy; Ot.Tur.B seniy kız karındašïydïr 'she is your sister'; H.Kar.B; atannün tuvdu yundu senin ol; T.Kar.B ataynïn tuvdujuydu ol'she is born of your father'.

## (iii) indefinite direct object

(186) [Lev 10:1]

| yuvuklaštïr-dï-lar | ald $+\ddot{\imath}+n a$ | $Y W Y+n i ̈ y$ | yat | ot |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to bring forward-PAST-3PL | before+3SG.POSS+DAT | Lord+GEN | strange | fire | 'they brought forward strange fire before the Lord'.

See also, [Lev 10:1] Cr.Tat.B kokulï otlar koydilar 'they put fragrant fire'; [Lev 1:6] Ot.Tur.B ateš koyalar 'they shall put fire'; [Lev 10:1] H.Kar.B yuvuttular alnïna H-nïn yat ot; T.Kar.B yuvuttular alnïna Adonaynïn yat ot 'they brought forward strange fire before the Lord'.
(iv) complement of certain postpositions
(187) [Lev 6:10] ašam gibi
guilt offering like 'like the guilt offering'

See also, [Lev 6:10] Cr.Tat.B kabaat ičüun kurban kibi; Ot.Tur.B suč ičin kurban gibi 'like a sacrifice for guilt'; [Lev 10:19] H.Kar.B bular kibik; T.Kar.B bular kibik 'like these'.

## (v) temporal expressions

| otur-uniz gün | gečä |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| to sit-2PL.IMP day and night |  |
| 'you shall sit day and night'. |  |

See also, [Lev 8:35] Cr.Tat.B geక̌e-küiydüz Rabbiniŋ bekčileri oluŋïz 'you shall be God's watcher, day and night'; Ot.Tur.B gě̌e ve gündüz duras̈̈z 'you shall remain day and night'; H.Kar.B olturunuz kün da kece; T.Kar.B olturuyuz kün da kec̆́a 'you shall sit day and night'.
(vi) adressing indirective commands
(189) [Lev 19:29] az-ma-sïn ol yer halk+

> to be mistaken-NEG-3SG.VOL the place people+3SG.POSS 'the people of the land shall not be mistaken'

See also, [Lev 19:29] Ot.Tur.B vilayet zina etmeye 'the county shall not commit adultery'; H.Kar.B azmasïn eli ol yernin; T.Kar.B azmasïn eli ol yernin 'the people of the land shall not not fall into prostitution'.
(vii) elements of compound nouns
(190) [Lev 25:9]

| kipurim | günü |
| :--- | :--- |
| atonement | day+3SG.POSS $\quad$ 'day of atonement'. |

See also, [ Lev 25:9] Cr.Tat.B ödeme künü; Ot.Tur.B kefaret günü H.Kar.B bosatliklar kün; T.Kar.B kipurim künü̈ 'day of atonement'.
(viii) possessed item of a genitive construction

| (191) [Lev 17:5] | oylan+lar+ï | Yisra'el+niy |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | son+PL+3SG.POSS | Israel+GEN |

See also, [Lev 3:2] Cr.Tat.B kurbanïnïy bašï 'head of his sacrifice'; [Lev 5:9] Ot.Tur.B kurbanïn̈̈y kanï 'the blood of his sacrifice'; [Lev 17:5] H.Kar.B uvullarï Yisra'elnin; T.Kar.B ulanlarï Yisra 'elnin 'sons of Israel'.
(ix) quantifier-preceded relative pronouns introducing free relative clauses

| (192) [Lev 27:9] | her ne ki ver-sä- $\varnothing$ | andan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | every what that to give-COND-3SG | 3SG.DEM.ABL |
|  | 'any such that one gives from it' |  |

See also, Ot.Tur.B her ne ki Rabbe ondan verirse 'any such that one gives from it'; H.Kar.B barca ne ki niyet etse berme andan 'any such that one wishes to give from it'; T.Kar.B barča ne ki berśa andan 'any such that one gives from it'.
( x ) the interrogative pronoun $n e$ in question sentences where the entity is unspecified
(193) [Lev 25:20] ne aša-lüm
what eat-1SG.VOL
'what shall we eat?'.

See also, [Gen 30:31] Cr.Tat.B ne bereyim saya? 'what shall I give you?'; [Lev 25:20 ] Ot.Tur.B ne yeyelim; H.Kar.B ne asarbiz; T.Kar.B ne ašarbiz 'what shall we eat?'.
(xi) aim or intention in adverbial clauses in verbals
(194) [Lev 14:29]

| ver-sin | $b a \check{s}+\ddot{l}$ | üst $+\ddot{u}+n a ̈ a$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to give-3SG.VOL | head+3SG.POSS | over+3SG.POSS+DAT | ol |
| the |  |  |  |

'he shall put on the head of the one who is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him'
This structure is not common in Ottoman Turkish or Crimean Tatar, unlike in Karaim, e.g., [Lev 14:29] H.Kar.B berin basy istine ol arïnuvcunun bosatlik kolma anïn ücün; T.Kar.B bersin bašĭ üstüńa ol arïnuvčunun bošatlikk kolma anïn üčün 'he shall put on the head of the one who is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him'.

B-) Accusative Case: It precedes the following:
(i) direct definite object
(195) [Lev 1:4] taya-sïn kol+u+nï
to prop up hand+3SG.POSS+ACC 'he shall prop up his hand'
See also, [Lev 1:4] Cr.Tat.B kolunï koysun 'he shall put his hand'; [Lev 3:2] elini vaz' ede 'he shall put his hand'; H.Kar.B sunsun kolun; T.Kar.B sunsun ošol ḳolun 'he shall reach out his hand'.
(ii) relative pronouns which are followed by restrictive relative clauses
[Lev 22:15] ne+ni ki ayür-sa-lar
what+ACC that to separate-COND-3PL
'which they separate...'
See also, [Lev 22:15], H.Kar.B neni ki ayïrsalar 'which they separate'; [Lev 19:34] T.Kar.B neni ki süv́asen 'what would you love'.
(iii) complement of certain postpositions

| (197) [Lev 19:34] | sev-gin | anï | gendiy $+\boldsymbol{n i}$ | gibi |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | to love-2SG.IMP | 3SG.PRO.ACC | yourself+ACC | as |
|  | 'you shall love him as \|you dol yourself'. |  |  |  |

See also, [Lev 19:34] Ot.Tur.B onu kendiyi gibi sevesin 'you shall love him as |you do| yourself'.

C-) Genitive Case: It precedes the following:
(i) possessed item of a genitive construction

| oylan + lar $+\ddot{i}$ | Aharon + nüy |
| :--- | :--- |
| son+PL+3SG.POSS | Aaron+GEN |

See also, [Lev 3:13] Cr.Tat.B Harunnüy oyullarï; Ot.Tur.B Harunuy oğullarï; H.Kar.B uvullarï Aharonnun; T.Kar.B uvullarï Aharonnun 'sons of Aaron'.
(ii) the modifier in constructions indicating temporal expressions
$b i r+i+n+d \ddot{a}$
one +3 SG.POSS + PRNM + LOC
ol ay+nüy the month+GEN
'on the first |day| of the month'.
See also, [Lev 23:24] Cr.Tat.B; ayïy biriņ̌i kününde; Ot.Tur.B ayïy evvelkisinde; H.Kar.B burunyu küninde aynün; T.Kar.B burunyu kününda yanyaynïn 'the first day of the month'.
(iii) subject complement
[Lev 25:23] men+im+dir
1SG.PRO+GEN+PRD that 'it is mine'.

See also, [Lev 25:23] Cr.Tat.B menimkidir; Ot.Tur.B benimdir; H.Kar.B menimdi ol; T.Kar.B menimdi ol 'it is mine'.
(iv) complement of certain postpositions

| (201) [Lev 22:5] anüy | bilän |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | DEM.PRO.GEN | with |

See also, [Lev 22:5] Ot.Tur.B onugla H.Kar.B anün büla ; T.Kar.B anün büla 'with it'.

D-) Dative Case: It precedes the following:
(i) physical terminus of a motion verb
(202) [Lev 14:34]

| gel-sä- $\boldsymbol{y} i z$ | $y e r+i+n \ddot{a}$ | Kena'an+nïy |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to come-COND-2PL.IMP | place+3SG.POSS+DAT | Canaan+GEN |

'If you come to the land of Canaan'.
See also, [Lev 14:34] Cr.Tat.B Hanaan toprayïna kirgeniyizde; Ot.Tur.B Ken 'an vilayetine girdiginiz zaman 'when you enter the land of Canaan'; H.Kar.B kelseniz yerine Kena 'annün; T.Kar.B kelśayiz yerińa Kena 'annïn 'if you come to the land of Canaan'.
(ii) abstract/non-physical destination of a motion verb
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (203) }\left[\begin{array}{ll}\text { Lev 3:7] } & \text { ald+ }+\boldsymbol{i}+\boldsymbol{n a} \\ & \text { before+3SG.POSS+DAT }\end{array}\right. & \text { Lord+GEN } & \text { 'before the Lord'. }\end{array}$
See also, [Lev 3:7] Cr.Tat.B; Rabbiniŋ önüne; [Lev 4:4] Ot.Tur.B Rabbiy huzuruna; [Lev 3:7] H.Kar.B alnüna H-nïn; T.Kar.B alnüna Adonaynïn 'before the Lord'.
(iii) direction of a motion verb
(204) [Lev 3:8]
$\begin{array}{lll}b a s ̌+\ddot{\imath} & \ddot{u} t+\ddot{u}+\boldsymbol{n} \ddot{\boldsymbol{a}} & \text { korban+ }+\ddot{+}+n \ddot{\eta} \\ \text { head+3SG.POSS } & \text { over+3SG.POSS+DAT } & \text { sacrifice+3SG.POSS+GEN }\end{array}$
'(prop up his hand) on the head of his offering'
See also, [Lev 3:8] Cr.Tat.B kurbanïnüy bašina; Ot.Tur.B kurbanïn̈̈y baši üzerine; H.Kar.B basï istine karbanïnïn; T.Kar.B bašï üstüńa karbanïnïn '(reach out/put his hand) on the head of his offering'.
(iv) reason, intended goal
(205) [Lev 1:3]
yuvuklaštïr-sïn an̈̈ kabullu[k>y]+ï+na
to bring forward DEM.PRO.ACC acceptance+3SG.POSS+DAT
'he shall bring forward for his acceptance'.

See also, [Lev 16:17] Ot.Tur.B kefaret etmĕ̆е girdigi zaman 'when he entered to make an atonement'; [Lev 1:3] H.Kar.B yuvutsun anï kabullukka; T.Kar.B yuvutsun anü kabullukka 'he shall bring forward for the acceptance'.
(v) adressee of a verbal communication
$\begin{array}{lll}\text { (206) [Lev 1:1] čak } \ddot{r}-d \ddot{-}-\emptyset & \text { Moše }+g \ddot{a} \\ & \text { to call-PAST-3SG } & \text { Moses+DAT } \quad \text { 'And He called Moses'. }\end{array}$
See also, [Lev 10:19] Cr.Tat.B; Musaya böyle dedi '(Lord) said that to Moses:'; [ Lev 12:1] Ot.Tur.B Musaya söyledi ; H.Kar.B cayürdï Mošege; T.Kar.B sözladi Adonay Mošeǵa ‘(Lord) spoke to Moses'.
(vi) the recepient/beneficiary of a material transfer
(207) [Lev 1:2] korban YWY+ $\boldsymbol{a} \boldsymbol{a}$
offering Lord+DAT 'an offering to the Lord'.
See also, [Exo 35:34] Cr.Tat.B Rabbige bahšiš 'a gift to the Lord'; [Lev 1:2] Ot.Tur.B Rabbe kurban; H.Kar.B karban H-ya; T.Kar.B karban Adonayya 'an offering to the Lord'.
(vii) temporal expressions
(208) [Lev 22:30] ertä+gä degin

Morning+DAT until

See also, [Lev 22:30] Cr.Tat.B sabaya; Ot.Tur.B sabaha dek; [Lev 22:6] H.Kar.B ingirgedey; T.Kar.B tanyadejin 'until morning'.
(viii) complement of certain postpositions
(209) [Lev 25:51] alar + 子a görä

DEM.PRO + DAT according to 'according to them'
See also, [Lev 18:4] Cr.Tat.B olarya köre; [Lev 25:51] Ot.Tur.B onlara göre; H.Kar.B alarya köre; T.Kar.B alarya köŕa 'according to them'.
(ix) end point of age range
(210) [Lev 27:3]

| yegirmi | $y a s ̌+t a n$ | $d a$ | altmïs | yaš $+\boldsymbol{k} \boldsymbol{a}$ | degin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| twenty | age+ABL | and | sixty | age+DAT | until |

'from twenty years old up to sixty years old'
See also, [Lev 27:5] Ot.Tur.B yigirmi yaša dek 'until twenty years old’; H.Kar.B altümüs yaskadejin; T.Kar.B altmüs yaškadejin 'up to sixty years old'.
(x) exchange value
(211) [Lev 27:16]

| $d a$ | bol-sïn... | $u r l u[k>\gamma]+\ddot{i}$ | $s a b+u+n \ddot{\eta} y$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | to be-3SG.VOL | seed+3SG.POSS | stalk+3SG.POSS+GEN |


| arpa $+l a r+n \ddot{y}$ | elli | miskal | kümüš $+\boldsymbol{k} \ddot{\boldsymbol{a}}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| barley+PL+GEN | fifty | shekel | silver+DAT |

'A stalk of barley seed shall be fifty shekels of silver'.
See also, e.g., [Lev 27:16] Ot.Tur.B elli miskal gümüše; H.Kar.B enli mitkal kimiske; T.Kar.B enli mitkal kümüšḱa '(it shall be) for fifty mithqals of silver.'.
(xi) reciprocal equivalence
(212) [Lev 24:20]

| sïnïk | or $(u) n+\ddot{\boldsymbol{i}+\boldsymbol{n a}}$ | sïnïk | $g \ddot{z}$ | $o r(u) n+\ddot{\boldsymbol{a}+\boldsymbol{n a}}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Fracture | place+3SG.POSS+DAT | fracture | eye | place+3SG.POSS+DAT |

göz diš or(u)n+ $+\boldsymbol{i}+\boldsymbol{n a} d i s ̌$
eye tooth place+3SG.POSS+DAT tooth


[^77]See also, [Lev 24:20] Ot.Tur.B; šikest yerine šikest göz yerine göz diš yerine diš; H.Kar.B sïnïklïk sïnïklīk ornuna köz közz ornuna tiš tiš ornuna; T.Kar.B sïnïklïk sïnïklïk ornuna közz köz ornuna tiš tiš ornuna ' ${ }^{\prime}$ fracture for fracture ${ }^{1116},{ }_{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{eye}^{2}$ for eye $\mathrm{e}^{1117}, \mathrm{~L}^{\text {tooth }}$ for tooth ${ }^{118}$,
(xii) Possessor
(213) [Lev 11:10]

| her | šey | ki | yok | o+na | kanat ve | pul |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Every thing | which | there is no | 3SG+DAT | fin | and | scale | ' everything that has ${ }^{119}$ no fins and scales'.

This function is not observed in Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish. It is most likely a calque from Biblical Hebrew, and thus, it is present in Karaim translations, e.g., H.Kar.B barca ne ki yohtu anar kanat da kabuk; T.Kar.B barča neki yohtur anar kanat da kabuk " ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ everything that has ${ }^{120}$ no fins and scales'.

E-) Locative Case: It precedes the following:
(i) spatial adverbial
(214) [Lev 25:1]

| $t a \gamma+\ddot{t}+n+d a$ | Sinay $+n \ddot{y}$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Mountain+3SG.POSS+LOC | Sinai+GEN 'on mount Sinai'. |

See also, [Lev 25:1] Cr.Tat.B Sinay daðı̈nda; Ot.Tur.B Sina dağïnda; H.Kar.B tavïda Sinaynïn; T.Kar.B tavïnda Sinaynïn 'on mount Sinai'.

## (ii) temporal adverbial

(215) [Lev 6:13]

| yarïmïsï $+n$ | ertä $+\boldsymbol{d} \ddot{\boldsymbol{a}}$ | $d a$ | yarïmïsï+n | ahšam $+\boldsymbol{d a}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| half+ACC | morning+LOC | and | half+ACC | evening+LOC |

'a half of it in the morning, and a half of it at night...'.

[^78]See also, [Lev 23:32] Ot.Tur.B ahšamda; H.Kar.B ingirde; T.Kar.B i\{n\}girdá 'at evening'. (iii) positional/relational adverbial
(216) [Lev 6:22]
här erkäk kohen+lär $+d \ddot{a}$ aša-sïn anï
every man priest+PL+LOC to eat-3SG.VOL DEM.PRO.ACC
'Every male among the priests shall eat it'.
See also, [Lev 6:22] H.Kar.B kohenlerde; T.Kar.B kohenÍard́a 'among the priests'.
(iv) possessor
(217) [Lev 13:29]

| kiši | ya | haẗ̈n | ki | bol-sa- $\varnothing$ | anda | hastalik. |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| man | or | woman | that | to be-COND | 3SG.PRO.LOC | disease |

'If a man or woman has a disease'.
See also, [Lev 22:20] Ot.Tur.B hič onda bir 'ayb olanı takrib etmeyesiz 'You shall not offer anything that has a blemish'; [Lev 13:29] H.Kar.B kisi yemese katün ki bolsa anda hastalïk; T.Kar.B kiši yemeśa katïn ki bolsa anda ḥastalïk ‘If a man or woman has a disease’.

## F-) Ablative Case

Ablative markers has many functions in our text. It signifies one of the following:
(i) departure locale in verbal movement
(218) [Lev 25:42]

| čïy-ar-dï-m | alar $+n \ddot{i}$ | Mïsïr | $y e r+i+n+d a ̈ n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to bring out-PAST-1SG | 3PL.PRO+ACC | Egypt | place+3SG.POSS+ABL |

'I brought them out from the land of Egypt'.
See also, [Lev 25:42] Cr.Tat.B olarï Mïsïr toprayïndan alïp čïzardïm; Ot.Tur.B onlarï Müsïr vilayetinden čilkardïm; H.Kar.B cïyardïm alarnï yerinden Micrinin; T.Kar.B čïyardïm alarnï yerindan Micrinin 'I brought them out from the land of Egypt'.
(ii) onset of temporal verbs
(219) [Lev 24:3]

```
ahšam+dan ertä+g\ddot{a}
evening+ABL morning+DAT
'from evening until morning'.
```

See also, [Lev 24:3] Cr.Tat.B aķšamdan sabayǎ̧e; Ot.Tur.B ahšamdan sabaha dek; H.Kar.B ingirden erten bïlayadeyin T.Kar.B ingirdan tanyadeyin 'from evening until morning'.
(iii) source of an action
(220) [Lev 5:21]

| $a l-d i ̈-\emptyset$ | $i$-sä- $\emptyset$ | $d o s t+\ddot{i}+n+d a n$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to take-PAST-3SG | CL-COND-3SG | friend+3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL |

'if he has taken away |something| from his friend'.

See also, [Exo 11:2] Cr.Tat.B komšusïndan ... alsïnlar 'they shall take from her/his neighbour' [Exo 11:2] koyšusundan... isteye 'she/he shall ask from her/his neighbour'; [Lev 25:15] H.Kar.B satïnalyïn osol dostundan 'you shall buy from your friend’; [Exo 11:2] T.Kar.B ötkünč alsynlar kiši dostundan '|ever| person shall borrow from her/his friend'.
(iv) source material in composition
(221) [Lev 13:48] üskülü+dän da yün+dän..
linen + ABL and wool+ABL '...of the linen or of the wool...'.

See also, [Lev 13:48] Cr.Tat.B teriden yapïlyan šeyde 'in the thing that is made of leather' [Lev 13:52] Ot.Tur.B eger yü̈den eger ketenden 'whether is made of wool or linen'; [Lev 13:59] T.Kar.B yundan yemeśa üskülüdan '(a garment) of wool or linen'.
(v) portion/subset derived from a whole
(222) [Lev 14:14]

| al-sïn | ol | kohen | $k a n+\ddot{\imath}+n+$ dan |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to take-3SG.VOL | the | priest | blood+3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL |

'the priest shall take some of the blood of...'.
See also, [Lev 1:2] Cr.Tat.B tuvardan '(you shall sacrifice) from the cattle; [Lev 14:14] Ot.Tur.B kanïndan; H.Kar.B kanïndan; T.Kar.B kanïndan '(he shall take some of) its blood’
(vi) subject matter of action
(223) [Lev 4:26]
keparat et-sin
to make atonement-3SG.VOL
$u ̈ s t+u ̈+n a ̈$
over+3SG.POSS+DAT the priest
$y a z i ̈[k>\gamma]+\ddot{u}+n+d a n$
$\sin +3$ SG.POSS + PRNM $+\mathbf{A B L}$ 'the priest shall make atonement for him concerning his sin'.
This particular feature is absent in both Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Bible translations, a contrast to its presence in Western Karaim Bible translations, e.g., H.Kar.B bosatlik kolsun anïn ücün ol kohen yazïyïndan; T.Kar.B bošatlïk kolsun anïn üčün ol kohen yazïÿ̈ndan'the priest shall make atonement for him concerning his sin'. Notably this function may represent a literal translation from the Hebrew Bible, e.g., [Lev 4:26] B.Heb: mêhaṭt $\bar{a} t \underline{t} o w$ lit. 'from sin of him'.
(vii) object of comparison
(224) [Lev 21:10] Da ol böyük kohen kardaš+lar+ï+n+dan And the big priest brother+PL+3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL 'the priest who is superior than his brothers'.

See also, H.Kar.B Da ol kohen ol ayarak karïndaslarïndan; T.Kar.B Da ol kohen ayarak karïndašlarïndan 'the priest who is superior than his brothers'.
(viii) starting point of age range
(225) [Lev 27:6]

| $D a$ | egär | $b i r$ | $a y+d a n$ | $d a$ | $b e s ̌$ | $y a ̈ s ̌+k a ̈$ | degin |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| And | if | one | month+ABL | and | five | age+DAT | until |

'And if it is from a month old up to five years old'.
See also, [Lev 27:6] Cr.Tat.B bir aylïktan beš yašina kadar; Ot.Tur.B bir aydan beš yaša dek; H.Kar.B Da eger ay yastan da bes yaskadeyin; T.Kar.B Da eger ay yaštan da beš yïllaryadeyin 'And if it is from a month old up to five years old'.
(ix) complement of certain postpositions
(226) [Lev 14:8] andan sonra

DEM.PRO.ABL after 'according to them'
See also, [Lev 18:28] Cr.Tat.B sizden evel 'before you'; [Lev 14:8] Ot.Tur.B ondan sonra; H.Kar.B andan sortun; T.Kar.B andan sortun 'after that'.

### 2.3.1.2. Verb Phrase

### 2.3.1.2.1. Biblical Hebrew Infinitival Paronomasia

In the context of Biblical Hebrew, a prevalent characteristic exists, characterized by the amalgamation of an infinitive absolute with a congruent finite verb form, a linguistic phenomenon recognized as infinivital paronomasia (Joosten 2009: 99; Waltke and O’Connor 2003: 585-586), highlighting the intensity of the verb in the sentence. Such a structure is similarly detected in Karaim Bible translations (Olach 2013: 146-147), featuring a non-finite verb inclusive of the verbal noun marker $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ preceding an identical verb in a conjugated form. This is typically ascribed to either Biblical Hebrew or Slavonic languages. However, since such structures exist ${ }^{121}$ in the oldest Karaim Bible translation (hitherto described), which is written in Crimean Karaim and dates back to the 17th century, the Slavonic influence solely might not be adequate to explain the phenomenon. Considering that the materials of spoken Karaim ${ }^{122}$ and secular texts (see Németh 2006: 18) also show the mentioned constructions, it is challenging to conclusively determine if it's solely a product of code copying from the Biblical source.

Notably, this linguistic phenomenon is also present in our dataset, occurring 31 times.
Table 67: Paronomastic Usage

| Lev | Hebrew Bible |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5:19 | āšōm | āšam |
|  | to be guilty | he was guilty |
|  | (to be punished.V:QAL.INF.ABS) | (to be punished.V:QAL.PERF.3SG.MASC) |
|  | Göz. 1841 |  |
|  | günähli bol-ma | günähhli bol-dï-ø |
|  | to become guilty-VN | to become guilty-PAST-3SG |
|  | 'he certainly has become guilty'. |  |
|  |  | Hebrew Bible |
| 24:16 | $m \bar{o} w \underline{t}$ | $y \bar{u} m a \underline{t}$ |
|  | to be put to death | he shall be put to death |

[^79]| (to die.V:QAL.INF.ABS) | (to die.V:HOP.IMPT.3SG.MASC) |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | Göz. 1841 |
| $\ddot{l} l-m \ddot{a}$ | öl-dür-ül-sin |
| to die-VN | to die-CAUS-PASS-3SG.VOL |
| 'he shall surely be put to death'. |  |

In Bible translations for languages that lack this specific structure, intensification is typically conveyed using an adverb, which often signifies 'certainly' or 'surely'. In fact, the opposition regarding this characteristic is observed between Karaim and other Turkic languages in Bible translations, e.g., [Lev 5:19], Cr.Tat.B kabaatlï oldu 'he became guilty' ; Ot.Tur.B elbette sučlu oldu 'he surely became guilty'; H.Kar.B. fasmanlï bolma fasmanlï boldu; T.Kar.B fašmanlï bolma fašmanlï boldu 'he surely became guilty; lit. 'becoming guilty guilty he became guilty'; [Lev 24:16] Cr.Tat.B mütlaka oldürilsin; Ot.Tur.B elbette öldürüle 'he surely be killed'; H.Kar.B elme eltirilsin; T.Kar.B ölḿa öltürülsü̈n 'he surely be killed; lit. ‘dying he should be killed'.

It is worth noting that our dataset contains two examples where the Hebrew Bible does not feature infinitival paronomasia, but our text does. Hereby, although rarely, our dataset does not show a strict parallel to Biblical Hebrew for this phenomenon ${ }^{123}$.

Table 68: Paronomastic Usage 2

| Lev | Hebrew Bible |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{6 : 7}$ | hakrêb |  |  |  |
|  | to bring near.V:HIP.INF.ABS |  |  |  |
|  | Göz. 1841 |  |  |  |
|  | yuvuklaštïr-ma yuvuklaštïr-sïn <br> to bring forward-VN to bring forward-3SG.VOL <br>  'he shall definetely bring forward' |  |  |  |


|  |  | Hebrew Bible |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{2 5 : 1 4}$ | timkar $\bar{u}$ |  |
|  | to sell.V:QAL.IMPT.2PL.MASC |  |
|  |  | Göz. 1841 |
|  | satün al-ma | satïn al-say |
| to buy-VN | to buy-COND-2SG |  |
|  |  |  |

[^80]> ‘if you certainly make a sale’.

However, due to deverbal nominal function of $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ (see 2.2.2.1.1.2.), it is uncertain whether these examples above truly demonstrate the phenomenon under discussion. This uncertainty persists despite the fact that such derived nominal forms (satïn alma, yuvuklaštïrma) are not listed in dictionaries.

### 2.3.1.3. Adjunct phrases

### 2.3.1.3.1. Converbial Constructions

Our text presents various converbial constructions, showing a pattern quite common in Turkic languages. These consist of action nominals, followed by possessive markers and case markers, preceding postpositions (see Johanson 2022a: 56). All the examples within our dataset function as time clauses. This type of construction forms the adverbial clauses (see 2.3.2.2.2.2. ).

A-) $\{-$ dik $\} /\{-$ dük $\}+$ POSS+LOC/ABL: In this structure, an action nominal suffix $\{-\mathrm{dik}\}$ or $\{-$ dük $\}$ is first attached to the verb stem, followed by personal possessive markers and then either by locative or ablative case markers respectively. Among these structures, those with ablative case markers are typically succeeded by postpositions denoting temporal relationships, such as burun 'before', or soyral sora 'after'. Structures employing locative case markers generally signify 'when', while those with ablative case markers can denote 'before' or 'after', contingent upon the subsequent postposition. In our corpus, we have identified a total of 5 examples of this type of structure.

Table 69: Converbial Contructions

| Lev | Göz. $\mathbf{1 8 4 1}$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $10: 9$ | gir-di[k>g]+iniz+dän | burun |
|  | 'to enter-AN-2PL.POSS+ABL' | before |
|  | 'before you go into' |  |
| $11: 31$ | ül-dik+leri+n+dän | sora |
|  | to die-AN-3PL.POSS-PRNM-ABL | after |
|  | 'after they died' |  |
| $11: 32$ | ül-dük+läri+n+dän sora <br>  to die-AN-3PL.POSS-PRNM+ABL after <br>  'after they died' |  |

```
16:17; gir-di[k>g]+i+n+d\ddot{a}
16:23 to enter-AN+3SG.POSS+PRNM+LOC
    'when he goes in'
```

It should be noted that this structure is commonly found in Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 186). However, in Karaim dialects and Crimean Tatar, we frequently encounter the following structure.

B-) \{QAn\}+POSS+DAT/LOC/ABL: These types of structures are identical to the previous ones, with one difference: the actional nominal is the Kipchak equivalent of Ottoman Turkish \{-DUK\}/\{-DIK\}, that is, \{-QAN\}. This feature is prevalent in Crimean Karaim (Kavitskaya 2010: 109) and the Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 306-307; Prik 1976: 120). Notably, examples within our data demonstrate that this structure can also include dative case markers, which are followed by specific postpositions that function as temporal boundary markers, indicating the duration or extent of an event up to a certain point in time, e.g., kadar; degin 'until'. As expected, this structure is much more common in our text, occurring 32 times and thus predominating against the structures that include the Ottoman Turkish characteristic ( $86 \%$ vs. $14 \%$ ).

Table 70: Converbial Constructions 2

| Lev | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 15:31 | mundar et-kän+läri $+n+d \ddot{a}$ <br> to defile-AN+3PL.POSS.PRNM.LOC <br> 'when they defile' |
| 16:1 | öl-gän $+i+n+d a ̈ n$ sonra <br> to die-AN-3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL after <br> 'after he died'  |
| 16:1 | yuvuklaš+kan+larü+n+da <br> to come forward-AN+3PL+PRNM + LOC <br> 'when they came forward' |
| 23:14 | getir-gän+iyiz+gä degin <br> to bring-AN+2PL.POSS+DAT until <br> 'until you (2PL) have brought'  |
| 23:43 | č̈̈zar-уan+ïm+da <br> to bring out-ACT -LOC <br> 'when I brought (them) out' |

C-) $\{-m a ̈ s\}+P O S S+A B L:$ In our dataset, we identify a structure that mirrors the construction of the previous ones, with the distinct difference that the action nominal manifests as $\{-\mathrm{mäs}\}$.

Table 71: Converbial Constructions 3

| Lev | Göz. $\mathbf{1 8 4 1}$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $15: 31$ | kel-mäs $+i+n+$ dän | burun |
|  | to come-AN+3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL | before |
|  | 'before he comes' |  |

Notably in the translation of Lev 14:26 from other Turkic Bible versions, we observe a similar pattern, e.g., Cr.Tat.B, kirmezden evel; Ot.Tur.B, girmezden evvel 'before entering'; H.Kar.B kelmesten burun; T.Kar.B. kelmáastán burun 'before coming'. Note that presenting the linear analysis of $\{-$ mäsi $\}$ as action nominal $\{-\mathrm{mäs}\}+3$ SG.POSS $\{+\mathrm{i}\}$ might be confusing due to its similar appearance to the possible combination of the verbal marker $\{-\mathrm{mä}\}+3$ SG.POSS $\{+\mathrm{si}\}$. However, an example from another book of Göz.1841, clarifies the case, which clearly shows that the action nominal suffix is $\{-\mathrm{mAs}\}$ in such structures, e.g., [Gen 27: 4] ölmäsimdän burun 'before I die'.

### 2.3.1.3.2. Postpositional and Prepositional Constructions

In their native form, Turkic languages are known to be without prepositions. Nonetheless, in certain Turkic languages, one may observe fossilized lexical elements which include foreign prepositions. For example, despite the absence of prepositions in Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish, the Arabic preposition $ب$ [bi] meaning 'by' can be identified in specific words within these languages, such as Crimean Tatar bilakis ${ }^{124}$ 'on the contrary' (KRUS: 111) and Ottoman Turkish bizzat ${ }^{125}$ 'in person' (Hagopian 1907: 369). Conversely, the situation diverges in other Turkic languages like Karaim, Gagauz, and Khalaj, wherein the productive use of prepositions serves as an uncharacteristic Turkic syntactic feature due to external influences (Johanson

[^81]2022b: 114). It is important to emphasize that the presence of prepositions in Karaim is generally ascribed to both Slavonic and Biblical Hebrew influences ${ }^{126}$.

In our dataset, postpositions and prepositions can be primarily categorized into two main groups: those in their uninflected ${ }^{127}$ form with case-marked complements, and those which are sets of auxiliary nouns marked by possessive markers and requiring case-marked complements ${ }^{128}$.

## A-) Uninflected Postpositions with Case Marked Complements

In our dataset, an assortment of postpositions is observed which are common in many languages with slight phonological changes in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 81-84), Ottoman Turkish (Hagopian 1907: 104-110) and all three dialects of Karaim (Musaev 1964: 316-321; Prik 1976: 151-156). Notably, these postpositions appear in their basic form following complements that can be either case marked non-verbal forms or case marked non-finite verbs. The list below enumerates them:

Table 72: Uninflected Postpositions with Case Marked Complements

| Lev | Structure | Example |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9:17 | COMP+ABL baška 'apart from; aside from' | 'ola $+s i ̈+n+d a n$ baška <br> burn sacrifice+3SG.POSS+PRNM beside <br> 'beside the burnt sacrifice'  |
| $\begin{aligned} & 1: 8 ; \\ & 11: 43 ; \\ & 11: 21 \end{aligned}$ | COMP+NOM/GEN bilän; ilän; ilen 'with' | baš bilän head with 'with head'; <br> olar ilän them with 'with them' |
| 18:2 | COMP+ABL burun 'before' | siz+dän burun <br> 2PL.PRO+ABL before 'before you (2PL)'. |
| 19:6 | COMP+DAT degin 'up to; till; until' | üč $+u ̈ n \check{i} i$ gün $+g \ddot{a}$ degin <br> three+ORD d ay+DAT until 'until the third day' |
| $\begin{aligned} & 6: 10 \\ & 19: 18 \end{aligned}$ | COMP+NOM/ACC gibi `like; as’ | hatat gibi sin offering like 'like the sin offering' <br> gendin+ni gibi oneself+ACC like 'like (you do) yourself' |

[^82]| 25:51 | COMP+DAT görä 'according to; as to' | $\begin{aligned} & \text { alar }+\gamma a \\ & \text { they }+\mathrm{DAT} \end{aligned}$ | görä according to | 'according to them' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11:28 | COMP+DAT kadar 'up to; till; until' | ahšam+a <br> evening+DAT | kadar <br> until | 'until the evening' |
| 25:15 | COMP+ABL sora; soyra 'after; following'. | yovel+dän 3SG.PRO+ABL | soyra <br> after | 'after the jubilee' |
| $\begin{aligned} & 4: 3 ; \\ & 16: 33 \end{aligned}$ | COMP+DAT/GEN učun; učin 'for; for the sake of' | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { günäh+i } \\ & \text { sin+3SG.POSS } \end{aligned}$ | učun <br> for | 'for his sin' |

Interestingly, although prepositions are predominantly found in the following group (those marked by possessive markers), there is one exceptional instance in which a preposition in its petrified form appears before a relative pronoun, within the independent clause preceding the subordinate clause.
(227) [Lev 22:4] Göz.1841; deginčä ki temiz bolïr lit. 'until which he becomes clean’.

In fact, this preposition is classified as a postposition in dictionaries, exemplified by deginče 'up to, till' (CKED: 134). Taking into account the impact of Biblical Hebrew on Karaim Bible translations, this example might be ascribed to the structure of the original text ${ }^{129}$.

## B-) Auxiliary Nouns Marked by Possessive Markers with Case Marked Complements

However, many prepositions and postpositions can be traced back to sets of auxiliary nouns marked by possessive markers followed by case suffixes. Some of them exclusively appear as postpositions or as prepositions, while others can function as both. The following list offers an overview of these prepositions and postpositions that appear with case complements.

| (228) | a ald + POSS+CASE | 'before; in front of' |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ (POST; PREP)

[^83]| * orta+POSS+CASE | 'middle of' | (PREP) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $*$ ön + POSS + CASE | 'before; in front of' | (PREP) |
| $*$ 并st + POSS+CASE | 'onto; over; on behalf of' | (POST; PREP) |
| $*$ yan+POSS+CASE | 'side of' | (POST; PREP) |

The primary reason for the prepositional function of possessive-marked auxiliary nouns with case-marked complements lies in their fundamental role as elements of genitive constructions. These typically display an inverse order of the characteristic Turkic pattern (see section 2.3.1.1.) in our dataset. Consequently, as illustrated in the subsequent examples, the same auxiliary word might appear in either a prepositional or postpositional position, depending on the order within its genitive construction. Importantly, although quite rarely, our text does not consistently mirror the order of Biblical Hebrew genitive constructions.
[Lev 18:18] an+ïy ald+ $+\ddot{+}+n a$
3SG.PRO+GEN before+3SG.POSS+DAT 'before her'.
[Lev 18:23] ald+ + tuvar+näŋ
before+3SG.POSS+DAT animal+GEN 'before animal'.
Finally, a phenomenon discussed in Section 2.3.1.1, which presents a reduplication of certain nominals for intensification, also appears in one example within our data. Here, a postpositional construction is reduplicated due to Biblical Hebrew influence.

Table 73: Biblical Hebrew Reduplication 2


As expected, such duplicates are not found in other Bible translations in Turkic languages, e.g., Cr.Tat.B er saba; Ot.Tur.B, her sabah 'every morning'. Interestingly, this duplication is also absent in Western Karaim Bible translations, e.g., H.Kar.B har erten, T.Kar.B har ertenbïlada
'at every morning'. While once again in another Crimean Bible translation (manuscript BSMS 288) we find the same copy, e.g., ertä bilän ertä bilän 'every morning' (CrKB I: 173).

### 2.3.2. Sentences

### 2.3.2.1. Simple Sentences

Throughout the Book of Leviticus in Göz. 1841, the sentence syntax adheres strictly to the order of the original Hebrew Bible, an approach which is typically atypical in Turkic languages. The simple sentences in our dataset eschew the common Turkic word order (SOV) in favor of strictly following the original Biblical Hebrew order (VSO). This pattern is also frequently observed in other Karaim translations (Musayev 2002: 223; Olach 2013: 156).

Table 74: Word order in Simple sentences

| Lev |  |  | Hebrew Bible |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\mathbf{8 : 1 0}$ | wayyiqqah | möšeh | 'et-šemen | hammišhāh |  |
|  | and took | Moses | oil-of | the anointing |  |$]$

'then Moses took the anointing oil'.

As anticipated, the analysis of the verse within Crimean Karaim and Ottoman Turkish Bible translations reveals the expected Turkish word order, e.g., Cr.Tat.B Son Musa yaylav yayïnï aldï, ‘Then Moses took the anointing oil'; Ot.Tur.B Hem Musa tedhin yağïnï alıp... 'And Moses took the anointing oil...'. However, the Western Karaim translations exhibit the expected structure of Biblical Hebrew, e.g., H.Kar Da aldy Moše osol ol sirtilmis javnü; T.Kar Da aldy Moše ošol jayünmak javnï 'And Moses took the anointing oil'. It should be noted that adherence to the structure of Biblical Hebrew is observed across all categories of simple sentences. The subsequent table illustrates this phenomenon specifically within the context of imperative sentences.

Table 75: Word order in Imperative Sentences

| Lev |  |  | Hebrew Bible |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 16:2 | dabbêr | 'el-'ahărōn | 'āḥ̂k$\underline{a}$ |
|  | speak (2SG) | to Aaron | brother of you |



Similar to previous observations, we once again encounter the same method of translation in Karaim Bible translations, a style not seen in Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish Bible translations, e.g., Cr.Tat.B harun ayana ayt; Ot.Tur.B karïndašī Haruna söyle; H.Kar.B sözlegin Aharonya karïndasïna; T.Kar.B sözlagin Aharonya karïndašìya.

Another noteworthy observation pertains to one of the most prevalent strategies employed in Karaim Bible translations, specifically the consistent rendering of the Biblical Hebrew ו־ [wa], meaning 'and, so, then, when, or, but, that' using the Karaim postpositive particle da 'and' (see Pritsak 1959: 338; Jankowski 1997: 22; Csató 2011: 179). Correspondingly, in our dataset, as well as in other Karaim Bible translations, the majority of sentences commence with da ${ }^{130}$.

Table 76: Rendering of Biblical Henrew wa

'And he put to the turban on his head'.

As expected, a distinction between the Bible translations in other Turkic languages and Karaim Bible translations is apparent for this feature as well, e.g., Cr.Tat.B; bašina čalmañ̈ kiydirdi 'he put (lit. 'clothed) the turban on his head'; Ot.Tur.B ba 'dehu bašï üzerine 'imameyi kodu 'after that he put on his head'; H.Kar.B da koydu osol ol calmanï basï istine; T.Kar.B da koydu ošol ol micnefetni bašï üstüña 'And he put the turban on his head'.

Finally, a significant characteristic is the rendering of the Biblical Hebrew conjunction ki for 'for; since; because' in its original form as $k i$ (CKED: 210). This occurs in most sentences at the beginning of Karaim Bible translations (see Jankowski 1997: 22). It should be noted that

[^84]this conjunction should not be confused with the homonymous Persian ki, which stands for 'which, that', and is common in many Turkic languages.

Table 77: Simple sentences using Biblical Hebrew word order

| Lev | Hebrew Bible |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11:44 | $k \hat{\imath}$ |  | Yahweh | ělōhêkem your God |  |
|  | for | I | Lord |  |  |
|  | Göz. 1841 |  |  |  |  |
|  | ki | men+ |  | YWY | Tepri+ iz |
|  | for | 1SG+ | SG.PRD | lord | God+2SG.POSS |
|  | 'For I am the lord your God'. |  |  |  |  |

As depicted in Table 77, the syntactical structure of Leviticus in Göz. 1841 once again reaffirms the adoption of the Biblical Hebrew word order, with the nominal predicate preceding the subject for emphasis. Contrarily, when compared to the Karaim Bible translations, Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish translations present the expected Turkic order and also render the Hebrew conjunction $k i$ either from their lexicons or omit it, e.g., Cr.Tat.B; Men Rabbim 'I am Lord’; Ot.Tur.B zira Allahïÿ̈z Rabb benim 'Because I am the lord your God.'; H.Kar.B Ki menmen H Tenriniz; T.Kar.B Ki menmen Adonay Tenriyiz 'Because I am the lord your God.

### 2.3.2.2. Complex Sentences

### 2.3.2.2.1. Coordinate Complex Sentences

In such syntactic constructions, independent clauses are juxtaposed using certain conjunctions (see 2.2.4.). This practice is prevalent across various languages, including the Turkic language family. As mentioned earlier, due to the systematic method of rendering the Biblical Hebrew conjunction $w a$ by Karaim da 'and', we encounter this type of sentence in the majority of cases.
(230) [Lev 15:13]

Da egär temizkal-ïr-sa- $\varnothing$ ol zav
And if to remain clean-AOR-COND-3SG the the one who has discharge
$a k m a+s i ̈+n+d a n$
discharge +3 SG.POSS + PRNM + ABL özünä
oneself+3SG.POSS+DAT

| $d a$ | say-sïn |
| :--- | :--- |
| and | to count-3SG.VOL |

yedi gün+lär temizli[k>g]+i
seven day+PL cleanness+3SG.POSS

| učun | $d a$ | $y u v-s \ddot{n}$ | uprak+lar+ï+nü |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| for | and | to wash-3SG.VOL | dress+PL+3SG.POSS+ACC |


| $d a$ | $y u v-s i ̈ n$ | $e t+i+n i$ | tatlï | suv+lar | bilän |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | to wash-3SG-VOL | flesh+3SG.POSS+ACC | sweet | water+PL | with |
| $\boldsymbol{d a}$ | temiz bol-sïn |  |  |  |  |
| and | to be clean-3SG.VOL |  |  |  |  |

Lit. 'And if the one who has a discharge remains cleansed of his discharge, and he shall count for himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes, and wash his flesh in sweet water, and he shall be clean.'

### 2.3.2.2.2. Subordinate Complex Sentences

### 2.3.2.2.2.1. Relative Clauses

The relative clauses used in our text can primarily be classified into two groups: those with Turkic characteristics and those with non-Turkic characteristics. In the first group, we encounter the use of participles, which is common in Turkic languages including Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and Karaim variety (see 1.2.3.2.), in the dependent clauses (Johanson 2022a: 40).
(231) [Lev 14:11]

| $d a$ | turguz-sïn | ol | temiz et-kän | kohen $k i s ̌ i+n i$ | ol |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | to set-3SG.VOL | the | to make clean-PN | priest | person+ACC | the |

## temizlä-n-gän

to clean-PASS-PN
'And the priest who makes |him| clean shall set the man who is being cleaned'.
As for the other type, which is atypical for Turkic languages, we mostly encounter the systematic rendering of the Biblical Hebrew ָׁ ['ăšer], meaning 'which, who, that, because, when, since', by the Persian conjunction ki. Note that in such a structure, the subordinate clause follows the main clause, which therefore presents untypical Turkic characteristics. It is also worth noting that this is common in Karaim, Krimchak, and Armeno-Kipchak (see Jankowski 2003b: 143-144).

Table 78: Untypical Turkic Relative Clauses 1

'And if the sin which they have sinned is known'

The comparison of the translation of Lev 4:14 presents a contrast between Karaim and other Turkic languages discussed in this study, e.g., Cr.Tat.B olarnüy yapkan gunalarï ačillyan vak̈̈̈tta; Ot.Tur.B etdikleri günah ma 'lum olursa; H.Kar.B da bilinse ol yazïk ki yazïklï boldular; T.Kar.B da bilinśa ol yazïk ki yazïklï boldular 'and if the sin which they have sinned is known'. As observed, both Ottoman Turkish and Crimean Tatar recurrently utilize participle markers in relative clauses, in contrast to the Karaim translation. It is noteworthy that such atypical structures often employ an interrogative pronoun as a relative pronoun (see Section 2.2.2.5.5), typically inflected with case suffixes and consistently followed by the Persian conjunction ki. Moreover, in verbal sentences that do not utilize the past tense, the verb embedded in the relative clause often bears the conditional marker $\{-\mathrm{sA}\}$, which operates to signify hypothetical situations (refer to Section 2.2.3.4.4).
(232) [Lev 15:6]

| $d a$ | $h e r ~ n e ~$ | $k i$ | otur-sa- $\varnothing$ | $u ̈ s t+\ddot{u}+n \ddot{a}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| and | every what | that | to sit-COND-3SG | over+3SG.POSS+DAT |

## mundar bol-sïn

to be unclean 3SG.VOL 'And anything on which she sits shall be unclean'.
It should be highlighted that, along with other Karaim dialects, this unconventional structure was also prevalent in Ottoman Turkish, predominantly due to Persian influence. In fact, it was more prevalent in Old Ottoman (mostly in written sources) and began to be replaced by structures incorporating participle markers in Middle Ottoman (Kerslake 2022: 191), e.g., Ot.Tur.B; [Lev 5:16] ne ki aldï ise 'whatever he took'; [Lev 15:4] her ne ki üzerinde oturursa 'anything on which she sits'.

### 2.3.2.2.2.2 Adverbial Clauses

## A-) Clause of Time

In such clauses, we frequently encounter converbial constructions as outlined in Section 2.3.1.3.1. These constructions are notably common in Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 40).
(233) [Lev 13:55]
da gör-sin ol kohen yuv-ul-zan+ï+n+dan
and to look-3SG.VOL the priest to wash-PASS-AN+3SG.POSS+PRNM+ABL

```
soyra ol hastalïk+n\ddot{}
after the sickness+ACC
```

'And the priest shall look at the disease after it has been washed from it.'
This common strategy is also apparent in Crimean Tatar (Kavitskaya 2010: 109-110), Ottoman Turkish (Kissling 1960: 181-182), and Karaim dialects (Musaev 1964: 306-307; Prik 1976: 120). In other examples, we simply encounter the use of certain postpositions appearing after the ablative case-marked complements, which is also common in the mentioned Turkic languages (see 2.3.1.3.2.).
(234) [Lev 23:40]

| $D a$ | $a l-\ddot{\imath} \eta \ddot{z}$ | $\ddot{z} z+\ddot{\eta} i z+g \ddot{a}$ | ol | buruņ̌i | gün+dän |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| And | to take-2PL.IMP | self+2PL.POSS+DAT | the | first | day+ABL |

burun yemiš $+i+n \quad$ sïllï ayač+nïy hurma+lar yaprak+lar+ü+nï before fruit+3SG.POSS+ACC choice tree+GEN date+PL leaf+PL+3PL.POSS
'And you shall take for yourselves before the first day the tree of choice fruits, the leaves of date palm'.

## B-) Clause of Place

In the majority of examples of this type of clause, we encounter an atypical structure previously mentioned (see 2.3.2.2.2.1), where the Persian conjunction $k i$ is used. In this structure, the relative pronoun ne appears before the word yer 'place', which is attached with a locative marker. This sequence is invariably followed by the Persian conjunction $k i$ that introduce a clause describes the place.
(235) [Lev 14:13]

| $D a$ | soy-sïn | ol | koy $+n \ddot{\boldsymbol{l}}$ | ne | yer $+d \ddot{\boldsymbol{a}}$ | $\boldsymbol{k i}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| And | to slay-3SG.VOL | the | lamb+ACC | what | place+LOC | that |

soy-ar- $\varnothing \quad$ ol 'ola+nï
to slay-AOR-3SG
ol 'ola+nï
the burnt offering+ACC
'And he shall slay the lamb in the place where he slays the sin offering'.
Note that this type is not attested in Crimean Tatar or Ottoman Turkish, as they use participle markers in the dependent clause, e.g., C.Tat.B kurban soyulyan erde 'in the place where the sacrifice is slayed'; Ot.Tur.B boğazlandĭğ̈ yerde 'in the place where it is slaughtered'. However, Karaim Bible translations exhibit the mentioned structure, e.g., [Lev 14:13] H.Kar.B Da soysun osol ol kozunu ne orunda ki soysa osol ol hatatnü, T.Kar.B Da soysun ošol ol kozunu ne ornunda ki soysa ošol ol ḥatatnï 'And he shall slay the lamb in the place where he slays the sin offering'.

In other examples, we usually find participle markers in verbs denoting the word yer 'place', which is common in Turkic languages.
(236) [Lev 1:16]

| $d a$ | tašla-sïn | $a n \ddot{i}$ | $y a n+\ddot{i}+n a$ | $o l$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | to stone-3SG.VOL | DEM.PRO.ACC | side+3SG.POSS+DAT | DEM.PRO |


| mizbeaḥ+nïy | gün doyuši | taraf+ka | ol | kül | tök-il-än | yer+gä |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| altar+GEN | east | side+DAT | the | ash | to pour out-PASS-PN place+DAT |  | 'he shall cast it beside the altar on the east side, in the place where ashes are thrown away'.

The translation of this verse also employs this common strategy, e.g., [Lev 1:16] Cr.Tat.B kul olyan erge 'to the place where there are ashes'; Ot.Tur.B mašrïka doyru olan külü̈ yerine 'to the place of the ashes that is towards the east; H.Kar.B ol kil tegiledoyac orunza 'to the place where the ashes are thrown away'. Although the Trakai Bible translation (A.Dub.III.73) does not use the same structure for this translation, such characteristics can also be attested in Trakai Karaim (Gülsevin 2016: 117).

## C-) Cause Clauses

In this type of clauses, we encounter certain conjunctions (see 2.2.4.) which express the reason for an action in Turkic languages.
(237) [Lev 21:8]

| Da | ayruhsï et-kin | anï | zira |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| And | to sanctify-2SG.IMP | DEM.PRO.ACC | because |


| korban $+\ddot{\imath}+n$ | Terri $+\eta+$ nin | ol |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| offering+3SG.POSS+ACC | God+3SG.POSS+GEN | 3SG.PRO |

yuvuklaštïr-aydïr- $\varnothing$
to bring forward-PRES-3SG
'And you shall sanctify him, because he is bringing forward the offerings of your God'.
As expected, such a structure can be attested in all Turkic languages investigated in our study, e.g., [Lev 21:8] Cr.Tat.B čünki o siziy Allaŋïznïy ašinnï ketire; Ot.Tur.B zira Allahïÿ̈y ta áamïnï takrib eder; H.Kar.B ki osol karbanïn Tenrinnin ol yuvutadï T.Kar.B ki ošol karbannïn Tenriynin ol yuvutadi" 'And you shall sanctify him, because he is bringing forward the offerings of your God'.

## D-) Conditional Clauses

As demonstrated earlier (see 2.2.3.4.4.), the conditional is indicated with the marker $\{-\mathrm{sA}\}$ in verb or clitic stems in Turkic languages. It should be noted that this structure appears only in the independent clause, which may be introduced by the Persian conjunction egär 'if', a common feature in most of the Turkic languages (Johanson 2022a: 57).
(238) [Lev 3:12]

| $D a$ | $e g a ̈ r$ | $e c ̌ k i$ | $\boldsymbol{e}$-sä- $\varnothing$ | korban $+\ddot{i}$ | $d a$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | if | goat | CL-COND | sacrifice+3SG.POSS | and |


| yuvuklaštïr-sïn | anї | ald $+\ddot{\imath}+n a$ | $Y W Y+n \ddot{\eta}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| to birng forward-3SG | DEM.PRO.ACC | before+3SG.POSS+DAT | Lord+GEN |

'If his offering is a goat, then he shall offer it before the Lord'.

## E-) Clause of purpose

In this type of clause, the expression of intention or aim of the action is found. In the majority of cases, the verb in the independent clause is accompanied by a verbal noun ending $\{-\mathrm{mA}\}$ or an infinitive ending $\{-\mathrm{mAK}\}$, which may be followed by a dative, ablative marker, or can be in nominative form.
(239) [Lev 17:9]
$\begin{array}{llll}D a & e \check{s} i[k>g]+i+n a ̈ & \text { ohel mo } \text { 'ed }+ \text { nin } & \text { ketir-mä-sä- } \varnothing \\ \text { And } & \text { door+3SG.POSS+DAT } & \text { tent of meeting+GEN } & \text { to bring-NEG-COND-3SG }\end{array}$
anï
ḳ̈l-ma+ja anï
$Y W Y+\gamma a$
DEM.PRO.ACC to do-VN+DAT DEM.PRO.ACC Lord+DAT
'And if he does not bring it to the door of the tent of meeting to make it to the Lord'.
The translation of biblical verses also shows this common strategy in Turkic languages, e.g., [Num 11:20] Cr.Tat.B nege kerek edi bizge Mïsïrdan cülï̈p ketmege? lit. 'What was the necessity for us to leave Egypt'; [Lev 17:9] Ot.Tur.B; onu Rabbe takrib etmeğe 亏̌ema 'at meskeniniy kapïsina getỉrmezse; H.Kar.B Da esigine 'ohel mo 'ednin keltirmese anï kïlma anï alnünda H-nïn; T.Kar.B Da ešigińa ohel mo ‘ednin keltirḿaśa anï ḳilma anï Adonayya. 'And if he does not bring it to the door of the tent of meeting to make it to the Lord'.

In most other usages, the dependent clause is introduced by conjunction $k i$ or $d a$, and the verb in the dependent clause is followed by an optative or imperative marker.
(240) [Lev 19:17]

| ügütlä-mä <br> to admonish-VN | ügütlä-gin <br> to admonish-2SG.IMP |  | OSS+ACC |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ček-mä-gäy-sin | $o+n \ddot{\eta}$ | učun | 亏̌ürüm |
| to bear-NEG-OPT-2SG | G 3SG.PRO+GEN | for | iniquity |

'you shall not regard your brother in your heart |as| an enemy, you ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall surely admonish ${ }^{1131}$ your friend, lest you bear iniquity because of him'.

[^85]Similar strategies are found in Ottoman Turkish and Karaim translations as well, e.g., [Lev 10:6] Ot.Tur.B esvabïŋizi yïrtmaŋ ki ölmeyesiz; H.Kar.B upraklarïnïznï sekmeniz da elmeniz; T.Kar.B upraklarïyïznï sökḿayiz da ölḿayiz ‘and do not rip your clothes, lest you die’.

## F-) Clauses of Manner

In this variety of clauses, adverbs frequently surface, delineating the nature of the action-a characteristic prevalent in Turkic languages (refer to section 2.2.2.7. for further detail). In several instances, the postpositional clause is introduced with the term nečiki 'so as, so that'.
(241) [Lev 4:20]

| $d a$ | kïl-sïn ol | buya+ | nečiki kïl-dï- $\varnothing$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| and | to do-3SG.VOL | bull+DAT | how to do-PAST-3SG |


| buya+sï+na | ol | hatat $+n i \ddot{y}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| bull+3SG.POSS+DAR | the | sin offering+GEN |

'And he shall do to the bull as he did to the bull of the sin offering'.
Bible translations demonstrate that the same structures were present in Ottoman Turkish and Karaim dialects, e.g., Ot.Tur.B bu gen亏̌ boğaya böyle eyleye niše ki günah içỉn takrib olunan gen亏̌ boğaya etdi ise; H.Kar.B kïlsïn tanaya ki ne ̧̌ik küldï̀ tanasïna ol ḥatatnïn alay këllsïn anar 'he shall do to the calf as he did to the calf of the sin offering'; T.Kar.B da kïlsïn tanaya ki nečik qüldï tanasïna ol hatatnïn ki özünün alay kïlsïn anar 'he shall do to the calf as he did to the calf of the sin offering, which is his own'.

### 2.4. Lexicon

In the dataset under study, the total count of distinct lexical items amounts to $1,075{ }^{132}$. The frequency distribution of these words is delineated in the following table.

Table 79: Distribution of Lexical Item in the Dataset

| Origin | Distribution |
| :--- | :--- |
| Turkic | $726(67.53 \%)$ |
| Arabic | $109(10.14 \%)$ |

[^86]| Origin | Distribution |
| :--- | :--- |
| Hebrew | $91(8.47 \%)$ |
| Persian | $65(6.05 \%)$ |
| Unknown | $24(2.23 \%)$ |
| Arabic+Turkic | $22(2.05 \%)$ |
| Persian+Turkic | $15(1.39 \%)$ |
| Greek | $6(0.56 \%)$ |
| Hebrew+Turkic | $5(0.47 \%)$ |
| Italian | $2(0.19 \%)$ |
| Arabic+Persian | $3(0.28 \%)$ |
| Mongolian+Turkic | $2(0.19 \%)$ |
| Turkic+Persian | $1(0.09 \%)$ |
| Armenian+Turkic | $1(0.09 \%)$ |
| Sogdian | $1(0.09 \%)$ |
| Hungarian | $1(0.09 \%)$ |
| Russian | $1(0.09 \%)$ |

In the subsequent section, we will undertake the categorization and examination of these lexical items. The CKED dictionary will serve as our principal resource for our dataset during this analysis, offering insights into the etymology of some words and/or their recent donor language where applicable. However, it is worth mentioning that the CKED dictionary may not encompass the full complexity or provide clarification for some ambiguous cases.

### 2.4.1. Turkic Vocabulary

The primary vocabulary of the corpus prominently features Turkic lexical items, showcasing 726 distinct Turkic words. The majority of these words are traceable to Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, Ottoman Turkish, and the three dialects of Karaim, often exhibiting minor phonological modifications. In specific instances, unique Oghuz and Kipchak lexical disparities can be identified, e.g., [Lev 11:30] güneš 'sun' [Lev 22:7] kuyaš 'id'. As expected, many of these Oghuz characteristics can be directly linked to Ottoman Turkish. Further examination reveals that animal names, predominantly featured in Chapter 11, appear to be direct borrowings from specific Ottoman Bible translations into the Lev of Göz. 1841, inclusive of some lexical copying errors (refer to section 2.4.6.). In conjunction with these words, the CKED dictionary indicates that, out of the 655 Turkic lexical items listed therein, 95 are identified as loanwords from Ottoman Turkish. Upon scrutinizing the lexical items credited to Ottoman Turkish, it is apparent that some of these are commonly found in Turkic vocabulary, exhibiting

Ottoman Turkish phonological characteristics (see section 2.1.2.2.1.), e.g., kel-> gel- 'to come', which is also notable in Crimean Karaim. However, it is important to emphasize that no specific Crimean Tatar word was found in our dataset. As for the Turkic lexical items of Western Karaim, distinguishing them from Crimean Karaim poses a considerable challenge and thus only a few words can be attirbuted to Western Karaim as they show some Western Karaim phonological charactersitics, e.g., [Lev 19:10] čöplä- 'to gather; to collect'; [Lev 26:21] kile'to wish'.

It is important to acknowledge that our dataset contains a total of 71 Turkic-origin words which are not referenced in either the CrKB or KRPS for Crimean Karaim. A subset of these words display only minor phonological alterations, while others do not appear in any recognizable form. Therefore, we believe it would be more appropriate to catalogue them separately. Subsequently, a table will present 26 Turkic lexical items that appear in dictionaries with minor modifications.

Table 80: Unlisted Variants of Turkic Lexical Items

| Göz. 1841 |  | Dictionaries |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 19:18] | arkardaš | arkadaš | 'comrade; fellow' | (CrKB: 48; KRPS: 73) |
| [Lev 4:6] | barmak | parmak | 'finger' | (CKED: 275; KRPS: 446) |
| [Lev 20:27] | bildǐ̧i | bildȩ̌i | 'sorcerer; healer' | (CKED: 83; KRPS: 118-119) |
| [Lev 15:9] | binek | minek | 'saddle beast ${ }^{133}$ | (CKED: 243; KRPS: 407) |
| [Lev 21:10] | böyük | büyük | 'big; great' (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 100; KRPS: 144) |
| [Lev 11:22] | čekirtke | čegirtke | 'locust' | (CKED: 115; KRPS: 639) |
| [Lev 16:23] | češ- | teš-; čez- | 'to untie; to unfasten' | (CKED: 398; KRPS: 568) |
| [Lev 26:39] | čüri- | čiri-; čürü- | 'to rot, to decay' | (CKED: 123; KRPS: 629) |
| [Lev 1:15] | damla- | tamla- | 'to drip, to ooze' | (CKED 381; KRPS: 510) |
| [Lev 11:32] | deri | teri | 'skin; hide' | (CKED: 396; KRPS: 566) |
| [Lev 13:25] | derän | terän | 'deep' | (CKED: 396; KRPS: 567) |
| [Lev 16:10] | diri | tiri | 'living; alive' | (CKED: 404; KRPS: 529-530) |

[^87]| Göz. 1841 |  | Dictionaries |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 17:8] | diril- | tiril- | 'to keep alive' | (CKED: 404; KRPS: 539) |
| [Lev 2:2] | dolu | tolu | 'full; filled' | (CKED: 407; KRPS: 537) |
| [Lev 11:16] | duyan | yaduyan; yedura | 'hawk' | (CKED: 440; KRPS 216) |
| [Lev 11:4] | degil | dügül | 'not; it is not' | (CKED: 143; KRPS: 182) |
| [Lev 15:22] | dürli | dürlü | 'various' (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 144) |
| [Lev 16:12] | girgiz- | kirgiz- | 'to let in; to bring in' | (CKED: 213; KRPS: 322) |
| [Lev 5:7] | gögürčün | kögürčün | 'pigeon' | (CKED: 216; KRPS: 336) |
| [Lev 26:36] | göทül | köyül | 'heart; mind' | (CKED: 217; KRPS: 338) |
| [Lev 13:3] | görüm | körüm | 'appearance; look' | (CKED: 219; KRPS: 339) |
| [Lev 26:16] | kaltramak | kaltïramak | 'to shiver; to tremble' | (CKED: 286; KRPS: 360) |
| [Lev 26:6] | kaltratüvči | kaltïratïvčï | 'causing shivering' | (CKED: 286; KRPS: 360) |
| [Lev 11:6] | tavušan | tafšan | 'hare; rabbit' | (CKED: 379; KRPS: 518) |
| [Lev 23:36] | tiyilmäk | tïyilmak | 'delay; constipation' | (CKED: 402; KRPS: 556) |
| [Lev 7:34] | yokarï | yukarï | ‘above; up' (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 467-468; KRPS: 246) |

As observable, some differences (a total of 15 examples) can be clearly attributed to Ottoman Turkish features (refer to 2.1.2.2.1.), while others exhibit sporadic changes, as previously illustrated (see sections 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.2.2.). On the other hand, the following table presents 45 lexical items that are not attested in either the CKED or KRPS for Crimean Karaim.

Table 81: Unlisted Turkic Lexical Items

| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 11:5] ada | - | ada tavšanï | - | - |
| tavušan 'hare; <br> European rabbit' |  | (LET: 618) |  |  |
| LLev 11: 14] ak baba akbaba; $a y b a b a$ akbaba <br> 'vulture' (KRUS: 44) (ETD: 475) | - | - |  |  |
| [Lev 15: 2] akkan | - | - | - | - |
| 'flow' |  |  |  |  |


| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 15:13] akma 'flow' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 15:3] akmak 'flow' | - | - | akmak (KRPS: 58) | ahmah (KRPS: 58) |
| [Lev 15:28] akman 'flow' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 25:27] artkan 'remainder' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:19] balïkčïn 'heron; egret' | balïkčil <br> (KRUS: 95) | balïkčil; balïkčïn <br> (LET: 397) | - | - |
| [Lev 2:11] bekmäz 'grape molasses' | bekmez; pekmez; petmez <br> (KRUS: 105) | bekmez; petmez <br> (ETD: 541) | - | - |
| [Lev 24:12] beyin 'brain' | beyin <br> (KRUS: 104) | beyin <br> (LET: 92) | - ${ }^{134}$ | - ${ }^{135}$ |
| [Lev 21:20] bodïr 'short; shortie' | - | bodur 'dwarf; short in stature amounting to deformity' (ETD: 544) | - | - |
| [Lev 21:13] boylik. 'virginity' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:22] క̌udక̌ud ‘cicada’ | - | ふ̌iř̌ir <br> (YTL: 363) | - | - |
| [Lev 23:2] čakı̈rmak 'convocation' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:14] caylak 'kite' | - | čaylak <br> (ETD: 633) | - | - |
| [Lev 22:25] <br> čaypalmak <br> 'corruption; defect' | - | - | - | čaypamah <br> (KRPS: 621) <br> 'destruction; <br> extermination' |
| [Lev 21:5] čizmak 'line’ | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:13] deniz kartalï 'sea eagle' | - | deniz kartali <br> (Işık 2021: 350) | - | - |

[^88]| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 11:36] <br> devširilmä <br> 'concentration' | - | devširilme ${ }^{136}$ <br> (ÖTS 2: 1192) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:16] deve kuši 'ostrich' | deve kušu <br> (KRUS: 153) | deve kušu <br> (ETD: 228) | - | - |
| [Lev 18:11] <br> doyurtkan 'begotten' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 25:30] dolyïņ̌a 'fully' | tolyun <br> (KRUS: 597) | dolyun <br> (KRUS: 352) | - | - |
| [Lev 5:23] dutup almak 'plundered item' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:16] duyan 'hawk' | - | doyan <br> (ETD: 805) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:37] ekin 'crop; cereal crops' | ekin <br> (KRUS: 774) | ekin <br> (ETD: 480) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:3] gevšemäk ‘cud’ | kevšek <br> (KRUS: 222) | geviš <br> (LET: 200) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:3] gevšemäk getir- 'chew the cud' | - | geviš getir- <br> (LET: 200) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:3] gevšä'chew the cud' | kevše- <br> (KRUS: 222) | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:30] göztöbä 'mole' | - | köstebek <br> (ETD: 942) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:30] güneš kelerisi lit. ‘sun lizard' | - | güneš keleri (Işık 2020a: 155) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:18] kašikčí <br> kuši 'pelican' | kašikkuš <br> (KRUS: 289) | kašikč̌í kušu (ÖTS 3: 2464). |  |  |
| [Lev 10:7] olmaya 'or else; lest | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 22:27] öte 'beyond; further' | -137 | öte <br> (ETD: 499) | - | - |

[^89]| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 2:4] piširmä 'baking' | - 138 | piširmeklik <br> (LET: 60) | - | - |
| [Lev 6:14] pišmäk 'cooked' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 7:30] sallamak 'wave offering' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 25:25] satkan 'sold' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 8:2] silmäk yayï 'anointed oil' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:29] sivri sïčan 'shrew' | - | sivri sičan <br> (Işık 2021: 364) | - | - |
| [Lev 19:14] <br> sürünmäk 'obstacle' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 19:4] tökmä 'molten' | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 15:16] tökmäk ‘emission’ | - | - | - | - |
| [Lev 11:17] ügi kušu 'eagle owl' | - | ögü kuši <br> (TLO I: 535) | - | - |
| [Lev 16:32] yerine 'instead' | - | yerine <br> (ETD: 171) |  |  |
| [Lev 11:30] yilldïz kelerisi lit. ‘star lizard' | - | yïldïz keleri (Işık 2020a: 156) | - | - |

The analysis reveals that out of the 46 items assessed, 25 surface in Ottoman Turkish, 10 in Crimean Tatar, 2 in Trakai Karaim, and a solitary instance in Halich, while 19 items are conspicuously absent in these languages. A closer examination of these particular absent words reveals common derivational strategies, wherein the fundamental nominal or verb stem frequently appears in other languages.

### 2.4.2. Arabic Loanwords

Predominantly, the non-Turkic vocabulary is Arabic in origin, as demonstrated by 108 lexical items. The incorporation of these words presents distinct characteristics, as elucidated in section

[^90]2.1.2. It is notable that, according to the CKED, out of the 85 Arabic loanword lexical items presented in the dictionary, 71 of them have been identified as being adopted into Crimean Karaim via Ottoman Turkish. Notably, 23 lexical items were not catalogued in either CKED or KRPS. In a manner parallel to the previous subchapter, we divide these unlisted items into two groups, with some appearing in dictionaries subsequent to minor phonological modifications while others are not preserved in any form. The subsequent table clarifies that 11 such items are present in dictionaries, albeit with certain alterations.

Table 82: Unlisted Variants of Arabic Loanwords

| Göz. 1841 | Dictionaries |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 5:21] amanat | emanet | 'trust; deposit' | a Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 150; KRPS: 660) |
| [Lev 17:7] dävür | devir | 'period; epoch' | (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 137; KRPS: 183) |
| [Lev 19:20] fihat | fiyat | 'price' (via O |  | (CKED: 163; KRPS: 594) |
| [Lev 10:13] hakk | hak | 'truth; law; sala | (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 176; KRPS: 606) |
| [Lev 11:37] helal | helal | 'clean; pure' (via Ot.Tur) |  | (CKED: 182-183; KRPS: 608) |
| [Lev 26:28] kaher | kahar | 'anger' |  | (CKED: 284) |
| [Lev 26:30] kayüp | vayïb | 'lost; missing' | (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 171; KRPS: 163) |
| [Lev 12:6] kumru | hümri; hümrü | 'ring dove' | (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 188; 374) |
| [Lev 11:19] legläg | leglek | 'stork' |  | (CKED: 229) |
| [Lev 19:5] morad | murad | 'aim; goal' | (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 246; KRPS: 411) |
| [Lev 15:25] zeyada | ziyada | 'much; more' | (via Ot.Tur) | (CKED: 482) |

Certain variations can once again be attributed to the adaptation of Ottoman Turkish forms or dedicated to sporadic changes. On the contrary, 12 lexical items were not listed in any similar form in the dictionaries.

Table 83: Unlisted Arabic Loanwords

| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | T.Kar | H.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $[$ Lev 13:2] ̌̌üzam | 弓̌üzam (KRUS: 744) | 弓̌üzam (LET: 477) | - | - |
| 'leprosy' |  |  |  |  |


| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | T.Kar | H.Kar |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| [Lev 11:32] espap 'clothing; garment' | - | esvap (LET: 357) | - | - |
| [Lev 26:26] fa'iz 'interest; usury’ | - | faiz (ETD: 846) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:14] farzam 'although; though' | - | farzen 'supposing that' (ÖTS 2: 1548) | - | - |
| [Lev 25:24] hïlas 'redemption' | halas; hales (KRUS: 670) | halas <br> (LET: 629) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:19] hüdhüd 'hoopoe' | üdüd kuš (KRUS: 628) | hüdhüd <br> (LET: 405) | - | - |
| [Lev 20:20] maḥrïm ‘deprived’ | marum; mahrum <br> (KRUS: 338; 340) | mahrum <br> (ÖTS 3: 3020) | - | - |
| [Lev 7:18] makbul 'accepted' | makbul (KRUS: 331) | makbul (YTL: 705) | - | - |
| [Lev 25:21] mamur 'cultivated' | mamur (KRUS: 334) | mamur (ETD: 1034) | - | - |
| [Lev 11:10; 11:23] mїkruḥ; mïkruḥa 'abominable' | mekruh (KRUS: 345) | mekruh (LET: 2) | - | - |
| [Lev 25:30] <br> mukam 'location; residence’ | makam <br> 'melody; an air of music' <br> (KRUS: 330) | makam 'a place; a high office; an air (of music) <br> (ETD: 1040) | - | - |
| [Lev 26:16] tayin 'appointment' | tayin <br> (KRUS: 538) | ta 'yin <br> (LET: 32) | - | - |

It can be observed that all the unlisted Arabic loanwords are present in Ottoman Turkish, with four of them also appearing in Crimean Tatar. It's noteworthy that none of these words are present in the Western Karaim languages.

It warrants mention that there exist two Arabic lexical items which were consistently utilized in lieu of their Turkic equivalents throughout Chapter 11 of the Göz. 1841. In other chapters, however, such Arabic words, which were prevalent in Ottoman Turkish cannot be attested.

Table 84: Usage of the Arabic ve and evlad in the Dataset

| Glosses | Lev of the Göz. 1841 <br> (all chapters except for 5, 11 and 14) | Lev of the Göz. 1841 (Only in Lev 11) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | $d a$ | $v e ; v a ̈$ |
| 'and' | oylan | evlad |
| 'son' |  |  |

Regarding the derivative forms of Arabic loanwords, we identify some common strategies. Considering nominals, all loanwords are treated as nominals, even if they originate as verbal forms. Consequently, we discover numerous instances where expected denominal, highly productive formative markers-referenced in section 2.2.2.1.1.1-are appended to Arabic stems.
[Lev 3:17] ömür+lik

| life+DER | 'life long'. |
| :--- | :--- |
| shame+DER | 'shameless'. |

It's significant to mention that we also come across instances where the derivation results from the compounding of Arabic and Persian elements.
[Lev 8:11] tas+läkän bowl+washbowl 'bowl'.
[Lev 24:4] šam+(î)dan candle+holder 'candlestick'.
In regard to verbal forms, we identify several predominant strategies. These primarily include the use of Turkic auxiliary verbs such as et-lit- 'to do; to make' and ol-/bol- 'to be; to become', among other verbs, which follow Arabic nominals. It is crucial to underscore that this structure is commonplace in numerous Turkic languages.
[Lev 5:23] amanat koy-
[Lev 25:27] hesab et- calculation; to do 'to calculate'.

In certain instances, the Turkic denominal verb marker $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$ is affixed to the word stem, a procedure that is commonplace in Turkic languages, as illustrated in section 2.2.3.1.1.1.

[^91][Lev 26:32] maymun $+l a+n$ sad+DER+REFL 'to be upset'.

### 2.4.3. Persian Loanwords

Within our dataset, we identify a total of 65 words of Persian origin. Among these, seven were not indexed in Karaim dictionaries. Further analysis reveals that four among these seven exhibit slight discrepancies when compared with their dictionary entries.

Table 85: Unlisted Variants of Persian Loanwords

| Data | Dictionaries |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 11:27] క̌enavar | క̌anavar; 弓̌anïvar 'animal; beast; butcher' | (CKED: 102; KRPS: 171) |  |
| [Lev 12:4] hič | heč | 'nothing' | (CKED: 182; KRPS: 608) |
| [Lev 11:38] tohum | tokum | 'seed; grain; lineage; family' (via Ot.Tur) (CKED: 409) |  |
| [Lev 11:25] umundar | mundar | 'unclean; impure; dirty' | (CKED:245; KRPS: 410 |

However, three of them do not manifest in any recognizable form in Karaim dictionaries.
Table 86: Unlisted Persian Loanwords

| Göz. 1841 | Cr.Tat | Ot.Tur | H.Kar | T.Kar |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 11:13] iron 'bearded vulture - iron; irun (Işı 2021: 350) - - <br> (gypaetus barbatus)'     <br> [Lev 11:36] sarnïč 'cistern' - sarnїč (ETD: 52) - - <br> [Lev 11:19] šepere 'bat' - šepere (ETD: 66) - - |  |  |  |  |

It is significant to mention that, among the 58 Persian-origin words listed in the CKED, 39 of them are attributed to Ottoman Turkish.

Analogous to the previous subchapter, the derivation of Persian loanwords also exhibits similar characteristics to those found in Arabic loanwords. Pertaining to nominal derivations, we encounter expected markers (refer to section 2.2.2.1.1.1.) affixed to Persian loanwords.
[Lev 4:13] günäḥ+li
[Lev 25:35] din+daš
$\sin +$ DER
religion+DER
‘sinful'.
'coreligionist'.

Regarding verb forms, we also observe the affixation of certain auxiliary verbs or the suffixation of the marker $\{+1 \mathrm{~A}\}$.
$\left.\begin{array}{llll}\text { (247) } & {[\text { Lev 6:2 }]} & \text { sümar-la } & \text { order+DER }\end{array}\right]$ 'to order'.

However, there is a remarkable example where a non-Turkic word, a nominal is processed as a Turkic verb and subsequently conjugated as such, a phenomenon that is exceedingly rare in Turkic languages.

> آثنكار [āškār] ‘evident’ (NS: 77);
[Lev 18:6] aškär-t make evident-CAUS 'to make evident' (CKED: 54).
The verb is notable for its attestation in other Turkic languages as well, e.g., T.Kar aškart(KRPS: 92) and H.Kar askart- (KRPS: 80). In Anatolian Turkish we also identify ešker- 'to be evident' and eškert- 'to make evident' (ÖTS 2: 1501). Furthermore, the verb form eškerit- is observed, deriving from ešker it- (ÖTS 2: 1501). As such, the form aškärt- might be explicated by vowel deletion in the auxiliary verb $i t$-. However, the presence of forms such as aškart-; askart- in Western Karaim adds a layer of complexity to the discussion. It's noteworthy that although the word aškara is present (CC: 44), no verb form of this word is observed in the Codex Cumanicus.

### 2.4.4. Biblical Hebrew Loanwords

In the analyzed corpus, there are 92 words of Biblical Hebrew origin. Out of these, $39^{139}$ are not cataloged in Karaim dictionaries. Among these unlisted words, five bear significant resemblance to entries in the CKED dictionary.

Table 87: Unlisted Variants of Hebrew Loanwords

| Göz. 1841 | Dictionaries |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Lev 5:13; 6:23] kapara; keparat | kappara; kapara 'apology; forgiveness' | (CKED: 202) |
| [Lev 23:6] mača | mačča | 'unleavened bread |

[^92]| Göz. 1841 | Dictionaries |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| [Leb 16:31] šabat | šabbat | 'saturday; Sabbath' | (CKED: 370) |

The primary divergence, as can be observed, resides in the medial gemination of specific consonants. This is related to a diacritical mark, known as dagesh hazaq (), found in Biblical Hebrew. When affixed to a letter representing a consonant, it signals gemination of that consonant, a feature not present in modern Hebrew. This phenomenon is attested in the lexical items illustrated in the above table. However, this characteristics is not indicated in our transcription, as we conform to the general transcriptional method employed in published Karaim Bible translations. As such, the differences displayed in the table primarily reflect transcription methodology, rather than linguistic variants. However, the subsequent table introduces 34 lexical items that are not cataloged in Karaim dictionaries.

Table 88: Unlisted Biblical Hebrew Lexical Items

| Biblical Hebrew | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Wאשָׁ ['ăs̄ām] 'guilt offering' (CEDHL: 58) | [Lev 5:15] ašam |
|  | [Lev 26:30] bama |
| [bōhak] 'a kind of disease (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); brightness' (CEDHL: 65) | [Lev 13:39] bohak. |
|  | [Lev 8:7] efod |
| בּבּבּ [gibbêah] 'bald on the forehead (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)' (CEDHL: <br> 89) | [Lev 13:41] gibeah |
| חָגרב [hāgāb] 'locust; grasshopper' (CEDHL: 207) | [Lev 11:22] hagav |
| Tָּמָּ [hāmês] 'hametz, leavened (bread)' (CEDHL: 222) | [Lev 2:11] hameč |
| חָרֶג [hargōl] 'a kind of locust (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)' (CEDHL: 230) | [Lev 11:22] hargol |
|  | [Lev 4:3] hatat |
| [חֻזִיר [hăzîr] 'pig; swine' (CEDHL: 212) | [Lev 11:7] hazïr |
| חרֶם [hêrem] 'thing devoted; ban; devotion; destruction' (CEDHL 233) | [Lev 27:28] herem |
| חֹשֶׁ [hōšen] 'breastplate of high priest' (CEDHL: 236) | [Lev 8:8] hošen |
| קַרֵ [kêrêah] 'bald (a hapax legomenon in the Bible)'; place from which plants have been removed' (CEDHL: 593). | [Lev 13:40] kereah |
| קרדָּ [kārbān] 'offering; sacrifice; oblation; victim' (CEDHL: 591) | [Lev 1:2] korban |
|  | [Lev 11:44] kuduš |


| Biblical Hebrew | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: |
| [mêlîkā] 'nipping off (the neck of a bird)' (CEDHL: 350) | [Lev 5:8] melika |
| מִלוּאִים [millu'im] 'filling in, setting; 'installation; supplement; addition' (CEDHL: 348) | [Lev 7:37] milu'im |
| [miškāl] 'mithqal, a unit of mass; weight' (CEDHL: 678) | [Lev 19:35; 27:4] miskal; meskal |
| ¢ [mōlek] 'Molech' | [Lev 18:21] Moleh |
| [netekk] 'scab' (CEDHL: 431) | [Lev 13:30] netek. |
|  | [Lev 7:24] nevela |
|  | [Lev 20:10] no'ef |
| [pāsul] 'unfit; defective; disqualified' (CEDHL: 515) | [Lev 7:18] pasul |
| [pəhetete] 'sunken spot in leprosy (a hapax legomenon in the Bible); defect; fault' (CEDHL: 502) | [Lev 13:55] pehetet |
| (rāhām] 'carrion vulture' (CEDHL: 613) | [Lev 11:18] raham |
|  | [Lev 16:31] <br> šabaton |
|  | [Lev 17:5] šehita |
| שׁׁם [šêm] 'name; as designation of God' (CEDHL: 664) | [ Lev 24:11] šem |
| טְרָּה [tarêp $\bar{a} h]$ 'an animal tom by wild beasts; an animal with organic defect; ritually forbidden food' (CEDHL: 252) | [Lev 7:24] terefa |
|  | [Lev 14:30] tor |
| ת [tummim] 'one of the two objects attached to the breastplate of the high priest' (CEDHL: 706) | [Lev 8:8] tumim |
| אוּרִים ['ūrîm] 'one of the two objects attached to the breastplate of the high priest (CEDHL: 14). | [Lev 8:8] urim |
| זוּב [zōwb] 'flux; issue' (CEDHL: 195) | [Lev 15:2] zav |
| [זוֹנָ [zōnāh] 'harlot; prostitute' (CEDHL: 196) | [Lev 21:7] zona |

It is important to note that of the lexical items listed above, only the Arabic form of Biblical Hebrew korban, known as kurban, meaning 'sacrifice', is attested in Crimean Tatar (KRUS: 302), Ottoman Turkish (ETD: 299), and Western Karaim (KRPS: 347). The remaining lexical items are not attested in these languages.

Similar to the loanwords previously explored, all Biblical Hebrew loanwords in our dataset present as nominals. Their patterns of nominal derivation align with the strategies previously illustrated in this study.

| (249) | $[$ Lev 12:5] | nida $+l i k k$ | menstrual+DER |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |$\quad$ 'menstruation'.

On the other hand, the derivation of verbs from the nominals of these Hebrew words invariably involves the affixation of a Turkic auxiliary verb.
[Lev 23:9] hag et-
feast; to make
'to make a feast'.
[Lev 7:18] pasul bol- abominable; to be 'to be abominable'.

### 2.4.5. Loanwords from Other Languages

In our dataset, numerous lexical elements of diverse origins, including Turkic, Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew, are found. Notably, there are 14 distinct lexical elements that are considered loanwords, borrowed from various languages. It is essential to highlight that most of these loanwords are verifiable in Karaim dictionaries. In certain cases, the Crimean Karaim Dictionary (CKED) elucidates the donor language, and this information is subsequently incorporated into the table provided below. However, it is imperative to clarify that for other examples, while we identify their provenance, it does not necessarily imply that these are the donor languages.

Table 89: Loanwords from Other Languages

| Origin | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Armenian+Turkic | [Lev 25:25] zügürt+lä- 'to become poor' <br> (for the adjective zügürt see CKED: 483; NS: 985) (via Ottoman Turkish) |
| Greek | [Lev 2:1] tïmyan 'incense' (CKED: 400; KRPS: 556) |
|  | [Lev 4:30; ] temel 'foundation; base' (CKED: 393; NS: 875) (via Ottoman Turkish) |
|  | [Lev 13:47] üskülü ‘flax; linen' (CKED: 434; KRPS: 591) |
|  | [Lev 19:13] ïryat 'servant, workman, hired hand' (CKED: 191; KRPS: 651; NS: 378) (via Ottoman Turkish) |
|  | [Lev 21:20] kambur 'hump' (CKED: 287; KRPS: 361; NS: 434) |
|  | [Lev 24:6] terapiz 'trapezium, a little table' (NS: 902) |
| Hungarian | [Lev 23:43] čalaš ‘hut, cabin; shelter' (CKED: 109; KRPS: 622) |


| Origin | Göz. 1841 |
| :--- | :--- |
| Italian | [Lev 11:28; 11:25] rubalurba 'clothes' (CKED: 328, 427; KRPS: 580; NS: 743) |
|  | (via Ottoman Turkish) |
| Mongolian+Turkic | [Lev 16:16] tohta-yan 'one who stops; one who dwells (see for the verb tohta- |
|  | CKED: 406; KRPS: 539-540) |
| Mongolian+Turkic | [Lev 19:24] maht (a>o)-v 'praising, praise' (CKED: 232-233; KRPS: 405) |
| Russian | [Lev 6:21] čöräp 'shell' (CKED: 127; KRPS: 602) |
| Sogdian | [Lev 14:46] ahšam 'evening' (CKED: 35; KRPS: 86; NS: 40) |

### 2.4.6. Copies from Ottoman Bible Translations

Within the Book of Leviticus in the Torah, there exists a substantial inventory of animal nomenclature, each delineated as either clean or unclean pertaining to consumption and/or sacrificial purposes. However, the definitive equivalencies of certain animal appellations found within the Hebrew Bible remain ambiguous, thus presenting significant challenges to translators in identifying the precise counterparts to the Biblical Hebrew terminologies. Various words, absent in contemporary Hebrew, persist in a state of definitional uncertainty, potentially due to the folk taxonomic structures prevalent among the ancient Hebrews (refer Cansdale, 1970; Ferguson, 1974). In addition to this, numerous other words are categorized as hapax legomena, introducing further complexities in the structural analysis. Consequently, this gives rise to an extensive range of preferences concerning the ambiguous identification of certain animal names in Bible translations.

Within ourdataset, there exists a collection of 52 distinct animal names, representative of various species, including mammals (20), insects (4), reptiles (5), and birds (23). Upon juxtaposition of our data with other Karaim and Ottoman Turkish Bible translations, striking similarities become apparent between our text and the Ottoman Bible translations. Indeed, in previous publications (Işık 2020a; 2021), a series of articles have been published that meticulously analyze these lexical items in detail, contrasting them with the Ottoman Bible translations and another Crimean Karaim Bible translation (CrKB I). These analyses have culminated in the conclusion that the translator(s) or compiler(s) of the Göz. 1841 unambiguously replicated thirty-two animal names from Chapter 11 of the Lev from the Kieffer 1827 edition, which was itself premised on an earlier Ottoman Bible translation, Ali Bey 1665 (Işık 2021: 363) ${ }^{140}$.

[^93]The forthcoming table will provide an exhaustive comparative assessment, this time including both the Halich and Trakai Karaim translations. It's important to note that specific examples, previously presented in dictionaries dedicated to Crimean Karaim, which do not necessarily signify direct replication, will be omitted from this table.

Table 90: Animal Names Appearing in Chapter 11 of Lev

| Lev | Biblical Hebrew | ADub.III. 73 <br> (T.Kar.B) | JSul.III. 01 <br> (H.Kar.B) | Kieffer 1827 <br> (Ot.Tur.B) | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11:5 | שָׁפָּ [šāp̄ān] <br> 'rock badger; cony <br> rabbit' | krolik | dafsan | ada tavšan <br> 'hare; European <br> rabbit' | ada tavušan <br> 'hare; <br> European <br> rabbit' |
| 11:6 | ארַנְנֶת ['arnebet] 'hare; rabbit' | koyan | koyan | tavšan | tavušan |
| 11:7 | דְזִיר [hăzîr] 'pig; swine' | hazir | hazir | hïnzïr | hïnzïr |
| 11:13 | נֶשֶׁר [nešer] 'eagle; vulture' | nešer | nešer | kartal 'eagle' | kartal 'eagle' |
| 11:13 | פָרֶס [peres] 'bearded vulture' | peres | peres | iron/irun <br> 'a kind of eagle' | ironï <br> 'a kind of eagle' |
| 11:13 | עיזָּנָּדָה ['āzanı̂yāh] <br> 'black vulture' | 'azniya | 'azniya | deniz kartalï 'sea-eagle' | deniz kartali 'sea-eagle' |
| 11:14 | בָּ <br> 'eagle and/or vulture; kite; red kite' | $d a^{\prime} a$ | $d a^{\prime} a$ | ak baba <br> 'vulture' | ak baba <br> 'vulture' |
| 11:14 | אֵּיָּ ['ayyāh] <br> 'falcon; kite; hawk; black kite’ | aya | aya | čaylak <br> 'kite’ | čaylak <br> 'kite' |
| 11:16 | יִיְנָה [ya ănāh] 'female ostrich; ostrich' | anküt | anküt | deve kuši | deve kušu |
| 11:16 | שׁׁñ [šāhap̄] 'seagull' | šahaf | šahaf | kuku kuši 'cuckoo' | kuku kuši 'seagull'? <br> (see CKED: <br> 319; KRPS: $374)^{\prime}$ |


| Lev | Biblical Hebrew | ADub.III. 73 <br> (T.Kar.B) | JSul.III. 01 <br> (H.Kar.B) | Kieffer 1827 <br> (Ot.Tur.B) | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11:16 | נֵ [nêṣ] <br> 'hawk; falcon' | kïrÿ̈y | kïrzïy | dozan <br> 'hawk; falcon' | duyan <br> 'hawk; <br> falcon' |
| 11:17 | שׁׁרָּ [šālāk] 'cormorant; fish owl' | šalah | šalak | kara batak 'cormorant' | kara batak 'tern?' (see <br> CKED: 290; <br> KRPS: 363) |
| 11:17 | יַנְשׁוּ [yanšūp̄] 'long-eared owl; bee-eater' | yanšuf | kuzyun 'owl' | toltu <br> 'a species of owl' | toyï <br> 'ibis?' (see <br> CKED: 410; <br> KRPS: 535) |
| 11:18 | תַּנְשְֶֶׁת [tinšemet] <br> 'white owl; chameleon' | tinšemet | tinšemet | kиуи 'swan' | koyu 'swan' |
| 11:18 | קמאת [ka'āt] 'pelican; little owl; jackdaw’ | ka'at | puhac <br> 'a species of owl' | kašikjü kuší 'pelican' | kašikčǐ kuši 'pelican' |
| 11:18 | [רָם [râhâm] 'carrion vulture’ | raham | raham | raham | raḥamï |
| 11:19 | חֲסִידָה [hăsîda $\bar{a} h]$ ‘stork | hasida | busyol | legleg | legläg |
| 11:19 | אֲנָפָה [anafa] <br> 'heron; egret' | anafa | anafa | balikčïn 'heron' | balikkčin 'heron' |
| 11:19 | דּוּכִיפַת [dūk̄îpat] 'hoopoe' | duhifat | duhifat | hüdhüd 'hoopoe' | hüdhü̈di 'hoopoe' |
| 11:19 | [עְטֵַּּ ['ătallêp] 'bat' | yarï kanat | yarï kanat | šebpere 'bat' | šepere <br> 'bat' |
| 11:22 | סָלְֶָם [sāla 'ām] 'a kind of locust' | sal'am | sal'am | juиdjud/jüdjüüd 'cicada' | ǰudjud/ǰüdjüd 'cicada' |
| 11:22 | חרָרְּגר [hargōl] <br> 'a kind of locust' | hargol | hargol | hargol | hargol |
| 11:22 | חָגָּ [hāāāb] <br> 'locust; <br> grasshopper' | hagav | hagav | hagab | hagav |
| 11:29 | חלְד [hōled $]$ 'mole-rat, mole weasel' | holed | holed | gelinjik <br> 'weasel' | gelinčik |


| Lev | Biblical Hebrew | ADub.III. 73 <br> (T.Kar.B) | JSul.III. 01 <br> (H.Kar.B) | Kieffer 1827 <br> (Ot.Tur.B) | Göz. 1841 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | 'mole?' (see <br> CKED: 164; <br> KRPS: 166) |
| 11:29 | עַכַבְּר ['akbār] 'mouse' | 'abbar | scïcan | sičan <br> 'rat; mouse' | sïčan <br> 'rat; mouse' |
| 11:29 | צָּ [ṣāb] <br> 'turtle; turtoise; a kind of lizard' | cav | scur | kaplubuya 'turtle; turtoise' | kaplï baya <br> 'turtle; <br> turtoise' |
| 11:30 | אֲנָהֶ ['ănākāh] 'gecko; a kind of lizard' | anaka | anaka | sivri sičan ‘shrew mouse' | sivri sičan <br> 'shrew <br> mouse' |
| 11:30 | כּ כֹbōah] <br> 'a kind of lizard' | kovah | koah | güneš keleri <br> lit. 'sun lizard' | güneš <br> kelerisi <br> lit. 'sun <br> lizard’ |
| 11:30 | לטטָהָה [lotac $\bar{a} \bar{a} h]$ <br> 'a kind of lizard' | $l e t a ' a$ | leta'a | yüldiz keleri <br> lit. 'star lizard' | yïldïz kelerisi <br> lit. 'star <br> lizard' |
| 11:30 | חמֶֶu [hōmeṭ] <br> ‘lizard' | homet | homet | kertenkele <br> 'lizard' | kerten kelesi <br> 'lizard' |
| 11:30 | תּנַשְׁמֶת [tinšāmet] <br> 'white owl; chameleon' | tinšamet | tinšamet | köstebek <br> 'mole' | $\begin{gathered} \text { gözz töbä } \\ \text { 'mole' } \end{gathered}$ |

Upon inspection, all instances within our dataset align with the Ottoman Bible translation, while the Halich and Trakai Karaim versions exhibit variances, occasionally presenting untranslated Biblical Hebrew terms. The apparent reliance on Ottoman Bible translations clearly stems from challenges associated with the interpretation of ambiguous animal names. However, this replication process introduces intriguing errors, which are also erroneously reflected in dictionaries. An examination of these problematic items reveals several systematic errors. One of them is unnecessary duplication of accusative markers.

Table 91: Usage of Double Accusative Case Markers in the Dataset (Işık 2021: 366)

| Lev | Kieffer 1827 | Göz. $\mathbf{1 8 4 1}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $11: 13$ | iron $+\ddot{i}$ | iron $+\ddot{\imath}+n \ddot{̈}$ |


| Lev | Kieffer 1827 | Göz． 1841 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | eagle＋ACC（Ogh．） | eagle＋ACC（Ogh．）＋ACC（Kip．） |
| 11：16 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { baykuš+ï } \\ & \text { owl+ACC (Ogh.) } \end{aligned}$ | bay kuš＋̈̈＋nü owl＋ACC（Ogh．）＋ACC（Kip．） |
| 11：17 | $\begin{aligned} & t u+y i ̈ r \\ & \text { owl+ACC (Ogh.) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { to+yї+nї } \\ & \text { owl?+ACC (Ogh.)+ACC (Kip.) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 11：18 | raham＋ï <br> carrion vulture＋ACC（Ogh．） | raham＋ï＋nï <br> carrion vulture＋ACC（Ogh．）＋ACC（Kip．） |
| 11：19 | $\begin{aligned} & \text { hüdhü̈d+i } \\ & \text { hoopoe+ACC (Ogh.) } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { hüdhüid+i+ni } \\ & \text { hoopoe+ACC (Ogh.)+ACC (Kip.) } \end{aligned}$ |
| 11：20 | ふ̌üd亏̌üd＋i <br> cicada＋ACC（Ogh．） | 亏̌üd亏̌üud＋i＋ni <br> cicada + ACC（Ogh．）＋ACC（Kip．） |

Another replication error entails the superfluous duplication of 3SG．POSS markers in three compound nouns ${ }^{141}$ ，along with the unnecessary addition of a 3SG．POSS marker in another compound noun．

Table 92：Unusual Usage of 3SG．POSS Suffixes in the Dataset（Işık 2021：366）

| Lev | Kieffer 1827 | Göz．1841 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $11: 29$ | güneš keler $+i$ | güneš keler＋i＋si |
|  | sun lizard＋3SG．POSS | sun lizard＋3SG．POSS＋3SG．POSS |
| $11: 29$ | yïldïz keler＋$i$ | yïldïz keler + i＋si |
|  | star lizard＋3SG．POSS | star lizard＋3SG．POSS＋3SG．POSS |
| $11: 29$ | kertenkele | kerten kele + si |
|  | lizard | lizard＋3SG．POSS |

Lastly，it is noteworthy that a previous study＇s（Işık 2021）findings suggest that five words featured in the Crimean Karaim dictionaries may be inaccurately defined．The unusual forms in Göz． 1841 appear to have led dictionary compilers to draw comparisons with other Bible translations when formulating their descriptions．As previously highlighted，various Bible translations often reference differing animals within identical verses．It is crucial to note that all these problematic words originate from Shapsal＇s lexical corpus and are thus incorporated in the KRPS dictionary．This dictionary lists Karaim words in conjunction with Russian and Polish descriptions．As demonstrated earlier（Işık 2021：367－368），the comparison between the

[^94]Russian description of these five words in the KRPS and corresponding sections of a 19thcentury Russian Bible translation (RSO 1876) reveals a clear parallel. Subsequently, the uncertain and erroneous animal nomenclature of Göz. 1841 in the dictionaries, is likely the result of comparisons with equivalent biblical verses from a Russian Bible. This approach, however, led to misinterpretations, as these words originally referred to distinct animals, corroborated by the evidence presented in Kieffer 1827.

Table 93: Erroneous Lexical Items in Karaim Dictionaries

| Lev | Göz. 1841 | Karaim Dictionaries | RSO 1876 | Kieffer 1827 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11:17 | toyï | 'ibis' <br> (CKED: 410; KRPS: 535) | ибис 'ibis' | to 'a kind of owl'+ACC > toyï (Işık 2021: 367) |
| 11:16 | kuku kuši | (appears solely as kuku) 'seagull; mew' <br> (CKED: 319; KRPS: 374) | чайки <br> 'seagulls' | kuku kuši 'cuckoo' |
| 11:17 | karabatak | 'tern; fisher (bird)' <br> (CKED: 290; KRPS: 363) | рыболов <br> 'fisher <br> (bird)' | karabatak 'cormorant' |
| 11:17 | $a k-b a b a$ kuši | 'kite’ (KRPS: 377) | кориун <br> 'kite' | ak baba 'vulture' |
| 11:30 | gelinčik | 'mole' <br> (CKED: 164; KRPS: 166) | крот 'mole' | gelinjuik 'weasel' |

## 3. Conclusion

### 3.1. Phonology

Following a comprehensive analysis, it is evident that the phonemic inventory of the scrutinized text displays no marked disparities when contrasted with Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, and Ottoman Turkish. In contrast, in line with expectations, the text does not incorporate the unique phonemes of Western Karaim, which demonstrate Slavonic influence. A deeper examination of the phonological attributes indicates that certain features, when juxtaposed with the aforementioned languages, do not exhibit a homogenous characteristic. These features predominantly hinge on chosen lexical items, complicating the identification of stable characteristic traits, e.g., fluctuations between the vowels /a/ ~/ä/ in words [Lev 1:5 vs 26:5] sač- vs säč- 'to sprinkle' [Lev 24:7; 24:6] yaraštïrmak vs yäräštirmäk 'arrangement' [Lev 27:7 vs 27:6] yaš vs yäš 'years; age', addition of a vowel in [Lev 11:25] umundar (see [Lev 5:2] mundar) 'unclean' irenk (see [Lev 13:55] renk) 'colour', [Lev 11:23] mïkruḥa 'abominable'
(see [Lev 11:11] mïkruh). Nonetheless, it is worthy of note that when comparisons are drawn, certain discrepancies become apparent between the studied languages. A number of features reveal instances of divergence from Ottoman Turkish characteristics while mirroring a recurring pattern discernible in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, and Western Karaim dialects in specific instances. These encompass the degree of openness in vowels, the adaptation of fronting harmony in some non-Turkic lexemes, the transformation of the velar voiceless plosive $-k$ into the velar fricative $-h$, metathesis in some words, and the shifting of vowel-consonant pairs from $[\ddot{z}]$, $\left[a_{\gamma}\right]$ to $[u v]$ or $[o v]$ (see sections 2.1.2.1. and 2.1.2.2.2.). In regard to the interrelationships between our dataset and the Western Karaim dialects, it can be posited that, barring a few characteristics such as the alternation from $t->c$ - and $t->k$-, and the omission of consonants in certain Arabic words (see sections 2.1.2.2.2.2. and 2.1.2.2.2.4.), there is no significant association in features that diverge from Crimean Turkish, Crimean Tatar, and Ottoman Turkish. Notably, with regard to Crimean Tatar, we do not identify any distinctive phonological features that are exclusively present in both Crimean Tatar and our dataset.

In categorizing the phonological characteristics, the most salient features are those pertaining to Ottoman Turkish consonantal alternations (see section 2.1.2.2.1.), which fundamentally underpin the classification of Crimean Karaim variants. It is well-established that Bible translations penned in Crimean Karaim phonologically exhibit Kipchak traits, while secular texts, such as mejumas, frequently display Ottoman Turkish attributes. As alluded to previously, these distinctions are recognized in Jankowski's taxonomy (2015: 202-205), where the variant embodying Ottoman Turkish characteristics is designated as Crimean Turkish Karaim, and the one demonstrating Kipchak traits is labeled as Crimean Kipchak Karaim. Our text reveals some intriguing observations, as the influence of Ottoman Turkish phonological features is notably pronounced in a Crimean Karaim Bible translation. We classify such Ottoman Turkish consonantal features into seven subgroups. Among them certain Ottoman Turkish traits are dominant over the Kipchak counterparts, e.g., $k$ - $\sim$ g- ( $8 \%$ vs $92 \%$ ); $b-\sim v$ ( $0 \%$ vs $100 \%$ ), while others are not, e.g., $t-\sim d-(59 \%$ vs $41 \%$ ); $b-\sim(92 \%$ vs $8 \%$ ); $b-\sim m$ ( $7 \%$ vs $93 \%$ ), $b-\sim p-(86 \%$ vs $14 \%$ ), ol $\sim o(95 \%$ vs. $5 \%)$. It's important to underscore that the distribution of these features is characteristically heterogeneous. This can also be further corroborated by the occasional presence of both Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak equivalents within the same sentences in our dataset. However, in specific chapters, for instance, Chapter 11, such Ottoman Turkish features are highly predominant.

In conclusion, while it is arduous to categorize the variant of Crimean Karaim utilized in our text, given its amalgamation of both Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Crimean Turkish Karaim traits, it should be underscored that pronounced Crimean Turkish features are unusual for Crimean Karaim Bible translations. This aspect renders our text distinct among other Crimean Karaim Bible translations ${ }^{142}$. Accordingly, it can be convincingly proposed that, despite preserving fundamental Kipchak traits, the text also mirrors the phonological tendencies prevalent during the linguistic epoch of its publication.

### 3.2. Morphology and Morphophonology

The morphological and morphophonological attributes observed in our dataset once more showcase a fusion of characteristics. Primarily, in terms of general tendencies of morphophonological traits, numerous analogous patterns emerge. These are identifiable in our dataset and within the other Turkic languages explored in this current analysis, such as intersyllabic vowel harmony, consonant harmony, intervocalic lenition, and vowel deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.). Nonetheless, our text reveals certain unique characteristics specific to our dataset, which are absent in other languages. These include metathesis in a single inflected lexical item and a consonant deletion mostly in the aorist marker (refer to sections 2.2.1.5. and 2.2.1.6.). Yet, the most notable difference lies in the presence of rounded forms of particular suffixes which are absent in Crimean Tatar, Crimean Karaim Bible translations or as depicted in Prik's (1976) account for Crimean Karaim. Examples of these distinctions include the following: denominal nominal derivative markers $\{+1 \mathrm{U}\},\{+1 \mathrm{UK}\}$; the deverbal nominal derivative markers $\{-\mathrm{U}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{K}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{m}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \check{s}\},\{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{vči}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{v}\}$; the possessive markers $\{+(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{m}\},\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y}\},\{+\mathrm{U}\},\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y} U z\}$; the accusative case marker $\{+\mathrm{nu}\}$; the ordinal marker $\{+(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{n} \check{I}\}$; the passive voice marker $\{-\mathrm{Ul}\}$; the causative voice marker $\{-\mathrm{Ur}\},\{-\mathrm{dUr}\}$, $\{-\gamma u z\}$; the reflexive voice marker $\{-\mathrm{un}\}$, the definite past tense marker $\{-\mathrm{Du}\}$; the aorist marker $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{r}\}$; the imperative mood markers $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y} \mathrm{Zz}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathfrak{y} \mathrm{Iz}\}$; the voluntative mood marker $\{-s U n\}$; the converb marker $\{-\mathrm{up}\}$; and the participle marker $\{-(\mathrm{u}) \mathrm{vči}\}$ (see sections 2.2.2. and 2.2.3.). It's crucial to acknowledge that these rounded variants also have unrounded counterparts, which are significantly more prevalent compared to the rounded versions. In addition, these characteristics should not be ascribed to the influence of Western Karaim. Instead, they seem to faintly echo an Ottoman Turkish morphophonological process which was

[^95]also, albeit scarcely, prevalent in Crimean Turkish. Indeed, apart from the presence of the present tense marker $\{$-AydIr $\}$ (see section 2.2.3.3.2.), our dataset does not exhibit any distinct Western Karaim features pertaining to this category.

In regard to the morphological dimension, the text uncovers a series of Ottoman Turkish markers that are not found in Prik's description of Crimean Karaim or Crimean Karaim Bible translations. Examples include the participle markers $\{-(y) A n\},\{-i ̌ ̌ i ̄\},\{-D I k\} ;$ the first person voluntative mood marker $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{IIm}\}$; the third person singular optative mood marker $\{-(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{A}\}$; and the future tense marker $\{-\mathrm{A} \check{\mathrm{h}} \mathrm{KK}\}$ (see sections 2.2.3.6., 2.2.3.4.2., and 2.2.3.3.4.). It's crucial to highlight that, except for the 1PL.VOL marker $\{$-(A)IIm\}, all the markers introduced have Kipchak equivalents within our text. Remarkably, these Kipchak variants predominate over their Ottoman Turkish counterparts ( $88 \%$ vs $12 \%$ ). However, it is only in specific chapters, such as Chapter 11, that Ottoman Turkish characteristics are more prevalent. Nevertheless, the overarching conclusion is that while our text does display Ottoman Turkish morphophonological and morphological characteristics, they do not exhibit predominance. This stands in contrast to certain phonological characteristics discussed in the preceding subsection.

### 3.3. Syntax and Morphosyntax

The syntactic and morphosyntactic characteristics observed in the text yield anticipated results, as all Karaim Bible translations exhibit various influences from Biblical Hebrew features. These include the inverse order in genitive constructions, systematic renderings of Biblical Hebrew conjunctions such as $k i$ and wa, the Hebrew definite article, repetition of certain nominals and postpositional structures, and the use of infinitival paronomasia by certain Karaim equivalents. Furthermore, these influences pervasively shape the structures and word order in both simple and complex sentences, elements that are atypical for Turkic languages. Perhaps the most common influence in complex sentences is the rendering of the Hebrew relative pronoun צֶשֶׁר ['ăšer] by certain pronouns. This presents an atypical relative clause structure that is common in Karaim and also existed in written Ottoman sources due to Persian influence. On the other hand, the text also exhibits some Turkic characteristics, as we observe the use of participles in relative clauses, the usage of specific conjunctions, and verbal noun markers in adverbial clauses, which bear similarities to aspects of Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, and other Karaim dialects. Furthermore, an analysis of case marker functions reveals that out of 43 different functions, only three of them demonstrate atypical Turkic usages, likely the result of Biblical Hebrew influence. Additionally, with respect to a specific Biblical Hebrew influence,
such as the reduplication of specific nominals and postpositional constructions, e.g., [Lev 6:5] ertä bilän ertä bilän 'every morning'; [Lev 17:3] kiši kiši 'every man', our text diverges from the previously examined Western Karaim Bible translations. Instead, it exhibits similarities with another Crimean Karaim Bible translation (specifically, the manuscript BSMS 288). In conclusion, our text adheres closely to the parameters of Karaim Bible translation, reflecting an age-old canonical tradition along with certain Turkic characteristics which cannot be attributed to a specific Turkic language.

### 3.4. Lexicon

Within our dataset, we identify a total of 1075 unique lexical elements, 939 of which are documented in Karaim dictionaries. Upon evaluating the representation of these words in the languages exhibited in our text, it is frequently observed that a majority of the words are prevalent across all languages, albeit with differing phonological adaptations. In examining the lexical content of Western Karaim dialects, it is notable that, barring two verbs showing the Western Karaim phonological adaptations (see section 2.4.1.), our dataset displays no discernible influence from such Karaim dialects. Interestingly, our data also lacks any specific Crimean Tatar words. However, the situation is markedly different with respect to Ottoman Turkish. According to the CKED, 209 of the 939 listed examples originate from Ottoman Turkish as adopted in Crimean Karaim. In addition, our investigation reveals that this number increases to 286 out of 1075 total items when unlisted lexical items are taken into account. Thus, Ottoman Turkish served as a donor language for approximately $27 \%$ of the lexical elements in our dataset, contributing words of Turkic, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Italian and Armenian origin. The influence of Ottoman Turkish within the chapters is not uniformly distributed. Notably, Chapter 11 evidences a pronounced use of Ottoman Turkish lexicon and a systematic replacement of two Karaim words with their Arabic-origin Ottoman Turkish equivalents.

In relation to Biblical Hebrew, our dataset includes 38 words that, while absent in dictionaries, are present in Karaim Bible translations. Additionally, there exist twenty unique lexical items within our data that do not appear in any other sources. These items are primarily derived from common Turkic verb and nominal stems.

In concluding the examination of this category, we can revisit the insights derived from the previous subchapter. Although the text prominently features lexical elements intrinsic to Crimean Kipchak Karaim, a substantial presence of Crimean Turkish Karaim features is also
observed, attributed to the influence of Ottoman Turkish. Notably, such an intensive level of Ottoman Turkish lexical influence is yet to be observed in other Crimean Karaim Bible translations, except for the so-called Ortaköy 1835 edition, the language of which is sometimes referred to as Turkish.

### 3.5. Final Remarks

This study meticulously scrutinizes the linguistic properties of a section of the printed edition known as the Gözleve Bible, the language of which has sparked scholarly discourse. Our exhaustive investigation delineates these linguistic elements in detail, providing a comprehensive comparison with Crimean Tatar, Ottoman Turkish, all three Karaim dialects, and occasionally, Crimean Turkish. It is clear that the text exemplifies translation strategies typically found in all Karaim translations. This includes a literal translation approach, such as reflecting Biblical Hebrew syntax or replicating various linguistic characteristics of Biblical Hebrew that are atypical in Turkic languages. However, in a wide array of categories, the text appears to undergo Ottomanization across phonological, morphophonological, morphological, and lexical dimensions, sporadically incorporating direct borrowings from Ottoman Bible translations. Simultaneously, the text reveals pronounced Kipchak traits in these categories, which predominantly outweigh the Ottoman Turkish equivalents in general. Notably, the text intermittently showcases specific phonological features and lexical elements which, while not atypical for Turkic languages, are absent in other languages that have been compared with our dataset. In light of these findings, Shapira's assertion (2003: 696; 2013: 134) that this edition represents a hasty attempt to Tatarize or vulgarize older Łuck editions, resulting in superficial Tatarization, does not align with our results. Quite the contrary, the text does not display any features that are solely characteristic of Crimean Tatar. Rather, it manifests common Karaim traits alongside non-dominant Ottoman Turkish features, which were prevalent in both Crimean Turkish and Crimean Tatar. Therefore, based on Jankowski's descriptions (2015a: 202-205) of Crimean Karaim variants, the language of the Lev of Göz. 1841 encompasses a blend of Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Crimean Turkish Karaim. Undoubtedly, a more comprehensive analysis is required to provide an accurate portrayal of the entire edition.

## References

AbISH, Aynur 2022. ‘Kazakh and Karakalpak’. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 337-353.
Ankori, Zvi 1968. Karaites in Byzantium: The Formative Years, 970-1100. New York: AMS Press.

AQTAY, Gülayhan 2009. Eliyahu ben Yosef Qulcı's Anthology of Crimean Karaim and Turkish Literature. İstanbul: Mehmet Ölmez Yayınları.
Astren, Fred 2003. 'Karaite Historiography And Historical Consciousness'. In: Meira Polliack (ed.) Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 25-69.

Astren, Fred 2004. Karaite Judaism and Historical Understanding. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.

Barthold, Vasily Vladimirovich 2004. Orta Asya Türk Tarihi Dersleri (Translated by Dă̆ Hüseyin). Ankara: Çağlar Yayınları.
Berta Árpád and Csató Éva Á. 2022a. 'Middle Kipchak'. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 152-159.
Berta Árpád and Csató Éva Á. 2022b. 'West Kipchak Languages'. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 320336.

Besalel, Yusuf 2001. Yahudilik Ansiklopedisi. Vol. III. İstanbul: Gözlem Yayıncılık.
Bozok, Emrah 2018. 'Hırsız Sözcüğünün Kökeni Üzerine'. Uluslararası Beşeri Bilimler ve Eğitim Dergisi 4 (9): 63-71.
CANSDALE, George Soper 1970. Animals of Bible Lands. Exeter: Paternoster.
CC $=$ GrønBECH, Kaare 1942. Komanisches Wörterbuch. Türkischer Wortindex zu Codex Cumanicus [Monumenta Linguarum Asiae Maioris Subsidia 1]. Kopenhagen: Munksgaard.

CEDHL = Klein, Ernest 1987. A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English. Israel: Carta Jerusalem.

Chafuz, Mark Èzrovič 1995. Russko-karaimskij slovaŕ. Krymskij dialekt. Moskva: Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk.

CKED = AqTay Gülayhan and Jankowski Henryk 2015. A Crimean Karaim-English Dictionary. Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu. Katedra Studiów Azjatyckich. Wydział Neofilologii.

CPED $=$ Steingass, Francis 1963. A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary. London: Routledge \& Kegan Paul Limited.
CrKB = Jankowski Henryk, AQtay Gülayhan, CegioŁka Dorota, Çulha Tülay and NÉmeth Michał 2019. The Crimean Karaim Bible. Vol. I-II. Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz Verlag.
Coşar, Mevhibe A. 2015. ‘Bir Kimlik İşaretleyicisi Olarak Dil ve Trabzon Ağızlarında Arkaik Hususiyetler'. Karadeniz Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi 1 (1), 241-253.
Csató, Éva Á. 2006. ‘The Karaims: The Smallest Group of Turkic-Speaking People’. In: Ergun Çağatay and Doğan Kuban (eds.) The Turkic Speaking Peoples. 2,000 years of Art and Culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans. Munich, Berlin, London, New York: Prestel, 384-403.
Csató, Éva Á. 2011. 'Word order properties in Trakai Karaim biblical translations'. In: Eser Erguvanli Taylan and Bengisu Rona (eds.) Puzzles of Language: Essays in Honour of Karl Zimmer. Wiesbaden: Harrossowitz Verlag, 169-186.
Çulha, Tülay 2006. Karaycanın Kısa Söz Varlı̆̆ı. Karayca-Türkçe Kısa Sözlük [Dil ve Edebiyat Dizisi 6 ]. İstanbul: Kebikeç Yayınları.
Çulha, Tülay 2010. Kırım Karaycasının Katık Mecumast. Metin-Sözlük-Dizin. İstanbul: Mehmet Ölmez Yayinları.
Çulha, Tülay 2019. Karaycanın Karşllaştırmalı Grameri. Fonetik-Morfoloji (Kırım Ağzı Esasında). Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.
Danon, Abraham 1925. 'The Karaites in European Turkey. Contributions to Their History Based Chiefly on Unpublished Documents'. In: The Jewish Quarterly Review. Vol. 15, No. 3. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 285-360.
Doerfer, Gerhard 1959a. 'Das Krimosmanische'. In: Jean Deny et al. (eds.) Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 272-280.
Doerfer, Gerhard 1959b. 'Das Krimtatarische'. In: Jean Deny et al. (eds.) Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 369-390.
DubiŃski, Aleksander 1991. 'Die Karaimen. Eine türkische Minderheit desalttestamentischen Glaubens'. Acta Orientalia Belgica 6: 213-225.
DUBIŃSKI, Aleksander 1993. 'Lokalizacja języka karaimskiego w świetle jegorozwoju historycznego'. Przeglad Orientalistyczny nr 165-166: 37-42.
EDPT $=$ Clauson, Sir Gerard 1972. An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish. Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

Efe, Kürşat 2017. 'Tarihî Türk Lehçelerinde Alıntı Hayvan İsimleri'. Route Educational and Social Science Journal 4 (5): 379-393.

Erdal, Marcel 1991a. Old Turkic Word Formation. Vol. I [Turcologica 7]. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
Erdal, Marcel 1991b. Old Turkic Word Formation. Vol. II [Turcologica 7]. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Erdal, Marcel 2004. A Grammar of Old Turkic. Leiden: Bril.
ETD = Redhouse, J. W. 1856. English and Turkish Dictionary. London: Bernard Quaritch. Ferguson, Walter 1974. Living Animals of the Bible. New York: Scribner.

Fisher, W. Alan 1978. Crimean Tatars. California: Hoover Institution Press.
Golden, Peter 1971. 'Hazar dili'. Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığl - Belleten. Vol. 19: 147-157.
Golden, Peter 2001. 'Khazars'. In: Mehmet TÜTÜncü (ed.) Turkish-Jewish Encounters. Haarlem: Stichting SOTA, 29-49.

Gordlevskij, Vladimir Aleksandrovič 1928. 'Leksika karaimskogo perevoda Biblii'. Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR 5: 87-91.

GüLSEvín, Selma 2013. 'Karay Türkçesinin Kendisine Has Özellikleri ve Türk Lehçeleri Arasındaki Yeri'. Karadeniz Araştrmaları Kış, 36: 207-222.
GüLSEvin, Selma 2016. Karay Türklerinin Dili (Troki Diyalekti). Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayinları.

Hagopian, V. H. 1907. Ottoman-Turkish Conversation. London: Samson Loro Marston.
Harkavy, Abraham 1904. 'Karaites And Karaism'. In: Isidore Singer et al. (eds.) The Jewish Encyclopedia. Vol. VII. New York, London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 553-556.

Harkavy, Abraham and Strack Hermann L. 1875. Catalog der hebräischen Bibelhandschriften der Kaiserlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek in St. Petersburg. Vol. 12. St. Petersburg: Ricker.

Harviainen, Tapani 2003. 'The Karaites in Eastern Europe and the Crimea: An Overview'. In: Meira Polliack (ed.) Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 633-655.

Harviainen, Tapani 2013. 'Karaite Pronunciation Traditions: Modern'. In: Geoffrey Khan et al. (eds.) Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics. Vol. 2 'G-O'. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 453-457.
Ișik, Murat 2018. 'Oghuzic and Kipchak Characteristics in the Book of Leviticus, Gözleve Bible (1841)'. Rocznik Orientalistyczny LXXI/2: 66-76.

IȘIK, Murat 2020a. 'The Animal Names in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible (1841). Part I: Mammal, Insect and Reptile Species'. In: István Zimonyi (ed.) Ottomans Crimea - Jochids. Studies in Honour of Mária Ivanics. Szeged: University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, 145-163.
IȘIK, Murat 2020b. 'Some Biblical Hebrew Influence on the Karaim Bible Translations: The Book of Leviticus, Gözleve Bible (1841)'. In: Balázs Balatoni and Dorottya Mihályi (eds.) Mediterrán Tanulmányok XXX. Szeged: University of Szeged, Department of Modern History and Mediterranean Studies, 115-130.

IȘIK, Murat 2021. ‘The Animal Names in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible (1841). Part II: Bird Species'. Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 74 (2): 345372.

JanKowski, Henryk 1994. 'Jak krymscy Karaimowie czytali patah i co z tego wynika?’. In: Elżbieta Górska and Barbara Ostafin (eds.) Studia Orientalia Thaddaeo Lewicki Oblata. Kraków: The Enigma Press, 107-114.

Jankowski, Henryk 1997. ‘A Bible Translation into the Northern Crimean Dialect of Karaim’. Studia Orientalia 82: 1-84.

Jankowski, Henryk 2003a. 'On the Language Varieties of Karaims in the Crimea'. Studia Orientalia 95: 109-130.

Jankowski, Henryk 2003b. 'Position of Karaim among the Turkic Languages'. Studia Orientalia 95: 131-153.

Jankowski, Henryk 2004. 'Karaims of the Crimea and Eastern Europe: Some Questions of Ethnicity and Identification'. Studia Orientalia 99: 83-92.

Jankowski, Henryk 2008. 'The question of the existence of Crimean Karaim and its relation to Western Karaim'. In: Tamara Bairašauskaite, Halina Kobeckaite, and Galina Miškiniene (eds.) Orientas Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos visuomenes tradicijoje: totoriai irkaraimai. Orient in the Social Tradition of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Tatars and Karaims. Orient w tradycji spoleczeństwa litewskiego: Tatarzy i Karaimi. Vilnius: Universiteto Leidykla, 161-168.

Jankowski, Henryk 2009. ‘Translations of the Bible into Karaim'. Religion Compass 3/4: 502523.

Jankowski, Henryk 2010. Język krymskotatarski. Warszawa: Dialog.
Jankowski, Henryk 2012. 'Literatura krymskokaraimska'. Przegląd Orientalistyczny 1-2: 5068.

Jankowski, Henryk 2013. Karaim mejumas in Eupatoria. In: Tatiana Pang, SimoneChristiane Raschmann, and Gerd Winkelhane (eds.) Unknown Treasures of the Altaic Worldin Libraries, Archives and Museums: 53rd Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS St. Petersburg, July 25-30, 2010. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 245-262.

Jankowski, Henryk 2015a. 'Crimean Turkish Karaim and the Old North-western Turkic Tradition of the Karaites'. Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 68/2: 199-214.

Jankowski, Henryk 2015b. 'Karaim and Krymchak’. In: Lily Kahn and Aaron Rubin (eds.) Handbook of Jewish Languages. Leiden, Boston: 451-488.

Jankowski, Henryk 2018. 'Translation of the Tanakh into Crimean Karaim: History, Manuscripts, and Language'. In: Lily KaHn (ed.) Jewish Languages in Historical Perspective. [IJS Studies in Judaica. Vol. 17.] Leiden: Brill, 39-61.
Johanson, Lars 2022a. ‘The Structure of Turkic’. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 26-59.
Johanson, Lars 2022b. 'The history of Turkic'. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 83-120.
Johanson, Lars 2022c. 'East Old Turkic'. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 132-144.

Joosten, Jan 2009. ‘Three Remarks on Infinitival Paronomasia in Biblical Hebrew’. In: D. Sivan, D. Talshir \& C. Cohen (eds.) Zaphenath-Paneah. Linguistic Studies Presentedto Elisha Qimron on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday. Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 99-113.
Karakoç, Birsel 2022. ‘Turkmen’. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 262-286.

Kavitskaya, Darya 2010. Crimean Tatar. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
KersLake, Celia 2022. 'Ottoman Turkish'. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 174-194.

Kissling, Hans Joachim 1960. Osmanisch-Türkische Grammatik. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowtiz.

Kızilov, Mikhail 2009. The Karaites of Galicia: An Ethnoreligious Minority Among the Ashkenazim, the Turks, and the Slavs, 1772-1945. Leiden: Brill.

Kızılov, Mikhail 2013. ‘Critical Notes On Zsuzsanna Olach’s study of The Halicz (Halich) Karaim Translation of Hebrew Biblical Texts'. In: T. T. Allsen, P. B. Golden, R. K. Kovalev, A. P. Martinez (eds.) Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi. Vol. 20. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 245-248.
Kocaoğlu, Timur 2006. Karay: The Trakai Dialect. Muenchen: LINCOM GmbH.
Kohler Kaufmann and Harkavy Abraham 1904. 'Karaites And Karaism'. In: Isidore Singer et al. (eds.) The Jewish Encyclopedia. Vol. VII. New York, London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 438-447.
Kowalski, Tadeusz 1929. Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki. Krakow: Polska Akademja Umiejętności.
KRPS = Baskakov N. A., Zajączkowski A., Shapshal S. M. 1974. Karaimsko-RusskoPol'skij Slovar'. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.

KRUS = Useinov, S. M. 2008. Krymskotatarsko-Russko-Ukrainskiy Slovar'. Aqmescit: Tezis Neshriyat Evi.

KuZgun, Şaban 2015. Hazar ve Karay Türkleri. İstanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat.
LET = Redhouse, J. W. 1884. A Lexicon, English and Turkish. Constantinople: A. H. Boyajian.
Lewis, Bernard 1956. 'A Karaite Itinerary Through Turkey in 1641-1642'. Vakfflar Dergisi 3: 315-327.

LVTL $=$ Koehler Ludwig and Baumgartner Walter 1985. Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros. Vol. 1-2. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Mann, Jacob 1935. Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature. Vol. II. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America.
Miller, Philip 1993. Karaite Separatism in Nineteenth-Century Russia. Joseph Solomon Lutski's Epistle of Israeli's Deliverance. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press.
Musaev, Kenesbaj Musaevič 1964. Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka. Fonetika i morfologija. Moskva: Nauka.

Musaev, Kenesbaj Musaevič 1977. Kratkiy grammaticheskiy ocherk karaimskogoyazyka. Moscow: Nauka.

Musaev, Kenesbaj Musaevič 2002. 'Karaim Türkçesi’ (translated by Mevlüt Gültekin). TÜBAR XI-Bahar, 197-230.

Musaev, Kenesbaj Musaevič 2004. Sintaksis karaimskogo jazyka. Moskva: Nauka.

NÉmeth, Michał 2006. ‘Nieznane wiersze karaimskie Sergiusza Rudkowskiego(dialekt tuckohalicki). Edycja krytyczna' [Unpublished Master's Thesis]. Department of Turkish Philology, Jagiellonian University
NÉmeth, Michał 2011a. Unknown Lutsk Karaim Letters in Hebrew Script (19th-20th Centuries): A Critical Edition. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

NÉMETH, Michał 2011b. Zwięzła gramatyka języka zachodniokaraimskiego z ćwiczeniami. Poznań: Katedra Studiów Azjatyckich.

Németh, Michał 2014a. ‘A Historical Phonology of Western Karaim. Alveolars And Front Labials in the South-Western Dialect'. Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 131: 247-267.

NÉmeth, Michał 2014b. 'A Historical Phonology of Western Karaim. The Evolution of Consonant Harmony in The North-Western Dialect'. Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 131: 353-369.

Németh, Michał 2014c. ‘An Early North-Western Karaim Bible Translation from 1720. Part 1. The Torah'. Karaite Archives 2: 109-141.

NÉmeth, Michał 2015a. 'A historical phonology of Western Karaim. The process of its diversification into dialects'. Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132: 167-185.

Németh, Michał 2015b. 'An Early North-Western Karaim Bible Translation From 1720. Part 2. The Book Of Ruth'. Karaite Archives 3: 49-102.

Németh, Michał 2015c. ‘An Early North-Western Karaim Bible Translation from 1720. Part 3. A contribution to the question of the stemma codicum of the Eupatorian print from 1841'. Karaite Archives 3: 103-118.

NÉMETH, Michał 2015d. 'Nowy słownik języka krymskokaraimskiego Gulayhan Aqtay i Henryka Jankowskiego (2015) z dyskusją nad odrębnością tegojęzyka w klasyfikacji jezzyków w tle’. Almanach Karaimski 4: 7-17.
NÉmeth, Michał 2016. ‘A Crimean Handwritten Translation of the Book of Ruth Dating from before 1678'. Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları 26 (2): 161-226.

Nemoy, Leon 1950. 'Early Karaism (The Need for a New Approach)'. In: Abraham A. Neuman and Cyrus Adler (eds.) The Jewish Quarterly Review. Vol. 40, No. 3. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 307-315.
Nemoy, Leon 1952. Karaite Anthology: Excerpts from the Early Literature. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Nemoy, Leon 1978. ‘Karaites’. In: Emeri Van Donzel, Bernard Lewis and Charles Pellat (eds.) The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Vol. IV. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 603-608.
Olach, Zsuzsanna 2013. A Halich Karaim translation of Hebrew biblical texts. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Olach, Zsuzsanna 2016. 'A karaim nyelvű Gözlevei Biblia nyelvészeti tanulságai'. Keletkutatás ősz: 29-52.
ÖTS = ÇAĞBAYIR, Yaşar 2007. Ötüken Türkçe Sözlük. Vol. 1-5. İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat. Öztürk, Abdulkadir 2019. Karay Türkçesinde İsim. Ankara: Fenomen Yayınları.

Pawlina, Agata 2016. 'The Pole Who Translated the Bible for the Turks'. The Polish Journal of Biblical Research 15/2: 31-37.
Poznański, Samuel 1909. 'Die karäische Literatur der letzten dreissig Jahre (1878-1908)'. Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie 13: 110-118, 140-151, 180-181.
PoZnański, Samuel 1910. 'Die karäische Literatur der letzten dreissig Jahre (1878-1908)'. Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie 14: 57-61, 93-95, 112-115, 153-154.

Poznański, Samuel 1913. ‘Karäisch-tatarische Literatur'. Keleti Szemle 13: 37-47.
Poznański, Samuel 1915. ‘Karaites’. In: James Hastings (ed.) The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Vol. VII. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Edinburgh: T\&T Clark, 662672.

Poznański, Samuel 1916. 'Karäische Kopisten und Besitzer von Handschriften'. Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie 19: 79-122.

PRIK, Olga Ja 1976. Očerk grammatiki karaimskogo jazyka (krymskij dialekt). Makhachkala: Dagestanskoe Učebno-Pedagogičeskoe Izdatel'stvo.
Pritsak, Omeljan 1959. 'Das Karaimische'. In: Jean Deny et al. (eds.) Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 318-340.
Privratsky, Bruce G. 2014. 'A History of Turkish Bible Translations'. [Online access: https://historyofturkishbible.wordpress.com; 05/10/2020].
Prohorov, Dmitriy Anatolyevich 2013. 'XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısı - XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Tavriya Vilayeti Karaim Türklerinin Etnik Ve Dil Durumu'. (Translated by Emine Atmaca and Reshide Adzhumerova). Gazi Türkiyat Güz, 13: 209-214.
Radloff, Wilhelm 1896. Proben der Volkslitteratur der Nördlichen Türkischen Stämme. Theil VII.Die Mundarten der Krym. St. Petersburg: Eggers et Co.

Ragagnin, Elisabetta 2022. ‘Azeri’. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 242-261.

RónA-TAS, András 2022a. 'The Reconstruction of Proto-Turkic and the Genealogical Question'. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 60-74.
Róna-tas, András 2022b. 'Turkic Writing Systems’. In: Lars Johanson and Éva Á. Csató (eds.) The Turkic Languages. London and New York: Routledge, 121-131.
Ryding, C. Karin 2005. A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic. New York: Cambridge University Press.

SAMOYLOvIč, Aleksandr Nikolayevič 2000. 'O materialax Radlova po narodnoj slovesnosti krymskih tatar ikaraimov' (Re-edited from 1917). In: Aleksandr Nikolayevič SAMOYLOVIČ (ed.) Izbrannye tudy o Kryme. Simferopol: Dolja, 112-121.
Schönig, Claus 2010. 'Osmanische Einflüsse auf das Krim-Areal'. In: Mancak-Wohlfeld, Elżbieta; Barbara Podolak (eds.) Studies on the Turkic world. A Festschrift for Professor Stanislaw Stachowski on the occasion of his 80th birthday. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press, 107-119.

Schur, Nathan 1992. History of the Karaites. Frankfurt and Main: Peter Lang.
Shapira, Dan 2001. A Karaite Poem in Crimean-Tatar from Mangup: A Source for JewishTurkish History (Judaeo-Turcica III)'. In: Mehmet TÜTÜNCÜ (ed.) Turkish-Jewish Encounters. Haarlem: Stichting SOTA, 79-98.
Shapira, Dan 2003. 'The Turkic Languages And Literatures of the east European Karaites'. In: Meira Polliack (ed.) Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 657-707.

Shapira, Dan 2013. 'The Karaim translation of the Book of Nehemia copied in the 17th century's Crimea and printed in 1840/1841 at Gözleve, on the copyist of the manuscript, and some related issues'. Karaite Archives 1: 133-198.

ShAPIRA, Dan. 2006. 'מסורות . סיגול לשוני בתרגומי התנ״ך ללשונות תורכיות של הקראים. 13-14: 253278.

Sklare David 2003. 'A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts'. In: Meira Polliack (ed.) Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 893-924.
Smętek, Dorota 2012. ‘Crimean Karaim Version Of Melukhat Sha'ul. Critical Edition and Linguistic Analysis'. [PhD Dissertation]. Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewiczaw Poznaniu Wydział Neofilologii Katedra Studiów Azjatyckich Zakład Turkologii, Mongolistyki i Koreanistyki.

Smętek, Dorota 2015. 'Some lexical and phonological features of the language of a Crimean Karaim Bible translation'. In: Türk Dilleri Araştırması Dergisi 26 (2): 227-240.

Steinschneider, Moritz 1871. 'Karaitische Handschriften Anhang'. Hebräische Bibliographie 11: 37-46.
SuLimowicz, Józef 1972. 'Materiał leksykalny krymskokaraimskiego zabytku językowego (druk z 1734 r.) I’. Rocznik Orientalistyczny 35, 1: 37-76.

Szyszman, Simon 1980. Le Karaïsme: Ses Doctrines et son Histoire. Lausanne: L’Age d'homme.

TLO $=$ Meninski, Franciscus à Mesgnien 1680. Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae: Lexicon. Vol. I-IV. Viennæ.

Togan, Zeki Velidi 1964. 'Hazarlar’. İslam Ansiklopedisi. Vol. 5. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 397-408.

WAED = Wortabet William Thomson, Porter Harvey, and Wortabet John 1984. Wortabet's Arabic-English Dictionary. Beirut: Librairie du Liban.

Walfish Barry D. and Kizilov Mikhail 2011. Bibliographia Karaitica: An Annotated Bibliography of Karaites and Karaism. Leiden: Brill.

Walfish, Barry D. 2003. 'A Guide to Collections of Karaite Manuscripts'. In: Meira Polliack (ed.) Karaite Judaism. A Guide to its History and Literary Sources. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 925-959.

Waltie Bruce and O’Connor Micheal 1990. An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Wenham, Gordon J. 1979. The Book of Leviticus. Michigan: Eerdmans.
WexLer, Paul 1983. 'Is Karaite a Jewish Language?'. Mediterranean Language Review. Vol 1: 27-54.

YTL = BAHAEDDİN, M. 1927. Yeni Türkçe Lügat. İstanbul: Evkaf-1 İslamiye Matbaası.
ZAJĄCZKOwski, Ananiasz 1926. 'Literatura Karaimska (Szkic bibliograficzny)'. Myśl Karaimska. Vol. 1, No. 3: 7-17.

ZAJĄCZKOWSKı, Ananiasz 1932. Sufiksy imienne $i$ czasownikowe $w$ języku zachodniokaraimskim (przyczynek do morfologji języków tureckich). Les suffixes nominaux et verbaux dans la langue des Karaïms occidentaux (contribution à la morphologie des langues turques) [Prace Komisji Orjentalistycznej Polskiej Akademji Umiejętności 15]. Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności.

Zajączkowski, Ananiasz 1961. Karaims in Poland. History, Language, Folklore, Science. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
ZAJĄCZKOwSKI, Ananiasz 1964. 'Die karaimische Literatur'. In: Luis BaZIN et al. (eds.) Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta. Vol. 2. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 793-801.
Zajączkowski, Ananiasz 1978. 'Karaites'. In: Emeri Van Donzel, Bernard Lewis and Charles Pellat (eds.) The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Vol. IV. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 608609.

## Appendix

## Transcription

## Preliminary Transcription Notes

The overarching strategies pertaining to our transcription have been extensively discussed earlier (refer to sections 1.1. and 2.1.1.). Consequently, this segment primarily enumerates supplementary notes that complement the previous explanations.

* Given the text's use of Hebrew script, the exact value of vowels in non-Biblical words remains uncertain in certain vowel pairs $a-\ddot{a}, o-\ddot{o}, u-\ddot{u}$, and $\ddot{i-i}$. To navigate this ambiguity, we referred to the Crimean Karaim dictionary (CKED) for specific lexical items. Consequently, we did not apply certain Turkish phonotactics to Arabic and Persian words, adhering instead to the dictionary's illustrations, e.g., [Lev 19:17] dušman (CKED: 143) 'enemy' vs Trk düšman 'id'; [Lev 26:39] günäh (CKED: 169) ‘sin’ vs Trk günah 'id’.
* Our transcription comprises only two punctuation marks. The first is a period (.) that demarcates the end of verses. The second is a short hyphen ( - ), which precedes the continuative syllables of a word that extends into the succeeding line. In select cases, certain case marking suffixes following a parenthesis also employ a short hyphen, e.g., ada tavušan (kirpi) -nü rabbit (hedgehog)+ACC. This notation also applies following the tetragrammaton YWY, e.g., [Lev 10:19] YWY-nyy Lord+GEN. We have faithfully replicated this approach in one instance where we found this sign in a folio, e.g., [Lev 26:30] bama-larï̈iznï.
* All proper nouns, instances of the tetragrammaton YWY and the term Tepri; Täyri denoting Jehovah, as well as all verse beginnings, are capitalized.
* Although the text does not consistently link suffixes with the corresponding word stem attached, we have chosen not to represent when there is a separation, e.g., [Lev 9: 17] ertä niy > ertäniŋ 'morning+GEN'.


## Editorial Notes

abc
אבג
[.]
[abc]
〈abc〉
[123]
(abc)
${ }_{4} \mathrm{abc}^{7123}$
${ }^{1235}$

Karaim text
text in Biblical Hebrew
missing or illegible portion of text
reconstructed portion of text
deletion
verse numbers added by the editor
Karaim text written in parentheses
portion of text commented in a footnote
Hebrew portion of text commented in a footnote

## Transcription of the Book of Leviticus from Gözleve Bible (1841)

## $93 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

## Chapter 1

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { 」/תרגום ספר וייקראז143 } \tag{1}
\end{align*}
$$

(...2) [1:1] Da čakïrdï Mošegä ohel
(3) mo'eddän da sözlädi YWY aŋar demä. דבר [1:2] Sözlägin oflanlarïna Yisra'elniy
(4) da aytḳïn alarya adam gendịizdän egär yuvuklaštirrǎ̧aḳ olsa ḳorban YWY-ya
(5) ol tuvardan ol sïyïrdan ya ol koydan yuvuklašitirïyïz korbanïyïznï. אם
(6) [1:3] Egär ‘ola esä ḳorbanï ol sïyïrdan saylam erkäkni alïp yuvuklaštirsïn anï (7) ešiginä ohel mo éedniy yuvuklaštirssïn anï ḳabulluyïna aldïna YWY-nïy. וסמך
(8) [1:4] Da tayasïn ḳolunï bašï üstünä ol 'olanïy da ḳabul olunïr ayar keparat etmägä
(9) üstünä. וששחט [1:5] Da soysïn balasïn ol sïyïrnïy aldïna YWY-nïy
(10) da yuvuḳlaštirssinlar oylanlarï Aharonnïy ol kohenlär ol ḳannï da sačsinlar ol
(11) kannï̉ ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä ki ešigindä ohel mo'ednin. והפשׁיט
(12) [1:6] Da terisin sïyïrsïn ol 'olanïy da buvumlasïn anï buvumlarïņ̌a. ונתנו [1:7] Da versinlär oylanlarï Aharon[nïy] ${ }^{145}$ ol kohen ot ol mizbeaḥ üstünä da yaraštirsïnlar
(14) ayačlar ol ot üstünä. וערכו [1:8] Da yaraštirsïnlar oflanlarï Aharon[nïy] ${ }^{146}$ ol
(15) kohenlär ol buvumlarnï ol baš bilän da ol ḳarïn yayïnï ol ayačlar üstünä

## $93 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

(1) ki ol ot üstünä ki ol mizbeaḥ üstünä. וקרבו [1:9] Da ḳarïnïnï da ayaklarïnï
(2) yuvsïn suvlar bilän da tütätsin ol kohen ol šümläni ol mizbeaḥta 'oladïr ol otlu ḳorban ḳo[k]usĭ ${ }^{147}$ ḳabullïknï̀ YWY-ya. ואם [1:10] Da egär ol ḳoydan esä ḳorbanï ol ḳoylardan ya ol ečkilärdän 'olaya saylam erkäkni alïp yuvuklaštirrsïn anï. וששׁט [1:11] Da soysïn anï ušu yanïnda ol mizbeaḥnïy ki čafon tarafinda

[^96]（6）aldïna YWY－nïy da sačsïnlar oflanlarï Aharonnïy ol kohenlär ḳanïn ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä．ונתחּ［1：12］Da buvumlasïn anï buvumlarïn亏̌a da bašïn da ḳarïn yayïnï yaraštirsïn ol kohen alarnï ol ayačlar üstünä ki ol ot üstünä ki ol mizbeaḥ üstünä．והקרב［1：13］Da ol karïnnï da ol ayaḳlarnï yuvsïn suvlar bilän da yuvuḳlaštirsïn ol kohen ol šümläni da tütätsin ol mizbeaḥta ‘oladïr ol otlu ḳorban ḳoḳusï ḳabulliḳnïy YWY－ұa．ואם〈ואם［1：14］Da egär ol ḳuštan esä＇ola ḳorbanï YWY－ya da yuvuḳlaštirsïn ol ḳumrulardan ya o kögürčin balalarïndan ḳorbanïnï．והקריבו［1：15］Da yuvuḳlaštirsïn anï ol kohen ol mizbeaḥka da kessin bašīnï da tütätsin ol mizbeaḥta da damlanïlsïn ḳanï duvarï üstünä ol mizbeaḥnïy．והסיר［1：16］Da ketärsin ḳarnïnï yünü bilän da tašlasïn anï yanïna ol mizbeaḥnïy gün doyuši tarafka ol kül tökilän yergä．וששס［1：17］Da yïrtsïn anï ḳanatlarïndan（sïrtïndan）${ }^{148}$ ayïrmasïn da tütätsin anï ol kohen ol mizbeaḥta ol ayačlar üstünä ki ol ot üstünä ‘oladïr ol otlu ḳorban ḳoḳusï ḳabullïknị̈ YWY－ұa．

## Chapter 2

（ב）ונפּשׁ ḳorbanï da töksin üstünä yay da versin üstünä tïmyan．והביאה ［2：2］Da getirsin anï oylanlarïna Aharonnïy ol kohenlärgä da avučlasïn andan dolu avučinï özägindän da yayïndan 亏̌ümlä tïmyanï bilän da tütätsin ol kohen tütidmäsini ol mizbeaḥta otlu ḳorban ḳoḳusï kabulliḳnïy YWY－ya．והנותרת［2：3］Da ol kalyannï ol minḥadan Aharonya da oylanlarïnadïr kodeši kodešlärniy otlu ḳorbanlarïndan YWY－nïy．וכי［2：4］Da egär yuvuḳlaštirsay ḳorban minḥa tandur piširmäsi

## $94 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

özäk ḳalïn mačalar ḳarišillyanlar yay bilän da yufḳa mačalar silingänlär yay bilän．ואם ［2：5］Da egär minḥa ol tava ičindä esä ḳorbanïy özäk kariisisilyan ya̧ bilän mača bolsïn．פתות［2：6］Tilimlämä tilimlägin anï tilimlär da ḳoyyïn üstünä yay minḥadïr ol．ואם［2：7］Da egär tänžärädä pišen minḥasï esä ḳorbanïy özäk yay bilän ḳilïnsïn．והבאת［2：8］Da ketirgin ol minḥanï bulardan YWY－үа

[^97](6) da yuvuḳlaštir[ [ $¢$ ]ïn ${ }^{149}$ anï ol kohengä da yuvuḳlaštirssïn anï ol mizbeaḥka.. והרים (7) [2:9] Da ayïrsïn ol kohen ol minḥadan tütsüsini da tütätsin ol mizbeaḥta otlu tïmyanï bilän otlu ḳorban YWY-ұa.

## Chapter 3

(ג) [3:1] Da egär šelamim ḳorbanï esä ḳorbanï egär ol sïÿ̈rdan ol yuvuḳlaštirïr esä geräk erkäk geräk diši saүlamnï yuvuḳlaštirsïn anï aldïna YWY-nïy. . וסמךך [3:2] Da tayasïn ḳolunï baši üstünä ḳorbanïnïy da soysïn anï ešigindä ohel mo'edniy da sačsïnlar oylanlarï Aharonnïy ol kohenlär ol ḳannï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä. והקריב [3:3] Da yuvuḳlaštirsïn ol šelamim ḳorbanïndan otlu ḳorban YWY-үa ol yaynï ol yapḳan ol ḳarïnnï da 亏̌ümlä ol yaynï̈ ki ol karïn üstünä. ואתּ [3:4] Da eki ol bögräklärni

## $94 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

(1) da ol yaynï ki üstlärindä ki ol emizlär üstünä da ol artïksï̈nï ki
ol bayïr üstünä ol bögräklär bilän ketärsin anï. והקטירו [3:5] Da tütätsinlär anï oylanlarï Aharonnïy ol mizbeaḥta ol 'ola üstünä ki ol ayačlar üstünä ki ol ot üstünä otlu ḳorban ḳoḳusï ḳabullïknï̀ YWY-ya. ואם [3:6] Da egär ol ḳoydan esä ḳorbanï šelamim ḳorbanïna YWY-үa erkäk ya tiši saylamnï yuvuḳlaštirrsïn anï. אם [3:7] Egär ḳozu ol yuvuḳlašitrïr esä ḳorbanïnï

[^98](7) da yuvuḳlaštïrsïn anï aldïna YWY-nïy. וסמךך [3:8] Da tayasïn ḳolunï bašĭ üstünä korbanïnïy da soysïn anï aldïna ohel mo'ednin da sačšinlar oylanlarï Aharonnïy ḳanïnï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä. והקריב [3:9] Da yuvuklaštirsïn ol šelamim ḳorbanïndan otlu ḳorban YWY-үa tamam ol ḳuyruk yayïnï ḳaršïsïna ol yumulyannïy ketärsin anï da ol yaynï ol yapḳan ol ḳarïnnï da ̧̌ümlä ol yaynï ki ol karïn üstünä. ואת [3:10] Da eki ol bögräklärni da ol yaynï ki üstlärinä ki ol emizlär üstünä da artïksīnï ol bayïr üstünä ol bögräklär bilän ketärsin anï. והקטירו [3:11] Da tütätsin anï ol kohen ol mizbeaḥta otlu ḳorban YWY-ya. ואס [3:12] Da egär ečki esä ḳorbanï da yuvuklaštïrsïn anï aldïna YWY-nïy. וסמךּ [3:13] Da tayasïn ḳolunï baší üstünä da soysïn anï aldïna ohel mo'edniy da sačsïnlar oylanlarï Aharonnïy kanïnï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä.
[3:14] Da yuvuḳlaštirsïn andan ḳorbanïnï otlu ḳorban YWY-үa ol yaynï ol yapkan ol ḳarïnnï da 弓̌ümlä ol yaynï ki ol ḳarïn üstünä. ואת [3:15] Da eki ol bögräklärni da ol yaynï ki üstlärinä ki ol emizlär üstünä da artïksïnï ki ol bay̌ir üstünä ol bögräklär bilän ketärsin anï. [3:16] Da tütätsin alarnï ol kohen ol mizbeaḥta otlu ḳorban ḳoḳusïna ḳabullïknïy ̧̌ümlä yaynت̈ YWY-ұa. חקת [3:17] Ömürlik räsim dävürlärị̂izgä ̧̌ümlä oturašlarïyïzda hič yaynï da hič kannï ašamaŋïz.

## Chapter 4

(7) דבר . 4 [4:2] Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra'elniy demä ̧̌an ki yazïklị bolsa yaŋlišliị bilän ̧̌ümlä mičva-

## $95 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

larïndan YWY-nïn ki ḳïlïnmaslardïr da ḳïlsa birsini birdän alardan. אם [4:3] Egär ol silingän kohen yazïklï bolsa günäḥi učun ol ulusnïy da yuvuḳlaštïrsïn yazïyï učun ki yazïklï boldï buya balasïn sï̧ïrnïn saylamnï YWY-ya hatatḳa.
 ḳolunï baši üstünä ol buyanïy da soysïn ol buyanï aldïna YWY-nïy. ולקח [4:5] Da alsïn ol silingän kohen ḳanïndan ol buyanïy da girgizsin anï ohel mo 'edgä. [4:6] Da mänčsin ol kohen barmayïnï ol ḳanya da sačsïn ol ḳandan yedi kerätlär aldïna YWY-nïy aldïna pärdäsiniy ol ḳodešniy. ונתן [4:7] Da versin ol kohen
ol ḳandan ḳovuš ${ }^{150}$ köšeläri üstünä ol otyamlar tütsüsi mizbeaḥnïy aldïna
bašï üstünä ol buyanïy aldïna YWY-nïy da soysïn ol bułanï aldïna YWY-nïy.

## $95 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

(1) והביאו [4:16] Da girgizsin ol silingän kohen ḳanïndan ol buyanïy ohel mo'edgä.
(2) [4:17] Da mänčsin ol kohen barmayïnï ol ḳandan da sačsïn yedi kerätlär aldïna
(11) Tägrisinin ki ḳ̈lïnmaslardïr yanlišlīk bilän da günäḥli bolsa. או [4:23] Ya

[^99](12) bilinsä ayar yazïyï ki yazïklii boldï anïy učun da getirsin ḳorbanïnï ulayïn (13) ečkilärniy saylam erkäk. [4:24] Da tayasïn ḳolunï baší üstünä ol ulaknnïך (14) da soysïn anï ne yerdä ki soysa ol 'olanï aldïna YWY-nïy hatatdïr ol.
(15) ולקח [4:25] Da alsïn ol kohen ḳanïndan ol ḥatatnïy barmayï bilän da versin ḳovuš ${ }^{153}$
(16) köšeläri üstünä mizbeaḥinnïy ol 'olanïy da ḳanïnï töksin temälinä mizbeaḥïnïy
(17) ol 'olanïy. ואתּ [4:26] Da šümlä yayïnï tütätsin ol mizbeaḥta yayï gibi
(18) ḳorbanïnïy ol šelamimlärniy keparat etsin üstünä ol kohen yazïyïndan
(19) da bošatilïr aŋar. [4:27] Da egär bir ̧̌an yazïklï bolsa yaŋlišlịk bilän ulusïndan
(20) ol yerniy ḳ̈̈lyanïnda birni mičvalarïndan YWY-nïy ki ḳilinnmaslardïr da günäḥli
(21) bolsa. או [4:28] Ya bilinsä ayar yazïyï ki yazïklï boldï da getirsin ḳorbanïnï
(22) ulayïn ečkilärniy saylamnï yazïyï učun ki yazïklị boldï. [0וסמך [4:29] Da tayasïn
(23) ḳolunï bašï üstünä ol ḥatatnïy da soysïn ol ḥatatnï yerindä ol 'olanïn. ולקח [4:30] Da alsïn ol kohen ḳanïndan barmayï bilän da versin ḳovuš ${ }^{154}$ köšeläri
(25) üstünä mizbeaḥinnïy ol 'olanïy da ふ̌ümlä kanïnï töksin temelinä ol mizbeaḥnïy. ואת [4:31] Da šümlä yayïnï ketärsin nečiki ketärildi yay üstündän

## $96 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) ḳorbanïnïy ol šelamimlärniy da tütätsin ol kohen mizbeaḥta ḳoḳusïna
(2) ḳabullỉknïy da keparat etsin üstünä ol kohen da bošatïlïr ayar. ואם
(3) [4:32] Da egär ḳozu getirsä ḳorbanïnï hatatḳa saylam tišini getirsin anï. וסמקך
(4) [4:33] Da tayasïn ḳolu[n]i ${ }^{155}$ baši üstünä ol hatatnïy da soysïn anï hatatḳa ne
(5) yerdä ki soyar ol 'olanï. ולקח [4:34] Da alsïn ol kohen ḳanïndan ol hatatnïy
(6) barmay̌i bilän da versin bučkakalarï üstünä mizbeaḥinnïy ol 'olanïy da ̧̌ümlä
(7) ḳanïnï töksin binyatïna ol mizbeaḥnïg. [4:35] Da ̧̌ümlä yayïnï ketärsin
(8) nečiki ketärilir yayï ol ḳoynïy ḳorbanïndan ol šelamimlärnị da tütätsin ol
(9) kohen alarnï ol mizbeaḥta otlu ḳorbanlarï üstünä YWY-nïy da kapara etsin
(10) üstünä ol kohen yazïyï učun ki yazïklï boldï da bošatïlïr aŋar.

## Chapter 5

(11) ונפשׁ (ה) [5:1] Da క̌an ki yazïklï bolsa da ešitsä avazïn antnïy da ol šaḥad

[^100](12) ya gördi ya bildi egär aŋlatmasa da kötärsin günäḥin. או
(13) [5:2] Ya క̌an ki tiysä ̧̌ümlä mundar nemägä ya gövdäsinä mundar kiyiknin ya alarnï ol kohengä da yuvuḳlaštirsïn birni ki ḥatatnïy burun da meliḳa

## $96 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

(1) etsin bašinï ḳaršisïndan eŋsäsinin da ayïrmasïn. והזה [5:9] Da sačsïn ḳanïndan ol ḥatatnïy duvarï üstünä ol mizbeaḥnïy ol ḳalyan ol ḳandan tamsïn binyatïna ol mizbeaḥnïy hatatdïr ol. ואת [5:10] Da ol ekin亏̌ini kïlsïn 'ola töräčä da kapara etsin üstünä ol kohen yazïyïndan ki yazïklï boldï da bošatīlir aŋar. ואם [5:11] Da egär kuvatï yetmäsä eki kum[ru]larya ${ }^{157}$ ya eki balalarïna gögürčünniŋ
da getirsin ḳorbanïnï ki yazïklị boldï onuņ̌ï payïn ol kebičniy özäk ḥatatka ḳoymasïn üstünä yay da vermäsin üstgä tïmyan zira hatatdïr ol. והביאה [5:12] Da getirsin anï ol kohengä da avučlasïn ol kohen andan dolu avuču ${ }^{158}$ bilän tütsüsi-
ni da tütätsin ol mizbeaḥta utlu ḳorbanlarï üstünä YWY-nïy ḥatatdïr
ol. וכפר [5:13] Da kapara etsin üstünä ol kohen yazïyï učun ki yazïklï boldï

[^101](11) birsinden bulardan da bošatïlïr ayar da bolsïn ol kohengä minḥa gibi. וידבר
(12) [5:14] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä. נפשׁ [5:15] Šan ki tansa tanmak da yazïklï bolsa (13) yaŋlišlïk bilän ḳodešlärindän YWY-nïy da getirsin pešmanlïyïnï YWY-ұa saylam
(14) ḳoçkar ol ḳoydan ḳ̈ymätị bilän gümüš misḳallar miskalï bilän ol ḳodešnị
(15) ašamya. ואת [5:16] Da neni ki yazïklï boldï ol ḳodešdän ödesin da bešiņ̌i
(16) payïnï arttïrsïn üstünä da versin anï kohengä da ol kohen kapara etsin
(17) üstünä ḳočḳarï bilän ol ašamnïg da bošatililir ayar. ואם [5:17] Da egär 丂̌an ki
(18) yazïklï bolsa da ḳilsa birni šümlä mičvalarïndan YWY-nïy ki ḳilïnmaslardïr
(19) da bilmädi günähli boldï da čeksin گ̌ürümin. והביא [5:18] Da getirsin ḳočḳar saylam
(20) ol ḳoydan ḳiyasïy bilän ašamya ol kohengä da kapara etsin üstünä ol
(21) kohen yayliišlïyï učun ki yayïldï da ol bilmädi da bošatilïr aŋar. אשׁם
(22) [5:19] Ašamdïr ol günäḥli bolma günäḥli boldï YWY-ya. וידבר [5:20] Da sözlädi YWY
(23) Mošegä demä. נפשׁ [5:21] J̌an ki yazïklï bolsa da tansa tanmak YWY-ya da tansa
(24) dostïna amanatḳa ya ḳol bilän ḳoyүan[y]a ${ }^{159}$ ya zülüm bilän ya dutup aldï isä
(25) dostïndan. או [5:22] Ya tapsa tas bolyannï da tansa ayar da ant etsä yalyanya
(26) bir učun క̌ümlädän ki ḳilar ol adam yazïklï bolma alar bilän. והיה

## $97 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) [5:23] Da bolyay ki yazïḳlï bolsa da pešman bolsa da ḳaytarsïn ol zülümni ki zülümlädi
(2) ya ol dutup almakniï ki dutup aldï ya ol amanatnï ki amanat ḳoyuldï
(3) birgäsinä ya ol tas bolyannï ki taptï. [5:24] Ya ̧̌ümlädän ki ant etsä
(4) anïy učun yalyanya da ödäsin anï bašï bilän da bešiņ̌isin arttïrsïn
(5) üstünä a̧ar ki ol anïy versin anï pešman bolyan günündä. ואת [5:25] Da
(6) pešmanlï̧ïnï getirsin YWY-ya saylam ḳočḳar ol ḳoydan ḳïyasïy bilän ašam-
(7) ya ol kohengä. וכפר [5:26] Da kapara etsin üstünä ol kohen aldïna
(8) YWY-nïy da bošatïlïr ayar birsi učun ̧̌ümlädän ki ḳïlar günäḥli
(9) bolsa anïy bilän.

## Chapter 6

[^102]נן נידּדשׁת צו־160
(12) [6:1] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä.
(13) צו [6:2] Sïmarlayïn Aharonya da oylanlarïna demä budïr torasï
(14) ol 'olanïy oldïr ol 'ola očayï üstünä ki ol mizbeaḥ üstünä ̧̌ümlä
(15) ol gečä ol ertäyä degin da otu ol mizbeaḥnïy yansïn anda. ולבש
(16) [6:3] Da giysin ol kohen kisäyi upraḳ da kisäyi könčäk kiysin eti üstünä da ayïrsïn
(17) ol külni ki örtär ol ot ol 'olanï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä da ḳoysïn anï
(18) yanïna ol mizbeaḥnïŋ. .פּשׁט [6:4] Da češsin upraklarïnï da giysin öngä upraḳlar (19) da čïkarsïn ol külni avuldan čǐharï aruv yergä. והאשׁ [6:5] Da ol ot ol mizbeaḥ ol mizbeaḥnïy. והרים [6:8] Da ayïrsïn andan avučí bilän özägindän ol minḥanïn

## $97 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

(1) da yayïndan da ̧̌ümlä ol tïmyannï ki ol minḥa üstünä da tütätsin ol
(2) mizbeaḥta ḳoḳusï ḳabullïknïy tütsüsi YWY-ya. והנותרת [6:9] Da ol ḳalyannï andan
(3) ašasïnlar Aharon da oylanlarï mačalar ašalsïn ayruhsï̈ yerdä azbarïnda ohel mo ed-
(4) niy ašasïnlar anï. לא [6:10] Pišmäsin hameč paylarïnï verdim anï otlu
(5) ḳorbanlarïmdan ḳodeši ḳodešlärnindir ol hatat gibi da ašam gibi. כל
(6) [6:11] క̌ümlä erkäk ki oylanlarïnda Aharonnïy ašasïn anï räsimi dunyanïy dävürlärịizgä
otlu ḳorbanlarïndan YWY-nïy här kim ki tiysä alarya ayruhbsï bolsïn. וידבר
(8) [6:12] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä. זה [6:13] Budïr ḳorbanï Aharonnïy da oylanlarïnïy
(9) ki yavuklaštïryaylar YWY-ya silingän gündän soŋra ki silsä anï onuņ̌i
(10) payï ol kebičniy özek minḥa dayïm yarïmïsïn ertädä da yarïmïsïn aḩšamda.
(11) על [6:14] Tava üčünä yay bilän ḳ̣ilïnsïn ḳavurulyannï getirtgin anï (pišmäklärin)

[^103](12) yanaštirryïn dilimlär minḥasïnï yuvuklaštïryïn ḳoḳusïna ḳabullīknïn YWY-ya.
(13) [6:15] Da ol silingän kohen ornïna oylanlarïndan ḳïlsïn anï räsimi dunyanïy YWY-
(14) јa täkmil tütätilsin. וכל [6:16] Da här minḥasï kohenniy täkmil atešä
(15) bolsïn ašalmasïn. וידבר [6:17] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä. [6:18] Sözlägin
(16) Aharonya da oflanlarïna demä budïr torasï ol hatatnïy ne yerdä ki
(17) soyulsa ol ‘ola soyulsïn ol hatat aldïna YWY-nïy kodeši ḳodešlärniy-
ašalmasïn otka küydürülsin.

## Chapter 7

(ז) וזאת (7:1] Da budïr torasï ol ašamnïy kodeši ḳodešlärnịdir ol.

## $98 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) $[7: 2]$ Ne yerdä ki soysalar ol 'olanï soysïnlar ol ašamnï da
(2) kanïnï sačsïn ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä. ואת [7:3] Da ̧̌ümlä yayïnï
(6) [7:5] Da tütätsin alarnï ol kohen ol mizbeaḥta otlu ḳorban YWY-ya ašamdïr yuvuḳlaštïrsïn andan ol ḳuyruḳnï da ol yaynï ol yapḳan ol ḳarïnnï. ואת [7:4] Da eki ol bögräklärni da ol yaynï ki üstlärinä ki ol emizlär üstünä da ol artīḳsinï ol bay̌ir üstünä ol bögräklär bilän ketärsin anï. והקטיר ol. כל [7:6] Här erkäk kohenlärdä ašasïn anï ayruḩsï yerdä ašalsïn ḳodeši kodešlärnịdir ol. כחטאת [7:7] Nečiki hatat alay ašam bir tora alarya ol kohen ki kapara etsä anïy bilän ayar bolsïn. והכהן [7:8] Da ol kohen ol yuvuklaštirryan kišiniy 'olasïnï terisi ol 'olanïy o kohengä ki yuvuḳlaštïrdï anï ayar bolsïn. וכל [7:9] Da här minḥa ki pišsä tandurda da här ḳ̈lïnyan ten ̌ärädä ya tava ičindä ol kohengä ol yuvuklaštirryan anï apar bolsïn.
[7:10] Da här minḥa ḳariisisilyan yay bilän ya ḳuru 弓̌ümlä oflanlarïna Aharonnïg bolsïn här kišigä kardaší gibi. וזאת [7:11] Da budïr torasï ol šelamim
ašalma ašalsa etindän šelamim ḳorbanïnïy ol üčüņ̌i gündä maḳbul bolmastïr

## $98 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

（1）ol yuvuklaštïryan anï ḳorban sayïlmaz ayar bayat（pasul ${ }^{163}$ ）bolïr da ol ǰan
ḳorbanïnïn ki yuvuklaštïrsa YWY－ya．אם［7：12］Egär šükürlik učun yuvuklaštïrsa anï da yuvuklašïrsïn ol šükürlik ḳorbanï bilän ḳalïn mačalar ḳarïsirlyanlar yay bilän da yufḳa mačalar silingänlär yay bilän da ḳavurulyan özägi ḳalïnlar ḳarī̌̌illyanlar yay bilän．על［7：13］Ḥameč ḳalïn ötmäklär bilän yuvuklaštirssïn ḳorbanïnï šükürlik šelamim ḳorbanïnïy yanïna．והקריב［7：14］Da yuvuḳlaštirsïn andan birer ekmäk här bir soy ḳorban ekmägindän ayïrmak YWY－ya ol kohengä ol saçkan ol šelamim ḳanïnï ayar bolsïn．ובשׁר［7：15］Da eti šükürlik ḳorbanïnïy šelamimlärinin ḳorban etkän günü［n］dä ${ }^{162}$ ašalsïn ḳonmasïn andan ertägä degin．ואם［7：16］Da egär inyät ya క̌omartlïk esä šelamim ḳorbanï yuvuḳlaštïrdïyï gündä ḳorbanïnï ašalsïn da sabaḥïnda da ol ḳalyan andan ašalsïn．והנותר［7：17］Da ol ḳalyan ol šelamim etindän ol üčün亏̌i gündä otḳa küydürilsin．ואם［7：18］Da egär ol ašayan andan günäḥini čekär．והבשׁר［7：19］Da ol et ki tiysä birsinä här dürli mundar šeyniy ašalmasïn otḳa küydürilsin da ol kodeš eti här temiz kiši ašasin kedeš etini．והנפשׁ［7：20］Da ol క̌an ki ašasa et ol šelamim ḳorbanïndan ki YWY－४a da mundarlïyï olsa üzärindä da kesilir ol 亏̌an oluslarïndan． ונפּשׁ $7: 21]$ Da 亏̌an ki tiysä క̌ümlä mundarya mundarlïyïna adamnïy ya mundar tuvarya ya క̌ümlä mundar iränčigä da gizli ašasa etindän ol šelamim ḳorbanïnïy ki YWY－ұa kesilir ol క̌an oluslarïndan．וירבר［7：22］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä．דבר［7：23］Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra＇elniy demä hič yayïn ögüznị ne koynïg ne ečkinin ašamajïz．וחלב［7：24］Da yayï nevelanïy da yayï terefanïy kïliinsïn här iškä anča［k］${ }^{164}$ ašama ašamaŋïz anï．כי［7：25］Zira här ašayan kimsä yay ol tuvardan ki yuvuḳlaštirïr andan otlu ḳorban YWY－ya kesilir ol gizli ašayan క̌an uluslarïndan．וכל［7：26］Da hič kannï ašamaŋïz ̧̌ümlä oturašlarïgïzda ne ḳuštan ne da tuvardan．כל［7：27］亏̌ümlä క̌an ki ašasa hič ḳan da kesilir ol క̌an uluslarïndan．וידבר［7：28］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä． ［7：29］Sözlägin oflanlarïna Yisra＇elniy ol yuvuḳlaštirryan šelamim ḳorbanïnï YWY－

[^104] ḳorbanlarïnï YWY-ya yabanïnda Sinaynïŋ.

## Chapter 8

(8) קח [8:2] Alyïn Aharonnï da

үа getirsin ḳorbanïnï YWY-үa ḳorbanïndan šelamimlärniy. ידיו [7:30] Ḳollarï getirsinlär
otlu ḳorbanlarïn YWY-nïy ol yaynï ol töš bilän getirsin anï ol töšni sallamaya anï önünä sallamak aldïna YWY-nïy. והקטיר [7:31] Da tütätsin ol kohen ol yaynï ol mizbeaḥta da bolsïn ol töš Aharonya da oylanlarïna. . ואת [7:32] Da ol on butnï veriniz kötärip sallamaḳ ol kohengä ḳorbanlarïndan šelamimleriyizniy. המקריב
[7:33] Ol yuvuḳlaštïryan ol šelamim ḳanïnï da ol yaynï oylanlarïndan Aharonnïy ayar bolsïn ol on but payya. כי [7:34] Zira ol öyünä sallamak töšini da ol yokaraï sallamak butunï aldïm yanïndan oflanlarïnïy Yisra'elnin šelamim ḳorbanlarïndan da verdim alarnï Aharon ol kohengä da oylanlarïna räsiminä dunyanïy yanïndan oylanlarïnïy Yisra'elniy. זאת [7:35] Budïr büyüklik payï Aharonnïy da büyüklik

## $99 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

payï oylanlarïnïy otlu ḳorbanlarïndan YWY-nïy yuvuḳlaštirryan gündän alarnï kohenlik etmägä YWY-ya. אששר [7:36] Ki sïmarladï YWY vermä alarya sildigi gündän alarnï yanïndan oylanlarïnïy Yisra' elniy ömirlik räsimi dävürlärinä. [7:37] Budïr ol tora 'olaya minḥaya da ḥatatḳa da ašamya da milu'imgä da ol šelamim ḳorbanïna. אשׁר [7:38] Ki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä tayïnda Sinaynï̀ sïmarladïyï gündä oylanlarïna Yisra'elniy yuvuklaštïrmała oүlanlarïnï birgäsinä da ol upraklarnï da ol silmäk yayïnï da ol ḥatat buyasïnï da eki ol ḳoçkarlarnï da ol mačalar selläsini. ויעשׁ. [8:4] Da ḳilldï Moše nečiki sïmarladï YWY ayar da toplandï ol šama at ešiginä ohel mo‘ednin. ויאמר [8:5] Da ayttï Moše ol 亏̌ama'atḳa budïr ol söz ki sïmarladï YWY ḳïlmaya. ויקרב [8:6] Da yuvuḳlaštïrdï Moše Aharonnï da oylanlarïnï da yuvdï alarnï suvlar bilän. ויתן [8:7] Da verdi üstünä ol gölmäkni da ḳušadï anï ünčḳir bilän da giydirdi aŋar ol šušmannï da verdi üstünä ol efodnï
(17) da ḳušadï anï bayï bilän ol efodnïy da bayladï anï anïy bilän. וישׂם [8:8] Da ḳoydï
[8:13] Da yuvuklaštirrdï Moše oylanlarïn Aharonnïy da giydirdi alarya gölmäklär

## $99 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

(1) ḳušadï alarnï ïnčḳir bilän da giydirdi alarya öksäk ḳavuḳlar nečiki sïmarladï
(2) YWY Mošegä. ויגשׁ [8:14] Da yuvuklašitirdï ol ḥatat buyasïnï da tayadï
(3) Aharon da oylanlarï kollarïnï baši üstünä ol hatat buyasinïy. וישׁׁט [8:15] Da soydï
(4) da aldï Moše ol ḳannï da verdi bučḳaḳlarï üstünä ol mizbeaḥnïy čüpčüvrä barmayï bilän da sačtï ol mizbeaḥnï da ol ḳannï tökti temälinä ol mizbeaḥnïy da ayruhsï etti anï keparat etmäkkä üstünä. ויקח [8:16] Da aldï 弓̌ümlä ol yaynï ki ol kaarin üstünä da ol bayïrnïg artïksiisinï da eki ol bögräklärni da yaylarïnï da tütätti Moše ol mizbeaḥta. ואת [8:17] Da ol buyanï da terisini da etini da tezägini küydürdi otḳa avuldan čǐharï nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä. ויקרב [8:18] Da yuvuklaštïrdï ol 'ola kočḳarïnï da tayadïlar Aharon da oylanlarï ḳollarïnï bašï üstünä ol ḳočḳarnïŋ. וישׁח [8:19] Da soydï da sačtï Moše ol ḳannï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä. ואת [8:20] Da ol ḳočḳarnï buvumladï buvumlariņ̌a da tütätti Moše ol bašnï da ol buvumlarnï da ol karïn yayïnï. [את [8:21] Da ol ḳarïnnï da ol ayaḳlarnï yuvdï suvlar bilän da tütätti Moše tekmil ol ḳočkarnï ol mizbeaḥta 'oladïr ol ḳoḳusïna kabulliḳnïn otlu ḳorbandïr ol YWY-ya nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä. ויקרב
[8:22] Da yuvuḳlaštirdï ol ekinši ḳočḳarnï ol milu'im kočḳarïnï da tayadïlar Aharon da oylanlarï ḳollarïnï baši üstünä ol kočḳarnïy. וישׁח [8:23] Da soydï da aldï Moše ḳanïndan da verdi yïmša̧ï üstünä ol on kulayïnïn Aharonnïy da baš barmayï

[^105]üstünä ol oy ḳolunïy da baš barmayï üstünä ol oy ayayïnïy. ויקרב
[8:24] Da yuvuklaštirdï oylanlarïn Aharonnïy da verdi Moše ol ḳandan yïmšayï üstünä ol
on kulaklarïnïy da baš barmayï üstünä ol oy kollarïnïn da baš barmayï üstünä ol on ayaḳlarïnïy da sačtï Moše ol kannï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpččüvrä. ויקח [8:25] Da aldï ol yaynï̀ da ol ḳuyruḳnï da šümlä ol yaynï ki ol ḳarinn üstünä da ol bayïrnïy artïksïsinnï da eki ol bögräklärni da yaylarïnï da ol oy butnï. ומסל [8:26] Da ol mačalar sellesindän ki aldïna YWY-

## $100 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

(1) nïŋ aldï bir ḳalïn mača da bir ḳalïn yaylï ötmäk da bir yufḳa da ḳoydï ol yaylar üstünä da ol on but üstünä. ויתן [8:27] Da verdi ol 亏̌ümläni avučlarï üstünä Aharonnïy da avučlarï üstünä oylanlarïnïy da salladï alarnï önünä sallamak aldïna YWY-nïy. ויקח [8:28] Da aldï Moše alarnï avučlarï üstündän da tütätti ol mizbeaḥta ol 'ola üstünä milu'imdir alar ḳoḳusina kabullïknïy otlu ḳorbandïr ol YWY-ya. ויקח [8:29] Da aldï Moše ol töšni da salladï anï sallamaḳ aldïna YWY-nïy ḳočḳarïndan ol milu'imniy Mošegä boldï payya nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä. ויקח [8:30] Da aldï Moše yayïndan ol silmäkniy da ol ḳandan ki ol mizbeaḥ üstünä da sačtï Aharon üstünä upraḳlarï üstünä da oylanlarï üstünä da upraḳlarï üstünä oflanlarïnïy birgäsinä da ayruh̆sï etti Aharonnï upraḳlarïnï da oylanlarïnï da oylanlarïnïy upraḳlarïnï birgäsinä. ויאמר [8:31] Da ayttï Moše Aharonya da oylanlarïna piširiyiz ol etni ešigindä ohel mo edniy da anda ašayïz anï da ol ötmäkni ki ol milu'im sellesindä nečiki sïmarladïm demä Aharon da oylanlarï ašasïnlar anï. ומפותחת [8:32] Da ol ḳalyannï ol etdän da ol ötmäktän otḳa küydürügiz. ומנוּ [8:33] Ešigindän ohel mo 'edniy čïḳmaŋ̄iz yedi günlär tamam bolyan gününä degin milu' im
günläriniz zira yedi günlär toldurïp alǐštirïr ḳoluŋïznï. כאשׁר [8:34] Nečiki
ḳïldï ušbu gündä sïmarladi YWY kïlmaya kapara etmä üstünizgä. ופת
[8:35] Da ešigindä ohel mo 'edniy oturuyïz gün da gečä yedi günlär da saḳlayïz saklovïn

YWY-nïy da ölmäniz zira alay sïmarlandïm. ויעש [8:36] Da ḳïldï Aharon da oylanlarï క̌ümlä ol sözlärni ki sïmarladï YWY ḳolu bilän Mošeniy.

## Chapter 9

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { ן פּדשׁת שמיניז166 } \tag{22}
\end{align*}
$$

(...23) [9:1] Da edi ol
(24) sekiziņ̌i gündä čaḳirdï Moše Aharonnï da oүlanlarïnï da ḳartlarïn

## $100 \mathrm{v}^{\mathbf{o}}$

(1) Yisra' elniŋ. ויאמר [9:2] Da ayttï Aharonya alyïn üzüyä bïzov balasïn sï̧ïrnïy
(2) ḥatatḳa da ḳočḳar 'olaya saylamlarn[ï] ${ }^{168}$ da yuvuḳlaštïryïn aldïna YWY-nïŋ. ואל
(3) [9:3] Da oylanlarïna Yisra' elniy sözlägin demä alïŋïz ulayïn ečkilärnị hatatḳa
(4) da bïzov da ḳoy birär yašarlar saylamlarnï ‘olaya. וששור [9:4] Da ögüz da ḳočḳar šelamim-
(5) lärgä ḳorban etmä aldïna YWY-nïy da minḥa ḳarïšïlyan yay bilän ki saḥi
(6) bügün kavodï YWY-nïy aškara bolunïr sizgä. ויקחו [9:5] Da aldïlar neni ki sïmarladï
(7) Moše aldïna ohel mo‘ednin da yuvuḳlaštïlar žümlä ol 弓̌ama' at da turdïlar aldïna YWY-nïy. ויאמר [9:6] Da ayttï Moše budïr ol söz ki sïmarladï YWY ḳïlïyïz da aškara bolsïn sizgä kavodï YWY-nïy. ויאמר [9:7] Da ayttï Moše Aharonya yuvuḳlašḳïn ol mizbeaḥka da ḳïlyïn ḥatatïynï da ‘olannï da kapara etkin gendiŋ učun da ol ulus učun da ḳïlyïn ol ulusnïy ḳorbanïnï da kapara etkin alar učun nečiki sïmarladï YWY. ויקרב [9:8] Da yuvuḳlaštï Aharon ol mizbeaḥḳa da soydï ol ḥatat bïzovunï ki anïy. ויקריבו [9:9] Da yuvuḳlaštïrdïlar oylanlarï Aharonnïy ol ḳannï ayar da mänčti barmayïnï ol ḳanya da verdi bučkaklarï üstünä ol mizbeaḥnïy da ol kannï tökti binyatïna ol mizbeaḥnïy. ואף [9:10] Da ol yaynï da ol bögräklärni da ol artïksïnï ol bayïrdan ol ḥatatdan tütätti ol mizbeaḥta nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä. ואת [9:11] Da ol etni da ol terini küydürdi otḳa avuldan čīharï. וישׁט [9:12] Da soydï ol 'olanï da yerištirdilär oylanlarï Aharonnïy ayar ol ḳannï da sačtï anï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčüvrä. ואת [9:13] Da ol 'olanï yerištirdilär ajar buvumlarïn亏̌a da ol bašnï da tütätti ol mizbeaḥ üstünä. וירחץ [9:14] Da yuvdï ol ḳarïnnï da ol ayaḳlarnï da tütätti ol 'ola üstünä ol mizbeaḥta. ויקרב [9:15] Da yuvuḳlaštïrdï

[^106]亏̌ümlä ol ulus da ḳičḳirdïlar da tüštilär yüzläri üstünä.

## Chapter 10

ḳorbanïn ol ulusnïy da aldï ol hatatat ulayïnï ki ulusnïy da soydï anï da ḥatat etti anï burunyïnï gibi. ויקרב [9:16] Da yuvuklaštïrdï ol 'olanï da kïldï anï šara atča. ויקרב [9:17] Da yuvuḳlaštirdï ol minhanï da toldurdï avučinnï andan da tütätti ol mizbeaḥ üstünä 'olasïndan baška ol ertäniy. וישחט

## $101 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[9:18] Da soydï ol ögüzni da ol ḳočḳarnï ol šelamim ḳorbanïnï ki ulusnïy da yerištirdilär
oylanlarï Aharonnïy ol ḳannï ayar da sačtï anï ol mizbeaḥ üstünä čüpčc̈vrä [9:19] Da ol yaylarnï ol ögüzdän da ol ḳočḳardan ol ḳuyruḳnï da ol yapkannï da ol bögräklärni da artïksisisïn ol bay̌irnïy (ayïrdïlar) ${ }^{169}$. וישימו [9:20] Da ḳoydillar ol yaylarnu
ol töšlär üstünä da tütätti ol yaylarnï ol mizbeaḥta. ואת [9:21] Da ol töšlärni da ol oy butnï salladï Aharon sallamaḳ önünä YWY-nïy nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä. וישא [9:22] Da kötärdi Aharon ḳollarïnï ol ulusḳa da alyišladï alarnï da evvel endi ḳïlmaḳtan ol ḥatatnï da ol 'olanï da ol šelamimlärni. ויבא [9:23] Da geldi Moše da Aharon ohel mo 'edgä da čǐḳtillar da alyǐišladïlar ol ulusnï da aškara boldï kavodï YWY-nïy šümlä ol ulusḳa. ותצא [9:24] Da čïḳtï ot aldïndan YWY-nïy da yaktï̀ ol mizbeaḥ üstünä ol 'olanï da ol yaylarnï da gördi
[10:1] Da aldïlar
oylanlarï Aharonnïy Nadav da Avihu här kiši maḥtasïnï da verdilär alarda ot da ḳoydïlar üstünä tütsü da yuvuḳlaštïrdïlar aldïna YWY-nïy yat ot ki sïmarlamadï alarya. ותצא [10:2] Da čïḳtï ot aldïndan YWY-nïg da yaḳtï alarnï da öldilär aldïna YWY-nïy. ויאמר [10:3] Da ayttï Moše Aharonya oldïr ne ki sözlädi YWY demä yuvuḳlarïma ayruh̆sï bolïrmïn da aldïna šümlä ol ulusnïy ḥörmätlänirmin da sustu Aharon. ויקרא [10:4] Da čaḳirdï Moše Miša’ elni da Elčafannï oylanlarïn 'Uzi' el ayačasïnïy Aharonnïy da ayttï alarya yuvuḳlašījïz kaldïrïyïz ḳardašlarïyïznï yanïndan yüzläriniy ol kodešniy avuldan čǐharï. [10:5] Da yuvuklašîilar da kaldïrdïlar alarnï gölmäkläri bilän avuldan čǐyarï

[^107]sözinčä Mošeniy. וידבר [10:8] Da sözlädi YWY Aharoņa demä. יין [10:9] Yayï šarap ne
(2) eski šarap ičmägin nä sen ne da oylanlarïy birgäyä girdigiŋizdän
nečiki sözlädi Moše. ויאמר [10:6] Da ayttï Moše Aharonya da El'azarya da Itamar oylanlarïna bašlarïŋïznï ačmaŋïz da upraklarïyïznï yïrtmaŋïz da ölmäyiz da ̧̌ümlä ol క̌ama' at üstünä ačuvlanmasïn da ḳardašlarïyïz žümlä šama at Yisra'elnị yillasïnlar ol küymäkni ki küydürdi YWY. ומפּתח [10:7] Da ešigindän ohel mo'edniŋ čǐkmaŋïz olmaya ölärsiz zira silmäk yayï YWY-nïy üstinizdä da kïldïlar
$101 \mathrm{v}^{0}$ burun ohel mo'edgä da ölmäniz ömürlik räsim dävürläriyizgä. ולהבדיל [10:10] Da alay ayïrmaya gelip arasïna ol ḳodešnin da arasïna ol yenilnin da arasïna ol mundarnïy da arasïna ol aruvnïy. ולהורות [10:11] Da ögrätmägä gelip oylanlarïna Yisra' elniŋ šümlä ol räsimlärni ki sözlädi YWY alarya ḳolu bilän Mošeniy. וידבר [10:12] Da sözlädi Moše Aharonya da El'azarya da Itamar oylanlarïna ol ḳaļanlarya alïnïz ol ḳalyan minḥanï otlu ḳorbanlarïndan YWY-nïy da ašayïz anï mačalar yanïna ol mizbeaḥnïn zira ḳodeši kodešlärniydir ol. ואכלתם [10:13] Da ašayı̈z anï ayruḩsï yerdä zira ḥaḳkï̀ da hakḳ̣ï oplanlarïnnïydïr ol otlu korbanlarïndan YWY-nïy ki alay sïmarlandïm. ואת [10:14] Da ol sallamak töšini da ol ayïrmak butunï ašayïz temiz yerdä sen da oylanlarïy da ḳïzlarïy birgänä ki ḥakkïn da ḥakḳ̈̈ oylanlarïnnïy verildilär šelamim ḳorbanlarïndan oflanlarïnïy Yisra'elniy. שוק [10:15] Ol ayïrmak butunï da ol sallamak töšini otlu ḳorbanlarï bilän ol yaylarnïy getirsinlär sallamaya sallamaḳ aldïna YWY-nïy da bolsïn saya da oylanlarïna
birgänä ömürlik räsimgä nečiki sïmarladï YWY. ואת [10:16] Da ol ḥatat ulayïnï arama aradï Moše da muna küydürüldi da ačuvlandï El'azar üstünä da Itamar üstünä ol ḳalyan oylanlarï Aharonnïy demä. מדוע [10:17] Nučun ašamadïŋïz ol hatataï ol ḳodeš ornïnda ki ḳodeši ḳodešlärniydir ol da anï verdi sizgä kötärmägä günähin ol 亏̌ama‘atnïy keparat etmägä alar učun aldïna YWY-nïy. הן [10:18] Muŋa keanï girgizilmädi ol ḳodešgä ičkäri ašama ašayïz anï ayruhsiï yerdä nečiki sïmarladïm. וידבר [10:19] Da sözlädi Aharon Mošegä muna bügün yuvuḳlaštïrdïlar hatatlarïnï da 'olalarïnï aldïna YWY-nïy učradïlar maya bular gibi da ašasam eydim ḥatat ätini bügün yahší bolïrmï
edi ‘enayatlarïna YWY-nïy. וישמע [10:20] Da ešitti Moše da yaḩši boldï gözlärinä.

## Chapter 11

[11:2] Sevläniz evladlarïna Yisra'elin demä budur o ḥayvanat ki yeyäsiz šümlä o tuvardan ki o yer üzerinä. כל [11:3] Här čatal tïrnaklïyï ve ayriīïnï ayïrmayïn tïrnaḳnïn gevšemäk getirenni tuvarda onu ašayïz. אָ [11:4] Amma gevšemäk getirenlerden ve ${ }_{\text {L }}$ čatal tïrnaḳlilardan ${ }^{170}$ bularï yemeyesiz o deveni farzam ki gevšer amma
tamam ayrï tïrnaḳlï degildir murdardïr o sizä. ואת [11:5] Ve o ada tavušan (kirpi) ${ }^{171}$-nï ${ }^{172}$ farzam ki o gevšer amma tamam tïrnak ayïrmaz murdardïr o size. [11:6] Ve o tavušanï farzam ki gevšer amma tamam tïrnak ayïrmadï murdardïr o size. ואת [11:7] Ve o ḥïnzïrï (ḥazïrnï) farzam ki čatal tïrnaḳlïdïr vä tamam ayïrïr ayïrmasïn tïrnaḳnïn amma o gevšeme gevšemez murdardïr o sizä. מבשׁרם [11:8] Etlärindän yemeniz ve lešlerine degmeniz haramdïr olar size. אאּ [11:9] Bunu yeyesiz

క̌ümlädän ki suvda ḥer šey ki ona ḳanat ve pul suvda denizlerde da özänlärdä olarï yeyesiz. וכל [11:10] Ve her šey ki yoḳ ona ḳanat ve pul denjizlerde özänlärdä క̌ümlä ḳozlamasïndan suvnun ve šümlä o diri ̌̌andan ki suvda mïkruḥdïr olar size. וששקץ [11:11] Ve mïkruḥ olsunlar size etlerinden yemey[e]siz ${ }^{173}$ ve lešlerini ïḳrạ̣ idäsiz. כל [11:12] Her šey ki yoḳ ona ḳanat ve pul suvlarda mïḳruḥdïr o size. ואת [11:13] Ve bularï ïkraḥ idiniz o ḳuštan ašalmasïnlar mïkruḥdïr olar o ḳartalnï (ḳara ḳušnï) ve iron[n]ïin ${ }^{174}$ ve deniz ḳartalïnï. ואת [11:14] Ve ak babanï ve čaylaknï šinsinžä. את [11:15] Här ḳužunï 亏̌insinčä. ואת [11:16] Ve deve ḳušunï

[^108]ve bay ${ }^{175}$ ḳušnï ve ḳuḳu ḳušïnï ve duyanï ̧̌insinčä．ואת［11：17］Ve ügi ḳušunï ve ḳara bataknï
 leglägni ve balïkččnï

گ̌insinčä ve ${ }_{\text {L }}$ hüd hüdni ${ }^{178}$ ve šepereni．כל［11：20］Ve her učan ḳušu dört ayak üzerinä gezen
mïḳruḥdïr o size．אך［11：21］Salt bunu yeyesiz 万̌ümlä doyurduyundan o ḳušnïy o gezen dört ayaḳ üzärine ki ona dizlär yoḳarïdan ayaḳlarïna sïčrama olar ilen o yer üzerine．［11：22］Bularnï olardan ašaŋïz o čekirtkeni
 ［11：23］Ve 亏̌ümlä doyurduyu o ḳušnïy ${ }^{179}$ ki ona dört ayaḳlar mïḳruḥadïr o

$$
102 \mathrm{v}^{0}
$$

size．ולאלה［11：24］Ve bularya tiyip mundar olursïz här deggen lešlerinä mundar olsïn o aḩšama degin．וכל［11：25］Ve o（tašïyan）ḳaldïran läšlärindän yïḳasïn urbalarïnï umundar olsun ol ahšama degin．לכל［11：26］Här ḥayvan ki o čatal tïrnaḳlïdïr vä tamam ayïrmak ayïrmayur ve gevšemek getirmeyir murdarlardïr olar sizä här deggen lešlerinä mundar olsïn o aḩšama degin．וכל［11：27］Šümlä gezen tabanlarï üzerine šümlä $̌$ ̧̌enavarda o gezen dört ayak üzerine haramlar olar size šümlä o tiygän lešlerinä mundar olsun o ahsšama degin．והנשׁא［11：28］Ve o ḳaldïran lešlärini yïḳasïn rubalarïnï da mundar olsun o ahšama ḳadar ḥaramlardïr olar size．וזה［11：29］Ve budur size o ḥaram doyyan da o ḳozlayan o yer üzerinä o gelinčik ve o sičan ve o ḳaplï baya 亏̌insiņ̌ä．והאנקה［11：30］Ve sivri sičan

[^109] ［11：31］Bular o ḥaramlar
（12）size 弓̌ümlä o doyyan da 弓̌ümlä o deggen olara üldiklerindän sora
（13）ḥaram olsun o aḩšama degin．וכל［11：32］Ve her šey ki düšerse üzerinä olardan yemeye o deggen leši［n］ä ${ }^{184}$ haram olsun o ahšama ḳadar．והאכל［11：40］Ve o yeyen

## $103 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

（1）lešindän yïkasịn urbalarïnï da mundar olsun o ahšama ḳadar ve o ḳaldïran lešini yïkasïn rubalarïnï da mundar olsun o ahšama ḳadar．וכל［11：41］Ve šümlä o doyyan šey ki doyayïr o yer üzerinä mïkruḥ šeydir yelmesin．כל［11：42］Här gezän ḳursak üzerinä ve här gezän dört ayaḳ üzerinä ̧̌ümlä o doy才andan ki doyayïr o yer üzerinä yemeyäsiz olarï zira mïkruḥ šeydir olar．אל［11：43］Ïḳraḥ idtirmäniz క̌anlarïyïzï biri ilän o doy̌annïy ki ḳozlayïr da mundar olunmayïz o－

[^110] ašalažak ḥayvanatnïy ve arasïna o ḥayvanatnïg ki ašalmayažak．

## Chapter 12

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { 」ן פּדשׁת תזריע「188 }  \tag{15}\\
& \text { נִיְיְבבר יוְי אֶל משֶׁה לֵאמר「189 } \tag{16...}
\end{align*}
$$

（．．．16）［12：1］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä．דבּר
（17）［12：2］Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra＇elnin demä hatïn ki urluk etsä bir yašar ḳoy＇olaya da balasïn gügürčinnin ya kumru ḥatatḳa ešiginä ohel

## $103 v^{0}$

（1）mo‘edniy ol kohengä．והקריבו［12：7］Da yuvuklaštirrsïn anï aldïna YWY－nïy da kapara
（2）ätsin üstünä da aruv bolsïn čoḳrayïndan kanlarïnïy budïr torasï ol
（3）doyuryannïy erkäkni ya tišini．［12：8］Da egär yetmäsä ḳuvatï koyya da alsïn
（4）eki ḳumrular ya eki balalarïn kögürčinnin birni＇olaya da birni hatatḳa da kapara

[^111]
## Chapter 13

（6）אדם［13：2］Adam ki
（7）bolsa terisindä etinin šiši $[k]^{190}$ ya oyuz ya aḳ lekä ol terisindä etiniy da mundar etsin anï ol kohen beklämäsin anï zira mundar－

## $104 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

（1）dïr ol．［13：12］Da egär yayïlma yayïlsa ol 弓̌üzam derdlik täridä da yapsa ol da bolsa terisindä etiniy hastalï̌ï 亏̌üzam derdlikniy da getirilsin Aharon ol kohengä ya birsinä oflanlarïndan ol kohenlärgä．וראה［13：3］Da görsin ol kohen ol hastalïknï̈ terisindä ol etniy da sač hastalïkta degiširildi isä ak da görümi ol hastalïknïy terän isä terisindän etiniy hastalï̌ï ̧̌üzam derdlikniy ol da görsä anï ol kohen da mundar etsin anï．ואם［13：4］Da egär aḳ leke esä ol terisindä etinin da terän dügül esä görümï ol teridän da sačí degiširilmädi esä aḳ da bekläsin ol kohen ol hastalïyì yedi günlär．וראהו ［13：5］Da görsin anï ol kohen ol yedinši gündä da muna ol hastalïk turdï reŋjkindä yayïlmadï ol hastalïk teridä da bekläsin anï ol kohen yedi günlär ekin亏̌i．וראה ［13：6］Da görsin ol kohen anï ol yediņ̌i gündä ekiņ̌i kerät da muna sönükkän ol hast［a］liik ${ }^{191}$ da yayïlmadï ol hastalïk teridä temiz etsin anï ol kohen oyuzdïr ol da yuvsïn upraḳlarïn da temiz bolsïn．ואם［13：7］Da egär yayïlma yayïlsa ol oyuz teridä görüngänindän soŋra ol kohengä temiz bolyanïndan soŋra da görünsin ekin亏̌i kerät ol kohengä．וראה［13：8］Da görsä ol kohen da muna yayïldï ol oyuz teridä da mundar etsin anï ol kohen 亏̌üzam derdlikdir ol．נגע［13：9］Hastalïyï ̧̌üzam derdlik ki bolsa adamda da getirilsin ol kohen－ gä．וראה［13：10］Da görsin ol kohen da muna ak šišik teridä da ol degišti ak sač da saylïyï číy etniy šiši［k］dä ${ }^{192}$ ．צרעת［13：11］Eskirgän క̌üzam derdlikdir క̌üzam derdlik ̌̌ümlä terisin ol hastalīknïy bašindan da ayaḳlarïna degin ̌̌ümlä görüminä gözläriniy ol kohenniy．וראה［13：13］Da görsin ol kohen da muna yaptï ol亏̌üzam derdlik 亏̌ümlä etini temiz etsin ol hastalịknï 亏̌ümläsi degišdi ak［t］emi［z］dir ${ }^{193}$ ol．וביום［13：14］Da görüngän gündä anda čiy et mundar

[^112](6) bolsïn. [13:15] Da görsin ol kohen ol čiy etni da mundar etsin anï ol čiy et munda[r]dirr ${ }^{194}$ ol 弓̌üzam derdlikdir ol. או [13:16] Ya ki ḳaytsa ol čiy et da degiširildi isä aḳka da gelsin ol kohengä. וראה [13:17] Da görsin anï ol kohen da muna degiširildi ol hastalik akka da temiz etsin ol kohen ol hastalïknnï temizdir ol. וכשׁ [13:18] Da et ki bolsa anda terisindä číban da oŋalsa. והיה [13:19] Da bolsa yerindä ol číbannïy ak šišik ya aḳ lekä ḳïrmïzī̌a da görünsin ol kohengä. וראה [13:20] Da görsin ol kohen da muna görümi alčak ol teridän da sači degišdi aḳ da mundar etsin anï ol kohen hastalïyï ̧̌üzam derdlikniŋdir ol čïbanda yayïldï. ואם [13:21] Da egär görsä anï ol kohen da muna yoḳtïr anda aḳ sač da alčak dügüldir ol teridän da ol sönükkän da bekläsin anï ol kohen yedi günlär. ואם [13:22] Da egär yayïlma yayïlsa teridä da mundar etsin ol kohen anï hastaliḳdïr ol. ואם [13:23] Da egär yerindä tursa ol ak lekä yayïlmasa küyügi ol číbannïydïr ol da temiz etsin anï ol kohen. או [13:24] Ya et ki bolsa terisindä küygäni otnïy da bolsa čiy sayï ol küygänniy beyazča ḳïrmïzï̌̌a lekä ya aḳ. וראה [13:25] Da görsin anï ol kohen da muna degiširildi aḳ sač lekädä da görümi derän ol teridän ̌̌üzam derdlikdir ol küyükdä yayïldï da mundar etsin anï ol kohen hastalï̌ï ̧̌üzam derdlikniŋdir ol. ואם [13:26] Da egär görsä anï ol kohen da muna yoktïr lekädä ak sač da alčak dügüldir ol teridän da ol sönükkän da bekläsin anï ol kohen yedi günlär. וראהו [13:27] Da görsin anï ol kohen ol yedin亏̌i gündä egär yayïlma yayïlsa teridä da mundar etsin ol kohen anï hastalïyï ̧̌üzam derdlikinindir

## $104 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

(1) ol. ואם [13:28] Da egär yerindä tursa ol lekä yayïlmasa teridä da ol sönükkän šišigi ol küyükniydir ol da temiz etsin anï ol kohen zira küyügi ol küyükniydir ol. [13:29] Da kiši ya hatïn ki bolsa anda hastalīk bašta ya saḳalda. וראה [13:30] Da görsin ol kohen ol hastalïknï da muna görümi terän ol teridän da anda sarï sač inšä da mundar etsin anï ol kohen netekdir ol క̌üzam derdligi ${ }^{195}$ ol bašnïn ya ol saḳalnïydïr ol. וכי [13:31] Da egär görsä ol kohen hastalïyïn ol neteḳniy da muna dügüldir görümi terän ol

[^113] anï ol kohen da muna šišigi ol hastalïknïy ak ḳïrmïziž̌a ardïndan ya

## $105 \mathrm{r}^{0}$

（1）aldïnda görümi gibi ̧̌üzam derdlik terisiniy etniy．איש
teridän da ḳara sač yoktïr anda da bekläsin ol kohen hastalïyïn ol neteḳniy yedi günlär．וראה［13：32］Da görsin ol kohen ol hastalīknï ol yedin亏̌i gündä da muna yayïlmadï ol netek da bolmadï anda sarï sač da görümi ol neteḳniy terän dügül ol teridän．והתגלח［13：33］Da tïraš olsïn da ol neteḳni tïraš idmäsin da bekläsin ol kohen ol neteḳni yedi günlär ekin亏̌i kerät．וראה［13：34］Da görsin ol kohen ol neteḳni ol yedin亏̌i gündä da muna yayïlmadï ol netek teridä da görimi terän dügül ol teridän da temiz etsin anï ol kohen da yuvsïn upraḳlarïn da temiz bolïr．ואם［13：35］Da egär yayïlma yayïlsa ol netek teridä temiz bolyanïndan soyra．וראהו［13：36］Da görsin anï ol kohen da muna yayïldï ol netek teridä aramasïn ol kohen ol sarï sačḳa mundardïr ol．ואם
［13：37］Da egär renkindä turdï esä ol netek da ḳara sač bitti esä anda onaldï ol netek temizdir ol da aruv etsin anï ol kohen．ואיש［13：38］Da kiši ya hatïn ki bolsa terisindä etlärinị lekälär aḳ lekälär．וראה［13：39］Da görsin ol kohen da muna terisindä etlärinig ak lekälär sönükkänlär bohaḳdïr ol yayïldï teridä temizdir ol．ואיש［13：40］Da kiši ki yurḳulsa sačïi bašinnïy ḳereaḥdïr ol temizdir ol．ואם［13：41］Da egär yüzlärinin tarafindan yurḳulsa sači bašïnïy gibeaḥdïr temizdir ol．וכי［13：42］Da egär bolsa artta ya aldda hastaliik ak ḳ̈rmïzī̌̌a yayïlï turyan šüzam derdlik ol ardïnda ya aldïnda．וראה［13：43］Da görsin
ol mundardïr ol mundar etmä mundar etsin anï ol kohen bašinda－ dïr hastalïyï．והצרוע［13：45］Da ol šüzam derdli ki anda ol hastalïk upraklarï bolsïnlar yïrtïlyanlar da bašï bolsïn ačīk da mïyïknï sarsïn da mundardïr mundardïr čakïrsïn．כל［13：46］Šümlä günlär ki ol hastalïk anda mundar bolsïn mundardïr ol yalyïz otursïn avuldan čĭharï oturašï．והבגד［13：47］Da ol upraḳ ki bolsa anda hastalīyï šüzam derdlikniy yün upraḳta ya üskülü upraḳda． אל［13：48］Ya boyda ya arḳuvda üskülüdän da yündän ya teridä ya šümlä teri išindä．ודיה［13：49］Da bolsa ol hastalỉk yäšilžäa ya kërmïziža uprakta ya teridä ya boyda ya arḳuvda ya క̌ümlä teri taḳïmda hูastalïyï ̌̌üzam derdlikniy－ dir ol da görünsin ol kohengä．וראה［13：50］Da görsin ol kohen ol hastalikknï da bekläsin ol hastalịknï yedi günlär．וראה［13：51］Da görsin ol hastalïknnï ol yediņ̌i
(13) gündä ki yayïldï ol hastalïk upraḳta ya boyda ya arḳuvda ya teridä temiz etmägä anï ya mundar etmägä anï.

## Chapter 14

נפּדשׁת תזריעז200
(8) ויְְבַּר (יד) [14:1] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä. ז14:2] Bu bolsïn torasï ol ̧̌üzam derdlikniy temiz bolašak günündä da ketirilsin
(10) ol kohengä. ויצא [14:3] Da čǐksịn ol kohen avuldan čǐharï da görsin ol kohen (11) da muna onaldï hastalï̧ï ol šüzam derdliknin ol šüzam derdli boļandan.

[^114](12) [14:4] Da sïmarlasïn ol kohen da alsïn temiz bolažaḳ učun eki yabani helal ḳušlarï
kirpi[k]lärin ${ }^{205}$ gözläriniy da $̧$ 亏̌ümlä sačinï tïraš idsin da yuvsïn upraḳlarï[n]i $i^{206}$ da yuvsïn etini suv bilän da temiz bolsïn. וביום [14:10] Da ol sekizin亏̌i gündä alsïn

## 106 r $^{0}$

(1) eki saylam ḳoylar da bir tiši ḳoy bir yašar saylam da üč payï onnïy
(2) özäk ḳarïsïlyan yay bilän da bir seyik yay. והעמיד [14:11] Da turyuzsïn ol temiz (3) etkän kohen ol temizlängän kišini da alarnï aldïna YWY-nïy ešigindä ohel (4) mo‘edniy. ולקח [14:12] Da alsïn ol kohen ol bir ḳoynï da yuvuḳlaštïrsïn anï ašamya da ol seyik yaynï da sallasïn alarnï sallamaḳ önünä YWY-nïy. [14:13] Da soysïn ol ḳoynï ne yerdä ki soyar ol ḥatatnï da ol 'olanï yerindä ol ḳodešniy ki ḥatat gibidir ol ašam ol kohengä ḳodeši ḳodešlärnindir ol. ולקח [14:14] Da alsïn ol kohen kanïndan ol ašamnïn da versin ol kohen yimšayï üstünä on kulayïnïy ol temiz bolyanïy da baš barmayï üstünä on ḳolunïy da baš barmayï üstünä on ayayïnïy. ולקח [14:15] Da alsïn ol kohen ol seyik yałdan da ḳoysïn ol sol avuču üstünä (özüniy) ol kohenniy. [14:16] Da mänčsin ol kohen oŋ barmayïnï ol yaydan ki ol sol avuču üstünä

[^115](13) da sačsïn ol yaydan barmayï bilän yedi kerätlär aldïna YWY-nïy. ומיתד [14:17] Da kalyan
(14) ol yaydan ki avuču üstünä versin ol kohen yimšayï üstünä on kulayining
(15) ol temiz bolyannïy da baš barmayï üstünä oy kolunïy da baš barmayï
(16) üstünä on ayayïnïy ol ašam kanïnïy yeri üstünä. והנותר [14:18] Da ol
(17) ķalyannï yaydan ki avuču üstünä ol kohenniy versin baši üstünä ol temiz
(18) bolyannïy da kapara etsin üstünä ol kohen aldïna YWY-nïy. ועששׁ
(19) [14:19] Da ḳ̈lsïn ol kohen ol ḥatatnï da kapara etsin ol temiz bolyan učun
(20) mundarlïyïndan da andan sonra soysïn ol 'olanï. והעלה [14:20] Da čǐyarsïn ol kohen
(21) ol 'olanï da ol minḥanï ol mizbeaḥka da kapara etsin üstünä ol kohen
(22) da temiz bolsïn. ואם [14:21] Da egär yarlï esä ol da ḳuvatï yetmäz esä da alsïn bir
(23) ḳoy ašamya sallamaḳka kapara etmä üstünä da onda bir payï özäk kariisǐlyan yay bilän minḥaya da seyik yay. וששתי [14:22] Da eki ḳumrular ya eki balalarïn kögürčinniy
negä ki yetsä ḳuvatï da bolsïn birsi hatat da ol birsi 'ola. והביא
[14:23] Da getirsin alarnï ol sekiziņ̌i gündä temiz bolyanïna ol kohengä ešiginä
$106 \mathrm{v}^{0}$
(1) ohel mo'edniy aldïna YWY-nïy. ולקח [14:24] Da alsïn ol kohen ol ašam ḳoyunï da ol (2) seyik yaynï da sallasïn alarnï ol kohen sallamak aldïna YWY-nïy. וששחט
(3) [14:25] Da soysïn ol ašam ḳoyunï da alsïn ol kohen ḳanïndan ol ašamnïy da versin
(4) yimšayï üstünä on ḳulayïnïy ol temiz bolyannïy da baš barmayï
(5) üstünä on ḳolunïy da baš b[a]rmayī ${ }^{207}$ üstünä on ayayïnïy.
(6) ומן [14:26] Da ol yaydan ḳoysïn ol kohen ol sol avuču üstünä (özüniy) ol kohenniŋ.
(7) והזה [14:27] Da sačsïn ol kohen ol on ḳolunïy barmayï bilän ol yaydan ki ol sol avuču üstünä yedi kerätlär aldïna YWY-nïy. ונתחן [14:28] Da versin ol kohen ol yaydan ki avuču üstünä yimšayï üstünä on kulayïnïg ol temiz bolyannïy da baš barmayï üstünä on ḳolunïy da baš barmayï üstünä on ayayïnïy ornï üstünä ḳanïnïy ol ašamnïy. ínנותר [14:29] Da ol ḳalyanï ol yaydan ki avuču üstünä ol kohenniy versin bašï üstünä ol temiz bolyannïy kapara etmä üstünä aldïna YWY-nïy. ועשה [14:30] Da kẹilsïn birni ol torlardan ya balalarïndan ol

[^116]（14）kögürčünniy nedän ki yetsä ḳuvatï．את［14：31］Negä ki yetsä ḳuvatï ol birni ḥatat evdän ešiginä ol evniy da bekläsin ol evni yedi günlär．וששב［14：39］Da ḳaytsïn

## $107 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

（1）ol kohen ol yediņ̌i gündä da görsä da muna yayïldï ol hastalïk duvarlarïnda （2）ol evnin．וצוה［14：40］Da sïmarlasïn ol kohen da suvursïnlar ol tašlarnï ki alarda ol hastalïk da tašlasïnlar alarnï šahardan čĭharï mundar yergä．ואת［14：41］Da ol evni ḳïrsïn ičkärtin čüpčüvrä da töksinlär ol topraḳnï ki ḳïrdïlar šahardan čïharï mundar yerge．ולקחו［14：42］Da alsïnlar öygä tašlar da ketirsinlär ornïna ol tašlarnïy da öngä toprak alsïn da sïlasïn ol evni．ואם［14：43］Da egär kaytsa ol hastalïk da bitsä ol evdä suvuryanïndan sonra ol tašlarnï da ḳïryanïndan soŋpra ol evni da sïlayanïndan sonra．ובא［14：44］Da gelsä ol kohen da görsä da muna yayïldï ol hastalīk ol evdä sïzlatī̈̄i כ̌üzam derdlikdir ol 〈ol〉 evdä mundardïr ol．ונתץ［14：45］Da yïksïn ol evni tašlarïnï da ol ayačlarïnï da ̧̌ümlä toprayïn ol evnin da čïyarsïn šaḥardan či̛harï mundar yergä．ותבא［14：46］Da ol kelgän ol evgä 弓̌ümlä beklägän günlärdä anï mundar bolsïn ol ahšamya degin．והשוכב［14：47］Da ol yatḳan ol evdä yuvsïn upraḳlarïnï da ol ašayan ol evdä yuvsïn upraḳlarïnï．ואם［14：48］Da egär gelmä

[^117]ol mundar vaḳïtnï da ol temiz vaḳïtnï budïr torasï ol 弓̌üzam derdliknị.

## Chapter 15

gelsä ol kohen da görsä da muna yayïlmadï ol hastalïk ol evdä sïlayanïndan soyra ol evni da temiz etsin ol kohen ol evni zira oyaldï ol hastalīk.
[14:49] Da alsïn sačmaya ol evni eki ḳušlar da sälvi ałačí da ḳïrmïzi ${ }^{209}$ iränkli yipek da ezöv. וששחט [14:50] Da soysïn ol bir ḳušnï čöräp sayïtḳa tatlï suvlar üstünä. ולקח [14:51] Da alsïn ol sälvi a̧ačïnï da ol äzövni da ol ḳ̈rmïzï irä̧kli yipekni da ol yaban kušnï da mänčsin alarnï kanïna ol soyulyan kuušnïy da ol tatlï suvlarya da sačsïn ol evgä yedi kerätlär. וחטא [14:52] Da sačsïn ol evni ḳanï bilän ol ḳušnïy da ol tatlï suvlar bilän da ol yaban ḳušu bilän da ol sälvi ayačí bilän da ezöv bilän da ol ḳïrmïzï iränkli yipek bilän. [14:53] Da yibirsin ol yaban ḳušnï šaḥardan čǐharï yüzü üstünä ol düzniy da kapara etsin ol ev učun da temiz bolsïn. זאת [14:54] Budïr ol tora här hastalïyïna ol šüzam derdliknin da netekkë. ולצרעת [14:55] Da ̧̌üzam derdliginä ol

## $107 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

upraḳnïy da evgä. ולשׁאת [14:56] Da šiši[k]kä ${ }^{210}$ da oyuz̧a da lekägä. להורות [14:57] Ögrätmägä
(טו) [15:2] Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra' elniŋ da aytïïizz alarya kiši kiši ki bolsa aḳḳan etindän zavlïyï mundardïr ol. וזאת [15:3] Da bu ola mundarlïyï zavlïyïndan suvan aḳtï isä ayïplï etindän aḳmayï ya ḳoyu aḳïp ḳapadï isä ayïp etini aḳmanïydan mundardïr ol. כל כל $15: 4$ ] Šümlä ol töšäk ki yatsa üstünä ol zav mundar bolsïn da ̧̌ümlä ol say̌it ki otursa üstünä mundar bolsïn. ואישׁ [15:5] Da baši ki tiysä töšäginä yuvsïn upraḳlarïnï da yuvunsïn suvlar bilän da mundar bolsïn ol ahšamya degin. והיושׂ. [15:6] Da ol oturyan ol sayït üstünä ki otursa üstünä ol zav yuvsïn upraḳlarï[n]ii ${ }^{211}$ da yuvunsïn suvlar bilän da mundar bolsïn ol ahšamya degin. והנוגע [15:7] Da ol tiygän etinä ol zavnïy yuvsïn upraḳlarïnï da yuvunsïn suvlar bilän da mundar

[^118](14) bolsïn ol aḩšamya degin. וכי [15:8] Da ki tükürsä ol zav temizgä da yuvsïn da gelsin aldïna YWY-nïy ešiginä ohel mo 'edniy da versin alarnï ol kohengä.

## $108 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

(1) [15:15] Da ḳïlsïn alarnï ol kohen birni hatat da ol birni 'ola da kapara

[^119]（17） degin．ואם［15：28］Da egär temiz kalïrsa aḳmanïndan da saysïn özünä yedi günlär da andan
$108 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$
（1）soŋra temiz bolsïn．וביום［15：29］Da ol sekizin亏̌i gündä alsïn özünä eki
（2）ḳumrular ya eki balalarïn kögürčinniy da getirsin alarnï ol kohengä ešiginä
（3）ohel mo＇edniy．ועשׂה［15：30］Da kïlsïn ol kohen ol birni hatat da ol birni
（4）＇ola da kapara etsin üstünä ol kohen aldïna YWY－nïy zavlïyïndan mundarlïyïnïy．
（9） ［15：31］Da ayïrï̄ïz oylanlarïn Yisra＇elniy mundarlïḳlarïndan da ölmäsinlär mundarlịklarï bilän mundar etkänlärindä miškanïmnï ki ortalarïnda．זאת ［15：32］Budïr torasï ol zavnïy da kim ki čǐksa andan tökmägi urluknnïy mundar bolma anïy bilän．והרוח［15：33］Da ol nida yïraḳlïyïnda da ol zav zavlïyïnda erkäk［k］e ${ }^{215}$
da tišigä da kišigä ki yatsa mundar hatïn bilän．

## Chapter 16

(12...) וַיְְחֵּזי217)
（．．．12）ויְדַבֵּר（יו）［16：1］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä ölgänindän soŋra eki oүlanlarï
（13）Aharonnï̀ yuvuḳlašḳanlarïnda aldïna YWY－nïy da öldilär．ויאמר［16：2］Da ayttï

[^120]\[

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { נפפרשׁת אחרי מות「216 }
\end{aligned}
$$
\]

(14) YWY Mošegä sözlägin Aharon ḳardašīna da girmäsin här vaḩtta ol ḳodešgä (15) ičkärtin ol perdägä aldïna ol ḳapaknïg ki ol sanduḳ üstünä da ölmäsin (16) ki bulut bilän aškara bolïrmïn ol ḳapak üstünä. [16:3] Munïy bilän (17) girsin Aharon ol ḳodešgä buya kanaï bilän balasï sïyïrnïy hatatḳa da ḳočḳar (18) 'olaya. כתפת [16:4] Kisäyi kodeš gölmägi giysin da kisäyi könčäklär bolsïnlar eti üstünä da kisäyi ïnčḳir bilän baylansïn da kisäyi sarïl bilän sarïlsïn ḳodeš upraḳlarïdïr alar da yuvsïn suvlar bilän etini da giysin alarnï. ומאת [16:5] Da ḳatïndan క̌ama ‘atïnïy oylanlarïnïy Yisra’ elniy alsïn eki ulaḳlarïn ečkilärniy ḥatatḳa da bir ḳočḳar 'olaya. והקריב [16:6] Da yuvuḳlaštïrsïn Aharon ol ḥatat buyasïnï ki anïy da kapara etsin gendi učun da evi učun. ולקח [16:7] Da alsïn eki ol ulaḳlarnï da turyuzsïn alarnï aldïna YWY-nïy ešiginä ohel mo'edniy. ונתן [16:8] Da versin

## $109 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) Aharon eki ol ulaklar üstünä čeklär bir ček YWY-ya da bir ček 'Aza'zelgä. והקריב [16:9] Da yuvuḳlaštirsïn Aharon ol ulaknï ki čǐktï üstünä ol ček YWY-ya da kẹilsïn anï hatat. והשציר [16:10] Da ol ulak ki čǐktï üstünä ol ček 'Aza'zelgä turyuzulsïn diri aldïna YWY-nïy kapara etmä üstünä yibirmägä anï 'Aza'zelgä ol yabanya. והקריב [16:11] Da yuvuḳlaštirsïn Aharon ol ḥatat buyasïnï ki anïy da kapara etsin gendi učun da evi učun da soysïn ol hatat buyasïnï ki anïy. ולקח [16:12] Da alsïn dolu ol maḥtanï köz otlar üstündän ol mizbeaḥnïy aldïndan YWY-nïy da dolu avučlarïnï tütsüsin otyamlarnïy iņ̌ä da girgizsin ičkärtin ol perdägä. ונתן [16:13] Da versin ol tütsini ol ot üstünä aldïna YWY-nïy da yapsïn bulutï ol tütsüniy ol kapaḳnï ki ol šäḥadätlik üstünä da ölmäsin. ולקח [16:14] Da alsïn kanïndan ol buyanïn da sačsïn barmayï bilän aldïna ol ḳapakniïg gün doyušïna da aldïna ol ḳapaḳnïy sačsïn yedi kerätlär ol ḳandan barmayï bilän. וששחט [16:15] Da soysïn ulayïn ol hatatnïy ki ulusnïy da girgizsin ḳanï[n]ï ${ }^{218}$ ičkärtin ol pärdägä da ḳ̈lsïn ḳanï[n]i ${ }^{19}$ nečiki ḳ̈ldï ḳanïna ol buyanïy da sačsïn anï ol ḳapak üstünä da aldïna ol ḳapaknïy. [16:16] Da kapara etsin ol ḳodeš učun mundarlịklarïndan oylanlarinnïn Yisra'elniy da tanmaḳlardan ̧̌ümlä yazïklarïna da alay ḳ̈lsïn ohel mo 'edgä ol tohtayan birgälärinä ortasïnda mundarlïklarïnïy. וכל [16:17] Da hič adam bolmasïn

[^121](19) ohel mo‘eddä girdigindä kapara etmägä kodešdä čïkkanịna degin da kapara
da ohel mo'edni da ol mizbeaḥnï da yuvuḳlaštirssïn ol tiri ulaḳnï. וסמך

## $109 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

(1) [16:21] Da tayasïn Aharon eki ḳollarï̀[n]i ${ }^{220}$ bašï üstünä ol tiri ulaknnïy da iḳrar etsin (2) üstünä ̧̌ümlä yazïklarïnï da versin alarnï baši üstünä ol ulaḳnïŋ
(3) da yibirsin ḳolu bilän hadïr kišiniy ol yabanya. ונשׁא [16:22] Da kötärsin ol ulak
(4) özi üstünä 亏̌ümlä günäḥlärini veran yergä da yibirsin ol ulaḳnï yabanya. וכא etsin gendi učun da evi učun da క̌ümlä ḳahalï učun Yisra' elniŋ. ויצא [16:18] Da číksïn ol mizbeaḥka ki aldïna YWY-nïy da kapara etsin anïy učun da alsïn ḳanïndan ol buyanïy da kannindan ol ulaknnïy da versin buçkaklarï üstünä ol mizbeaḥnïy čüpčüvrä. והזה [16:19] Da sačsïn üstünä ol ḳandan barmayï bilän yedi kerätlär da temiz etsin anï da ayruhbsï etsin anï mundarlïklarïndan oylanlarïnïy Yisra' elniy. וכלה [16:20] Da bittirsin kapara etmäktän ol ḳodešni [16:23] Da gelsin Aharon ohel mo edgä da češsin ol kisäyi upraklarnï ki giydi girdigindä
ol ḳodešgä da ḳoysïn alarnï anda. ורחץ [16:24] Da yuvsïn etini suvlar bilän ayruḩsï yerdä da giysin upraḳlarïnï da čǐḳsïn da ḳïlsïn 'olasïnï da 'olasïn ol ulusnïn da kapara etsin gendi učun da ol ulus učun. ואת [16:25] Da yayïn ol ḥatatnïy tütätsin ol mizbeaḥta. והמשׂלח [16:26] Da ol yibirgän ol ulaknï ‘Aza'zelgä yuvsïn upraḳlarïnï da yuvsïn etini suvlar bilän da andan soŋra girsin ol avulya. [16:27] Da ol ḥatat buyasïnï da ol ḥatat ulayïnï ki girgizildi ḳanlarï kapara etmägä ḳodešdä čǐyarsïn avuldan čĭharï da küydürsinlär otḳa terilärini da etlärini da tezäklerini. והשׁרף [16:28] Da ol küydürgän alarnï yuvsïn upraklarïnï da yuvsïn etini suvlar bilän da andan sogra gelsin ol avulya. והיתה [16:29] Da bolsïn sizgä räsiminä dunyanïy ol yediņ̌i ayda onunda ol aynïy ḳ̈ynaŋïz ̧̌anlarïyïznï da hič iš ḳilmaŋïz ol yerli da ol yarip ol dirilgän ortayïzda. כי [16:30] Ki ušbu gündä kapara etär üstünizgä temiz etmägä sizni šümlä yazïklarïyïzdan aldïna YWY-nïy temiz boluŋïz. ששבת [16:31] Šabat šabatondïr ol sizgä da ḳ̈ynaŋïz ǰanlarïŋïznï räsimi dunyanïy. וכפּר [16:32] Da kapara etsin ol kohen ki silsä anï da ki doldursa ḳolunï

[^122] kerät yïlda da ḳïldï nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä.

## $110 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

## Chapter 17

 upraklarïnï. וכפר [16:33] Da kapara etsin miḳdašïn ol ḳodešniy da ohel mo'edni da ol mizbeaḥnï kapara etsin da ol kohenlär učun da šümlä ulusï učïn ol kahalnïg kapara etsin. והיתה [16:34] Da bolsïn bu sizgä räsiminä dunyanïy kapara etmä oylanlarï učïn Yisra' elnị šümlä yazïḳlarïndan bir[17:1] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä. [17:2] Sözlägin Aharonya da oylanlarïna da క̌ümlä oylanlarïna Yisra' elniy da aytkïn alarya budïr ol söz ki sïmarladï YWY demä. איש [17:3] Kiši kiši šama'atïndan Yisra'elnig egär soysa ögüz ya ḳoy ya ečki avulda ya ki soysa avuldan čiharï.〕a aldïna miškanïnïy YWY-nïy kan sayïlïr ol kišigä kan tökti da kesilsin ol kiši ortasïndan uluslarïnïy. למען [17:5] Anïy učun ki ketirgäylär yüzü üstünä ol tüznin da getirsinlär alarnï YWY-ya ešiginä ohel mo 'ednig ol kohengä da ḳorban etkäylär alarnï ḳorbanlarïn šelamimlärniŋ YWY-ұa. וזרק [17:6] Da sačsïn ol kohen ol ḳannï mizbeaḥ üstünä YWY-nïy ešigindä ohel etmäsinlär artïk ḳorbanlarïnï šaytanlarya (ıulak sïfatlarïna ${ }^{1224}$ ) ki alar azaydïrlar ardlarïndan ömürlik räsim bolsïn bu alarya dävürlärinä. ואלהם [17:8] Da alarya aytḳ̈n kiši kiši క̌ama 'atïndan Yisra'elniy ya ol yariptän ki dirilsä ort[a]larïnda ${ }^{225}$ egär čïyarsa oola ya ḳorban. ואל [17:9] Da ešiginä ohel mo'ednị ketirmäsä anï kïlmaya anï YWY-ya da kesilsin ol kiši uluslarïndan. [17:10] Da kiši kiši ̌̌ama' atïndan Yisra'elniy ya ol yariptän ol tirilgän
kohenlik etmägä atasinïn yerine da giysin ol kisäyi upraḳlarni ${ }^{221}$ ol ḳodeš [17:4] Da ešiginä ohel mo'edniy getirmäsä anï yuvuklaštïrma̧a korban YWYoylanlarï Yisra' elniy ḳorbanlarïnï (šeḥitalarïnï ${ }^{222}$ ) ki alar ḳorban (šeḥita ${ }^{223}$ ) etäydirlär mo'edniy da tütätsin ol yaynï koḳusïna kabullïknïy YWY-ұa. ולא [17:7] Da ḳorban

[^123] da töksä kanïnï yapsïn anï toprak bilän. כּי [17:14] Zira క̌anï ̧̌ümlä tänniy

## $110 v^{0}$

 (2) tennị ḳanïnï ašamayïz zira క̌anï här tenniy kanädïr ol šümlä ašavčilarï (3) kesilsin. וכל [17:15] Da här క̌an ki (yaŋïlïp ${ }^{228}$ ) ašasa nevelanï ya terefanï geräk yerlidän da etin yuvmasa günäḥini čekär.

## Chapter 18

(7) דבר [18:2] Sözlägin oylanlarïna
(8) Yisra' elnin da aytḳïn alarya menmin YWY Tenriyiz. כמעשׂה דעי [18:3] İši
(9) gibi Mïsïr yeriniy ki oturduyïz anda ḳïlmaŋïz da iši gibi Kena‘an yerinin
(10) ki men getiräydirmin sizni ora̧a ḳïlmayïz da kanunlarï bilän gezmäniz. את
(11) [18:4] Šara 'atlarïmnï ḳïlïyïz da räsimlärimni saḳlayïz gezmägä alar bilän menmin
(12) YWY Tenriniz. וששמרתם [18:5] Da saklayïz räsimlärimni da šara ‘atlarïmnï ki ḳïlsa
(13) alarnï ol adam da tirilir alar bilän menmin YWY. אישׁ [18:6] Kiši kiši hič
(14) yuvuyïna täninin yuvuḳlašmaŋ̄ïz aškärtmägä ‘ayïp menmin YWY. ערות
(15) [18:7] 'Ayïbïn atannï̈g ya‘ne 'ayïbïn anannïy ačmayïn anaŋdïr ol ačmayïn 'ayïbïnï.
(16) ערות.

[^124](17) [18:9] 'Ayïbïn ḳïz ḳardašïnnïy ḳïzï atannï̆ ya ḳïzï anaŋnïy geräk doyyanï evnin (atandan ${ }^{230}$ )
geräk doyyanï či̛harïnïy ( (ayrïsïndan ${ }^{231}$ ) ačmayïn 'ayïplarï[n]ī ${ }^{232}$. ערוּת [18:10] 'Ayïbïn ḳïzïnïn oylunnïn ya ḳïzïnïn ḳïzïynïn ačmayïn ‘ayïplarïnï zira 'ayïbïgdïr alar. ערות [18:11] 'Ayïbïn këzïnïy hatïnïnïy ataynïy doyurtḳanï atannïy sayïlïr ḳïz ḳardašïydïr ol ačmayïn ‘ayïbïnï. ערות [18:12] ‘Ayïbïn ḳizz ḳardašïnïy atannïy ačmayïn zira yuvuyï atanniïydïr ol. ערות [18:13] ‘Ayïbïn ḳïz ḳardašïnïy anaŋnnïy ačmayïn zira yuvuyï anaŋnïndïr ol. ערות [18:14] ‘Ayïbïn ḳardašinïy ataŋnïy ačmayïn (ya‘ni ${ }^{233}$ ) hatïnïna yuvuklašmayïn yengäčäydir ol. ערות [18:15] 'Ayïbïn keliniŋniŋ ačmayïn hatïnï oyluynïydïr ol ačmaŋïz ‘ayïbïn. ערות [18:16] 'Ayïbïn hatïnïnïy ḳardašïnnïy ačmayïn ‘ayïbï ḳardašïnnïydïr ol. ערות [18:17] 'Ayïbïn hatïnnïy da ḳïzïnïy ačmayïn ne ḳizïn oylunïy ne kïzïn ḳizïnïy almayïn ačmaya ‘ayïbïnï yuvuḳtïr

## $111 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) alar iränčiliktir ol (almaḳ) ${ }^{234}$ [18:18] Da hatïn ḳïz ḳardašï üstünä
(2) almayïn kündäš idmägä aŋar saylï̧ïnda ačmaya ayïpï[n]i ${ }^{235}$ anïy aldïna.
(3) [18:19] Da hatïnya nidalï̌ïnda mundarlï̌ïnïy yuvuklašmayïn ačmaya ‘ayïbïnï. [18:20] Da hatïnïna dostunnï̈ (karšidakiŋniŋ ${ }^{236}$ saylï̌ïnda) vermägin yatuvuŋnï urluk
(5) vermägä mundar bolmaya anïy bilän. ומזרעך [18:21] Da urluyïndan vermägin atešdän
(6) kečirmägä Moleḩkä da yänil etmägin Tenriŋniy adïnï menmin YWY.
(7) את [18:22] Da erkäk bilän yatmayïn yatuvun hatïnnïy ïkraḥlïḳtïr ol. ובכל
(8) [18:23] Da hič tuvarya vermägin yatuvunnï mundar bolmaya anïy bilän da hatïn turmasïn
(9) aldïna tuvarnïy ḳošulmaya anar ïkraḥlïktïr ol. אל [18:24] Mundar bolmaŋïz
(10) క̌ümlä bular bilän zira šümlä bular bilän mundar boldïlar ol uluslar
(11) ki men süräydirmin aldïyïzdan. ותטמא [18:25] Da mundar boldï ol yer da sayïndïm
(12) günäḥini üstünä da ḳustu ol yer oturïvčilarïnï. וששמרתם [18:26] Da saḳlayïz siz

[^125](13) räsimlärimni da šara 'atlarïmnï da ḳïlmaŋïz ̧̌ümlä ušbu ïḳraḥlỉklardan ol aldïyïža da mundar bolmayïz alar bilän menmin YWY Teyrigiz.

## Chapter 19

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { (22...) }
\end{aligned}
$$

(...22) [19:1] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä.
(23) דבר [19:2] Sözlägin క̌ümlä šama'atïna oylanlarïnnï Yisra' elniy
(24) da aytkïn alarya ayrub̧sïlar boluyïz ki ayrub̧sïdïrmen YWY Tenriŋiz. איש

## $111 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

(1) [19:3] Här kiši anasïndan da atasïndan ḳorḳuyïz da šabatlarïmnï saḳlayïz menmin YWY
(2) Tenrịiz. אל [19:4] Kayïrïlmanïz ol yoklị̉larya da tökmä abak kịlmaŋïz özünizgä
(3) menmin YWY Tenriทiz. וכל [19:5] Da egär ḳorban etsäniz šelamim ḳorbanïnï YWYуа
(4) moradïŋïz učun ḳorban etiniz anï. ביום [19:6] Kִorban etkän gününizdä ašalsïn
(5) da sabaḥïndan da ol ḳalyan ol üčün亏̌i güngä degin otḳa küydürülsin. ואם
(6) [19:7] Da egär ašalma ašalsa ol üčüņ̌i gündä bayatdïr (pasuldiri ${ }^{241}$ ) ol šelamim
(7) ḳabul bolmastïr. ואוכליו [19:8] Da (bilip ${ }^{242}$ ) ašavčïlarï günäḥini čekär zira
(8) ḳodešin YWY-nïy yänil etti da kesilir ol šan uluslarïndan. ובקצרכם
(9) [19:9] Da oryanïyïzda orayïn yeriyiznin tavusmayïn ḳïyirïn tarluvïynïy ormaya da bašayïn

[^126](10) orayïnnïy bašaklamayïn. וכּּרמך [19:10] Da borlalïyïnnï četimlämägin da danäsin borlalïyïnnïŋ
(11) čöplämägin yarlïya da үaripkä kemiškin alarnï menmin YWY Tenriniz. לא [19:11] Hïrsizzlïk
(12) etmäyiz da tanmajïz da aldamaŋïz kimsä ḳaršidakisini. ולא [19:12] Da ant etmäyiz
(13) adïm bilän yalyanya da yenil etmägin adïn Tenriŋnnị menmin YWY. לא [19:13] Zülümlämägin
(14) dostuŋnï da dutup almayïn ḳonmasïn yanïya hakạï ïryatïgnïy ertägä degin. לא
(15) [19:14] Ḳaryamayïn sayïrnï da aldïna soḳurnïy vermägin sürünmäk da ḳorḳ̣ïn Tenrindän menmin
(16) YWY. לא [19:15] Ḳïlmaŋïz kẹĭyïrlịk šara‘atta yüz etmägin yüzlärin yarlïnïy
(17) da sïylamayïn yüzlärin zenginniy doyrulỉk bilän šara at etkin dostuna. לא
(18) [19:16] Yürümäyiz ḳambaz ulusïnda turmayïn ḳanï üstünä dostunnïy menmin YWY.
(19) לא [19:17] Dušman tutmayïn kardašinnï̈ göylindä ügütlämä ügütlägin dostunnï
(20) ki čekmägäysin onïy učun šürüm. לא [19:18] Öč almayïn da kin ḳovmayïn oylanlarïna
(21) ulusïnnï̆ da sevgin arḳardašïnnï gendinni gibi menmin YWY. . [19:19] Resimlärimni
(22) saḳlaŋ̄iz tuvarïnnï košmayïn eki ̌̌ins tarlovuŋnï sačmayïn eki žins da uprak bolmadï isä. והכיא [19:21] Da ketirsin pešmanlïyïnï YWY-ұa ešiginä ohel mo'ed-

## $112 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) nị ḳočḳar ašamya. וכפר [19:22] Da kapara etsin anïy učun ol kohen ḳočḳarï (2) bilän ol ašamnïy aldïna YWY-nïy yazïyï učun ki yazïḳlï boldï da bošatïlïr (3) aŋar yazïyïndan ki yazïklï boldï. [19:23] Egär gelsäyiz ol yergä da tiksäyiz här (4) dürli yemiš ayači da aḳlaflï sayïnïz aḳlafinï ya ni yemišini üč yïllar bolsïn sizgä ‘arellär gibi ašalmasïn. ובשׁנה [19:24] Da ol dördün亏̌i yïlda bolsïn
(6) క̌ümlä yemiši ḳodeš maḩtovlar YWY-ya. ובשׁנה [19:25] Da ol bešin亏̌i yïlda

[^127](7) ašaŋïz yemišini arttirmaya sizgä ma[h]sulunii ${ }^{245}$ menmin YWY Teŋrịiz. לא [19:26] Ašamayïz
ol ḳan bilän ḳušnašlïk etmäyiz da bulutḳa baḳmaŋïz. לא [19:27] Ḳuršalamaŋïz et[raf]īn ${ }^{246}$ bašïyïznïy da čaypamanïz kenarïndaki saḳalïynïy. וששרט [19:28] Da yïrtmak ölü šara 'atlarïmnï da ḳïlījïz alarnï menmin YWY.

## Chapter 20

(ב) ואל [20:2] Da oylanlarïna Yisra' elniy aytḳïn kiši kiši oflanlarïndan Yisra'elniy da ol yariptän ol tirilgän Yisra'el da ki versä urluyïndan Molehke ölmä öldürülsin ulusï ol yerniy töpäääsinlär anï taš bilän. ואני [20:3] Da men veri[r]min ${ }^{247}$ hïšïmïmnï

## $112 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

(1) ol ( gizli vergän ${ }^{1248}$ ) kišidä da kesärmin anï ortasindan ulusïnïy ki urluyïndan verdi Moleḩke mundar etmäk učun miḳdašimnnï da yenil etmägä ayruh̆sï adïmnï.

[^128](3) görsä anïy ‘ayïbïnï iränčiliktir ol da kesilsinlär gözlärinčä oylanlarïnïy

## $113 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) uluslarïnïy 'ayïbïn ḳïz ḳardašïnïy ačtï günäḥini čeksin. [20:18] Da kiši


[^129](3)
čo̧rayïnï da kesilsinlär ekisi ortasïndan uluslarïnïy. וערות [20:19] Da ‘ayïbïn ḳïz kardašïnïn [anaŋnïŋ da ḳïz ḳardašïnïŋ] ${ }^{253}$ ataŋnïŋ ačmayïn kim ki yuvu̧ïnïŋ ayïbïnï ačtï günäḥlärin čeksinlär.
[20:20] Da kiši ki yatsa yeøgäčäsini afačasïnïŋ 'ayïbïnï ačtï yazïḳlarïn čeksinlär maḥrïmlar ölsinlär. ואישׁ [20:21] Da kiši ki alsa ḳardašïnïn hatïnïnï nida gibidir ol ḳardašïnïy ‘ayïbïnï ačtï maḥrïmlar bolsïnlar. וששמרתם [20:22] Da saḳlaŋïz ̧̌ümlä räsimlärimni da ̧̌ümlä šara‘ atlarïmnï da ḳïlïŋïz alarnï da ḳusmasïn sizni ol yer ki men getiräydirmin sizni or[a]үa ${ }^{254}$ oturmaya anda. ולא [20:23]

Da yürümäyiz räsimläri bilän ol ulusnïy ki men süräydirmin aldïnïzdan zira క̌ümlä bularnï ḳïldïlar da bezdim alardan. ואמר [20:24] Da ayttïm sizgä siz meräsläyiz yerlärini da men veräyim anï sizgä meräslämägä anï yer ayayturyan süt da bal
menmin YWY Teøriŋiz ki ayïrdïm sizni ol uluslardan. והבדלתם [20:25] Da ayïrïyïz arasïna ol helal tuvarnïy mundar tuvarya da arasïna ol mundar ḳušnïŋ helalya da iränči etmäŋiz క̌anlarïyïznï tuvar bilän da kuš bilän ya šümlä bilän ki ḳï[y]mïldar ${ }^{255}$ ol yer üstünä ki ayïrdïm sizgä mundar etmägä. והייתם [20:26] Da boluyïz maya ayruḩsïlar ki ayruḩsïdïrmïn YWY da ayïrdïm sizni ol uluslardan bolma̧a meŋjim. ואישׁ [20:27] Da kiši ya hatïn ki bolsa alarda kamčī ya bildiži ölmä öldürülsinlär taš bilän tašlasïnlar alarnï ḳanlarï bašlarïna.

## Chapter 21

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { נפּרשׁת קדוששים「256 }  \tag{21}\\
& \text { (בא) נִַיאמֶר יוָי אֶל משֶׁה אֶמוֹר אֶל הַכֹּחְנִים בְּנֵי אהִרן וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵֶם }  \tag{22}\\
& \text { ְְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא יִטַמָא כְּעַמָיוז1027 } \tag{23}
\end{align*}
$$

[21:1] Da ayttï YWY Mošegä aytḳïn
ol kohenlärgä oylanlarïna Aharonnïy da aytḳïn alarya ölügä mundar bolmasïn

## $113 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

[^130](1) uluslarïnda. כי [21:2] Ki ančak yaḳïnïna ol yuvuḳ anar anasïna ya da atasïna anda sïnïk ayak ya čolak ḳol. או [21:20] Ya ḳambur ya iņ̌ä (bodïr) ya ak

## $114 \mathrm{r}^{0}$

(1) tüškän gözinä ya ḳoturlï ya egri buvumlï ya ${ }_{\text {L }}$ tešen taša[k]lii ${ }^{1259}$. $\mathfrak{y}$ Э [21:21] Šümlä

[^131]（2）kiši ki anda ḥillä urluyïndan Aharon ol kohenniy yuvuḳlašmasïn yuvuklašîrmaya
 otlu ḳorbanlarïn YWY－nïy ḥillä isä anda ḳorbanïn Tenrisiniy yuvuklašmasïn yuvuklaštïrmaya．לחם［21：22］Ḳorbanïn Teŋrisiniy ḳodešlärindän ol ḳodeslärniŋ lakin ol ḳodešlärdän ašasïn．אך［21：23］Tek ol pärdägä gelmäsin da ol mizbeaḥ－ ḳa yuvuḳlašmasïn zira ${ }_{\text {Lhillä v }}$［a］r anda ${ }^{1260}$ da yenjil etmäsin miḳdašlarïmnï ki menmin YWY ayruhsiï etivči alarnï．וידבר［21：24］Da sözlädi Moše Aharonya da oylanlarïna da 弓̌ümlä oflanlarïna Yisra＇elnig．

## Chapter 22

［22：2］Sözlägin Aharonya da oylanlarïna da ayïrïlsïnlar ḳodešlärindän oylanlarïnïy Yisra＇elniŋ da yenil etmäsinlär ayruḩsï adïmnï ki alar ḳodeš etäydirlär maŋa menmin YWY．אמר ［22：3］Aytḳïn alarya dävürlärinizgä šümlä kiši ki yuvuḳlašsa ̧̌ümlä urluyunïzdan ol ḳodešlärgä ki ḳodeš etärlär oylanlarï Yisra＇elnị YWY－ya da mundarlïyï bolsa üstünä da kesilir ol 弓̌an aldïmdan menmin YWY．אישׁ［22：4］Kiši kiši urluÿ̈ndan Aharonnïg da ol ̧̌üzam derdli ya zav ḳodešlärdän ašamasïn deginčä ki temiz bolïr da ol tiygän šümlä mundar క̌anlïya ya kišigä ki čǐksa andan tökmägi urluknï̈g．אל［22：5］Ya kišigä ki tiysä ̧̌ümlä ḳozlayanya ki mundar bolïr anïg bilän ya adamya ki mundar bolïr anïy bilän క̌ümlä mundarlï̌ïna．נפשׁ［22：6］Šan ki tiysä aŋar da mundar bolsïn ol ab̧šam－ ya degin da ašamasïn ol ḳodešlärdän ki ančak yuvsa etini suvlar bilän． ［22：7［ Da batsa ol ḳuyaš da temiz olïr da andan soyra ašasïn ol ḳodešlärdän zira ašidïr ol．נבלה［22：8］Nevelanï ne terefa ašamasïn mundar bolmaya anïy bilän menmin YWY．וששמרו［22：9］Da saḳlasïnlar saḳlovumnï da čekmäsinlär anïy učun günäh ̧̌ürümüni da ölärlär anïy bilän egär yenil etsälär anï menmin YWY ayruhsï etivči alarnï．וכל［22：10］Da hič yabaņ̌i ašamasïn ḳodešni müsäfiri kohennin ne ïryatï ašamasïn ḳodešni．וכהן［22：11］Da kohen egär satïn alsa 亏̌an satïn

## $114 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

（1）alyanïn aḩčasïnïy ol ašasïn andan da doyyanï evinig alar ašasïnlar ašindan．
（2）ובת［22：12］Da ḳïzï kohennị ki bolsa yat kišigä ol ayïrmayïndan ol kodeš－

[^132]（3）lärniy ašamasïn．ובת［22：13］Da ḳïzï kohenniy ki bolsa tul ya sürülgän da urluk
sekizin亏̌i gündän da ötegä ḳabul bolïr ḳorbanya otlu ḳorban YWY－ya．וששור

## $115 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

（1）［22：28］Da ögüz ya ḳoy anï da balasïnï soymaŋïz bir gündä．［22：29］Da egär ḳorban bolmasa aŋar da ḳaytsa evinä atasïnïy yašlịklarï gibi ötmägindän atasïnïy ašasïn da hič yabaņ̌i ašamasïn andan．ואישׁ［22：14］Da kiši ki ašasa ḳodešni yaŋlǐ̌slị̆ bilän da arttirrsïn bešiņ̌isin üstünä da versin kohengä ol ḳodešni．
［22：15］Da yeyil etmäsinlär ḳodešlärin oylanlarïnïy Yisra＇elniy neni ki ayïrsalar YWY－үа．והשיאו［22：16］Da čektärtsinlär alařa pešmanlïk ̌ ̧uürümüni ašayanlarïnda ḳodešlärindän ki menmin YWY ayruḩsï etivči alarnï．
［22：18］Sözlägin Aharonya da oylanlarïna
da ̧̌ümlä oylanlarïna Yisra＇elnin da aytḳïn alarya kiši kiši ̧̌ama‘atïndan Yisra＇elniy da ol yariptän Yisra＇eldä ki yuvuklaštïrsa ḳorbanïnï［̧̌］ümlä ${ }^{261}$ inyätlärini da ̧̌ümlä
亏̌omartlïklarïnï ki yuvuḳlaštirssalar YWY－уа ‘olaya．לרצונכם［22：19］Kiläginiz
bilän saylam erkäkni sïyïrdan ḳoylardan ya da ečkilärdän．כל כל［22：20］Šümlä ki anda ḥille yuvuḳlaštïrmaŋïz zira ḳabulliḳḳa bolmaz sizgä．ואיש ［22：21］Da kiši ki yuvuklaštirsa šelamim ḳorbanïnï YWY－үa ayïrmaya inyät ya亏̌omartlïḳa sïyïrdan ya ḳoydan saylam bolsïn kabullïkka hič ḥille bolmasïn anda．עורת［22：22］Soḳurnï ne ḳïrïknï ne saḳatnï ne sïnïrlïnï ne oyuzlunï ne egri buvumlïnï yuvuḳlaštïrmaŋïz bularnï YWY－ya da otlu ḳorban vermäyiz alardan ol mizbeaḥ üstünä YWY－ya．וששור［22：23］Da ögüz ya ḳoy artïklị ya eksikli 乞̌omartliḳ kïlyïn anï da inyätkä ḳabul bolmastïr．ומעוך
［22：24］Da ezilgänni ne yančïlyannï nä üzülgänni ne bičilgänni yuvuḳlaštïrmaŋïz YWY－уа
da yeriŋizdä ḳïlmayïz．ומיד［22：25］Da ḳolundan yat ulusnïy yuvuklaštirrmajïz ḳorbanïn Tenriŋizniy šümlä bulardan zira ki čaypalmaklarï alarda ḥille alarda ḳabul bolmaslardïr sizgä．וידבר［22：26］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä．［22：27］Ögüz ya ḳoy ya ečki ki doysa da bolsïn yedi günlär anasïnïn yanïnda da ol etsäniz šükürlik ḳorbanïnï YWY－ya muradïïz učun ḳorban etiniz．ביום［22：30］Ol

[^133](3) gündä ašalsïn ḳaldïrmayïz andan ertägä degin menmin YWY. וששמרתם
(4) [22:31] Da saklayïz mičvalarïmnï da kïlïyïz alarnï menmin YWY. ולא [22:32] Da yenjil etmäniz bolma sizgä Teyrigä menmin YWY.

## Chapter 23

(23:2] Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra' elniy da aytḳïn alarya va däläri YWY-nïy ki čaḳiryaysïz alarnï čakïrmaḳlarï ḳodešnị bulardïrlar alar va‘dälärim. ששׁת [23:3] Altï günlär ḳilïnsïn iš da ol yediņ̌i gündä šabat šabaton čaḳ̈rmak kodeš hič iš ḳïlmaŋïz šabatdïr ol YWY-ya šümlä oturašlarïŋïzda. אלה [23:4] Bulardïrlar va‘däläri YWY-nïy čakïrmaḳlarï ḳodešnin ki čaḳïryaysïz alarnï va‘dälärindä. בחדש [23:5] Ol burunyï ayda on dördün亏̌i günündä ol aynïy ol eki ab̧šam arasïna pesaḥ YWY-ұa. ובחמשה [23:6] Da on bešin亏̌i günündä ušbu aynïy ḥagï ol mačalarnïŋ YWY-४a yedi günlär mačalar ašajïz. ביום [23:7] Ol burunyï gündä čaḳirmak

ḳodeš bolsïn sizgä hič ḳulluk išini ḳïlmayïz. והקרבתם [23:8] Da yuvuklaštirïyïz otlu ḳorban YWY-ya yedi günlär ol yediņ̌i gündä čaḳirrmak ḳodeš hič ḳulluḳ išini ḳïlmajïz. וידבר [23:9] Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä. דבר [23:10] Sözlägin
(20) oylanlarïna Yisra'elniy da aytḳin alarya ki gelsäyiz ol yerge ki men veräydirmin yayī šarap dördüņ̌i payï ol siyiknị. ולחם [23:14] Da ekmäk ne ḳavurulan arïš ne arpa

## $115 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

(1) bašï ašamayïz gendisinä degin ušbu günniy getirgäniyizgä degin ḳorbanïn
(2) Tenriŋizniŋ räsimi dunyanïy dävürlärịizgä ̌̌ümlä oturašlarïŋïzda. וספרתם
(3) [23:15] Da sanayïz özünizgä sabaḥïndan ol šabatnïy getirgän gününizdän ol sallamak
(4) kültäsini yedi šabatlar tamamlar bolsïnlar. עד [23:16] Sabaḥinna degin ol yedin亏̌ ol క̌an egär ḳïynalmasa gendisindä ušbu günniy kesilir uluslarïndan. וכל

## $116 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) [23:30] Da ̧̌ümlä ol క̌an ki ḳillsa hič iš gendisindä ušbu günnị da ḳayïp etärmin

[^134]（3）dävürläriŋizgä 亏̌ümlä oturašlarïyïzda．שבת［23：32］Šabat šabatondïr ol sizgä oylanlarïna da alsïnlar saŋja temiz zeytün yayï iskänక̌ädän čïḳma

## $116 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

（1）$y[a] r i ̉ k k a^{265}$ yandïrma čïraḳ dayïm．מחוּץ［24：3］Čïhartïn pärdäsinä ol šäḥadätlikniy da ḳïynaŋïz 亏̌anlarïyïznï tokuzïnda ol aynïy aḩšamda aḩšamdan aḩšamya degin šabat idinjiz šabatïïzznï．וירבר［23：33］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä． ［23：34］Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra＇elniy demä on bešiņ̌i günindä ušbu yediņ̌i aynïy hagaï ol sukalarnïy yedi günlär YWY－үa．ביום［23：35］Ol burun亏̌i gündä čaḳïrmak ḳodeš hič ḳulluk išini ḳïlmayïz．שבעת［23：36］Yedi günlär yuvuklaštirï̄ŋïz otlu ḳorban YWY－үa ol sekizin亏̌i gündä čaḳïrmak ḳodeš bolsïn sizgä da yuvuḳlaštirrïŋïz otlu ḳorban YWY－ya tiyilmäktir ol hič ḳulluk išini ḳïlmayïz．אלה［23：37］Bulardïrlar vadäläri YWY－nïy ki čaḳïryaysïz alarnï čaḳïrmaklarï ḳodešnig yuvuḳlaštirrmaya otlu ḳorban YWY－ya＇ola da minḥa šelamim da ḳuymaklar kemin günniy günündä．מלבד［23：38］Šabatlarïndan bašḳa YWY－nïy baḩšišlarïŋïzdan baška ki versägiz YWY－үа．אָ［23：39］Tek on bešin亏̌i günündä ol yedin亏̌i aynïg toplayanïÿzzda ol yerniy maḩsulunï hag etiniz hagaïn YWY－nïy yedi günlär ol burun亏̌i gündä šabaton da ol sekizin亏̌i gündä šabaton．ולקחתם ［23：40］Da alïyïz özünizgä ol buruņ̌ï gündän burun（sukalịk ${ }^{264}$ ）yemišin sïylï aүačnïy hurmalar yapraḳlarïnï da butayïn ḳalïn yapraklï teräkniy da tallarïn özänniy da sevininiz
aldïna YWY－nïy yedi günlär．וחגתם［23：41］Da ḥag etiniz anï ḥag YWY－ya yedi günlär yïlda räsimi dunyanïy dävürlärịizgä ol yedinši ayda ḥag etiyiz anï．
［23：42］Sukalarda oturuŋïz yedi günlär ふ̌ümlä ol yerli Yisra＇eldä otursunlar sukalarda．למען［23：43］Anïy učun bilgäylär dävürläriniz ki čalašlarda oturyuzdïm Yisra＇el oylanlarïnï čǐyaryanïmda alarnï Mïsïr yerindän menmin YWY Teyriyiz．וידבר［23：44］Da sözlädi Moše vadälärin YWY－nïy Yisra＇el oylanlarïna．

## Chapter 24

（24：1］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä．צוידבר［24：2］Sïmarlayïn Yisra＇el ohel mo＇eddä yaraštirssïn anï Aharon aḩšamdan ertägä degin aldïna YWY－nïy

[^135]（3）
dostïna nečiki ḳildï alay kïlïnsïn aŋar．שבבר［24：20］Sïnïḳ ornïna sïnïk

## $117 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

dayïm räsimi dunyanïy dävürläriyizgä．על［24：4］Ol temiz altïn šamïdan üstünä yaraštïrsïn ol čǐraḳlarnï aldïna YWY－nïy dayïm．ולקחת［24：5］Da alyïn özek da piširgin anï on eki ḳalïn ekmäklär eki ülüši onnïy bolsïn ol bir ḳalïn ekmäk．ושממת［24：6］Da ḳoyyïn alarnï eki yäräštirmäklär altï ol yäräštirmäkni ol temiz terapiz üstünä aldïna YWY－nïy．ונתת［24：7］Da vergin ol yaraštïrmak üstünä temiz tïmyan da bolsïn ḳorbanya tütsügä otlu ḳorban YWY－ya．ביום ［24：8］Ol šabat gündä ol šabat gündä yaraštirrsïn anï aldïna YWY－nïy dayïm katïndan oylanlarïnïy Yisra’ elniy šartï dunyanïy．והיתה［24：9］Da bolsïn Aharonya da oylanlarïna da ašasïnlar anï ayrubsï̀ yerdä ki ḳodeši ḳodeslärnịdir ol ayar otlu ḳorbanlarïndan YWY－nïg resimi dunyanïy．ויצא［24：10］Da čïḳtï oflï Yisra＇el hatïnnïy da ol oylï Mïsïrlï kišinin Yisra＇el oflanlarïnïy arasïndan da talaštillar avulda oylu ol Yisra＇el hatïnnïy da ol Yisra＇el kiši．
 anï Mošegä da atï anasïnïy Šelomit ḳïzï Dibrinin ševetindän Dannïy．ויניחוהו ［24：12］Da ḳoydïlar anï saḳlovda beyin olmaya alarya buyruyï bilän YWY－nïy．וידבר ［24：13］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä demä．הוצא［24：14］Čïyaryïn ol ḳarүavčïnï avuldan čïharï da tayasïnlar ふ̌ümlä ol ešitkänlär ḳollarïnï baši üstünä da töpäläsinlär anï亏̌ümlä ol క̌ama＇at．ואל［24：15］Da oylanlarïna Yisra＇elniy sözlägin demä kiši kiši ki ḳaryasa Teŋrisini da čeksin günäḥini．ונקב［24：16］Da ḳaryavčĭi adïn YWY－nïy ölmä öldürülsin taš atma taš atsïnlar üstünä šümlä ol ̧̌ama＇at nečiki yarip alay yerli ḳaryayanïnda šemni öldürülsin．ואיש［24：17］Da kiši ki ursa క̌ümlä ̧̌anïn adamnïy ölmä öldürülsin．ומכה［24：18］Da uruvči 亏̌anïn tuvarnïy ödesin anï šan ornïna šan．ואיש［24：19］Da kiši ki versä ḥillä
göz ornïna göz diš ornïna diš nečiki versä ḥillä adamya alay verilsin aŋar．ומכה［24：21］Da uruvčí tuvarnï ödäsin anï da uruvčǐ adamnï öldürülsin． ［24：22］Bir šara at bolsïn sizgä nečiki yarip alay yerli bolsïn ki menmin YWY Tejriniz．וידבר［24：23］Da sözlädi Moše oylanlarïna Yisra＇elnin da čǐyardïlar ol karyavčinï avuldan čīharï da töpelädilär anï taš bilän da oylanlarï Yisra＇elnin ḳïldïlar nečiki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä．

## Chapter 25

$$
\begin{align*}
& \text { נפרשׁתּ בהר「266 }  \tag{7}\\
& \text { (8...) (בה) בוּיְבַּר יוָי אֶל משֶׁה בְּהַר סִינַי לִאמרז267 } \tag{8...}
\end{align*}
$$

（．．．8）［25：1］Da sözlädi YWY Mošegä
（9）tayïnda Sinaynïy demä．［25：2］Sözlägin oylanlarïna Yisra＇el－
（10）niŋ da aytḳïn alarya ki gelsäniz ol yergä ki men ver［ä］ydirmin ${ }^{268}$ sizgä da šemita
（11）bolsïn ol yer šemita YWY－ya．שׁׁ［25：3］Altï yïllar sačḳïn tarluvunnï da altï
（12）yïllar butayïn borlalïyïnnï da toplayïn maḩsulïnï．ובשׂנה［25：4］Da ol yedin亏̌i yïlda
（13）šabat šabaton bolsïn yergä šemita YWY－үa tarlovuŋnï sačmayïn da borlalï̌ïnnï
（14）butamayïn．את［25：5］Orayïnnïy kiyigini ormayïn da danelärin borlalarïnnïy
（15）čöplämägin šemita yïli bolsïn yergä．והיתה［25：6］Da bolsïn šemitasï ol
（16）yerniy sizgä ašamaya saya da ḳuluya da ḳaravašïya da ̈̈ryatya da müsäfirgä
 da čaḳïrïyïz ma‘aflïk yerde šümlä oturïvčilarïna yoveldir ol bolsïn sizgä

## $117 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

（1）da ḳaytïyïz här kiši tutuvlïyïna da här kiši mišpaḥasïna ḳaytïjïz．יובל［25：11］Yovel－
（2）dir ol yïlỉ ol elliņ̌i yïlnïy bolsïn sizgä sačmajïz da ormayïz kiyiklerini
（3）da čöplämäniz danälärini（ambarlařa ${ }^{270}$ ）．כי［25：12］Ki yoveldir ol ḳodeš bolsïn
（4）sizgä ol tarlovdan alïp ašaŋïz kiyik maḩsulïnï．בשׁנת［25：13］Yïlïnda
（6）dostuya ya satïn alma satïn alsay ḳolundan dostunnïn ḳïynamaŋïz kiši
（7）ḳardašïnï．במספר［25：15］Sanï bilän yïllarnïy ol yoveldän sonra satïn alyïn

[^136]（12）Tenriniz．ועשיתם［25：18］Da ḳ̂̈lïnïz räsimlärimni da šara＇atlarïmnï saḳlayïz da ḳ̂̈lïïz
（ıyovelgä degin ${ }^{271}$ ）katïndan dostunnïy sanï bilän maḩsul yïllarïnïy satsïn saya． 25：16］Čoklïyïna görä ol yïllarnïy čok etkin satuvunï da azlïyïna görä ol yïllarnïy az etkin satuvunï zira satïn mahsullarnïn ol satïyïr saya．
［25：17］Da ḳïynamayïz kiši ḳaršïdakini ${ }^{272}$ da ḳorḳḳïn Teŋriŋgden zira menmin YWY alarnï da oturïrsïz ol yer üstünä eminlik bilän．ונתנה［25：19］Da verir ol yer maḩsulunï da ašarsïz toyyunča da oturursïz eminlik bilän üstünä．וכי ［25：20］Da egär aytsayïz ne ašalïm ol yediņ̌i yïlda muna sačmasak da toplamasak tahïlïmïznï．יצויתי［25：21］Da sïmarlarmïn alyǐ̌ïmnï sizgä ol altïņ̌ï yïlda da ḳïlar ol tahïlnï̈（mamur ${ }^{273}$ ）üč ol yïllarya．וזרעתם［25：22］Da sačarsïn ol sekizin亏̌i yïlda da ašarsïz ol tah̆ïldan eskini ol doḳuziņ̌i yïlya degin yeriškiņ̌ä gelě̌äk maḩsulï ašarsïz eskini．והארץ［25：23］Da ol yer satïlmasïn bašbatra （ömürlik ${ }^{274}$ ）zira menimdir ol yer an亏̌a yariplär gibi da oturašlar gibi（oturïrsïz ${ }^{275}$ ） sizlär birgämä．ובכל［25：24］Da šümlä yerindä tutuvluyïŋïznïy hïlaslïk veriniz ol yergä．כי da gelsä hïlas etivčisi ol yuvuk aŋar da hïllas idsin satkanïy kardašïnïy．ואיש ［25：26］Da kiši ki bolmasa aŋar hïlas etivči da yetsä kuvatï da yerišsä hïlaslïÿ̈ņ̌a． ［25：27］Da ḥesab etsin yïllarïn satuvunïg da ḳaytarsïn ol artḳannï ol kišigä ki

## $118 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

sattï ayar da ḳaytsïn tutuvluyïna．ואם［25：28］Da egär yetmäsä ḳuvatï ḳaytarmaya aŋar da bolsïn satuvu ḳolunda ol satïn alïvčïnïy anï ol yovel yïli［n］a ${ }^{276}$ degin da číksïn yoveldä da ḳaytsïn tutuvluyïna．ואיש［25：29］Da kiši ki satsa oturaš ev kalalï šäḥärdä da bolsïn va däsi ḩïlaslïyïnïy tamam bolyanïna degin yïlï satuvunïŋ bir yïl bolsïn va däsi hïlaslïyïnïn ואם［25：30］Da egär hïlas olunmasa dolyïn亏̌a ajar tamam yïl da muḳam bolsïn ol ev ki ol šäḥärdä ki var ayar ḳala bašbatra （ömürlik）satïn alïvčïya anï dävürlärinä hïlas čïḳmasïn yoveldä．ובתי［25：31］Da evläri ol salalarnïŋ ki yoḳtïr alarya ḳala čüpčüvrä tüzü bilän ol yerniy sayïlir

[^137](9) hïllaslïk bolsïn ayar da yoveldä hïllas čǐksï̈n. וערי [25:32] Da šäḥärläri ol Levi-
(10) lilärniy evläri šäḥärläriniy tutuvlïklarïnïy ömürlik [h]ilaslï̌ī ${ }^{277}$ bolsïn Levi-
(11) lilärgä. ואשׁר [25:33] Da egär hુïlas idsä birsi ol Levilärdän da hiïlas číksīn
(12) satuvu evniy da šäḥäri tutuvluÿ̈nïy yoveldä zira evläri šäḥärläriniy ol Levi-
(13) lärniy oldïr tutuvlïklarï ortasïnda oylanlarïnïy Yisra'elniy. וששד
(14) [25:34] Da tarlovu salasïnïy šăhärlärinin satïlmasïn ki tutuvluyï dunyanïndïr ol alarya. (20) Tenrigä. וכי [25:39] Da egär zügürtläsä dindaš ḳardašïy ki birgäyä da satīlsa sana kullanmayïn
(21) anï ḳulluyïn kuulnïy. כשׂכיר [25:40] Ïryat gibi müsäfir gibi bolsïn birgäyä yïlïna (22) degin ol yovelnị kulluḳ etsin birgäyä. ויצא [25:41] Da čïksïn yanïndan ol da oylanlarï [25:43] Erklänmägin aŋar zor bilän da ḳorkkk[ī]n ${ }^{279}$ Tegrinizdän. [25:44] Da kuluy da ḳaravašïy $118 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$ (1) ki bolsalar saya yanïndan ol uluslarnïy ki čüpčüvräläriŋizgä alardan satïn (2) alïÿ̈z ḳul da ḳaravaš. וגם [25:45] Da dayïn oylanlarïndan ol oturašlarnïy ol tirilgänlär (3) birgänizgä alardan satïn alïyïz da mišpaḥalarïndan ki birgäyizgä ki doyursalar ḳullarïmdïr alar ki čïyardïm alarnï Mïsïr yerindän satïlmasïnlar satïlmayïn ḳulnïy. וכי [25:35] Da egär zügürtläsä dindaš kardašịy da taysa ḳolu birgäyä da ḳuvat[1]andïryïn ${ }^{278}$ anï gerek yaripni gerek müsäfirni da gečinsin birgägä. אל [25:36] Almayïn yanïndan fa'iz ne
mamele fa'izni da ḳorkḳïn Teŋriŋizdän da gečinsin ḳardašī birgäyä. את [25:37] Ahčaynï vermägin ayar fa'izgä da faydaya vermägin ašịnï. אני [25:38] Menmin YWY Tenriṇiz ki čǐyardïm sizni Mïsïr yerindän vermä sizgä Kena'an yerini bolma sizgä birgäsinä da ḳaytsïn mišpaḥasïna da tutuvluyïna atalarïnïy ḳaytsïn. כי [25:42] Zira yerịizdä da bolsïnlar sizgä tutuvlïkka. והתנחלתם [25:46] Da üliš alïp üläširsiz alarnï oylanlarïyïža artïjïzdan meräslämägä tutuvlïk dunyaya degin alarnï ḳullanïyïz

[^138](6) da ḳardašlarïyïža oylanlarï Yisra'elnin kiši ḳardašïna erklänmägin aŋar zor bilän. ki čïfardïm alarnï Mïsïr yerindän menmin YWY Tägriyiz.

## Chapter 26

(בו) לאוּ Ķilmaŋïz özünizgä abaḳlar da pesel da mačeva turyuzmaŋïz özünizgä da bušamak
taš vermäniz yerịizdä baš urmaya üstünä ki menmin YWY Tägrịiz.
[26:2] Šabatlarïmnï saḳlayïz da miḳdašimdan ḳorḳuŋïz menmin YWY.

$$
\begin{align*}
& 119 \mathbf{r}^{0}  \tag{23}\\
& \text { (1...) }
\end{align*}
$$

(...1) [26:3] Egär räsimlärim
(2) bilän yürüsäyiz da mičvalarïmnï saḳlasayïz da ḳ̂ilsaŋïz alarnï. ונתתי [26:4] Da veri[r]min ${ }^{281}$
(3) yamyurlarïŋïznï vah̆tlarïnda da verir ol yer maḩsulïnï da ayačï ol tüzniŋ verir yemišini.

[^139](4)
[26:5] Da yetär sizgä ïndïr basmak _bay bozumu[n]a ${ }^{7282}$ kadar da bay bozumu yetär urluk
säčmäk[k]ä ${ }^{283}$ kadar da ašarsïz ašïyïznï toyyunča da oturursïz eminlik bilän yeriŋizdä. [26:6] Da veri[r]min ${ }^{284}$ esänlik ol yerdä da yatarsïz da bolmaz ḳaltratïvčï da kesärmin
yaman kiyikni ol yerdän da ḳillič gečmäz yeriŋizdä. ורדפתם [26:7] Da ḳuvarsïz dušmanlarïyïznï
da tüšärlär aldïyïža ḳillič bilän. ורדפּו [26:8] Da ḳuvarlar sizdän beš kiši yüzni da yüz kiši sizdän tümänni ḳuvarlar da tüšärlär dušmanlarïyïz aldïŋïzya ḳïlïc bilän. ופניתי [26:9] Da ḳayrïlïrmïn sizgä da yayïldïrï[r]mïn ${ }^{285}$ sizni da köbäytirmin sizni da tuřuzurmïn šartïmnï birgäyizgä. ואכלתם [26:10] Da ašarsïz eskini eskirgänni da eskini aldïndan yaŋïnïŋ čïyarïp tökärsiz. ונתּתי [26:11] Da veri[r]min ${ }^{286}$ miškanïmnï ortaŋïzda da hor idmäz moradïm sizni. והתהלכתי [26:12] Da yürürmin ortaŋïzda da bolurmïn sizgä Teŋrigä da siz bolursïz maŋa ulusḳa. אני [26:13] Menmin YWY Teŋriŋiz ki čïyardïm sizni Mïsïr yerindän bolmaḳtan alarya ḳullar da sïndïrdïm čomačalarïn boyunsayïznïŋ da yürüttim sizni tik boy bilän. ואם [26:14] Da egär ešitmäsäyiz maŋa da ḳïlmasaŋïz šümlä ušbu mičvalarnï. ואם [26:15] Da egär räsimlärimni hor etsäyiz da egär šara ‘atlarïmnï hor idsä క̌anïŋïz ḳïlmamaḳa ̧̌ümlä mičvalarïmnï buzmaүa siz šartïmnï. אף [26:16] Dayïn men ḳïlarmïn munï sizgä da tayin etärmin üstüŋizgä ḳaltramak ol suvuk hast[a]lïḳnï ${ }^{287}$ da ol ḳïzdïrma hast[a]lïknnï ${ }^{288}$ tavusïvčïlar gözlärni da sïzlatïvčílar ̧̌annï da sačarsïz bošḳa urluyïyïznï da ašarlar anï dušmanlarïyïz. [26:17] Da veri[r]min ${ }^{289}$ hiišïmïmnï sizdä da ḳïrïlïrsïz aldïna dušmanlarïŋïznïŋ

[^140]da erklänirlär sizgä dušmanlarïyïz da ḳačarsïz da bolmaz ḳuvuvčĭi sizni. ואם
[26:18] Da egär bularya degin ešitmäsäyiz maya da arttïrï[r]mïn ${ }^{290}$ ügütlämä sizni yedi kazev
yazïklarïnïz učun. וששברתי [26:19] Da sïndïrï[r]mïn ${ }^{291}$ öktämligin kuvatïyïznïy da veri[r]min ${ }^{292}$

## $119 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

göklärịizni demir gibi da yerịizni baḳïr gibi. ותם [26:20] Da bitär bošḳa ḳuvatïyïz da vermäz yeriŋiz maḩsulïnï da ayačíi ol yernig vermäz yemišini. ואם [26:21] Da egär yürüsägiz
birgämä učur bilän da kilämäsäyiz ešitmä maya da arttirii[r]mïn ${ }^{293}$ üstüŋizgä urmak yedi ḳazev yazïḳlarïyïz učun. והשלחתּי [26:22] Da [yibi]ri[r]min ${ }^{294}$ sizgä ol tüzniy kiyigini
da tuv etär sizni da kesär tuvarïyïznï da az etär sizni da veran bolïrlar yollarïyïz. [26:23] Da egär bular bilän ügütlänmäsäyiz maya da yürüsäniz birgämä učur bilän. [26:24] Da yürürmin dayïn men birgänizgä učur bilän da urarmïn sizni dayïn men
yedi ḳazev yazïḳlarïŋïz učun. והבאתי [26:25] Da getiri[r]min ${ }^{295}$ üstüŋizgä ḳillič öč alïvči öčün šartnïy da topla[n]ïrsïz ${ }^{296}$ šaharlarïyïzya da yibiri[r]min ${ }^{297}$ ölät ortaŋïzda da verili[r]siz ${ }^{298}$

ḳolu[n]a ${ }^{299}$ dušmannïy. בשׁברי [26:26] Sïdïrryanïmda sizgä ötmäk ḳuvatïnï da piširirlär on hatïnlar ekmägiŋizni bir tandurda da ḳaytarïrlar ašïīiznï čeki bilän da ašarsïz

[^141](12) da toymazsïz. [26:27] Da egär munïy bilän ešitmäsäyiz maya da yürüsäyiz birgämä učur
(13) bilän. והלכתי [26:28] Da yürürmin birgägizgä učur ḳaḥeri bilän da ügütlärmin sizni
(14) dayïn men yedi ḳazev yazïklarïyïz učun. ואכלֹתם [26:29] Da ašarsïz oylanlarïnïznïy etini da ḳïzlarïyïznïy etini ašarsïz. והשׁמדתי [26:30] Da ḳayïp idärmin bama-larïnïznï da kesärmin ḳuyaš sïfatlarïyïznï da veri[r]min ${ }^{300}$ gövdälärịizni gövdäleri üstünä iränčiliklärịizniy da hor idär kilägim sizni. ונתתי [26:31] Da veri[r]min ${ }^{301}$ šaharlarïyïznï veran da veran etärmin miḳdašlarïŋïznï da ḳabul etmämdir ḳorbanlarïyïznïy ḳoḳusïnï. והשממתי [26:32] Da veran etärmin men ol yerni da maymunlanïrlar üstünä dušmanlarïyïz ol oturyanlar
anda. ואתּכם [26:33] Da sizni sačarmïn uluslarda da suvurï[r]mïn ${ }^{302}$ ardïÿïzdan ḳïlič da bolïr yerịiz veran da šaḥarlarïyïz bolurlar ḥarab. אז [26:34] Ol vah̆tta tamam etär ol yer šemitalarïnï ̧̌ümlä günlärindä veranlïyïnïy siz yerindä olïp dušmanlarïŋïznïy ol vaḥtta tïnč bolïr ol yer da tamam etär šemitalarïnï. כל [26:35] Šümlä günlärindä veranlï̌̈ïnïy tïnč bolïr neni ki tïnč bolmadï šemitalarïŋïzda oturyanïyïzda üstünä. והנששארים [26:36] Da ol ḳalyanlar sizdä da getiri[r]min ${ }^{303}$ yïmšaklīk göyüllärindä

## $120 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

(1) yerlärindä dušmanlarïnïy da ḳuvar alarnï avazï šuvuldayan yapraknï̈ da ḳačarlar kïličtan
(2) ḳačmasï gibi da tüšärlär da bolmaz ḳuvuvčï. וכשׂלו [26:37] Da sürünürlär här kiši ḳardaší
(3) bilän tutki aldïndan ḳiličnïy da ḳuvuvčï yoktïr da bolmaz sizgä turmak aldïna

[^142](4) dušmanlarïŋïznïy. ואבדתםן [26:38] Da tas bolïrsïz ortasïnda hanalïklarnịy da tavusur sizni yeri dušmanlarïŋïznïy. ${ }^{7304}$ [26:39] Da ol kalyanlar sizdä čürirlar günäḥläri bilän yerlärindä dušmanlarïyïznïy da dayïn günäḥläri bilän atalarïnïy birgälärinä čürirlär. [26:40] Da iḳrar etirlär günäḥlärini da günäḥin atalarïnïy tanmaḳlarï bilän ki tandïlar maya da dayïn neni ki yürüdilär birgämä učur bilän. אף [26:41] Dayïn men yürürmin
birgälärinä učur bilän da getiri[r]min ${ }^{305}$ alarnï yerinä dušmanlarïnïy da ol vaḩtta sïnïÿrr ol yabuk göyülläri da ol vaḩtta bittirirlär günäḥläriniy šürümüni. וזכרתי [26:42] Da sayïnïrmïn šartïmnï ki Ya'aḳov bilän da dayïn šartïmnï ki Yičḥak bilän da dayïn
(11) šartïmnï ki Avraḥam bilän sayïnïrmïn da ol yerni da sayïnïrmïn. והארץ [26:43] Da ol yer
(12) kemišilir alardan da tamam etär šemitalarïnï veran bolyanïnda alardan da alar
(13) bittirirlär günäḥläriniy క̌ürümüni anïy učun ki šara 'atlarïmnï hor ettilär Yisra'elniy taÿ̈nda Sinaynïg ḳolu bilän Mošeniy.

## Chapter 27

(21) [27:2] Sözlägin oflanlarïna Yisra'el-
(22) nig da aytkïn alarya kiši ki ayïrsa inyät ḳïyasïy bilän ǰanlar YWY-

[^143]ya. והיה [27:3] Da bolsïn ḳïyasïy ol erkäk yegirmi yaštan da altmiš yašḳa degin da bolsïn ḳïyasïy elli misḳal gümüš miskalï bilän ol ḳodešnị. ואם [27:4] Da egär tiši esä ol da bolsïn ḳïyasïn otuz mesḳal. ואם [27:5] Da egär beš yaštan da yigirmi

## $120 v^{0}$

1) yäškä degin da bolsïn ḳïyasïy ol erkäk yigirmi misḳal da tišigä on misḳal. [27:6] Da egär bir aydan da beš yäškä degin da bolsïn ḳïyasïn ol erkäk beš misḳal gümüš da tišigä ḳïyasïy üč misḳal gümüš. ואם [27:7] Da egär altmïš yaštan da yoyarï egär erkäk isä da bolsïn ḳïyasïy on beš misḳal da tišigä on misḳal. ואם [27:8] Da egär yarlï esä ol ḳïyasïndan da turyuzsïn anï aldïna ol kohennị da ḳïyaslasïn anï ol kohen negä görä ki yetsä ḳuvatï ol inyät etkänniŋ kïyaslasïn anï ol kohen. [27:9] Da egär tuvar isä ki yuvuḳlaštïrïrlar andan ḳorban YWY-ya her ne ki versä andan YWY-ya bolsïn ḳodeš. לא [27:10] Täbdil idmäsin anï da degišmäsin anï yaȟšinnï yamanya ya yamannï yahšï̌ua da egär degištirmä degištirsä tuvarnï tuvarya da bolsïn ol da degištirmäsi bolsïn ḳodeš. ואם [27:11] Da egär 亏̌ümlä mundar tuvar isä ki yuvuḳlaštïrmaslar andan ḳorban YWY-ya da turyuzsïn ol tuvarnï aldïna ol kohenniŋ. והעריך [27:12] Da ḳïyaslasïn ol kohen anï geräk yahšïnï geräk yamannï ḳiyasïyča ey kohen
alay bolsïn. ואם [27:13] Da egär hîlas idmä hïlas idsä anï da arttïrsïn bešin亏̌isini kïyasïn üstünä. ואישׁ [27:14] Da kiši ki ḳodeš etsä evini ḳodeš YWY-ða da ḳïyaslasïn anï
ol kohen geräk yaḩšinnï da geräk yamannï ne ḳadar ki ḳïyaslasa anï ol kohen alay tursïn. ואמ
[27:15] Da egär ol ḳodeš etkän hïlas idersä evini da arttïrsïn bešiņ̌i gümüš ḳ̈yasïŋ üstünä
da bolsïn anïy. ואם [27:16] Da egär tarlovïndan tutuvluyïnïn ḳodeš etsä kiši YWY-૪a da bolsïn ḳïyasïn urluyïna görä urluyï sabunïŋ arpalarnïy ${ }^{306}$ elli misḳal kümüškä.

ואם . $27: 17$ [ Egär yïlïndan ol yovelniŋ ḳodeš etsä tarlovïnï ḳiyasïŋča tursïn אם
[27:18] Da egär ol yoveldän soŋra ḳodeš etsä tarlovïnï da ḥesap etsin aŋar ol kohen ol gümüšni ol ḳalyan yïllarya görä yïlïna degin ol yovelnin da eksilsin ḳïyasïndan.
[27:19] Da egär hïlas idmä ḩïlas idsä ol tarlovnï ol ḳodeš etkän anï da arttïrsïn

[^144]（23）bešiņ̌i gümüš ḳiyasï̄ üstünä da muḳam bolsïn aŋjar．［27：20］Da egär hïlas idmäsä ol
tarlovnï da egär satsa ol tarlovnï̈ öngä kišigä hïlas olmasïn artïk．והיה
［27：21］Da bolsïn ol tarlov va＇däsi čǐḳkanïnda yoveldä ḳodeš YWY－ya tarlovu gibi ol herem－

## $121 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

（1）nị kohengä bolsïn tutuvluyï．ואם［27：22］Da egär satïn alan tarlovïnï ki dügül tarluvïndan
tutuvluyïnïn ḳodeš etsä YWY－ұа．וחשׁב［27：23］Da ḥesap etsin aŋar ol kohen ḳararïn ol ḳïyasïynïy yïli［n］a ${ }^{307}$ degin ol yovelniy da versin ḳïyasïynï ol gündä ḳodeš YWY－ұa．בשנת．［27：24］Yïlïnda ol yovelniy ḳaytsïn ol tarlov aŋar ki satïn aldï anï yanïndan aŋar ki anïy tutuvluyï ol yerniy． וכל［27：25］Da ふ̌ümlä ḳïyasïy bolsïn ol ḳodeš misḳalï bilän yigirmi čegirdäk bolsïn ol misḳal．אָ［27：26］Tek tuŋyuč ki tugұuč bolsa YWY－уa ol tuvarda ḳodeš etmäsin kiši anï geräk ögüz geräk ḳoy YWY－nïgdïr ol． ［27：27］Da egär ol mundar tuvardan isä da hïlas idsin ḳïyasïy bilän da arttïrsïn bešin［క̌］isini ${ }^{308}$ üstünä da egär hïlas ulunmasa da satïlsïn ḳiyasïn bilän．Эא［27：28］Tek క̌ümlä ḥerem ki ḥerem etsä kiši YWY－४a 弓̌ümlädän ki anïn adamdan ya tuvardan ya tarlovundan tutuvluyïnïy satïlmasïn da hïlas ulunmasïn her ḥerem ḳodeši ḳodešlärnịdir ol YWY－ya．כל［27：29］Här ḥerem ki ḥerem bolsa ol adamdan hïlas ulunmasïn ölmä öldürülsin． ［27：30］Da ̧̌ümlä ondasï ol yerniy urluyïndan ol yernin yemišindän ol ayačnïy YWY－nïydïr ol ḳodeš YWY－ya．ואם［27：31］Da egär hïllas idmä hï̈las idsä kiši ondasïndan bešiņ̌isin arttirsïn üstünä．וכל［27：32］Da 亏̌ümlä ondasï sï̧ïrnïy ya ḳoynïy här ne ki gečsä tibinä ol tayaknï̈y ol onun亏̌ï bolsïn ḳodeš YWY－ұa．לא［27：33］Aramasïn arasïna yahšǐnïn yamanya da degištirmäsin anï da egär degištirmä degištirsä anï da bolsïn ol da degiškä［n］ii ${ }^{309}$ bolsïn kodeš hïlas olunmasïn אלה［27：34］Bulardïrlar ol mičvalar

[^145](22...) ki sïmarladï YWY Mošegä oylanlarïna Yisra' elniŋ tayïnda Sinaynïy.




[^146]
## Translation

## Preliminary Remarks

The core strategies concerning our translation into English of the collected data have been previously elucidated (see section 1.1.). Subsequently, in this section, we delve into the intricate details of our translation process for further clarity.

* Although the line numbers of the folios are clearly indicated in the transcription, they have been intentionally omitted from the English translation. This is due to inherent discrepancies in the syntactic arrangement between the Karaim text and English, resulting in instances where our translation might not precisely mirror the original line-by-line structure.
* In the footnotes, an intentional approach has been applied to not differentiate the grammatical gender of inanimate subjects and objects in the literal translations from Biblical Hebrew. This strategic decision has been made to ensure a logical parallelism in the English language rendition, thereby bypassing potential ambiguities.
* In Turkic languages, grammatical suffixes independently denote a variety of grammatical categories, yet they can also coexist with certain non-suffixical elements. These non-suffixical components, primarily used for emphasis, do not alter the essential meaning of the phrase. For instance, consider eger ol gel-se- $\varnothing$ 'if he comes', ol gel-se- $\varnothing$ 'if he comes', and gel-se- $\varnothing$ 'if he comes'. It should be noted that such structural differences are not reflected in our English translation
* Given that the functions of diverse grammatical categories have been elucidated in our study, the literal connotations of these categories will not be subjected to further analysis unless particular circumstances necessitate their notation in the footnotes. For instance, the phrase [Lev 6:18] ne yerdä ki soyulsa ol 'ola translates as 'in the place where the burnt offering is slaughtered', but a more literal rendering would be 'in what place if the burnt offering is slaughtered,' among others. However, should a grammatical category be employed in a manner that deviates from its conventional usage due to various translation strategies, such instances will invariably be highlighted in the footnotes. An example is the translation of the phrase [Lev 5:3] ol bildi da günähli boldǐ' lit. 'he knew and he became sinful'. Due to the context and structure of the English language, this sentence was translated as '|if| he knows |of it|, then he will be guilty', despite the original sentence's past tense markers. In this scenario, since the past
tense markers in Karaim do not serve the function of the present tense, this discrepancy has been duly indicated in the footnotes unlike the previously mentioned example.
* The utilization of the ' $\mid$ ' symbol within the text signifies our necessary editorial insertions to enhance the structural coherence of the English translation. However, such marks have not been employed when the relevant structures have been comprehensively explained in the footnotes.
* The application of certain prepositions and case governance, diverging from typical English characteristics, has not been explicitly indicated, as these elements have been adapted to align with English standards, e.g., [Lev 6:23] otka küydürülsin 'it shall be burnt in fire'; lit. 'it shall be burnt to fire'.
* Variations in verb selection, inclusive of light verbs, have consistently been highlighted, e.g., [Lev 16:13] versin ol tütsini ol ot üstünä 'he shall put the incense on the fire', lit. 'he shall give the incense on the fire'.
* The adaptation of plurality or singularity to English norms has been unmarked in the footnotes, e.g., [Lev 16:24] yuvsïn etini suvlar bilän 'he shall wash his flesh with water', lit. 'he shall wash his flesh with waters'.


## Editorial Notes

abc
$a b c$
|abc|
(abc)
${ }^{\prime}$ abc def ${ }^{123}$

אבג
the translation of the Karaim text
a term that cannot be translated into English
editorial addition due to the linguistic constraints of English the translation of the Karaim written in parentheses in the original text a passage commented in a footnote verse numbers added by the editor text in Biblical Hebrew (only found in comparisons in footnotes)

## Translation of the Book of Leviticus from the Gözleve Bible (1841)

## $93 \mathrm{r}^{0}$

## Chapter 1

[1:1] And the Lord called Moses, and spoke to him from the tent of meeting, saying, [1:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel, and say to them, "If any man from you ${ }^{1312}$ ever brings forward an offering to the Lord, you shall bring your offering from the livestock, from the cattle, or from the flock ${ }^{313}$. [1:3] If his offering is a burnt offering from the cattle, , he shall take a healthy male and bring it forward ${ }^{314}$ to the door of the tent of meeting for his acceptance before the Lord. [1:4] And he shall prop up his hand on the head of the burnt offering and it will be accepted for him to make atonement for him. [1:5] And he shall slaughter the young bull before the Lord, and the sons of Aaron the priests shall bring the blood, and sprinkle the blood round about on the altar that is by the door of the tent of meeting. [1:6] And he shall skin the burnt offering, and shall cut it ${ }_{\text {L into }}$ as many as pieces possible ${ }^{7315}$. [1:7] And the sons of Aaron the priests ${ }_{\text {t }}$ shall put ${ }^{7316}$ fire on the altar, and arrange woods on the fire. [1:8] And the sons of Aaron the priests shall arrange the pieces, |together| with the head, and the stomach fat on the woods

## $93 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

that are on the fire which is on the altar. [1:9] And he shall wash its stomach and its legs with water. And the priest shall burn all on the altar. It is a burnt offering, a sacrifice by fire, an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [1:10] And if his sacrifice is from the flock ${ }^{317}$ of the sheeps or of the goats, he shall take a healthy male and bring forward it ${ }^{1318}$. [1:11] And he shall slaughter it by the edge of the altar that is on the north side before the Lord, and the sons of Aaron the priests shall sprinkle its blood round about on the altar. [1:12] And he shall cut it ${ }_{\text {}}$ into as many as pieces possible ${ }^{7319}$, and its head and its stomach fat and the priest shall arrange them on the woods that are on the fire which is on the altar. [1:13] And he shall wash the stomach and the legs with water, and the priest shall bring all of it and burn it on the altar. It is a burnt offering, an offering made by fire, an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [1:14] And if

[^147]his burnt sacrifice to the Lord is of birds, then he shall bring his offering of turtledoves or of young pigeons. [1:15] And the priest shall bring it forward to the altar, and cut its head, and burn it on the altar, and its blood shall be ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ drained out ${ }^{1320}$ on the wall of the altar. [1:16] And he shall remove its stomach with its feathers, and cast it beside the altar on the east side, in the place where ashes are thrown away. [1:17] And he shall tear it open by its wings (by its back), |but| shall not divide it, and the priest shall burn it on the altar, on the woods that are on the fire. It is a burnt offering, sacrifice made by fire, an aroma of acceptance to the Lord.

## Chapter 2

[2:1] And if a soul brings a grain offering to the Lord, his offering shall be of wheat flour and he shall pour oil on it and put ${ }^{321}$ incense on it. [2:2] And he shall bring it to sons of Aaron the priests. And he shall take out a handful ${ }^{1322}$ of its wheat flour, and of its oil, with all its incense. And the priest shall burn its incense on the altar, |it is $\mid$ an offering made by fire, of an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [2:3] And the remnant of the grain offering is Aaron's and his sons'. It is the holy of holies of the burnt offerings of the Lord. [2:4] And if you bring an offering of a grain offering baked in the oven,

## $94 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

|it shall be ${ }_{\text {L }}$ unleavened cakes ${ }^{323}$ of wheat flour mixed with oil; or unleavened thin bread anointed with oil. [2:5] And if your offering is a grain offering |baked| on a pan, it shall be of wheat flour unleavened bread, mixed with oil. [2:6] ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ You shall break it into pieces ${ }^{7324}$, and pour ${ }^{325}$ oil on it. It is a grain offering. [2:7] And if your offering is a grain offering baked in a saucepan, it shall be made of wheat flour with oil. [2:8] And you shall bring the grain offering |that is made| of these |things| to the Lord, and bring it forward to the priest, and he shall bring it to the altar. [2:9] And the priest shall separate from the grain offering its incense, and shall burn it on the altar. It is an offering made by fire, an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [2:10] And the remnant of the grain offering is Aaron's and his sons'. It is the holy of holies of the burnt offerings of the Lord. [2:11] If you bring any grain offering to the Lord, it shall surely not

[^148]be made leavened, |because| you shall never burn sour leaven or honey ${ }^{326} \mid$ as $\mid$ an offering made by fire to the Lord. [2:12] |As for| ${ }_{\text {L }}$ the offering of the firstfruits ${ }^{1327}$, bring them to the Lord, but they shall not go up to the altar for an aroma of acceptance. [2:13] And L you shall salt ${ }^{3228}$ all your grain offerings and you shall not let the salt of the covenant of your God cease from your grain offering; you shall bring salt on all your offerings. [2:14] And if you bring forward a grain offering of ${ }_{\text {L firstfruits }}{ }^{1329}$ to the Lord, you shall bring forward ears of barley scorched by the fire, fresh barley groats |for| a grain offering of your ${ }_{\text {L firstfruits }}{ }^{1330}$. [2:15] And ${ }_{\text {L }}$ you shall put ${ }^{1331}$ oil on it, and lay on it incense. It is a grain offering. [2:16] And the priest shall burn its incense, of the groats, and of the oil with all the incense, |as $\mid$ an offering by fire to the Lord.

## Chapter 3

[3:1] And if his offering is a sacrifice of a peace offering, if he brings it forward of the cattle, either a male or female, he shall bring forward a healthy one before the Lord. [3:2] And he shall prop up his hand on the head of his offering, and slaughter it at the door of the tent of meeting; and Aaron's sons the priests shall sprinkle the blood on the altar round about. [3:3] And he shall bring it forward from the sacrifice of the peace offering |as| an offering by fire to the Lord, the fat that covers the stomach, and all the fat that is on the stomach. [3:4] And the two kidneys,

## $94 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

and the fat that is on them, that is on the entrails, and the extra above the liver: he shall take them ${ }^{332}$ away along with the kidneys. [3:5] And Aaron's sons shall burn it on the altar on the burnt sacrifice which is on the woods that are on the fire, |it is| an offering by fire, an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [3:6] And if his offering for a sacrifice of peace offering to the Lord is of the sheep, either male or female, he shall bring forward a healthy one. [3:7] If he brings forward a lamb for his offering, then he shall brings it forward before the Lord. [3:8] And he shall prop up his hand on the head of his offering, and slaughter it before the tent of meeting; and Aaron's sons shall sprinkle the blood on the altar round about. [3:9] And he shall bring it forward from the sacrifice of the peace offering |as| an offering made by fire to the Lord, he shall take away the whole fat of the tail from opposite the backbone, and the fat that covers the

[^149]stomach, and all the fat that is upon the stomach. [3:10] And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is at the entrails, and the extra above the liver: he shall take them ${ }^{333}$ away along with the kidneys. [3:11] And the priest shall burn it on the altar, $\mid i t$ is $\mid$ an offering by fire to the Lord. [3:12] If his offering is a goat, then he shall offer it before the Lord. [3:13] And he shall prop up his hand over its head and slaughter before the tent of meeting, and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle its blood on the altar round about. [3:14] And he shall bring it forward from his offering, |as $\mid$ an offering made by fire to the Lord: the fat that covers the stomach, and all the fat that is on the stomach. [3:15] And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is at the entrails, and the extra above the liver: he shall take them ${ }^{334}$ away along with the kidneys. [3:16] And the priest shall burn them on the altar; |it is| an offering made by fire, an aroma of acceptance. All fat is the Lord's. [3:17] |As| an eternal statute throughout your generations, in all your dwellings: you shall not eat any fat and any blood.

## Chapter 4

[4:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [4:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel, saying, "If a soul becomes sinful through a mistake against any of the commandments

## $95 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

of the Lord that are not to be done, and does any one of them. [4:3] If the anointed priest becomes sinful, for the iniquities of the people, then he shall bring forward |an offering| for his sin which he has sinned, a healthy young bull of cattle, to the Lord for a sin offering. [4:4] And he shall bring the bull to the door of the tent of meeting before the Lord, and shall prop up his hand on the bull's head, and slaughter the bull before the Lord. [4:5] And the anointed priest shall take of the bull's blood, and bring it to the tent of meeting. [4:6] And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle some of the blood seven times before the Lord, before the veil of the sanctuary ${ }^{335}$. [4:7] And the priest shall put ${ }^{1336}$ some of the blood on the horns ${ }^{337}$ of the altar of ${ }_{\text {L }}$ sweet incense ${ }^{1338}$ before the Lord in the tent of meeting, and shall pour all the blood of the bull at the base of the altar of the burnt offering which is at the door of the tent of meeting. [4:8] And he shall remove all the fat of the bull of the sin offering, the fat that covers the

[^150]stomach, and all the fat that is on the stomach. [4:9] And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, which is on the entrails, and the extra above the liver: he shall take them ${ }^{339}$ away along with the kidneys, [4:10] As it is separated from the ox of the sacrifice of peace offerings, the priest shall burn them on the altar of the burnt offering. [4:11] And the skin of the bull, and all its flesh, along with its head, its legs, and its stomach, and its dung. [4:12] And he shall carry the whole bull outside the camp to a clean place, to the place where the ashes are poured out ${ }^{1340}$, and burn it on the woods with fire: it shall be burned at ${ }_{\mathrm{t}}$ the place where the ashes are poured out ${ }^{7341}$. [4:13] And if the whole congregation of Israel errs, and if something becomes hidden from the eyes of the assembly, and if they do any of the commandments of the Lord that are not to be done, and if they become guilty, [4:14] And if the sin which they have sinned is known, the congregation shall bring forward a bull, the young of cattle for a sin offering, and bring it before the tent of meeting. [4:15] And the elders of the congregation shall prop up their hands on the head of the bull before the Lord, and they shall slaughter the bull before the Lord.

## $95 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

[4:16] And the anointed priest shall bring some of the bull's blood to the tent of meeting. [4:17] And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood, and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord, before the veil. [4:18] And ${ }_{1}$ he shall put ${ }^{1342}$ some of the blood on the horns ${ }^{343}$ of the altar which is before the Lord, that is in the tent of meeting, and shall pour all the blood at the base of the altar of the burnt offering, which is at the door of the tent of meeting. [4:19] And he shall separate all its fat from it, and burn it on the altar. [4:20] And he shall do to the bull as he did to the bull of the sin offering, so he shall do it in that way and the priest shall make atonement for them, then it will be forgiven them. [4:21] And he shall carry the bull outside the camp, and burn it as he burned the first bull. It is a sin offering of the assembly. [4:22] If a leader ${ }^{344}$ becomes sinful and does one of any commandments of the Lord his God that are not to be done, by mistake and if he becomes guilty, [4:23] Or if his sin which he has sinned is known to him, then he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a healthy male. [4:24] And he shall prop up his hand on the head of the kid, and slaughter it in the place where he slaughters the burnt

[^151]offering before the Lord: it is a sin offering. [4:25] And the priest shall take some of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put ${ }^{345}$ it on the horns ${ }^{346}$ of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour out its blood at the base of the altar of burnt offering. [4:26] And he shall burn all its fat on the altar, as the fat of the sacrifice of peace offerings, and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning his sin, then it will be forgiven him. [4:27] And if a soul of his nation of the land becomes sinful through a mistake, when he did one of the commandments of the Lord which are not to be done, and if he becomes guilty, [4:28] Or if his sin which he has sinned is known to him, then he shall bring his offering, a kid of the goats, a healthy one, for his sin which he has sinned. [4:29] And he shall prop up his hand on the head of the sin offering, and slaughter the sin offering in the place of the burnt offering. [4:30] And the priest shall take some of the blood with his finger, and put ${ }^{347}$ it on the horns ${ }^{348}$ of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour all of its blood at the base of the altar. [4:31] And he shall take away all its fat, just as the fat was taken away from

## $96 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

the sacrifice of peace offerings, and the priest shall burn it on the altar for an aroma of acceptance to the Lord; and the priest shall make atonement for him, then it will be forgiven him. [4:32] And if he brings a lamb |as| his sacrifice for a sin offering, he shall bring a healthy female. [4:33] And he shall prop up his hand on the head of the sin offering, and slaughter it for a sin offering in the place where he slaughters the burnt offering. [4:34] And the priest shall take some of the blood of the sin offering with his finger, and put it on the horns of the altar of burnt offering, and shall pour all of its blood at the base of the altar. [4:35] And he shall take away all its fat, as the fat of the lamb is taken away from the sacrifice of the peace offerings, and the priest shall burn them on the altar, on the offerings made by fire to the Lord; and the priest shall make atonement for his sin that he has sinned, then it will be forgiven him.

## Chapter 5

[5:1] And if a soul becomes sinful, and hears the voice of an oath |when| he is a witness, whether he has seen or known |of it|, if he does not tell |of it|, then he shall bear his iniquity. [5:2] Or if a soul touches any unclean thing, whether it is a carcass of an unclean wild animal, or it is a

[^152]carcass of an unclean cattle, or it is a carcass of an unclean ${ }_{1}$ swarming thing ${ }^{1349}$, and if it becomes hidden from him, then ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he will be unclean and guilty ${ }^{7350}$, [5:3] Or if he touches the uncleanness of a man, of any kind of uncleanness that he becomes unclean with it, and if it becomes hidden from him, and ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he knows ${ }^{1351}$ |of it|, then ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he will be ${ }^{1352}$ guilty. [5:4] Or if a soul swears speaking with lips to do evil, or to do good, ${ }$ whatsoever it be ${ }^{1533}$ that a man says with an oath, and if it becomes hidden from him, |when| ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he knows ${ }^{1354}$ of it ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he will be ${ }^{1355}$ guilty in |one| of these |things|. [5:5] And it shall be, if he becomes repentant in one of these |things|, and if he admits that he has sinned ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ in that thing ${ }^{1356},[5: 6]$ Then he shall bring his repentance to the Lord for his sin which he has sinned, a female from the flock, a lamb or a kid of the goats, for a sin offering; and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning his sin. [5:7] And if ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he cannot afford ${ }^{1357}$ a lamb, then he shall bring his repentance |for the $\sin \mid$ which he has sinned: two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, to the Lord, one for a sin offering and one for a burnt offering. [5:8] And he shall bring them to the priest, and he shall offer one of them which is for the sin offering first, and nip off

## $96 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

its head from ${ }^{358}$ its neck, but shall not separate it. [5:9] And he shall sprinkle some of the blood of the sin offering on the wall of the altar, and drip out the rest of the blood at the base of the altar. It is a sin offering. [5:10] And he shall do the second for a burnt offering according to the regulation, and the priest shall make atonement for him concerning his sin which he has sinned, and it will be forgiven him. [5:11] But if Lhe cannot afford ${ }^{1359}$ two turtledoves or two young pigeons, then he shall bring his offering |for the sin| which he has sinned as the tenth part of a $k^{2}{ }^{{ }^{-360}}$ of wheat flour. He shall not put oil on it, and shall not put incense on it, because it is a sin offering. [5:12] And he shall bring it to the priest, and the priest shall ${ }_{\text {L }}$ take out his handful ${ }^{7361}$ of the incense and burn it on the altar, on the offerings made by fire to the Lord. It is a sin

[^153]offering. [5:13] And the priest shall make atonement for him for his sin that he has sinned in one of these |things|, then it will be forgiven him. And the remainder ${ }^{1362}$ shall be the priest's, like the grain offering. [5:14] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [5:15] 'If a soul ${ }_{\text {L misleads }}{ }^{1363}$ and becomes sinful through a mistake in the holy things of the Lord, then he shall bring his repentance to the Lord, a healthy ram out of the flock, with your valuation by mithqals of silver, by the mithqal of the holy, for a guilt offering. [5:16] And he shall pay for what he has become sinful from the holy thing, and shall add fifth part to it and give it to the priest, and the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering, then it will be forgiven him. [5:17] And if a soul becomes sinful and does one of the commandments of the Lord which are not be done, and did not know |it|, and became guilty, then he shall bear his iniquity. [5:18] And he shall bring a healthy ram out of the flock with your valuation for a guilt offering to the priest, and the priest shall make atonement for him for the mistake he erred and did not know |it|, then it will be forgiven him. [5:19] It is a guilt offering, he ${ }^{1}$ certainly has become guilty ${ }^{1364}$ |against| the Lord. [5:20] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [5:21] 'If a soul becomes sinful and ${ }_{\text {L }}$ misleads ${ }^{1365}$ the Lord, and deceives his friend |in a matter of $\mid$ deposit or |in a matter of something| which has been pledged, or lin a matter of something by oppression or if he has taken away |something| from his friend, [5:22] Or if he finds something lost and deceives about it, and if he swears to a falsehood for one of any of these that man does being sinful by them:

## $97 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[5:23] Then it shall be, if he becomes sinful and repented, then he shall restore ${ }_{\text {L }}$ what he got by oppression ${ }^{1366}$ or ${ }_{\text {t }}$ the thing that he plundered ${ }^{1367}$, or ${ }_{\text {L }}$ the deposit that was committed to him ${ }^{1368}$, or the lost thing that he found, [5:24] Or anything about which he swears to a falsehood for it; then he shall pay it in full ${ }^{369}$ and shall add a fifth to it, and give it to him to whom it belongs, on the day of his repentance. [5:25] And he shall bring his guilt offering to the Lord, a healthy

[^154]ram out of the flock with your valuation, for a guilt offering, to the priest. [5:26] And the priest shall make atonement for him before the Lord, then it will be forgiven him for any thing out of all that he does and if |thus| becomes guilty through it'.

## Chapter 6

[6:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [6:2] 'Command Aaron and his sons, saying, "This is the law of the burnt offering: it is the burnt offering on the hearth on the altar all night until the morning, and the fire of the altar shall burn there. [6:3] And the priest shall put on his linen cloths, and he shall put his linen trousers on his flesh, and separate the ashes which the fire covers with the burnt offering on the altar, and he shall put them beside the altar. [6:4] And he shall put off his garments, and put on other garments, and take the ashes outside the camp to a clean place. [6:5] And the fire on the altar shall burn on it, and it shall not go out, and the priest shall burn woods on it ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ every morning ${ }^{7770}$, and arrange the burnt offering on it, and he shall burn on it the fat of the peace offerings. [6:6] The fire shall burn on the altar continually, it shall not go out. [6:7] And this is the law of the grain offering: a son of Aaron ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall certainly bring it forward ${ }^{1371}$ before the Lord, before the altar. [6:8] And he shall separate from it a handful ${ }^{372}$ of the wheat flour of the grain offering,

## $97 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

and its oil, and all the incense which is on the grain offering, and shall burn it on the altar, |as| an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [6:9] And Aaron and his sons shall eat the remainder. Unleavened bread shall be eaten in the holy place, they shall eat it in the courtyard of the tent of meeting. [6:10] It shall not be baked |with| leaven, I have given it |as| their portions of my offerings by fire, it is the holy of holies, like the sin offering and like the guilt offering. [6:11] All the males among the sons of Aaron shall eat it, |as| an ${ }_{\text {L }}$ eternal statute ${ }^{373}$ for your generations, from the offerings of the Lord made by fire; every one who touches them shall be holy." [6:12] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [6:13] 'This is the offering of Aaron and of his sons which they shall offer to the Lord after the day of anointment if |the Lord| anoints

[^155]Aaron ${ }^{374}$; a tenth of a kebic ${ }^{375}$ of wheat flour |for| a grain offering continually, a half of it in the morning, and a half of it at night. [6:14] It shall be made with oil into a pan, you shall bring ${ }^{376}$ ${ }_{\text {t }}$ the thing ${ }^{1377}$ which is fried, and you shall bring it (the cooked ones) forward, you shall bring forward the portions of the grain offering for an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [6:15] And the anointed priest |who will be| in his place from among his sons, shall do it to the Lord |as| an ${ }_{\text {Leternal statute }}{ }^{1378}$, it shall be a wholly burnt. [6:16] And every grain offering for the priest shall be wholly burnt, it shall not be eaten'. [6:17] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [6:18] 'Speak to Aaron and to his sons, saying, "This is the law of the sin offering: in the place where the burnt offering is slaughtered, the burnt offering shall be slaughtered before the Lord, it is the holy of holies. [6:19] The priest who makes the sin offering shall eat it. It shall be eaten in the holy place, in the courtyard of the tent of meeting, [6:20] If anything touches its flesh, it shall be holy, and if some of its blood is sprinkled on a garment, if it is sprinkled on it, you shall wash in the holy place. [6:21] And the earthen ${ }^{379}$ vessel in which it is boiled ${ }^{380}$ shall be broken, and if it is boiled ${ }^{381}$ in a copper vessel, then it shall be broken and washed with water. [6:22] Evey male among the priests shall eat it. It is the holy of holies. [6:23] And every sin offering from which |any of| the blood is brought to the tent of meeting to make atonement in the holy |place|: it shall not be eaten, it shall be burnt in fire.

## Chapter 7

[7:1] And this is the law of the guilt offering. It is the holy of holies.

## $98 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[7:2] In the place where they slaughter the burnt offering, they shall slaughter the guilt offering, and he shall sprinkle its blood on the altar round about. [7:3] And he shall bring forward all its fat: the tail fat and the fat that covers the stomach. [7:4] And the two kidneys, and the fat that is on them, that is on the entrails, and the extra above the liver: he shall take them ${ }^{382}$ away along with the kidneys. [7:5] And the priest shall burn them on the altar for an offering made by fire

[^156]to the Lord. It is a guilt offering. [7:6] Every male among the priests shall eat it. It shall be eaten in the holy place. It is the holy of holies. [7:7] As the sin offering is, so is the guilt offering, there is one law for them: if the priest makes atonement with it, shall have it ${ }^{1383}$. [7:8] And the priest who brings forward any person's burnt offering, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall have ${ }^{1384}$ the skin of the burnt offering which he has brought forward. [7:9] And all the grain offering if it is baked in the oven, and all that is prepared in the saucepan or in the frying pan, the priest who brings it forward, ${ }_{L}$ shall have it ${ }^{1385}$. [7:10] And all the sons of Aaron ${ }_{1}$ shall have ${ }^{1886}$ every grain offering mixed with oil or dry, it shall be for every person fraternally ${ }^{387}$. [7:11] And this is the law of the sacrifice of peace offerings if |someone| brings it forward to the Lord. [7:12] If he brings it forward for thanksgiving, he shall bring it forward with the sacrifice of thanksgiving unleavened cakes mixed with oil and unleavened thin breads anointed with oil, and cooked cakes of wheat flour mixed with oil. [7:13] He shall bring forward his offering with the leavened thick bread, beside the sacrifice of thanksgiving of his peace offerings. [7:14] And from it, he shall brings forward one bread from each type ${ }^{388}$ of offering breads as an offering to the Lord, and it shall be the priest's who sprinkles the blood of the peace offerings. [7:15] And the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings for thanksgiving shall be eaten on the day that it is offered, it shall not be left out of it until the morning. [7:16] But if the sacrifice of his offering is a vow ${ }^{389}$ or a generosity offering, it shall be eaten the day that he offers his sacrifice, and the next morning ${ }^{1390}$ the remainder of it shall be eaten. [7:17] And the remainder of the flesh of the sacrifice shall be burnt with fire on the third day. [7:18] And if from the flesh of the sacrifice of his peace offerings ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ is eaten at all ${ }^{1391}$ on the third day, it will not be accepted,
$98 \mathbf{v}^{0}$
and it shall not be counted as an offer for ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ the one who offered it ${ }^{1392}$. It will be a profanation (unfit) and the soul who eats of it shall bear his iniquity. [7:19] And if the flesh touches any kind of unclean thing, it shall not be eaten; it shall be burnt with fire. And the holy flesh: every

[^157]clean person shall eat the holy flesh. [7:20] But if the soul eats of the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings, that is the Lord's, and if he has his uncleanness on him, then the soul will be cut off from his people. [7:21] And if a soul touches any unclean thing, the uncleanness of man, or unclean cattle, or any unclean abominable thing, and secretly eats the flesh of the sacrifice of peace offerings that is the Lord's, the soul will be cut off from his people"'. [7:22] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [7:23] 'Speak to the sons of Israel, saying, "You shall not eat any of the fat of ox, or of sheep, or of goat. [7:24] And the fat of nevala ${ }^{393}$, and the fat of terefa ${ }^{394}$, may be used in ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ any other use ${ }^{7395}$, but ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ you shall definitely not eat it ${ }^{1396}$. [7:25] Because anybody who eats the fat from the animal from which one would brings forward an offering made by fire to the Lord; the soul that eats secretly will be cut off from his people. [7:26] And you shall not eat any blood in all of your dwelling places, neither of a bird or either of a cattle. [7:27] If any soul eats any blood, then the soul will be cut off from his people"'. [7:28] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [7:29] 'Speak to the sons of Israel, saying, "The one who brings forward the sacrifice from his peace offerings to the Lord shall bring his offering to the Lord of the sacrifice of his peace offerings. [7:30] |With| his |own| hands |he| shall bring the offerings of the Lord made by fire, he shall bring the fat with the breast, the breast to wave as ${ }^{397}$ a wave offering before the Lord. [7:31] And the priest shall burn the fat on the altar, and the breast shall be for Aaron and his sons. [7:32] And you shall give the right thigh to the priest for a heave offering of the sacrifices of your peace offerings. [7:33] The one who brings forward the blood of the peace offerings and the fat from among the sons of Aaron, ${ }_{L}$ shall have ${ }^{1398}$ the right thigh as his part. [7:34] For I have taken the breast of the wave offering and the thigh of the heave offering of the children of Israel from the sacrifices of their peace offerings, and I have given them to Aaron, the priest, and to his sons as an ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ eternal statute ${ }^{7399}$ from the children of Israel." [7:35] This is the greatness portion of Aaron and greatness

## $99 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

portion of his sons, from the offerings of the Lord made by fire, from the day he brought forward them to serve as priests to the Lord, [7:36] Which the Lord commanded to be given them from

[^158]the day that he anointed them from among the children of Israel, as an eternal statute throughout their generations." [7:37] This is the law of the burnt offering, for the grain offering, and for the sin offering, and for the guilt offering, and for the ordination offering, and for the sacrifice of the peace offerings, [7:38] Which the Lord commanded Moses on mount Sinai on the day that he commanded the sons of Israel to bring forward their offerings to the Lord in the wilderness of Sinai.

## Chapter 8

[8:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [8:2] 'You shall take Aaron and his sons with him, and the clothes, and the anointing oil, and the bull of the sin offering, and two rams, and the basket of unleavened bread. [8:3] And gather all the congregation together to the door of the tent of meeting'. [8:4] And Moses did as the Lord commanded him, and the congregation was gathered to the door of the tent of meeting. [8:5] And Moses said to the congregation, 'This is the word which the Lord commanded to do'. [8:6] And Moses brought Aaron and his sons, and washed them with water. [8:7] And ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he put ${ }^{400}$ the shirt on him, and girded him with the belt, and clothed him with the mantle, and put ${ }^{401}$ the ephod on him. Then he girded him with the belt of the ephod, and tied with it. [8:8] And he put the breastplate on him; and he put in the breastplate the Urim and the Thummim. [8:9] And he put the turban on his head and on the turban, on opposing its front, he put the golden plate ${ }^{402}$, the holy crown, as the Lord commanded Moses. [8:10] And Moses took the anointing oil, and anointed the tabernacle and all that was in it, and sanctified them. [8:11] And he sprinkled some of it on the altar seven times, and anointed the altar and all its tools, the pitcher and its bowl, to sanctify them. [8:12] And he poured of the anointing oil upon Aaron's head, and anointed him to sanctify him. [8:13] And Moses brought forward Aaron's sons, and dressed them in shirts

## $99 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

girded them with belts, and dressed them in skullcaps ${ }^{403}$, as the Lord commanded Moses. [8:14] And he brought forward the bull of the sin offering, and Aaron and his sons propped up their hands on the head of the bull of the sin offering. [8:15] And he slaughtered it, and Moses took the blood, and put ${ }^{404}$ it on the corners of the altar round about with his finger, and sprinkled the

[^159]altar, and poured the blood at the base of the altar, and sanctified it to make atonement for it. [8:16] And he took all the fat that was on the stomach, and the extra of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and Moses burned it on the altar. [8:17] And he burned the bull, and its skin, and its flesh, and its dung in fire outside the camp, as the Lord commanded Moses. [8:18] And he offered the ram of the burnt offering, and Aaron and his sons propped up their hands on the head of the ram. [8:19] And he slaughtered it, and Moses sprinkled the blood on the altar round about. [8:20] And he portioned out the ram into as many as pieces possible ${ }^{705}$, and Moses burned the head, and the pieces ${ }^{406}$, and the fat of the stomach. [8:21] And he washed the stomach and the legs with water, then Moses burned the whole ram on the altar. It is a burnt sacrifice, an aroma of acceptance, an offering made by fire to the Lord, as the Lord commanded Moses. [8:22] And he offered the second ram, the ram of ordination, and Aaron and his sons propped up their hands on the head of the ram. [8:23] And he slaughtered it, and Moses took some of the blood of it and put it on the lobe ${ }^{407}$ of Aaron's right ear, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the big toe of his right foot. [8:24] And he brought forward the sons of Aaron, and Moses put some of the blood on the lobe ${ }^{408}$ of their right ears, and on the thumbs of their right hands, and on the big toes of their right feet, and Moses sprinkled the blood on the altar round about. [8:25] And he took the fat, and the tail, and all the fat that was on the stomach, and the extra of the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the right thigh. [8:26] And from the basket of unleavened breads that was before the Lord,

## $100 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

he took a thick unleavened bread, and a thick oiled bread, and a thin bread, and put them on the fat and on the right thigh. [8:27] And he put all upon the palms of Aaron, and upon the palms of his sons, and waved them as ${ }^{409}$ a wave offering before the Lord. [8:28] And Moses took them from their palms, and burned them on the altar on the burnt offering. They are ordination offering, an aroma, an offering made by fire to the Lord. [8:29] And Moses took the breast, and waved it for an wave offering before the Lord. It became Moses's portion of the ram of ordination, as the Lord commanded Moses. [8:30] And Moses took of the anointing oil, and of the blood which was on the altar, and sprinkled it on Aaron, and on his garments, and on his

[^160]sons, and on the garments of his sons with him, and sanctified Aaron, and his garments, and his sons, and the garments of his sons with him. [8:31] And Moses said to Aaron and to his sons, 'Boil the flesh at the door of the tent of meeting, and eat it there, and |eat| the bread that is in the basket of ordination, as I commanded, saying, "Aaron and his sons shall eat it." [8:32] And you shall burn the remainder of the flesh and of the bread in fire. [8:33] And you shall not go out of the door of the tent of meeting for seven days, until the days of your ordination end. For ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he will consecrate you for seven days. ${ }^{410}$ [8:34] As he has done this day, so the Lord has commanded to do, to make atonement for you. [8:35] And you shall sit at the door of the tent of meeting day and night seven days, and you shall keep the testament of the Lord so you do not die, for I have been commanded so'. [8:36] And Aaron and his sons did all the words that the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses.

## Chapter 9

[9:1] And it was on the eighth day, |that $\mid$ Moses called Aaron and his sons, and the elders of

## $100 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

Israel. [9:2] And he said to Aaron, 'Take for yourself a young calf of the cattle for a sin offering, and a ram for burnt offering, the healthy ones, and offer them before the Lord. [9:3] And speak to the sons of Israel, saying, "You shall take a kid of the goats for a sin offering, and a calf and a lamb, healthy one-year-olds, for a burnt offering. [9:4] And an ox and a ram for peace offerings to sacrifice before the Lord, and a grain offering mixed with oil. Because, truly, today the divine presence of the Lord will appear to you. [9:5] And they took what Moses commanded before the tent of meeting, and all the congregation came near and stood before the Lord. [9:6] And Moses said, 'This is the word which the Lord commanded that you shall do, and the divine presence of the Lord shall be evident to you'. [9:7] And Moses said to Aaron, 'Come forward to the altar and make your sin offering, and your burnt offering, and make atonement for yourself, and for the people, and make the offering of the people, and make atonement for them, as the Lord commanded. [9:8] And Aaron came near to the altar, and slaughtered the calf of the sin offering which was for himself. [9:9] And the sons of Aaron brought forward the blood to him, and he dipped his finger in the blood, and put ${ }^{411}$ it on the corners of the altar, and poured out the blood at the base of the altar. [9:10] And he burned the fat, and the kidneys, and the

[^161]extra above the liver of the sin offering, on the altar, as the Lord commanded Moses. [9:11] And he burned the flesh and the skin in fire outside the camp. [9:12] And he slaughtered the burnt offering, and Aaron's sons brought the blood to him and he sprinkled on the altar round about. [9:13] And they brought the burnt offering to him ${ }_{L}$ in as many as pieces possible ${ }^{7412}$, and the head, and he burned them on the altar. [9:14] And he washed the stomach and the legs, and burned them on the altar. [9:15] And he brought the people's offering, and took the kid of the sin offering that was for the people, and slaughtered it, and made a sin offering like the first. [9:16] And he brought forward the burnt offering, , and offered ${ }^{713}$ it according to the regulation. [9:17] And he brought the grain offering, and take out a handful ${ }^{414}$ of it, and burned it on the altar beside the burnt sacrifice of the morning.

## $101 \mathrm{r}^{0}$

[9:18] And he slaughtered the ox and the ram for a sacrifice of peace offerings which was for the people; and Aaron's sons brought him the blood which he sprinkled on the altar round about. [9:19] And the fat of the ox and of the ram, the |fat| tail, and that which covers |the entrails|, and the kidneys, and the extra of the liver (they divided). [9:20] They put the fat on the breasts and he burned the fat on the altar. [9:21] And Aaron waved the breasts and the right thigh as ${ }^{415} \mathrm{a}$ wave offering before the Lord, as the Lord commanded Moses. [9:22] And Aaron lifted up his hands toward the people, and blessed them, and after ${ }^{416}$ he had come down from making the sin offering, and the burnt offering, and peace offerings. [9:23] And Moses and Aaron came to the tent of meeting, and came out, and blessed the people, and the divine presence of the Lord became evident to all the people. [9:24] And then fire came out from before the Lord, and consumed the burnt offering and the fat on the altar, and all the people saw this and they shouted and fell on their faces.

## Chapter 10

[10:1] And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, , each of them ${ }^{417}$ took his censer, and put ${ }^{418}$ fire in them, and put incense on them, and they offered strange fire before the Lord, which he had not commanded them. [10:2] And fire came out from before the Lord and consumed them,

[^162]and they died before the Lord. [10:3] And Moses said to Aaron, 'This is it that the Lord spoke, saying, "I will be sanctified to those who are near to me, and I will be glorified before all the people", and Aaron kept silent. [10:4] And Moses called Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel, the uncle of Aaron, and said to them, 'Come near, carry ${ }^{419}$ your brothers from before the surfaces of sanctuary out of the camp'. [10:5] And they came near and carried ${ }^{420}$ them, with their shirts, out of the camp, as Moses had said. [10:6] And Moses said to Aaron, and to Eleazar and to Ithamar, his sons, 'Do not uncover your heads and do not rip your clothes, lest you die, and lest he be angry at all the congregation. But your brothers, the whole congregation of Israel, shall weep for the burning which the Lord has kindled. [10:7] And you shall not go out from the door of the tent of meeting, or you will die, because the anointing oil of the Lord is on you'. And they did

## $101 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

according to the word of Moses. [10:8] And the Lord spoke to Aaron, saying, [10:9] 'Do not drink new wine nor old wine, neither you nor your sons with you, before you go into the tent of meeting, lest you die. It shall be a statute forever throughout your generations. [10:10] ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ In the same way ${ }^{421} \mid$ when $\mid$ it comes to distinguish between holy and worthless, and between unclean and clean, [10:11] And |when| it comes to teach the sons of Israel all the statutes which the Lord has spoken to them by the hand of Moses'. [10:12] And Moses spoke to Aaron, and to Eleazar and to Ithamar, his sons who were left, 'Take the grain offering, the remainder of the offerings of the Lord made by fire and eat it unleavened beside the altar, because it is the holy of holies. [10:13] And you shall eat it in the holy place, because it is your share, and the share of your sons, of the sacrifices of the Lord made by fire. Because I have been commanded so. [10:14] And you shall eat the breast of the wave offering and the thigh of the partial offering in a clean place, you and your sons, and your daughters with you. Because it is your share, and the share of your sons which were given out of the sacrifices of peace offerings of the sons of Israel. [10:15] They shall bring the thigh of the partial offering and the breast of the wave offering with the offerings made by fire of the fat to offer it for a wave offering before the Lord, and it shall be yours and your sons' with you, by a statute forever, as the Lord has commanded'.

[^163][10:16] And Moses ${ }^{1}$ diligently sought ${ }^{1422}$ the goat of the sin offering, and, lo, it was burnt, and he was angry at Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron who remained, saying, [10:17] 'Why have you not eaten the sin offering in the holy place? Because it is the holy of the holies, and |God| has given it to you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord. [10:18] Lo, the blood of it was not brought into the holy place, you shall indeed have eaten it ${ }^{1423}$ in the holy place, as I commanded'. [10:19] And Aaron said to Moses, 'Lo, today they offered their sin offerings and their burnt offerings before the Lord, and |things| like these have befallen me, and if I had eaten the sin offering today, would it been good in the Lord's eyes?' [10:20] And Moses heard |that| and it appeared ${ }^{424}$ good in his eyes.

## Chapter 11

[11:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying to them,
$102 \mathbf{r}^{0}$
[11:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel, saying, "These are the animals that you shall eat among all the livestock that are on the earth. [11:3] All that have divided hoofs, and are cloven-hoofed and that chew the cud among the livestock, you shall eat." [11:4] But among those that chew the cud or have divided hoofs, you shall not eat these: the camel, because ${ }^{425}$ it chews the cud, but is not a completely cloven-hoofed, it is unclean to you. [11:5] And the rabbit ${ }^{426}$ (hedgehog); although it chews the cud, but it does not part the complete hoof, it is unclean to you. [11:6] And the hare; although it chews the cud, but it does ${ }^{427}$ not part the complete |hoof|, it is unclean to you. [11:7] And the pig (swine); although it does have a divided hoof and is cloven-hoofed ${ }^{428}$, but it does not chew the cud, it is unclean to you. [11:8] You shall not eat of their flesh and do not touch their carcasses, they are forbidden to you. [11:9] You shall eat these of all that are in the water: ${ }_{\text {L }}$ everything that has ${ }^{429}$ fins ${ }^{430}$ and scales in the water, in the seas, and in the rivers,

[^164]you shall eat them. [11:10] And ${ }_{\llcorner }$everything that has ${ }^{7431}$ no fins and scales, in the sea, in the rivers, of all creatures of the water that swarm ${ }^{432}$ and of all the living creatures ${ }^{433}$ that are in the waters: they are detestable to you. [11:11] And they shall be detestable to you. You shall not eat of their flesh and abominate their carcasses. [11:12] ${ }^{\text {EEverything that has }}{ }^{734}$ no fins and scales in the water shall be detestable to you. [11:13] And you shall abominate these among the birds, they shall not be eaten, they are detestable: the eagle (black bird), and the bearded vulture, and the sea eagle, [11:14] And the vulture, and the kite by its kind. [11:15] Every raven by its kind, [11:16] And the ostrich, and the owl and the cuckoo, and the falcon by its kind. [11:17] And ${ }_{\text {t }}$ the little owl ${ }^{1435}$, and the cormorant, and ${ }_{\text {t }}$ the screech owl ${ }^{1436}$, [11:18] And the swan, and the pelican, and the raham $^{437},[11: 19]$ And the stork, and the heron by its kind, and the hoopoe, and the bat. [11:20] And every ${ }_{\text {I }}$ flying insect ${ }^{438}$, that goes on four legs shall be detestable to you. [11:21] Among all creatures that have been born of ${ }_{\text {t }}$ the flying insects ${ }^{439}$, you shall eat only these those go on four legs, which have knees above their feet, to leap by them on the earth ${ }^{740}$. [11:22] You shall eat these of them: the locust of by its kind, and the cicada by its kind, and the hargol ${ }^{441}$ by its kind and hagav ${ }^{442}$ by its kind. [11:23] And all the |creatures| that were born, of those insects ${ }^{443}$ which have four feet, it shall be detestable

## $102 v^{0}$

to you. [11:24] And you will be unclean by touching these: anyone who touches their carcasses shall be unclean until the evening. [11:25] And the one who (the one who carries) lifts their carcasses shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the evening. [11:26] Every animal that has divided hoof and ${ }_{\text {L }}$ is not cloven-hoofed ${ }^{444}$, and does not chew the cud, they are unclean to you. Everyone who touches their carcasses shall be unclean until the evening. [11:27] And all

[^165]that walks _upon its paws ${ }^{445}$ of all beasts that go on four legs, those are forbidden to you; whoever touches their carcasses shall be unclean until the evening. [11:28] And the one who lifts the carcasses of them shall wash his clothes, and be unclean until the evening. They are forbidden to you. [11:29] And this is forbidden to you: the creatures that were born and that swarm ${ }^{446}$ on the earth: the weasel, and the rat, and the turtoise by its kind, [11:30] And the shrew mouse, and the sun lizard, and the star lizard, and the lizard, and the mole. [11:31] These are the forbidden |things| to you |among| all that were born. Whoever touches them, after they died, shall be unclean until the evening. [11:32] And anything on which |any| of them falls, after they have died, shall be forbidden |whether| it is any equipment (vessel) of wood, or clothing, or skin, or sack, whatever equipment that could be use for work with them, shall be put into water, and it shall be unclean until the evening, then it becomes clean. [11:33] And every pot ${ }^{447}$ into which any of them falls, whatever that is inside of it, it shall be unclean, and you shall break the pot. [11:34] Of all food which is eaten on which water comes, it will be unclean, and all drink that is drunk in every vessel will be unclean. [11:35] And anything that any part of their carcass falls on will be unclean. The oven and the hearth: they shall be destroyed, they are unclean, and shall be unclean to you. [11:36] Only: a spring or a cistern, a concentration of water will be clean, and whatever touches their carcasses will be unclean. [11:37] But if any part of $\mid$ their carcasses falls on any sowing seed which is sown, it is clean. [11:38] And if any water ${ }_{\text {L }}$ is put ${ }^{448}$ on the seed and |any part of $\mid$ their carcass falls on it, it is unclean to you. [11:39] And if any of livestock which is clean to eat for you dies, the one who touches its carcass shall be unclean until the evening. [11:40] And the one who eats

## $103 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

of its carcass shall wash his clothes, and will be unclean until the evening, and the one who carries ${ }^{449}$ its carcass shall wash his clothes, and will be unclean until the evening. [11:41] And everything that was born, that was born on the earth is detestable. It shall not be eaten. [11:42] And every|thing| which walks on a belly and every|thing| that walks on four legs, among all creatures that were born, that were born on the earth: you shall not eat them, because they are detestable things. [11:43] You shall not make your souls disgusted with any of the creatures

[^166]that were born, that lay eggs and you shall not be unclean with them, because your mind will be closed by them. [11:44] Because I am the Lord your God, you shall ${ }_{l}$ consecrate yourselves ${ }^{7450}$ and be holy, because I am holy, and you shall not defile your souls with any creature that was born and that moves on the earth. [11:45] Because I am the Lord who brought you up out of the land of Egypt to be your God, therefore be holy, because I am holy"'. [11:46] This is the law of the livestock, and of the bird, and of every living soul that moves in the water, and of every soul that gives birth on the earth, [11:47] To distinguish between the forbidden and the clean ${ }^{751}$, and between the animal that will be eaten and the animal ${ }^{752}$ that will not be eaten.

## Chapter 12

[12:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [12:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel, saying, "If a woman conceives, and bears a male |child|, then she shall be unclean seven days, as in the days of her menstruation illness, she shall be unclean. [12:3] And on the eighth day the flesh of his foreskin shall be circumcised. [12:4] And thirty-three days she shall sit with the blood of her purification, she shall not touch |anything| holy, nor come into the sanctuary until the days of her purification be fulfilled. [12:5] But if she bears a female |child|, then she will be unclean two weeks, ${ }^{\text {as }}$ in her menstruation ${ }^{453}$, and sixty-six days she shall sit for the blood of her purification. [12:6] And when the days of her purification are fulfilled for a son, or for a daughter, she shall bring a lamb of the first year for a burnt offering, and a young pigeon or a turtledove for a sin offering to the door of the tabernacle
$103 \mathrm{v}^{0}$
of meeting, to the priest. [12:7] And he shall bring it forward before the Lord and make atonement for her and she shall be clean from the flow ${ }^{454}$ of her blood. This is the law for the one who bears either a male or a female. [12:8] And if ${ }_{\text {L }}$ she cannot afford ${ }^{455}$ a lamb, then she shall take two turtledoves, or two young pigeons, one for the burnt offering, and one for the sin offering, and the priest shall make atonement for her, then she will be clean."

## Chapter 13

[^167][13:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, [13:2] 'If a man has in the skin of his flesh a swelling, a lichen, or a white spot, and if it becomes in the skin of his flesh a disease of leprosy, then he shall be brought to Aaron the priest or to one of his sons the priests. [13:3] And the priest shall look on the disease in the skin of his flesh, and if the hair in the disease is changed into white, and the appearance of the disease is deeper than the skin of his flesh, it is the disease of leprosy and if the priest looks on him, then he shall pronounce ${ }^{456}$ him unclean. [13:4] And if it is the white spot which is on the skin of his flesh, and if its appearance is not deeper than the skin, and the hair has not changed into white, then the priest shall shut up the disease seven days. [13:5] And the priest shall look on him on the seventh day, and, lo, if the disease in its colour has stopped, and the disease has not spread on the skin, then the priest shall shut him up seven days a second |time|. [13:6] And the priest shall look on him on the seventh day for the second time, and, lo, if the disease is dim and if the disease has not spread on the skin, the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{457}$ him clean. It is a lichen, and he shall wash his clothes, and shall be clean. [13:7] But if the lichen ${ }_{\text {L }}$ spreads farther ${ }^{458}$ on the skin, after he has shown himself to the priest, after his cleansing, he shall show himself to the priest for a second time. [13:8] And if the priest looks on, and, lo, if the lichen has spread on the skin, than the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{459}$ him unclean. It is a leprosy. [13:9] If the disease of leprosy is in a man, then he shall be brought to the priest. [13:10] And the priest shall look, and, lo, |if| there is a white swelling on the skin, and it has changed the hair into white, and there is a living ${ }^{460}$ raw flesh in the swelling, [13:11] It is an aging leprosy in the skin of his flesh, and the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{461}$ him unclean, and shall not shut him up, because he is

## 104 r $^{0}$

unclean. [13:12] And if the leprosy ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ spreads farther ${ }^{7462}$ on the skin, and if the leprosy covers all the skin of |the one with| the disease from his head to his foot, ${ }_{\text {, }}$ to wherever it is within sight of the priest's eyes ${ }^{463}$, [13:13] And the priest shall look: and, lo, |if| the leprosy has covered all

[^168]his flesh, he shall pronounce ${ }^{464} \mid$ the one with $\mid$ the disease clean. It has all changed and turned white. He is clean. [13:14] And on the day the raw flesh appears on him, he shall be unclean. [13:15] And the priest shall look on the raw flesh, and pronounce ${ }^{465}$ him unclean, |because| the raw flesh is unclean, it is the disease of leprosy. [13:16] Or if the raw flesh turns |again| and is changed to white, he shall come to the priest. [13:17] And the priest shall look him: and, lo, if the disease is turned to white, the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{466}$ |the one with| the disease clean. He is clean. [13:18] And if there is a flesh in the skin of which there is an abscess, and it heals, [13:19] And if there is a white swelling or a white-reddish spot in the place of the abscess, it shall be seen by the priest. [13:20] And the priest shall look: and lo, if its appearance is lower than the skin, and its hair has changed into white, the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{467}$ him unclean. It is the disease of leprosy, it spread in the boil. [13:21] But if the priest looks at it, and, lo, there is no white hairs in it, and if it is not lower than the skin, and is dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days. [13:22] And if it spreads ${ }^{468}$ on the skin, then the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{469}$ him unclean. It is a disease. [13:23] And if the bright spot stays in its place, and does not spread, it is the burn of the abscess, and the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{470}$ him clean. [13:24] Or if there is a flesh, in the skin of which there is a burn of a fire, and the living ${ }^{471}$ raw |flesh| of the burn has a white-reddish or white spot, [13:25] Then the priest shall look on it: and, lo, if the hair in the spot has turned white and its appearance is deeper than the skin, it is a leprosy spread in the burn, and the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{472}$ him unclean. It is the disease of leprosy. [13:26] But if the priest looks at it, and, lo, there is no white hair in the spot, and it is no lower than the skin, and is dim, then the priest shall shut him up seven days. [13:27] And the priest shall look on him on the seventh day, and if it ${ }_{L}$ spreads farther ${ }^{1773}$ on the skin, then the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{474}$ him unclean. It is the disease of

## $104 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

[^169]leprosy. [13:28] And if the spot stays in its place, and does not spread on the skin, and is dim, it is a swelling of the burn, then the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{475}$ him clean. Because it is a scar ${ }^{476}$ of the burn. [13:29] If a man or woman has a disease on the head or the beard, [13:30] Then the priest shall look on the disease: and, lo, if its appearance is deeper than the skin and there is in it yellow thin hair, then the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{477}$ him unclean. It is a scab, a leprosy of the head or the beard. [13:31] And if the priest looks at the disease of the scab, and, lo, if its appearance is deeper than the skin and there is no black hair in it, then the priest shall shut up |the one with| the disease of the scab seven days. [13:32] And the priest shall look at the disease on the seventh day: and, lo, if the scab has not spread, and there is no yellow hair in it, and the appearance of the scab is not deeper than the skin, [13:33] Then he shall shave himself, but he shall not shave the scab, and the priest shall shut up him |the one with| the scab seven days a second time. [13:34] And the priest shall look at the scab on the seventh day: and, lo, if the scab has not spread on the skin, and its appearance is not deeper than the skin, then the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{478}$ him clean, and he shall wash his clothes, and he will be clean, [13:35] And if the scab ${ }_{\text {L }}$ spreads farther ${ }^{7479}$ on the skin after his cleansing, [13:36] Then the priest shall look at him, and, lo, if the scab has spread on the skin, |then| the priest shall not inspect for yellow hair, he is unclean. [13:37] And if the scab stays in its colour and black hair has grown in it, |then| the scab is healed, |then| he is clean, and the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{480}$ him clean. [13:38] And if a man or a woman has spots, white spots in the skin of their flesh. [13:39] Then the priest shall see, and, lo, |if| the spots on the skin of their flesh are dim white, |then| it is a bohak ${ }^{481}$ that has spread on the body. He is clean. [13:40] And if a man's hair is fallen of, he is bald. He is clean. [13:41] And if his hair has fallen off from the part of his head |towards| his face, |then| he is gibea $h^{482}$, he is clean. [13:42] And if there is a white-reddish disease on the back of |his head| or on the front of |his head|, it is a leprosy spreading on the back of |his head| or on the front of |his head|. [13:43] And the priest shall look on it, and, lo, if the swelling of the disease appears white-reddish, on the back of |his head|

[^170]or on the front of |his head|, like the appearance of leprosy in his skin of the flesh, [13:44] He is a leprous man, he is unclean, the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{483}$ him unclean. His disease is in his head. [13:45] And the leprous |man| in whom the disease is: his clothes shall be ripped, and his head shall be bare, and he shall cover over his moustache, and shall cry out, "Unclean, unclean!", [13:46] All the days in which the disease shall be in him he is unclean. He shall dwell alone, his dwelling Lshall be ${ }^{484}$ outside the camp. [13:47] And the garment in which the disease of leprosy is, |whether| in garment of wool, or in garment of linen, [13:48] Either in the warp or in the weft of the linen or of the wool or in leather or in ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ any item that is made of leather ${ }^{485}$. [13:49] And if the disease is greenish or reddish in the garment, or in the skin, or in the warp, or in the weft, or in any item of skin: it is the disease of leprosy, and it shall be shown to the priest. [13:50] And the priest shall look on the disease, and shut up the disease seven days. [13:51] And he shall see the disease on the seventh day. If the disease has spread in the garment, either in warp or in weft, or in the leather, or in ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ any item that is made of leather ${ }^{1886}$ : the disease is a pain causing leprosy, it is unclean. [13:52] And he shall burn that garment, or the weft or the woof, that is of woollen or linen, or ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ any item that is made of leather ${ }^{187}$ if there is disease in them. Because it is a pain causing leprosy, it shall be burned in the fire. [13:53] And if the priest sees it, and, lo, the disease has not spread in the garment, or in the warp, or in the weft, or in Lany item that is made of leather ${ }^{488}$, [13:54] Then the priest shall command, and they wash the thing in which there is the disease, and he shall shut it in seven days a second time. [13:55] And the priest shall look at the disease after it has been washed from it, and, lo, the disease has not changed its colour, and the disease has not spread: it is unclean. You shall burn it in the fire: it is a sunken spot, |whether| on the back or on the front. [13:56] And if the priest sees it, and, lo, the disease is dim after it was washed, then he shall tear it out of the garment, or out of the leather, or out of the weft, or out of the woof. [13:57] And if it still appears in the garment, or in the weft, or in the woof, or in any item of

## $105 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

[^171]skin: it is a spreading disease, you shall burn in fire that in which the disease is. [13:58] And the garment, or the weft, or the woof, or any leather item: if you wash |them| and if the disease departs from them,then it shall be washed a second time, and shall be clean'. [13:59] This is the law of the disease of leprosy in a garment of wool or linen, or weft, or woof, or in any leather item, to pronounce ${ }^{489}$ it clean or to pronounce ${ }^{490}$ it unclean.

## Chapter 14

[14:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [14:2] 'This shall be the law of the disease of leprosy on the day of his cleansing: And he shall be brought to the priest. [14:3] And the priest shall go out of the camp, and the priest shall look on, and, lo, if the disease of leprosy has been healed from the one who has leprosy, [14:4] Then the priest shall command, and |one| shall take for the one who is going to be cleansed: the two clean living ${ }^{491}$ birds, and cypress wood, and scarlet silk, and hyssop. [14:5] And the priest shall command and he shall slay $\_$one of the birds ${ }^{492}$ in an earthen vessel over sweet water. [14:6] The living ${ }^{493}$ bird: he shall take it and the cypress wood and the scarlet silk and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living ${ }^{494}$ bird in the blood of the bird that was slayed over the sweet water. [14:7] And he shall sprinkle on the one who is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce ${ }^{495}$ him clean, and shall let the living ${ }^{496}$ bird go over the surface of the field. [14:8] And the one being cleansed shall wash his clothes, and shave off all his hair, and wash himself with water, then shall be clean. And after that he shall come into the camp, and shall live outside of his tent seven days. [14:9] And it will be on the seventh day that he shall shave all his hair, his head and his beard, and his eyelashes of his eyes. He shall shave off all his hair, and he shall wash his clothes, and he shall wash his flesh with water, and he shall be clean. [14:10] And on the eighth day he shall take
$106 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[^172]two healthy |male| lambs, and one healthy one-year-old female lamb, and three tenths of wheat flour, mixed with oil, and one seyik ${ }^{497}$ oil. [14:11] And the priest who makes |him| clean shall set the man who is being cleaned, and those things ${ }^{498}$ before the Lord, at the door of the tent of meeting. [14:12] And the priest shall take one lamb, and offer it for a guilt offering, and the seyik ${ }^{499}$ oil, and wave them for a wave offering before the Lord. [14:13] And he shall slay the lamb in the place where he slays the sin offering and the burnt offering in the holy |place|, because the guilt offering is like the sin offering, it is the priest's, it is the holy of holies. [14:14] And the priest shall take some of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest ${ }_{L}$ shall put ${ }^{7500}$ it on the lobe ${ }^{501}$ of the right ear of the one who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the big toe of his right foot. [14:15] And the priest shall take some from the seyi ${ }^{502}$ oil, and pour it into the palm of the priest's (his own) left hand. [14:16] And the priest shall dip the finger of his right hand in the oil that is on his left palm, and shall sprinkle some of the oil with his finger seven times before the Lord. [14:17] And the rest of the oil that is on his palm, the priest ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall put ${ }^{7503}$ it on the lobe ${ }^{504}$ of the right ear of the one who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the big toe of his right foot, over the blood of the guilt offering. [14:18] And he shall put ${ }^{505}$ the remnant of the oil that is on the priest's palm on the head of the one being cleansed, and the priest shall make atonement for him before the Lord. [14:19] And the priest shall make the offering, and make atonement for the one who is to be cleansed from his uncleanness, and afterward he shall slay the burnt offering. [14:20] And the priest shall bring out the burnt offering and the grain offering to the altar, and the priest shall make atonement for him, and he shall be clean. [14:21] And if he is poor and if he cannot afford ${ }^{1506}$, then he shall take one lamb for the guilt offering to be a wave offering to make atonement for himself, and one tenth of wheat flour mixed with oil for a grain offering, and a seyik ${ }^{507}$ oil, [14:22] And two turtledoves or two young pigeons, ${ }^{\text {L }}$ whichever he can afford ${ }^{508}$;

[^173]and one shall be a sin offering and one shall be a burnt offering. [14:23] And he shall bring them on the eighth day for his cleansing to the priest to the door

## $106 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

of the tent of meeting before the Lord. [14:24] And the priest shall take the lamb of the guilt offering and the seyik ${ }^{509}$ oil, and the priest shall wave them as a wave offering before the Lord. [14:25] And he shall slay the lamb of the guilt offering, and the priest shall take some of the blood of the guilt offering, and the priest ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall put ${ }^{510}$ it on the lobe ${ }^{511}$ of the right ear of the one who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the big toe of his right foot. [14:26] And the priest shall pour some of the oil into the palm of his (own) left hand. [14:27] And the priest shall sprinkle with his right finger some of the oil that is on his left palm seven times before the Lord. [14:28] And the priest shall put ${ }^{512}$ some of the oil that is on his palm, on the lobe ${ }^{513}$ of the right ear of the one who is to be cleansed, and on the thumb of his right hand, and on the big toe of his right foot, over the place of the blood of the guilt offering. [14:29] And ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he shall put ${ }^{514}$ the remnant of the oil that is on the priest's palm on the head of the one who is to be cleansed, to make atonement for him before the Lord. [14:30] And he shall offer ${ }^{515}$ one of the turtledoves or of the young pigeons, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ whichever he can afford ${ }^{516}$. [14:31] ${ }_{\text {L }}$ Whichever he can afford ${ }^{1517}$ : one for a sin offering and the other for a burnt offering with the grain offering. Then the priest shall make atonement for the one who is to be cleansed before the Lord. [14:32] This is the law of him in whom is the disease of leprosy, and who ${ }^{\prime}$ cannot afford ${ }^{518}$ for his cleansing'. [14:33] And the Lord spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying, [14:34] 'If you come to the land of Canaan which I am giving to you for a possession, and if I give the disease of leprosy to a house of the land of your possession, [14:35] Then the one who owns the house shall come and explain the priest, saying, "It appeared like a disease to me in the house." [14:36] Then the priest shall command and they shall empty the house before the priest comes to see the disease, so that all that is in the house shall not become unclean, and, after that, the priest shall come to see the house. [14:37] And he shall look on the disease, and, lo, if

[^174]the disease is on the walls of the house |with| strips ${ }^{519}$ appearing| greenish ${ }^{520}$ or reddish ${ }^{521}$ and their appearances are deeper ${ }^{522}$ than the wall. [14:38] Then the priest shall go out of the house to the door of the house and shut the house up seven days. [14:39] And the priest shall come back

## $107 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

on the seventh day, and if he sees, and, lo, the disease was spread in the walls of the house. [14:40] Then the priest shall command and they shall pull out the stones in which the disease is and they shall cast them into an unclean place outside the city. [14:41] And he shall scrape ${ }^{523}$ the house inside round about, and they shall pour out the earth that they scraped ${ }^{524}$ outside the city into an unclean place. [14:42] And they shall take other stones, and bring them to the place of those stones, and he shall take other earth and shall smear the house. [14:43] And if the disease comes back and appears ${ }^{525}$ in the house after that he has taken away ${ }^{1526}$ the stones and after he has scraped ${ }^{527}$ the house, and after he has smeared it, [14:44] Then if the priest comes and sees, and, lo, the disease has spread in the house: it is a pain causing leprosy in the house, it is unclean. [14:45] And he shall destroy the house, its stones and its woods and all the earth of the house, and he shall take them out of the camp into an unclean place. [14:46] And the one who comes into the house during all the days when it is shut up, shall be unclean until the evening. [14:47] And the one who lies in the house shall wash his clothes, and the one who eats in the house shall wash his clothes. [14:48] And if the priest comes ${ }^{528}$ in and looks, and, lo, the disease has not spread in the house after the house was smeared, then the priest shall pronounce ${ }^{529}$ the house clean, because the disease was healed. [14:49] And to cleanse ${ }^{530}$ the house, he shall take two birds, and cypress wood, and scarlet silk, and hyssop. [14:50] And he shall slay one of the birds over an earthen vessel over sweet water. [14:51] And he shall take

[^175]the cypress wood, and the hyssop, and the scarlet silk, and the living ${ }^{531}$ bird, and dip them in the blood of the slaughtered bird, and in the sweet waters, and sprinkle it at the house seven times. [14:52] And he shall cleanse ${ }^{532}$ the house with the blood of the bird, and with the sweet water, and with the living ${ }^{533}$ bird, and with the cypress wood, and with the hyssop, and with the scarlet silk. [14:53] But he shall let go the living ${ }^{534}$ bird out of the city over the surface of the field, and make atonement for the house, and it shall be clean'. [14:54] This is the law for all |kind of| disease of leprosy, and for a scab, [14:55] And for the leprosy

## $107 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

of a garment, and for a house, [14:56] And for a swelling, and for a lichen, and for a spot, [14:57] To teach ${ }_{\text {L when }}$ it is unclean ${ }^{7535}$, and ${ }_{\text {L }}$ when it is clean ${ }^{5366}$; this is the law of the disease of leprosy.

## Chapter 15

[15:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses and to Aaron, saying, [15:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel and say to them, "If a person ${ }^{537}$ has a discharge out of his flesh, |because of| his discharge he is unclean. [15:3] And this shall be his uncleanness if the liquid has flowed from his discharge, the discharge from his ${ }_{\text {L }}$ sexual organ ${ }^{7338}$ whether it has flowed thickly and covered his ${ }_{\text {L }}$ sexual organ ${ }^{7539}$ from his discharge, it is unclean. [15:4] If he lies on any bed which has the discharge, it shall be unclean, and if he sits on any item ${ }^{540} \mid$ which has the discharge $\mid$, it shall be unclean. [15:5] And if his head touches his bed, he shall wash his clothes and himself with water, and he shall be unclean until the evening, [15:6] And if the one who sits on |any| item on which the one who has the discharge sits, he shall wash his clothes and shall wash himself with water, and shall be unclean until the evening. [15:7] And the one who touches on the flesh of the one who has the discharge, he shall wash his clothes and shall wash himself with water, and shall be unclean until the evening. [15:8] If the one who has the discharge spits on him who is clean, he shall wash his clothes and wash himself with water, and shall be unclean until the evening.

[^176][15:9] And any saddle which was used ${ }^{541}$ by the one who has the discharge, it shall be unclean. [15:10] And anybody who touches anything that was under him, he shall be unclean until the evening, and the one who carries those |things| shall wash his clothes and wash himself with water, he shall be unclean until the evening. [15:11] And anyone whom the one who has the discharge touches, and has not washed himself with water, he shall wash his clothes and wash himself with water, and he shall be unclean until the evening. [15:12] And if the one who has the discharge touches an earthen vessel, it shall be broken, and every wooden vessel shall be washed with water. [15:13] And if the one who has a discharge ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ is cleansed ${ }^{1542}$ of his discharge, then he shall count for himself seven days for his cleansing, and wash his clothes, and wash his flesh in sweet water, and he shall be clean. [15:14] And on the eighth day he shall take for himself two turtledoves or two young pigeons and come before the Lord to the door of the tent of meeting, and give them to the priest.

## $108 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

[15:15] And the priest shall offer ${ }^{543}$ them: one for a sin offering, and the other for a burnt offering. And the priest shall make atonement for him before the Lord for his discharge. [15:16] And if a drop of a man's semen comes out from him, he shall wash all his flesh with water and be unclean until the evening, [15:17] And if there exists a drop of semen on any garment and any leather, it shall be washed with water, and it shall be unclean until the evening. [15:18] And if a man who has a drop of semen lies with a woman, they shall wash themselves with water and be unclean until the evening. [15:19] And if a woman has a discharge, if her discharge from her flesh is blood, there shall be seven days ${ }_{\text {L }}$ for her menstruation ${ }^{1544}$, and anyone who touches her shall be unclean until the evening. [15:20] And anything on which she lies during her menstrual impurity shall be unclean and anything on which she sits shall be unclean. [15:21] And anyone who touches her bed shall wash his clothes and wash himself with water, and he shall be unclean until the evening. [15:22] And anyone who touches any kind of vessel on which she sits shall wash his clothes and wash himself with water, and he shall be unclean until the evening. [15:23] And if it is on her bed, or on any vessel on which she is sitting, when he touches it, he shall be unclean until the evening. [15:24] And if any man lies ${ }^{545}$ with her and her

[^177]menstruation is on him, he shall be unclean seven days. And any bed on which he lies shall be unclean. [15:25] And if a woman whose ${ }_{\text {L }}$ blood flows ${ }^{1546}$ for many days, not at the time of her menstruation, or if it flows beyond ${ }^{547}$ the time of her menstruation, all the days of the discharge of her uncleanness shall be as the days of her menstruation, she shall be unclean. [15:26] If she lies on any bed during all the days of her discharge, it shall be to her as the bed of her menstruation, and any item ${ }^{548}$ that she sits on shall be unclean, like the uncleanness of her menstruation. [15:27] And everyone who touches them shall be unclean and shall wash his clothes, and wash himself with water, and he shall be unclean until the evening. [15:28] And if she is cleansed ${ }^{549}$ of her discharge, she shall count for herself seven days and after
$108 v^{0}$
that she shall be clean. [15:29] And on the eighth day she shall take for herself two turtledoves or two young pigeons, and bring them to the priest, to the door of the tent of meeting, [15:30] And the priest shall offer ${ }^{550}$ : one for a sin offering, and one for a burnt offering, and the priest shall make atonement for her before the Lord for the discharge of her uncleanness. [15:31] And you shall separate the children of Israel from their uncleanness, lest they die with their uncleanness when they defile my tabernacle that is among them." [15:32] This is the law of him who has a discharge and of him from whom a drop of semen goes out, |so as| to become unclean by it, [15:33] And of her who is away in her menstruation, and of the one who has discharge, a discharge of a man, and of a woman, and of the person who lies with an unclean woman.

## Chapter 16

[16:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses after two sons of Aaron has died, when they came forward before the Lord and died. [16:2] And the Lord said to Moses, ‘Speak to Aaron, your brother, that ${ }^{551}$ he shall not come at all times to the holy |place| within the veil before the cover which is over the ark, lest he die, because I will appear in the cloud over the cover. [16:3] Aaron shall come into the holy |place| with a young bull from the herd for a sin offering and a ram for a burnt offering. [16:4] He shall put on the holy linen shirt, and the linen trousers shall be upon

[^178]his flesh, and he shall be girded with a linen belt, and he shall be wrapped with the linen turban. These are holy garments and he shall wash his flesh with water, and put them on. [16:5] And he shall take two kids of the goats from the congregation of the sons of Israel for a sin offering, and one ram for a burnt offering. [16:6] And Aaron shall offer his bull of the sin offering which is for himself, and make atonement for himself and for his house. [16:7] And he shall take the two goats, and set them before the Lord at the door of the tent of meeting. [16:8] And Aaron shall cast ${ }^{552}$

## $109 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

lots over the two goats, one lot for the Lord and one lot for Azazel. [16:9] And Aaron shall offer the goat on which the lot for Lord arose and he shall make it a sin offering. [16:10] And the goat, on which the lot for Azazel arose, shall be stood alive before the Lord to make for atonement over it, to let him go to Azazel, to the wilderness. [16:11] And Aaron shall bring the bull of the sin offering which is for himself, and make atonement for himself, and for his house, and shall slay the bull of offering which is for himself. [16:12] And he shall take a censer ${ }^{553}$ full of embers of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and a handful ${ }^{554}$ of fragrant incense, and he shall bring it within the veil. [16:13] And he shall put ${ }^{555}$ the incense on the fire before the Lord, |so that ${ }^{556}$ the cloud of the incense may cover the cover that is on the testimony, lest he die. [16:14] And he shall take of the blood of the calf and sprinkle it with his finger before the cover eastward, and he shall sprinkle of the blood with his finger before the cover seven times. [16:15] Then he shall slay the goat of the sin offering that is for the people, and bring its blood within the veil, and do $\mid$ with $\mid$ its blood as he did with the blood of the calf, and he shall sprinkle it on the cover and before the cover. [16:16] And he shall make atonement for the holy |place|, for the uncleanness of the children of Israel and for their deceits in all their sins, and he shall do so for the tent of meeting that dwells with them in the midst of their uncleanness. [16:17] And there shall be no man in the tent of meeting when he goes in to make atonement in the holy |place| until he comes out. He shall make atonement for himself, and for his house, and for all the congregation of Israel. [16:18] And he shall go out to the altar that is before the Lord, and make atonement for it and he shall take of the blood of the bull, and of the blood of the goat,

[^179]and put ${ }^{557}$ it on the corners of the altar round about. [16:19] And he shall sprinkle of the blood on it with his finger seven times, and cleanse it, and make it holy from the uncleanness of the sons of Israel. [16:20] And he shall stop atoning for the holy |place|, and the tent of meeting, and the altar. He shall bring the live goat.

## $109 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

[16:21] And Aaron shall lay both his hands on the head of the live goat, and confess over him all their iniquities. He shall put ${ }^{558}$ them on the head of the goat, and he shall send him away by the hand of a ready man into the wilderness. [16:22] And the goat shall carry on itself all their iniquities to a ruined place, and he shall let go the goat into the wilderness. [16:23] And Aaron shall come into the tent of meeting, and shall take off the linen garments which he had put on when he came into the holy |place|, and shall put them there. [16:24] And he shall wash his flesh with water in the holy |place|, and put on his garments, and come out, and make his burnt offering, and the burnt offering of the people, and make atonement for himself and for the people. [16:25] And the fat of the sin offering: he shall burn on the altar. [16:26] And the one who let go the goat to Azazel shall wash his clothes, and wash his flesh with water, and after that come into the camp. [16:27] And the bull of the sin offering, and the goat of the sin offering whose blood was brought in to make atonement in the holy |place|: one shall carry |them| out outside the camp, and with fire they shall burn their skins, and their flesh, and their dung. [16:28] And the one who burns them shall wash his clothes, and wash his flesh with water, and after that he shall come into the camp. [16:29] And this shall be $\mathrm{a}_{\perp}$ statute forever ${ }^{559}$ to you: in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month, you shall afflict your souls and shall not work at all, either a local or a stranger that lives among you. [16:30] Because on that day the priest makes atonement for you to cleanse you from all your sins. You shall be clean before the Lord. [16:31] It is a Sabbath of solemn rest to you, and you shall afflict your souls by a ${ }_{\text {Lstatute }}$ forever ${ }^{1560}$. [16:32] And the priest whom |one| shall anoint and who will fill his hand to serve as a priest in his father's place shall make atonement and put on the linen clothes, the holy clothes. [16:33] And he shall make atonement for the holy sanctuary, and for the tent of meeting and he shall make atonement for the altar, and he shall make atonement for the priests and for

[^180]all the people of the congregation. [16:34] And this shall be, a ${ }_{\text {L }}$ statute forever ${ }^{561}$ to you to make atonement for the sons of Israel for all their sins once a year'. And he did as the Lord commanded Moses.

## $110 \mathrm{r}^{0}$

## Chapter 17

[17:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [17:2] 'Speak to Aaron, and to his sons, and to all the sons of Israel, and say to them, "This is the word which the Lord has commanded, saying, [17:3] 'If ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ any man ${ }^{1562}$ of the congregation of Israel slays cattle or a lamb or a goat in the camp, or slays outside the camp, [17:4] And if he does not bring it to the door of the tent of meeting to offer an offering to the Lord before the tabernacle of the Lord, bloodshed ${ }^{563}$ will be counted to that person, |as if | he shed the blood |of someone|, and that person shall be cut off from among his people, [17:5] Therefore the children of Israel shall bring their sacrifices (their shechitas) which they offer (shechita) over the surface of the fields, and they shall bring them to the Lord, to the door of the tent of meeting, to the priest, and sacrifice them for peace offerings to the Lord. [17:6] And the priest shall sprinkle the blood on the altar of the Lord at the door of the tent of meeting, and burn the fat for an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [17:7] And they shall no more offer their sacrifices to devils ( ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ to their goat faces ${ }^{5664}$ ) after whom they are going astray. This shall be a ${ }_{\text {L }}$ statute forever ${ }^{1565}$ to them throughout their generations. [17:8] And you shall say them, "If ${ }_{\text {L }}$ any person ${ }^{5666}$ from the congregation of Israel or of the strangers lives among them brings out a burn offering or a sacrifice, [17:9] And if he does not bring it to the door of the tent of meeting to make it to the Lord, then that man shall be cut off from among his people. [17:10] If ${ }_{\text {L }}$ any person ${ }^{7567}$ from the congregation of Israel or of the strangers who live among them eats any blood, then I will set ${ }^{7568}$ my wrath against that soul who eats blood and will cut him off from among his people. [17:11] Because the soul of the flesh is |covered| in blood and I have given it to you on the altar to make atonement for your souls. Because it is the blood that makes atonement for the soul." [17:12] Therefore I have said to the children of Israel: "No soul

[^181]among you shall eat blood, nor shall the stranger that lives among you eat blood." [17:13] And if ${ }_{\text {L }}$ any person ${ }^{769}$ from the children of Israel or from the strangers who live among them hunts game, either an animal or a bird that may be eaten and if he pours out its blood, he shall cover it with earth. [17:14] Because the life of all living creatures
$$
110 \mathbf{v}^{0}
$$
is its blood along with its soul (mixed), and I said to the children of Israel: "You shall not eat the blood of any living creatures, because the life of all living creatures is its blood; every one of those who eat it shall be cut off." [17:15] And every soul who (by mistake) eats nevala ${ }^{570}$ or terefa ${ }^{571}$, whether it is a local or a stranger, he shall wash his clothes and shall wash his flesh with water and shall be unclean until the evening, then he shall be clean. [17:16] But if he does not wash his clothes and his flesh, then he will bear his iniquity".

## Chapter 18

[18:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [18:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel and say to them, "I am the Lord your God. [18:3] You shall not do ${ }_{\text {L }}$ like what is done in the land of Egypt ${ }^{5772}$, wherein you dwelt, and you shall not do ${ }_{L}$ like what is done in the land of Canaan ${ }^{5773}$, to where I am bringing you, and you shall not walk by their statutes. [18:4] You shall do my judgments and keep my statutes to walk by them. I am the Lord your God. [18:5] And you shall keep my statutes and my judgments. If a man does them, then he will live by them. I am the Lord. [18:6] ${ }_{\text {LAny }} \operatorname{man}^{574}$ to any close |relative| of his flesh: you shall not come close to uncover nakedness ${ }^{575}$. I am the Lord. [18:7] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{576}$ of your father, that is to say, the nakedness ${ }^{577}$ of your mother. She is your mother. You shall not uncover her nakedness ${ }^{578}$. [18:8] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{579}$ of your father's wife. It is your

[^182]father's nakedness ${ }^{580}$. [18:9] The nakedness ${ }^{581}$ of your sister, the daughter of your father or the daughter of your mother, whether she was born at home (from your father) or born outside (from somebody else): you shall not uncover her nakedness ${ }^{582}$. [18:10] The nakedness ${ }^{583}$ of your son's daughter or of your daughter's daughter: you shall not uncover their nakedness ${ }^{584}$. Because they are your nakedness ${ }^{585}$. [18:11] The nakedness ${ }^{586}$ of your father's wife's daughter: she is regarded as begotten of your father. She is your sister, you shall not uncover her nakedness ${ }^{587}$. [18:12] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{588}$ of your father's sister, because she is a relative of your father. [18:13] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{589}$ of your mother's sister, because she is your mother's relative. [18:14] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{590}$ of your father's brother, (that is to say) you shall not approach to his wife, she is your aunt-in-law. [18:15] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{591}$ of your daughter-in-law. She is your son's wife. You shall not uncover her nakedness ${ }^{592}$. [18:16] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{593}$ of your brother's wife. It is your brother's nakedness ${ }^{594}$. [18:17] You shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{595}$ of a woman and her daughter. You shall not take either her son's daughter or her daughter's daughter. You shall not uncover her nakedness ${ }^{596}$; they are relatives.

## $111 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

It is an abominable |thing| (to take). [18:18] And you shall not take a woman to her sister to make her a co-wife to uncover her ${ }^{597}$ nakedness ${ }^{598}$ before her ${ }^{599}$ when she ${ }^{600}$ is alive ${ }^{601}$. [18:19] And you shall not come close to a woman in the time of her menstrual uncleanness to uncover

[^183]her nakedness ${ }^{602}$. [18:20] And you shall not give your bed to your friend's ( ${ }_{L}$ when that person is healthy ${ }^{7603}$ ) wife for offspring, to become unclean by it. [18:21] And ${ }_{\llcorner }$you shall not let ${ }^{7604}$ any of your offspring pass through the fire to Molech, neither disrespect the name of your God. I am the Lord. [18:22] And you shall not lie with a man |like| lying with a woman. It is an abomination. [18:23] And you shall not give your bed to any animal to become unclean by it, neither shall |any| woman stand before an animal to join with it. It is an abomination. [18:24] You shall not become unclean by any of these, because by all these the nations that I am driving out before you have become unclean. [18:25] And the land has become unclean, therefore I thought about its iniquity and the land vomited out its inhabitants. [18:26] And you shall keep my statutes and my judgments, and shall not do any of these abominations, neither the local or the stranger that lives among you. [18:27] Because all the people of the land who were before you did all these abominable things, and the land became unclean. [18:28] So the land shall not vomit you out when you make it unclean, as it vomited out the nations that were before you. [18:29] Because, trully, anyone who does (secretly) any of these abominable things: the souls that did those will be cut off from among their nations. [18:30] And you shall keep my testament not to do any one of these abominable laws which were done before you, and you shall not become unclean by them. I am the Lord your God.

## Chapter 19

[19:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [19:2] 'Speak to all the congregation of the sons of Israel and say to them, "Be holy, because I, the Lord your God, am holy.

## $111 v^{0}$

[19:3] Every person shall fear his mother and his father, and you shall keep my Sabbaths. I am the Lord your God. [19:4] Do not turn to idols ${ }^{605}$ and you shall not make to yourselves molten idols. I am the Lord your God. [19:5] And if you do a sacrifice of peace offerings before the Lord, you shall offer it at your will. [19:6] It shall be eaten on the day that you offer it, and the ${ }_{\text {t }}$ next day ${ }^{606}$, and the remainder until the third day, it shall be burned in the fire. [19:7] And ${ }_{\text {L }}$ if it is eaten at all ${ }^{7607}$ on the third day, it is a profanation (it is unfit), that peace offering shall not

[^184]be accepted. [19:8] And its eaters ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ (those who have been eaten it by choice) ${ }^{600}$ bear their iniquity, because he has despised the Holy of the Lord, and that soul will be cut off from among his nation. [19:9] And when you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not finish harvesting the edge of your field, and you shall not collect the leftover ears of your harvest. [19:10] And you shall not glean your vineyard and you shall not collect the seed of your vineyard, but you shall leave them to the poor and the stranger. I am the Lord your God. [19:11] You shall not steal, and not deceive, and nobody shall cheat the other one. [19:12] And you shall not swear by my name falsely, and shall not disrespect the name of your God. I am the Lord. [19:13] You shall not oppress your friend and you shall not rob, a hired worker's wages shall not ${ }_{\text {L }}$ stay with you ${ }^{1609}$ until the morning. [19:14] You shall not curse the deaf, and you shall not put ${ }^{610}$ an obstacle before the blind, and you shall fear your God. I am the Lord. [19:15] You shall not do injustice in judgement, Lyou shall not contempt the poor ${ }^{7611}$, and ${ }_{\text {Lyou shall not favor the rich }}{ }^{1612}$. You shall judge your fellow with justice. [19:16] You shall not walk |as| a slanderer among your people, you shall not stand by at your fellow's blood. I am the Lord. [19:17] You shall not regard your brother in your heart as an enemy, you ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall surely admonish ${ }^{7613}$ your friend, lest you bear iniquity because of him. [19:18] You shall not take revenge, and you shall not hate ${ }^{614}$ the sons of your people, and you shall love your friend as |you do| yourself. I am the Lord. [19:19] You shall keep my statutes. You shall not mate your cattle two kinds. You shall not sow your field two kinds. And a garment of two kinds, shaatnez ${ }^{615}$ : it shall not go on you. [19:20] And if a person lies sexually ${ }^{616}$ with a woman, who is slave |and| engaged to $\mathrm{L}^{2}$ man $^{7617}$ and ${ }_{\text {L }}$ she has not been redeemed at all ${ }^{1618}$, or the price of her freedom has not been given to her: there shall be an investigation, they shall not be killed if she was not free. [19:21] And he shall bring his guilt offering to the Lord, to the door of the tent of meeting:

[^185]
## $112 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

a ram for a guilt offering. [19:22] And the priest shall make atonement for him with the ram of the guilt offering before the Lord for his sin which he has sinned, then it will be forgiven for him concerning his sin that he has sinned. [19:23] And if you come to the land, and plant any kind of fruit trees, you shall regard its uncircumcision, that is its fruit, as uncircumcised. It shall be |unclean for| three years to you, it shall not be eaten like the ones uncircumcised. [19:24] But in the fourth year all the fruit shall be holy, |and offered as| praises for the Lord. [19:25] And in the fifth year you shall eat of its fruit to increase its product for you. I am the Lord your God. [19:26] You shall not eat with the blood, you shall not do fortune-telling, and ,you shall not do soothsaying ${ }^{6169}$. [19:27] $]_{\text {L }}$ You shall not shave around ${ }^{7620}$ the sides of your head and not weaken the edges of your beard. [19:28] ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ You shall not make ${ }^{7621}$ a tear in your flesh for the dead and not make a tattoo ${ }^{622}$ on you. I am the Lord. [19:29] You shall not despise your daughter to make her a prostitute, lest the people of the land be mistaken and the land become full of adultery. [19:30] You shall keep my Sabbaths, and fear my sanctuary. I am the Lord. [19:31] You shall not turn to soothsayers and not seek the sorcerers to become unclean by them. I am the Lord your God. [19:32] You shall stand before an aged person, and you shall respect the face of an old man, and fear your God. I am the Lord. [19:33] And if a stranger lives with you in your land, you shall not oppress him. [19:34] The stranger that lives among you shall be to you like one of you and and you shall love him as |you do| yourself, because you |too| were strangers in the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God. [19:35] You shall not do injustice in judgment, in measurements, in weights, in scales. [19:36] There shall be true scale, true stone, a true kebic ${ }^{623}$, and a true seyik ${ }^{624}$ for you. I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt. [19:37] And you shall keep all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them. I am the Lord."

## Chapter 20

[20:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [20:2] 'And say to the sons of Israel, "LAny person ${ }^{7625}$ of the sons of Israel, or of the strangers who live in Israel: if he gives of his offspring

[^186]to Molech, ${ }_{\text {Lhe }}$ shall surely be killed ${ }^{626}$, the people of the land shall stone him with stones. [20:3] ${ }_{\text {L And I will set }}{ }^{7627}$ my wrath

## $112 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

against that (the one who gives secretly) man, and I will cut him off from among his people, because he has given of his offspring to Molech, to make my sanctuary unclean and to despise my holy name. [20:4] And if the nation of the land close ${ }^{628}$ their eyes to that person when he openly gives of his offspring to Molech, not to kill him, [20:5] ${ }_{\text {L }}$ Then I will set ${ }^{1629}$ my wrath against that man and against his family and will cut off him and all who go astray after him, to go astray after Molech, from among their people. [20:6] And if the soul turns to the soothsayers and the sorcerers, going astray after them, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ then I will set ${ }^{1630}$ my wrath against that soul and will cut him off from among his people. [20:7] And you shall be consecrated ${ }^{631}$, and |therefore| you shall be holy because I am the Lord your God. [20:8] And you shall keep my statutes, and do them, because I am the Lord who makes you holy. [20:9] For everyone ${ }^{632}$ who curses his father or his mother, ${ }_{l}$ shall surely be killed ${ }^{7633}$; he has cursed his father or his mother, his blood shall be on his head. [20:10] And if a person commits adultery with |another| man's wife, commits adultery with his friend's wife, the person who commits adultery and the women who commits adultery ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ shall surely be killed ${ }^{634}$. [20:11] And if a person lies with his father's wife, |then| he has uncovered his father's nakedness ${ }^{635}$, ${ }_{1}$ both of them shall surely be killed ${ }^{736}$. Their blood shall be on their heads. [20:12] And if a person lies with his daughter-in-law, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ both of them shall surely be killed ${ }^{7637}$, they have done a disgusting |thing|, their blood shall be on their

[^187]heads. [20:13] And if a person lies with a man like lying |with| a woman, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ both of them shall surely be killed ${ }^{1638}$. They have done a disgusting |thing|, their blood |shall be| on their heads. [20:14] And if a person takes a wife and her mother: it is an abomination. They shall be burned with fire, he and one of them, so there shall be no abomination among you. [20:15] And if a person ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ lies with ${ }^{639}$ an animal, ${ }^{\text {he }}$ shall surely be killed ${ }^{7640}$, and you shall kill the animal. [20:16] And if a woman approaches any four-footed animal to sleep with it then kill the woman and the animal. ${ }_{\text {LThey }}$ Thall surely be killed ${ }^{7641}$, their blood |shall be| on their heads. [20:17] And if a person takes his sister, his father's daughter, or his mother's daughter, and sees her nakedness ${ }^{642}$ and she sees his nakedness ${ }^{643}$, it is an abomination and they shall be cut off in the sight of the sons of

## $113 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

their people. He has uncovered his sister's nakedness ${ }^{644}$, he shall bear his iniquity. [20:18] And if a man lies with a menstruating woman, and uncovers her nakedness ${ }^{645}$, he has exposed her flow ${ }^{646}$ and she has uncovered the flow ${ }^{647}$ of her blood. And both of them shall be cut off from among their people. [20:19] And you shall not uncover the nakedness ${ }^{648}$ of your mother's sister and of your father's sister. Whoever uncovered the nakedness ${ }^{649}$ of his relative: they shall bear their iniquity. [20:20] And if a man lies with the wife of his uncle, |then| he has uncovered his uncle's nakedness. They shall bear their iniquity, they shall die childless ${ }^{7650}$. [20:21] And if a man takes the wife of his brother, it is like the menstrual impurity. He has uncovered his brother's nakedness, they shall be childless ${ }^{651}$. [20:22] And you shall keep all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ so that ${ }^{1652}$ the place where I am bringing you to dwell therein

[^188]may not vomit you out. [20:23] And you shall not walk by the statutes of the nation which I am driving out before you, because they have done all these |things|, and I have been disgusted by them, [20:24] But I have said to you: 'You shall inherit their land, and I shall give it to you to inherit it, a land flowing |with| milk and honey. I am the Lord your God, who has separated you from the nations. [20:25] You shall make a distinction between the clean animal and the unclean animal, and between the unclean bird and the clean |bird|, and you shall not make your souls abominable by animal or by bird or by all that moves on the ground which I have separated for you to pronounce ${ }^{653}$ unclean. [20:26] And you shall be holy to me, because I, the Lord, am holy and have separated you from other people to be mine. [20:27] And if a man or a woman is a sorcerer or a healer, ${ }_{\text {t }}$ they shall surely be killed ${ }^{1654}$, they shall stone them with stones ${ }^{1655}$, their blood |shall be| on their heads.

## Chapter 21

[21:1] And the Lord said to Moses, 'Speak to the priests, the sons of Aaron, and say to them that "One shall not be unclean

## $113 v^{0}$

for a dead |person| among his people, [21:2] But for his relative, that is near unto him, for his father, or for his mother, or for his son, or for his daughter, or for his brother. [21:3] And for his unmarried sister who is near unto him who has not been a husband's, he may become unclean by touching her. [21:4] A husband shall not be unclean (by touching his wife) among his people to disrespect |himself|. [21:5] LThey shall not pluck the hair on their heads ${ }^{7656}$, and they shall not shave off the edge of their beards, nor shall they draw |any| lines in their flesh. [21:6] They shall be holies to their God and not disrespect the name of their God, because they are bringing forward the offerings of the Lord made by fire, the offerings of their God, and they shall be holy. [21:7] They shall not take a prostitute or a ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ depraved one ${ }^{7657}$ and they shall not take a woman ${ }_{\text {L }}$ divorced from ${ }^{1658}$ her husband, because he is holy to his God. [21:8] And you shall sanctify him, because he is bringing forward the offerings of your God, he shall be holy

[^189]to you, because I, the Lord, who makes you holy, am holy. [21:9] And if the daughter of a priest begins to go astray, she is defiling her father's priesthood. She shall be burned in fire. [21:10] And if the anointing oil is poured on the one who is the superior priest among his brothers and he fills his hand to wear the holy garments, he shall not uncover his head nor tear his clothes. [21:11] He shall not come to any dead soul, not even for his father and for his mother. He shall not be unclean. [21:12] He shall not go out of the sanctuary, and defile the sanctuary of his God, because the crown of the anointing oil of his God is on him. I am the Lord. [21:13] And he shall take a wife in her virginity. [21:14] A widow, or a divorced ${ }^{659}$ |woman|, or a depraved ${ }^{660}$ |woman|, or a prostitute: he shall not take these but he shall only take a virgin girl of his own people as a wife for himself. [21:15] And he shall not defile his offspring among his people, because I am the Lord who makes him holy."" [21:16] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [21:17] 'Speak to Aaron, saying, "If a person from your offspring throughout their generations ${ }_{\text {thas }}$ any defect ${ }^{7661}$, he shall not approach to offer the offerings of his God. [21:18] Because any person who has ${ }^{\text {any }}$ defect ${ }^{662}$ shall not come near: |neither| a blind man, nor lame, nor the one who has $\mid$ any $\mid$ missing joints, nor the one who has |any| additional joints, [21:19] Or if a person has a broken foot or a missing hand, [21:20] Or he is humped or slender (shortie), or has a ${ }_{\text {L }}$ defect

## $114 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

in his eyes ${ }^{663}$, or scabies, or a curved joint, or pierced testicles. [21:21] Any person ${ }_{\text {L }}$ who has any defect ${ }^{1664}$ from the offspring of Aaron the priest, shall not come near to bring forward the offerings of the Lord made by fire, if ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ he has any defect ${ }^{665}$, he shall not come near to bring forward the offering of his God, [21:22] But he may eat of the offerings of his God, from the holies of holies. [21:23] Only: he shall not come to the veil and approach the altar, because ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he has a defect ${ }^{1666}$, and he shall not disrespect my sanctuary, because I am the Lord who makes them holy." ${ }^{[21: 24]}$ And Moses spoke to Aaron and to his sons and to all the sons of Israel.

## Chapter 22

[^190][22:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [22:2] 'Speak to Aaron and his sons and they shall be separated from the holy things of the sons of Israel, that ${ }^{667}$ they shall not disrespect my holy name, because they are making |them| holy for me. I am the Lord. [22:3] Say to them, to your generations, "If any person from your offspring approaches to the holy |things| which the sons of Israel make holy for the Lord, and his uncleanness appears on them, he will be cut off from before me. I am the Lord. [22:4] ${ }_{\text {L Any person }}{ }^{668}$ from the offspring of Aaron who is leprous or has a discharge shall not eat of the holy |things| until he is clean. And the one who touches any unclean creatures or a person from whom a drop of semen ${ }_{\text {L }}$ has come out ${ }^{7669}$, [22:5] Or a soul, who touches any creature that swarms ${ }^{670}$ and becomes unclean by them, or touches a man and becomes unclean by them, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ whatever his uncleanness ${ }^{1671}$ : [22:6] If a soul touches ${ }_{\text {L }}$ such a thing ${ }^{1672}$, he shall be unclean until the evening and shall not eat of the holy |things| unless he washes his body with water. [22:7] And if the sun goes down, then he becomes clean, and afterward he shall eat of the holy |things|, because those are his food. [22:8] He shall not eat nevala ${ }^{673}$ nor terefa ${ }^{674}$ to become unclean by it. I am the Lord. [22:9] And they shall keep my testament, and they shall not bear the punishment of the sin for it and they die therefore ${ }^{675}$ if they disrespect it. I am the Lord who makes them holy. [22:10] And any stranger shall not eat the holy |thing|: a guest of the priest or a hired servant shall not eat the holy |thing|. [22:11] But if a priest buys a soul, the one who is bought

## $114 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

with his money may eat of it. And those who are born in his house: they may eat of his food. [22:12] And if a priest's daughter ${ }_{\text {L }}$ is married to a foreigner ${ }^{1676}$, she may not eat of the offering part of the holy things. [22:13] And if a priest's daughter becomes a widow or divorced ${ }^{677}$, and has no offspring and returns to her father's house, as in her youth, she shall eat of her father's bread. But no foreigner shall eat of it. [22:14] And if a person eats of a holy |thing| by mistake, he shall add its fifth part of it to it and give the holy |thing| to the priest. [22:15] And they shall

[^191]not disrespect the holy |things| of the sons of Israel which they separate to the Lord. [22:16] And they shall make them bear the iniquity for the guilt ${ }^{678}$ when they eat their holy |things|. Because I am the Lord who makes them holy." [22:17] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [22:18] 'Speak to Aaron and his sons and all the sons of Israel and say to them, "If ${ }_{\text {L a person }}{ }^{1679}$ of the congregation of Israel or of the strangers in Israel offers his offering, for all his vows ${ }^{680}$ and for all his generosity |offerings| which he offers to the Lord for a burnt offering, [22:19] Together with your |own| will, |you shall bring forward| a healthy male of the cattle, of the lambs, or of the goats. [22:20] You shall not offer anything that ${ }_{\text {L }}$ has a blemish ${ }^{1681}$. Because it will not be acceptable for you. [22:21] And if a person offers a peace offering to the Lord to dedicate a vow ${ }^{682}$ or as generosity |offering| from the cattle or from the sheep, it shall be healthy to be accepted; there shall be no blemish ${ }^{683}$ in it. [22:22] Blind or broken or defective or disabled, or one with a curved joint, or one with a lichen: you shall not bring these as an offer to the Lord and you shall not give as an offering made by fire of them on the altar to the Lord. [22:23] A bull or a sheep that has Lany additional joints ${ }^{1684}$ or ${ }_{\text {L }}$ any missing joints ${ }^{1685}$ : you may do it for a generosity |offering|, but for a vow ${ }^{686}$, it will not be accepted. [22:24] And that which is crushed, or broken, or suffering, or cut: you shall not offer to the Lord, nor do it in your land. [22:25] And from a stranger's hand, you shall not offer an offering of your God of any of these, because their defect is in them, a blemish ${ }^{687}$ is in them; they will not be accepted for you." [22:6] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [22:27] "If a bull or a lamb or a goat is born, then it shall be next to its mother seven days, and from the eighth day and thereafter it will be accepted |for you| as an offering by fire to the Lord.

## $115 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[22:28] And a bull or a sheep: you shall not slay it and its young ${ }_{\text {L }}$ on the same day ${ }^{688}$ [22:29] And if you offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving to the Lord, sacrifice it for your |own| will. [22:30] On that day it shall be eaten, you shall not leave |any| of it until morning. I am the Lord. [22:31]

[^192]And you shall keep my commandments and do them. I am the Lord. [22:32] And you shall not disrespect my holy name, and I will be holy among the children of Israel; I am the Lord who sanctifies you, [22:33] Who brought you out of the land of Egypt to be your God, I am the Lord'.

## Chapter 23

[23:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [23:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel and say to them, "The appointed times of the Lord, which you shall call holy convocations: these are my appointed times: [23:3] Six days work shall be done, and on the seventh day is a Sabbath of solemn rest, a holy convocation, do not do any work. It is the Sabbath to the Lord in all your dwelling places. [23:4] These are the appointed times of the Lord, the holy convocations which you shall call in their appointed times: [23:5] In the first month, on the fourteenth day of the month ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ at twilight ${ }^{7689}$, is the Passover to Lord. [23:6] And on the fifteenth day of this month is the feast of unleavened bread to the Lord. You shall eat unleavened bread seven days. [23:7] On the first day it shall be a holy convocation to you: you shall not do any work of service. [23:8] And you shall offer an offering by fire to the Lord seven days. In the seventh day is a holy convocation: you shall not do any work of service." [23:9] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [23:10] 'Speak to the sons of Israel and say to them, "If you come to the land that I am giving you and reap its harvest, bring the sheaf of the first of your harvest to the priest. [23:11] And he shall wave the sheaf before the Lord, for your wish, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ on the next day after the Sabbath ${ }^{690}$ the priest shall offer it. [23:12] And that day when you wave the sheaf you shall do a healthy one-year-old lamb for a burnt offering to the Lord. [23:13] And its grain offering |shall be| two parts of ten of wheat flour mixed with oil, an offering by fire to the Lord |with| an aroma of acceptance. And its drink offering |shall be| a wine offering, a fourth part of a siyik ${ }^{691}$,, [23:14] And you shall not eat bread or groats, or heads of barley

## $115 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

until the selfsame day, until you have brought a offering of your God; it is a ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ statute forever ${ }^{1692}$ throughout your generations in all your dwellings. [23:15] And you shall count for yourselves

[^193]${ }_{\text {Ifrom }}$ the next day after the Sabbath ${ }^{693}$, from the day that you brought the sheaf of wave offering: seven Sabbaths shall be complete. [23:16] You shall count until Lthe day after ${ }^{1694}$ the seventh Sabbath, fifty days and you shall bring forward a new grain offering to the Lord. [23:17] You shall bring from your dwelling places two breads for the wave offering, two parts of ten. They shall be of wheat flour, they shall be baked leavened, they are the firstfruits ${ }^{695}$ to the Lord. [23:18] And you shall offer with the bread seven healthy lambs one-year-old, and to these |you shall add| a calf and two rams: they shall be a burnt offering to the Lord, with their grain offerings and their drink offerings, an offering by fire, $\mid$ with $\mid$ an aroma of acceptance to the Lord. [23:19] And you shall offer ${ }^{696}$ one kid of the goats for a sin offering and two one-yearold lambs for a sacrifice of peace offerings. [23:20] And the priest shall wave them with the bread of the firstfruits ${ }^{697}$ for a wave offering before the Lord with the two lambs. They shall be holy to the Lord, for the priest. [23:21] And you shall proclaim on the selfsame day, it may be a holy convocation to you: you shall not do any work of service. |It is| a statute forever ${ }^{698}$ |for you| in all your dwelling places throughout your generations. [23:22] And when you reap the harvest of your land, , you shall not reap ${ }^{1699}$ the edge of your field when you reap and you shall not collect the remains of your harvest: you shall leave them for a poor and for a stranger: I am the Lord your God." [23:23] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [23:24] 'Speak to the children of Israel, saying, "In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, it shall be Sabbath, a memorial of praise ${ }^{700}$, a holy convocation for you. [23:25] You shall not do any work of service, and offer an offering by fire to the Lord." [23:26] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [23:27] 'Only on the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of atonement: it shall be a holy convocation for you and you shall trouble your souls and offer an offering to the Lord. [23:28] And you shall not do any work on that very day, because it is a day of atonement, to make atonement for you before the Lord your God. [23:29] Because if any soul does not trouble himself on that very day, |then| he will be cut off from his people.

## $116 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[^194][23:30] And whoever does any work on that very day, I will destroy that soul from among his people. [23:31] You shall not do any work, it is a statute forever throughout your generations in all your dwelling places. [23:32] It shall be a Sabbath of solemn rest for you, and you shall trouble your souls. On the ninth day of the month at evening, from evening to evening you shall
 the sons of Israel, saying, "On the fifteenth day of this seventh month is the feast of Sukkoth, seven days to the Lord. [23:35] On the first day |it shall be| a holy convocation: you shall not do any work of service. [23:36] Seven days you shall bring forward an offering by fire to the Lord, on the eighth day there shall be a holy convocation to you and you shall bring forward an offering by fire to the Lord. It is a break ${ }^{702}$; you shall not do any work of service. [23:37] These are the appointed times of the Lord which you shall call the holy convocations to offer an offering by fire to the Lord, a burnt offering, and a grain offering, a sacrifice offering, and drink offerings, on its appointed day, [23:38] Besides the Lord's Sabbaths, and besides your gifts, which you give to the Lord. [23:39] Only: on the fifteenth day of the seventh month, when you have gathered the produce of the land, celebrate the feast of the Lord seven days. On the first day is a Sabbath, and on the eighth day is a Sabbath. [23:40] And you shall take for yourselves before the first day the tree of choice fruits (for a booth), the leaves of date palm and the branches of thick leafy tree and willows of the river, and you shall rejoice before the Lord seven days. [23:41] And celebrate it as a feast to the Lord seven days in the year. It is a ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ statute forever ${ }^{703}$ throughout your generations, celebrate it in the seventh month. [23:42] You shall dwell in booths seven days. All locals in Israel shall dwell in booths, [23:43] So that your generations may know that I made the sons of Israel dwell in shelters when I brought them out of the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God ${ }^{\prime}$ ". [23:44] And Moses spoke the appointed times of the Lord to the sons of Israel.

## Chapter 24

[24:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [24:2] 'Command the sons of Israel and they shall bring pure oil from beaten olives

## $116 \mathrm{v}^{0}$

[^195]for the lamp to you to burn the candle constantly. [24:3] Outside the veil of the testimony, in the tabernacle of meeting, Aaron shall arrange it from evening to morning before the Lord constantly to be $\mathrm{a}_{\mathrm{L}}$ statute forever ${ }^{1704}$ throughout your generations. [24:4] He shall arrange the candles on a clean candlestick before the Lord continually, [24:5] And you shall take wheat flour and bake twelve thick bread: each thick bread shall be two parts of ten. [24:6] And you shall set them in two rows, six in a row, on the clean table before the Lord. [24:7] And you shall put pure incense on |each| row, and it shall be for an offering, for the incense, an offering by fire to the Lord. [24:8] ${ }_{\text {L }}$ On every Sabbath day ${ }^{705}$ he shall arrange it before the Lord always, from the sons ${ }^{7706}$ of Israel $|b y|$ an ${ }_{\text {L }}$ everlasting covenant ${ }^{707}$. [24:9] And it shall be for Aaron and his sons, and they shall eat it in a holy place, because it is the holy of holies to him from the Lord's offerings by fire, ${ }^{1}{ }_{\text {L }}$ statute forever ${ }^{7708}$. [24:10] And a son of an Israelite woman, |who was also| a son of an Egyptian man went out among the sons of Israel, and the son of the Israelite woman and an Israelite man fought in the camp. [24:11] And the Israelite woman's son specified the Name and cursed. And they brought him to Moses. And his mother's name was Shelomith, the daughter of Dibri, of the tribe of Dan. [24:12] And they put him under guard, ${ }_{\text {t }}$ to determine ${ }^{709}$ it for them, by the Lord's command. [24:13] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [24:14] 'Bring the curser out of the camp and all who heard |him| shall lay their hands on his head and all the congregation shall stone him. [24:15] And you shall speak to the sons of Israel, saying, if ${ }_{\text {L a person }}{ }^{710}$ curses his God, then he shall bear his sin. [24:16] And the one who curses the Name, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall surely be put to death ${ }^{7111}$. All the congregation ${ }_{\text {L }}$ shall certainly stone him ${ }^{712}$, as well the stranger, as the native: when he curses the Name, he shall be put to death. [24:17] And if a person kills any man's life, [he shall surely be put to death ${ }^{713}$. [24:18] ${ }_{\llcorner }$And the killer of an animal's life ${ }^{714}$ shall pay for it: a life for a life. [24:19] And if a person

[^196]${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ causes a blemish ${ }^{715}$ in his fellow: as he has done, so shall it be done to him. [24:20] ${ }_{\text {L }}$ Fracture for fracture ${ }^{716}$,

## $117 \mathbf{r}^{\mathbf{0}}$

${ }_{\text {L }}$ eye for eye ${ }^{717}$, ${ }_{\text {tooth }}$ for tooth ${ }^{718}$ : as ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he has caused a blemish ${ }^{719}$ in a man, so ${ }_{L}$ shall it be done ${ }^{7720}$ to him. [24:21] ${ }_{\text {L And }}$ the killer of an animal ${ }^{721}$ shall pay for it, and the killer of a man ${ }^{722}$ shall be put to death. [24:22] There shall be one law for you, it shall be as well for the stranger, as for the native. Because I am the Lord your God'"'. [24:23] And Moses spoke to the children of Israel and they brought the curser to the outside of the camp and stoned him with stones and the children of Israel did as the Lord commanded Moses.

## Chapter 25

[25:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai, saying, [25:2] 'Speak to the sons of Israel and say to them, "If you come to the land that I am giving you, then the land shall have a remitting, a remitting to the Lord. [25:3] Six years you shall sow your field and six years you shall prune your vineyard and gather its produce. [25:4] And in the seventh year there shall be the Sabbath of solemn rest for the land, a remitting to the Lord. You shall not sow your field and prune your vineyard. [25:5] You shall not reap your wild harvest, and you shall not gather the grapes ${ }^{723}$ of your vineyard. There shall be a year of a remitting to the land. [25:6] And the remitting of the land shall be food ${ }^{724}$ for you, and for your servants and for maidservants, and for your hired hand, and for |those| guests who live with you. [25:7] And for your cattle, and for the beasts that are in your land: all its produce |shall be| to eat. [25:8] And you shall count for yourself seven |weeks of| remitting of years: seven years seven times. And the days of the seven |weeks of| remitting of years will be forty-nine years for you. [25:9] And „you shall blow the trumpet of crying ${ }^{725}$ in the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month: on the day of

[^197]atonement ${ }_{\text {t you shall blow the trumpet of crying }}{ }^{7726}$ through all your land. [25:10] And you shall sanctify the year of the fiftieth year and proclaim liberty in the land to all its inhabitants. It is a jubilee, it shall be for you.

## $117 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

And you shall return every person to his possession, and every person to his family. [25:11] That year of the fiftieth year is a jubilee for you: you shall not sow, and not reap the wild ones, and not gather the grapes ${ }^{727}$ (to storehouses). [25:12] Because it is a jubilee, it shall be holy to you. You shall take the wild produce from the field |and|eat it. [25:13] In the year of this jubilee you shall return every person to his possession. [25:14] And if $\_$you make a sale ${ }^{728}$ to your friend or ${ }_{\text {L }}$ make a purchase ${ }^{{ }^{729}}$ from Lyour friend ${ }^{7730}$, you shall not harass one his brother. [25:15] You shall buy from your fellow by the number of years after the jubilee (until the jubilee), by the number of years of crops he shall sell to you: [25:16] According to the multitude of years you shall increase its ${ }_{\text {L }}$ selling price ${ }^{731}$, and according to the fewness of years you shall decrease its ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ selling price ${ }^{1732}$. Because he is selling you the crops for sale. [25:17] A person shall not torment one another, and you shall fear your God. Because I am the Lord your God. [25:18] And you shall do my statutes and keep my judgments and do them, then you will dwell in the land securely. [25:19] And the land will give its produce, and you will eat your fill, and dwell in it securely." [25:20] And if you say, "What shall we eat in the seventh year, behold, if we do not sow or gather in our produce?" [25:21] Then I will command my blessing on you in the sixth year, and it will produce ${ }^{733}$ a crop (ripe) for three years. [25:22] And you will sow in the eighth year and eat the old produce until the ninth year: you will eat the old one until its produce arrives. [25:23] And the land shall not be sold completely (for a lifetime), because the land is mine, you are only like strangers and like dwellers (you dwell) with me. [25:24] And in all the land of your possession you shall give a redemption for the land. [25:25] Because if your brother becomes poor and sells |a part of| his property, and his redeemer who is close to him

[^198]comes, then he shall redeem what his brother has sold. [25:26] And if a person has no redeemer, but ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ is able to redeem it by himself ${ }^{734}$ and ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ finds enough ${ }^{1735}{ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ for his redemption ${ }^{7736}$ : [25:27] Then he shall count the years of his sale and restore the remainder to the person to whom

## $118 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

he sold it, and he shall return to his possession. [25:28] And if ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ he cannot afford ${ }^{737}$ to return it to him, his sale shall be in the hand of the one who bought it until the year of jubilee, and it shall come out in the jubilee, and he shall return to his possession. [25:29] And if a person sells a dwelling house in a walled city, he shall have a redemption period ${ }^{738}$ until the year of its sale ends. His redemption period ${ }^{739}$ shall be for a year. [25:30] And if it is not redeemed by the completion of a full year, then ${ }_{\text {t }}$ the house that is in the walled city ${ }^{740}$ shall completely (for a life time) be a residence to the one who bought it throughout his generations. It shall not be released in the jubilee. [25:31] And the village houses that have no wall around them shall be counted as the fields of the country. It shall have redemption, and the redemption shall come out in the jubilee. [25:32] And the cities of the Levites, the houses of the cities of their possession: the Levites shall have eternal redemption. [25:33] And if one of the Levites redeems, then the redemption shall come out, a sale of a house or a city of his possession, in the jubilee, because the houses of the cities of the Levites are their possession among the sons of Israel. [25:34] And the fields of the villages of their cities shall not be sold, because it is their possession forever ${ }^{7741}$. [25:35] And if your co-religionist brother becomes poor and his hand slips with you, then you shall strengthen him whether he is a stranger or a guest and he shall live with you. [25:36] You shall not take interest or usury from him, and you shall fear your God, and your brother shall live with you. [25:37] You shall not lend him your money for interest, and you shall not give him your food for profit. [25:38] I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt to give you the land of Canaan, to be God to you. [25:39] And if your co-religionist brother becomes poor beside you and is sold to you, you shall not use him as a servant's work. [25:40] He shall be with you like a hired hand, like a guest, he shall

[^199]serve you until the year of the jubilee. [25:41] And then he shall go out from you, he and his children with him, and shall return to his own family and to the possession of his fathers shall he return. [25:42] Because they are my servants, whom I brought out from the land of Egypt. They shall not be sold like the sale of a servant. [25:43] You shall not rule over him ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ by force ${ }^{742}$ and fear your God. [25:44] And your servants and maidservants:

## $118 \mathbf{v}^{\mathbf{0}}$

if they become yours, |they shall be| from the nations that are around you, you shall buy servants and maidservants from them. [25:45] And also from the children of the settlers who live with you: you shall buy from them and of their families that are with you, whom they begat in your land. And they shall become a posession for you. [25:46] And you shall take them as a heritage and share them for your children after you, to inherit as a possession. You shall use them forever ${ }^{743}$. But your brothers, the children of Israel, a man toward his brother: you shall not rule over them oppressively ${ }^{744}$. [25:47] And if a stranger or a settler with you ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ can afford it ${ }^{1745}$, and your brother with him becomes poor and is sold to the stranger |and| settler with you or to a member ${ }^{746}$ of a gentile of a stranger's family: [25:48] After he is sold ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he shall have redemption ${ }^{1747}$. One of his brothers shall redeem him. [25:49] Either his uncle or his uncle's son shall redeem him, or a ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ close relative ${ }^{778}$ of his family shall redeem him, or if ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ he can afford it ${ }^{749}$, he shall be redeemed |by himself|. [25:50] And he shall calculate |himself| with his buyer from the year that he was sold to him until the year of jubilee and the silver of his sale shall be ${ }_{\text {L }}$ according to ${ }^{7750}$ the number of years. It shall be with him like the days of a hiredworker. [25:51] If there are still many years left, he shall return |money| according to them for his redemption from the silver of his sale. [25:52] And if there remain a few years until the year of jubilee, he shall calculate it for him according to |his| years to return money for his redemption. [25:53] And like a hired servant he shall be with him year by year, and he shall not rule over him oppressively ${ }^{751}$ in your sight. [25:54] And if he is not redeemed by these |years|, he shall go out

[^200]in the year of jubilee, he and his sons with him. [25:55] Because the sons of Israel are servants to me. They are my servants, whom I brought out from the land of Egypt. I am the Lord your God.

## Chapter 26

[26:1] You shall not make idols for yourselves, and you shall not set up an idol or a pillar for yourselves and ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ you shall not set up ${ }^{1752}$ a figured stone in your land to bow down over it, because I am the Lord your God. [26:2] You shall keep my Sabbaths and fear my sanctuary. I am the Lord.

## $119 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

[26:3] If you walk by my statutes, and if you keep my commandments and do them: [26:4] Then I will give you your rains in their time and the land will give its crop, and the tree of the field will give its fruit. [26:5] And the threshing will be enough for you until the grape gathering |time|, and the grape gathering will be enough for you to the sowing ${ }^{753}$ |time|: and you will eat your food to the full, and you will dwell in your land safely. [26:6] And I will give peace in the land, and you will lie down, and there will be no one threatening you, and I will cut off evil wild animals out of the land, and a sword will not pass through your land. [26:7] And you will drive away your enemies, and they will fall before you by the sword. [26:8] And five of you will drive away a hundred, and a hundred of you will drive away ten thousand, and your enemies will fall before you by the sword. [26:9] And I will turn to you, and I will make you spread, and I will multiply you, and I will establish my covenant with you. [26:10] And you will eat the old getting older, and you will take out the old before the new. [26:11] And ${ }_{\text {L }}$ I will set ${ }^{754}$ my tabernacle among you, and my will will not despise you. [26:12] And I will walk among you, and I will be a God to you, and you will be a people to me. [26:13] I am the Lord your God, who brought you out from the land of Egypt, from being servants to them, and I have broken the wedges of your yoke, and I made you walk ${ }_{\text {L }}$ by keeping your head up high ${ }^{755}$. [26:14] And if you will not listen to me and will not do all these commandments, [26:15] And if you despise my statutes, or if your soul despise my judgments not to do all my commandments, to break my covenant: [26:16] I also will do this to you: I will even appoint over you trembling, cold disease

[^201]and fever ${ }^{756}$ that consume eyes and make the soul ache, and you will sow your seed in vain, and your enemies will eat it. [26:17] And I will set my wrath against you, and you will die before your enemies, and your enemies will reign over you, and you will flee ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ even if ${ }^{757}$ there is none who drives away you. [26:18] And if until this time ${ }^{758}$ you do not listen to me, then I will discipline you seven times |more| for your sins. [26:19] And I will break the pride of your power, and ${ }_{\text {L }}$ I will make ${ }^{759}$

## $119 \mathbf{v}^{0}$

your heavens as iron, and your earth as copper. [26:20] And your strength will come to an end in vain, and your land will not give its crop, and the tree of the land will not give its fruits. [26:21] And if you walk with me with resistance, and you will not want to listen to me, then I will increase the striking on you seven times |more| for your sins. [26:22] And I will send the wild animals of the fields on you, and they will slash you, and they will slay your cattle, and they will make you few in number, and your roads will be ruined. [26:23] And if you are not disciplined to me by these |things|, and if you walk with me with resistance, [26:24] Then I will also walk with you with resistance, and also will strike you, seven times for your sins. [26:25] And I will bring a sword over you that takes vengeance, the vengeance of my covenant. And you will be gathered to your cities, I will send the plague among you, and you will be given to the hand of the enemy. [26:26] And when I break the strength of bread, then ten women will bake your bread in one oven, and they shall give back your bread by weight, and you will eat but not be full. [26:27] And if, ${ }_{\text {L despite all this }}{ }^{760}$, you do not listen to me, and you walk with me with resistance. [26:28] Then I will walk with you in anger of resistance, and I will also discipline you, seven times for your sins. [26:29] And you will eat the flesh of your sons, and you will eat the flesh of your daughters. [26:30] And ${ }_{\mathrm{L}} \mathrm{I}$ will destroy your hills ${ }^{7761}$, and I will cut off ${ }_{\text {L your sun-images }}{ }^{1762}$, and ${ }_{\text {L }} \mathrm{I}$ will cast ${ }^{763}$ your carcasses on the carcasses of your idols ${ }^{764}$, and my soul will despise you. [26:31] And I will ruin your cities, and I will ruin your sanctuaries, and I will not accept the aroma of your offerings. [26:32] And I will ruin the land,

[^202]and your enemies who dwell there will be frightened. [26:33] I will scatter you among the nations, and I will draw out a sword after you, and your land will be ruined, and your cities will be destroyed. [26:34] Then ${ }^{765}$ the land will complete its remittings in all the days of its desolation, and you will be in the land of your enemies, then ${ }^{766}$ the land will rest and complete its remittings. [26:35] In all the days of its desolation it will rest, the rest that it did not have on your remittings when you dwelt in it. [26:36] And those of you who are left, I will send softness into their hearts

## $120 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

in the lands of their enemies. And the sound of a rustling leaf will drive away them, and they will run away as running away from a sword, and they will fall and there shall be no one who drives away you. [26:37] And they will stumble, ${ }_{\text {I one other }}{ }^{767}$, as if |to escape before a sword, when ${ }^{768}$ there is no one who drives away, and you will have no |strength| to stop before your enemies. [26:38] And you will perish among the kingdoms, and the land of your enemies will destroy you. [26:39] And those of you who remain will rot for their iniquity in your enemies' lands, and also for the iniquities of their fathers, they will rot with them. [26:40] And they will confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their fathers for their trespass which they trespassed against me, and also that they have walked me with resistance, [26:41] And I also will walk with them with resistance, and I will bring them into the land of their enemies. And then their closed hearts will bow down, and then they will fulfil the punishment of their iniquity. [26:42] And I will remember my covenant that |I made| with Jacob, and also my covenant that |I made| with Isaac and also I will remember my covenant that |I made| with Abraham, and I will remember this land. [26:43] And the land will be abandoned by them and it will complete its remittings when it is ruined without them, and they will fulfill the punishments of their sins because they despised my laws and because their souls despised my commandments. [26:44] And I will do to them this: when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not despise them, and I will not hate them to destroy them, to break my covenant with them, because I am the Lord their God. [26:45] And I will remember for them the covenant of the first ones, whom I brought out from the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, to be God to them. I am the

[^203]Lord." [26:46] These are the statutes and rights and laws that the Lord gave between him and the sons of Israel on Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses.

## Chapter 27

[27:1] And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, [27:2] 'Speak to the children of Israel, and say to them, "If a person makes ${ }^{769}$ a special vow ${ }^{770}$ by your valuation of souls for the Lord. [27:3] Then your valuation shall be this: |If it is| a male from twenty years old up to sixty years old, then your valuation shall be fifty mithqals of silver, by the mithqal of the Holy. [27:4] And if it is a female, then your valuation shall be thirty mithqals. [27:5] And if it is from five years old up to twenty

## $120 v^{0}$

years old, then your valuation shall be this: |for a male twenty mithqals, and for a female ten mithqals. [27:6] And if it is from a month old up to five years old, then your valuation shall be this: |for| a male five mithqals of silver and for a female three mithqals of silver. [27:7] And if it is from sixty years old or above: if it is a male, then your valuation shall be fifteen mithqals, and for a female ten mithqals. [27:8] But if he is poorer than your valuation, then one shall stand him before the priest, and the priest shall value him. According to what the vower ${ }_{\text {Lcan }}$ afford ${ }^{771}$, shall the priest value him. [27:9] And if it is from a cattle that they bring forward as an offering to the Lord, all of it that he gives of it to the Lord shall be holy. [27:10] He shall not exchange it or change it, good for bad or bad for good. And if he exchanges cattle for cattle, then it and the one exchanged shall be holy. [27:11] And if it is any unclean cattle from which they do not offer as an offering to the Lord, then one shall stand the animal before the priest. [27:12] And the priest shall value it, whether it is good or bad, according to your valuation, oh priest, so shall it be. [27:13] And if he redeems it, then he shall add a fifth to your valuation. [27:14] And if a person makes his house holy to the Lord, then the priest shall value it as either good or bad: as the priest values it, so shall it stand. [27:15] And if the one who makes it holy redeems his house, then he shall add the fifth of the silver to your valuation, and it shall be his. [27:16] And if a person makes |a part of| his field that is his possession holy to the Lord, then your valuation shall be according to its seed. A stalk of barley seed shall be fifty shekels of silver. [27:17] If he makes his field holy from the year of jubilee, he shall stand according to

[^204]your valuation. [27:18] And if he makes his field holy after the jubilee, then the priest shall count for him the silver according to the years that remain until the year of jubilee, and it shall be deducted from the valuation. [27:19] And if the one who makes the field holy redeems ${ }^{772}$ it, then he shall add a fifth of silver to your valuation, and it shall be a residence to him. [27:20] And if he does not redeem the field, and if he sells the field to another person, it shall not be redeemed anymore. [27:21] And the field, when it is released in the jubilee, shall be holy to the Lord like a devoted field:

## $121 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

its possession shall be the priest's. [27:22] And if a buyer of a field, that is not a field of his possession, makes it holy to the Lord. [27:23] Then the priest shall count the amount of your valuation until the year of jubilee, and he shall give your valuation on that day as a holy |thing| to the Lord. [27:24] In the year of jubilee the field shall return to him who bought it from him, to him who has a possession of the land. [27:25] And all your valuations shall be by the mithqal of the Holy: twenty stone of a fruit shall make a shekel. [27:26] Just: a firstborn, which as a firstborn from the cattle to the Lord: a person shall not make it holy whether it is an ox, or a sheep, it is the Lord's. [27:27] And if it is an unclean animal of the cattle, then he shall redeem it at your valuation and add a fifth to it, and if it is not redeemed, then it shall be sold at your valuation. [27:28] Just: if a person devotes any devoted |thing| to the Lord of all that he has from human or cattle or from a field of his possession, it shall not be sold nor redeemed: every devoted |thing| is a holy of holies to the Lord. [27:29] Anyone devoted, who has been devoted from a human shall not be redeemed, ${ }_{\text {L }}$ he shall be killed ${ }^{7773}$. [27:30] And all the tithe of the land, from of the seed of the land, from the fruit of the tree is the Lord's. It is holy to the Lord. [27:31] And if a person redeems ${ }^{774}$ some of his tithe, he shall add a fifth to it. [27:32] And all the tithe of the cattle or of the sheep, everything that passes under the rod, the tenth shall be holy to the Lord. [27:33] One shall not search between good and bad, and change it; and ${ }_{\mathrm{L}}$ if he does change $\mathrm{it}^{7775}$, then it and its substitute shall be holy. It shall not be redeemed." [27:34] These are the commands which the Lord commanded Moses for the sons of Israel on Mount Sinai.

[^205]Facsimile

## ヘ

$$
\text { so } 5 \times 994
$$


,

 אםוֹ








而

## -17999








 אוּכמוּנֵא ו









 ב קרקרק




 אויז.














華






 לַר

 רואול

## がp!


























 לרינדן

2

## 


 :

















 1



 ות

## N＂p＂


表


 אn
 אַ，

 ת路



粦







 קרבניג

## 7

## s"


























 1"

## N-pa

שֵּ





 בר,

 قַּ


 -促


 אیוֹ日
 N א

 גלגר

## 1

1









פּפּשת צו













 דיגיג ביח

## is










 :


号









: -








 "





 , 1


 את


 שa (1)

8





 דתוּרְגַג 1



號

 ：וּת

隹

 רצא



药

$$
\% \quad 99
$$

























 1 ויקר

## 4



















的




路 2＇s
$\pi$
$9{ }^{9}$















 גוּנְלֵי





## 


 หาายา

## 92940

? חַחָּאn

 לחרַגָ
 פטשׁ

会















 רפוידי

רַטיח口药
 בw，为需


 ט w w אֵר


 （ 7w

勧 1


 T 1 7 ציג I


## 









 רַאַטּוּו אנִ



 -


路
路



























 או


 פיצוּ

## שט:





 s



















 לשינדן















> פרששת תזריע

9 ר ：







路 מעו

## ำดำก
















 רגורךטו






 םیק


2

## y97


 גוגר




 פֶפת










 בת



 צוּ

## yy9



 בּשׁט




 ו













 קריטּ א תאלרינדא

令 אוֹל מוּנְרָ דִיר אטוֹל צִּ


 אהּפְרק


 רִ ריר אוֹ

 (ג'וּ *的





 ตมำ


 ต77

## 49404








## قּרשׁת מצורע

















 אבּ

1 את



 וֹשׁח










 בּלְלְנְנִ



 קוּי אָׁ


 4-90

## มั








 תֵּ צִבּצוּ אוּבְטוּנֵ














 ?


## 2919


























 d.

## 


促










 :

 ות 1 וֹר

芳



 ועשּ
is 的

























 סוגרא

## yัท












 1 וֹר





 1 תַ,


 אהחקן

## 8is









 אלדיחנֵ
 בּ בּוֹ路




 sin

 רַאִּ



 רעיםם

Kir

## 9198 97

























 וידבר

## $110 \mathbf{r}^{0}$

$M^{9}$
אחרי מות




 1


 :

















## 591897 ก





 ：





为








路



 768：
$111 \mathbf{r}^{0}$
$0^{\circ}$
א : : וֹאוּ

 :


 1. ג'וּ


路





:

## פרֹשׁת קרוֹשׁים





## Denp

















 :


 טַקְלֵים 1

 "א אֵּ
 d'

コ

## Qun







路



















## 0\％


 וצ ב







此
 ：
 תאולד
 ת

为 ת和

 ， אוצוטלריציג

Nos

## 






















4, פרשׁת אמוֹר



 x

## 7 7















 ותעל בַּ









 טוֹשׁק
＝
























娚荡 S

## 743







 ט












 1 רַאוּ




 ד ראוג




















 ותהניך品
 א佥 כשׁ

## 9 78
























 אוֹ 1 צָּ郎 : ד׳יפליא






 צַקירְמק קורֶּ 1
 Qoma
 1 קורֶט נִּג 1


 גוּנְלד 1


 ：




 אוג⿱亠𧘇厶心夊 יריקקי

## $7 \times 3 \times$


























 392

## ๆไมส








## 

(\%) :


 1 , 1 ,










 849"ロ4"

$$
j^{49}
$$

## 975







 :












 1 א


 פט

9

## 795












 לתִרִיג













## 79















药莫


 (9)



## "תקMI



























## בתוּ

























 ירלוינרח9
 קַצְּטִ






















 กอษ

## -••••••



为
 :









 רבּוּלִם אַנִיג:






 ער d"

## 9

3897
 טוהוּקלויוּיגן







高 בִּ צגנִּג 1路












[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ It should be acknowledged that upon the completion of this dissertation, our transcription, along with the remaining books of the Torah translation from Göz. 1841, will be accessible through the following online portal: https://middleturkic.lingfil.uu.se/manuscripts/middle-karaim/JSul.IV.02A.
    ${ }^{2}$ For the descriptions of these Bible translations, please refer to the abbreviations section.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ It has also been discussed that Anan was not the founder of the Karaim religion, even though his thoughts influenced the movement (Nemoy 1950: 307-311; Poznański 1915: 662; Schur 1992: 20-24). For further discussion regarding Anan, see Harkavy 1904: 553-556; Nemoy 1952: 3-11.
    ${ }^{4}$ It is worth noting that some of Anan's principles were later modified, mainly by Benjamin Nahawandi who had a significant impact on Karaite religion after Anan ben David (Kohler and Harkavy 1904: 438-439; Poznanski 1915: 664).

[^2]:    ${ }^{5}$ Only certain fragments of this book have survived (Poznański 1915: 663; Nemoy 1952: 8).
    ${ }^{6}$ It is worth noting that the main principles of Karaism i.e., the rejection of the authority of the post-biblical oral tradition were not a brand-new approach in this area, since some similar ideas can be traced back to the early sects of Judaism. For instance, through the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, a connection has been noted between the Karaites and the Essenes, who flourished in Palestine between the second century BC and first century AD (Csató 2006: 392). At the same time, Karaites are also considered to have borrowed some modifications from the Sadducees and the Boethusians (Kohler and Harkavy 1904: 438; Poznański 1915: 662; Astren 2003: 39).
    ${ }^{7}$ The Tanakh, recognized by Christians as the 'Old Testament', comprises three constituent sections: the Torah (Pentateuch or five Books of Moses), the Nevi'im (Prophets) and the Ketuvim (Writings).
    ${ }^{8}$ For further details regarding the principles of Karaim religion, see Kuzgun 2015: 277-301; Schur 1992: 13-57; Astren 2004: 23-123.
    ${ }^{9}$ According to some scholars, the term 'Karaite' was first used by Benjamin Nahewendi (Lewis 1956: 315; Kohler and Harkavy 1904: 438)

[^3]:    ${ }^{10}$ The verb also means 'to call', and therefore it might refer to 'missionary' or 'summoner' as well (Lewis 1956: 315).
    ${ }^{11}$ Therefore, within the English language, the term 'Karaims' exhibits a double plural usage. Despite this, due to its wide acceptance in scholarly literature, we will also maintain its usage
    ${ }^{12}$ It is worth noting that the Karaites living in Turkey have also been considered non-Turkic by some scholars (see Ankori 1968: 84-85). Along with the originally Greek-speaking community, there were also Turkish-speaking communities, as some Crimean Karaites migrated to the Ottoman Empire. However, in this study, the term 'Karaim' will be used exclusively to refer to the Turkic-speaking followers of Karaism residing in Eastern Europe, primarily in Crimea, Lithuania, Poland, and Russia.

[^4]:    ${ }^{13}$ The question of whether the Turkic people in Crimea converted to the Karaim religion or if the non-Turkic Karaites began to speak the Turkic vernacular is another matter. For further examination, see Harviainen 2013: 636-643.
    ${ }^{14}$ Zajączkowski (1961: 39-40) cites excerpts from the Lord's Prayer in the Codex Cumanicus, noting that the sentences are almost entirely comprehensible in Karaim.

[^5]:    ${ }^{15}$ These privileges marked the first legal distinction between Rabbanites and Crimean Karaims. However, Crimean Karaims sought these privileges largely for economic considerations, while they still regarded each other as brethren in faith (Miller 1993: 41), mirroring the dynamic from previous centuries.

[^6]:    ${ }^{16}$ For further details on the Crimean Karaim variants, see section 1.2.3.2.

[^7]:    ${ }^{17}$ Furthermore, Shapira (2003: 662) misquoted Musaev (1964: 36-37) and Pritsak (1959: 320), falsely stating that they considered Crimean Karaim as a ghost dialect, thereby excluding it from their grammars. In reality, Musaev and Pritsak acknowledged the existence of Crimean Karaim but suggested that it had been assimilated over time, leading to its exclusion from their grammars. Notably, Shapira's erroneous statement has been refuted by scholars, including Jankowski (2008: 166) and Németh (2016: 209-210).

[^8]:    ${ }^{18}$ Németh asserts that this word was not recorded in the most recognized Crimean Karaim dictionaries such as those by CKED, Çulha 2006, and Chafuz 1995. However, it bears emphasis that the word was listed for Ottoman Turkish (and remains in contemporary Turkish) in Meninski’s dictionary (TLO I: 664), published in 1680. As such, the word could have been adopted from Ottoman Turkish, either directly or via Crimean Tatar

[^9]:    ${ }^{19}$ For the evidence of this theory, see Németh 2016: 166-167.

[^10]:    ${ }^{20}$ However, drawing on certain sources (see, Jankowski 2018: 40), it is known that Crimean Karaims historically referred to their Turkic vernacular as 'Chaltai', a term that traces its origins to Chaghatai, a literary language used in Central Asia between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries.

[^11]:    ${ }^{21}$ Beyond Bible translations, there exist two other types of text in this dialect. The first is a prayer book, namely the Targum Seliḥot, which was published in Crimea in 1734 and likely translated by Simha Isaac Łucki. The second is a translation of the Passover Haggadah, referred to as the Targum hallel haqqattan, which was also published in Gözleve. The specifics concerning the date and translator of this latter translation remain unknown (Jankowski 2015a: 202-203).

[^12]:    ${ }^{22}$ The language of this prayer book was mistakenly described as Crimean Kipchak Karaim by Zajączkowski (1964: 793) and this reference was cited over time by many authors until Shapira (2003: 691-692), who describes the language as 'New Greek with some Turkish phrases not present in any kind of Karaim'.
    ${ }^{23}$ He defines this dialect as Crimean Tatar.

[^13]:    ${ }^{24}$ Additionally, they also employed their own language in liturgical practices (Zajączkowski 1961:21).
    ${ }^{25}$ Indeed, the Hebrew Bible is commonly referred to as the Tanakh, an acronym derived from these three sections.

[^14]:    ${ }^{26}$ In addition, the so-called Jeremiah 1873, which was printed in Odessa, is listed in this group by Walfish and Kizilov (2011: 387). However, this source is not available for analysis and no further details have been provided (see Jankowski 2018: 52).

[^15]:    ${ }^{27}$ For some concerns regarding his transcription, refer to Jankowski (2018: 44).
    ${ }^{28}$ Poznański (1913: 40) also provided a short fragment of this text.

[^16]:    נביאים ; The Book of the Targum of the Pentateuch into the Tatar Language] Vol. 1 טטר בלשון תורה תרגום ספר 29
    [Translation of the Prophets] Vol. 2; כרגום ספר [Translation of the Hagiography] Vols. 3-4.

[^17]:    ${ }^{30}$ The aforementioned copy is preserved in the private collection of Józef Sulimowicz. I express my profound gratitude to Anna Sulimowicz-Keruth, who graciously provided digital scans of the printed edition. Furthermore, my appreciation extends to Zsuzsanna Olach, who contributed digital photographs of another copy of Göz. 1841. Regrettably, limited information is available about this particular copy. I only referred to it on a few occasions when certain segments of the JSul.IV.02A were indecipherable.
    ${ }^{31}$ It is noteworthy that this verse is also absent in the BSMS 288, whereas it does appear in the H 170: Da tas bolursuz uluslarda da tavusur sizni yeri dušmanlarïnïznïy (CrKB I: 215).

[^18]:    ${ }^{32}$ Prik's research (1976) represents the only study devoted to Crimean Karaim based on spoken material; however, the data was gathered in 1949 when only a limited number of speakers remained. Consequently, it may not accurately reflect a text written more than a century prior to the collection of this material.
    ${ }^{33}$ The Hebrew incipit is an unvocalized Hebrew word that precedes a Biblical verse, signifying the initial Biblical Hebrew word of the subsequent verse.

[^19]:    ${ }^{34}$ It is important to note that this phoneme does not appear in Biblical Hebrew words.
    ${ }^{35}$ Regarding the transcription of Crimean Karaim vowels, Sulimowicz (1972: 42, 45) put forward a system that employed the letter á to denote non-initial $\ddot{a}$ sounds, which reflected a centralized front vowel. In contrast, our study employs a transcription system that is consistent with that utilized by Jankowski (1997) and CrKB I.

[^20]:    ${ }^{36}$ In regard to the Biblical Hebrew words present in our text, we do not encounter this issue, as Biblical Hebrew does not contain $\ddot{a}, \ddot{i}, \ddot{\partial}$, and $\ddot{u}$.
    ${ }^{37}$ It is important to note that in some Arabic, Persian and Biblical Hebrew words, the variants $k$ and $k$ does not indicate the frontness or backness of the word unlike the Turkic words.

[^21]:    ${ }^{38}$ It should not be mistaken with the shva nach [;], which appears frequently in our text and indicates that the following letter is a consonant.
    ${ }^{39}$ It should be noted that in Biblical Hebrew words, if mobile shewa [] appears before a guttural consonant such as alef $[\mathrm{x}]$, he [ B$]$, het [ n$]$, and ayin [ y$]$, its value is identical to the following vowel that appears after the guttural consonant (Harvianien 2013: 455).

[^22]:    ${ }^{40}$ It should be noted that, given the fact that speakers of Trakai Karaim were also speaking a Slavonic language, the phonemes $/ 3 /$ and $/ c /$ also existed in their sound inventory for non-Turkic words. As such, in the Trakai Karaim Bible translations, specific Biblical Hebrew or Slavonic words have these phonemes represented in transcription by scholars. However, Halich Karaim presents a different case, as there was a regular shift in its sound inventory from $/ \check{\zeta} /$ to $/ 3 /$ and $/ \check{c} /$ to $/ \mathrm{c} /$. For a comprehensive examination of the historical development of Western Karaim phonology, please refer to Németh's scholarly works (2014a; 2014b; 2015a).
    ${ }^{41}$ It should be noted that Prik's description of Crimean Karaim consonants (1976: 29) may not be directly applicable to our dataset, as her description pertains to a different time period that includes Russian influences on the consonantal inventory not found in older sources.

[^23]:    ${ }^{42}$ It is also important to note that the Arabic script features various diacritics in certain texts; however, the modified abjad script has been and continues to be more predominant.
    ${ }^{43}$ For further discussion on intrasyllabic vowel harmony in relation to inflected lexemes, refer to section 2.2.1.1.
    ${ }^{44}$ As previously mentioned (refer to section 2.1.1.1.2), the Hebrew script does not distinguish between the frontback counterparts of specific vowels, such as $a-\ddot{u}, \ddot{i}-i, u-\ddot{u}$, and $o-\ddot{\partial}$. The sole exception is the phoneme $/ \mathrm{k} /$, which demonstrates both back $(k)$ and front $(k)$ variations, represented by separate letters, and in Turkic-origin words, it reflects the frontness or backness of the word. Nevertheless, aside from this exception, there is no systematic method to determine the frontness or backness of a word. As a result, while some lexemes are unambiguous, others may be subject to debate. In such situations, Karaim dictionaries (CKED, KRPS) are consulted to establish the appropriate word.

[^24]:    ${ }^{45}$ However, in Turkic languages, terminal clusters consisting of a single nasal, liquid, or sibilant are frequently observed (Johanson 2022a: 27).

[^25]:    ${ }^{46}$ For example, the voicing of initial $k$ - is evident in languages such as Azeri and Turkmen, illustrated by the word fara 'black' (Johanson 2022b: 99). However, this characteristic is not observed in Ottoman Turkish (except for its eastern and southeastern dialects), e.g., kara 'black' (TLO II: 3618), and this absence of voicing is similarly reflected in our database, e.g., [Lev 13:31] kara 'black'.

[^26]:    ${ }^{47}$ Although the letter beth $(\mathcal{I})$ can represent both $v$ and $b$, all instances of the spirantization of the initial $b$ - in the Lev of Göz. 1841 are written with the letter vav (ו), which clearly indicates $v$.

[^27]:    ${ }^{48}$ In the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and other Karaim Bible translations, due to its literal manner of translation, the pronoun olol usually replaces the Hebrew definite article

[^28]:    ${ }^{49}$ According to Clauson (EDPT: 908), the shift from $-k \underset{s}{ }$ to $h \check{s}$ is not documented prior to the 11 th century.

[^29]:    ${ }^{50}$ Presumably, this occurs through the form töplä- (Jankowski 1997: 9).
    ${ }^{51}$ For the situation regarding inflected forms, please refer to section 2.2.1.3.

[^30]:    ${ }^{52}$ For additional information, refer to Ryding (2005: 21-24).

[^31]:    ${ }^{53}$ In Arabic, the preposition في [ $f i$ ], meaning 'in' or 'at', conveys location, position, or a specific point in time. This preposition is followed by the plural suffix $\quad$ [ $\bar{a} t]$ in our example. However, the meaning of 'price' is explicitly defined in Ottoman Turkish (NS: 288) and does not appear in Arabic.

[^32]:    ${ }^{54}$ This form has been observed in the Chagatai language.

[^33]:    ${ }^{55}$ In the descriptions of Karaim dialects, the lenition of $\check{c}>\check{j}$ was not demonstrated. According to Berta and Csató (2022b: 321), lenition of $\check{c}$ sporadically occurs in West Kipchak languages.

[^34]:    ${ }^{56}$ However, the word nečik alone appears in Crimean Tatar (KRUS: 392).

[^35]:    ${ }^{57}$ Regarding the front counterpart, we solely encounter forms concluding in $-z$, e.g., [Lev 11:7] gevšemez; [Lev 26:20] vermäz.

[^36]:    ${ }^{58}$ Zajączkowski's categorization is limited to Western Karaim. However, our investigation has not found any discrepancies in relation to his descriptions.

[^37]:    ${ }^{59}$ The initial recorded meaning of this word is 'iron head of an arrow or lance arrowhead' (Erdal 1991a: 40).

[^38]:    ${ }^{60}$ For an alternative explanation, see Zajączkowski 1932: 23.

[^39]:    ${ }^{61}$ For obvious reasons (refer to 2.1.1.1.1.), Halich Karaim does not possess $\{+\mathrm{lu}\}$.

[^40]:    ${ }^{62}$ Except for Karaim, he solely offers a few instances of this marker in Kazakh among the Turkic languages. Note that Erdal (1991a; 2004) does not list this marker for Old Turkic.
    ${ }^{63}$ The word appears as boyunduruk 'yoke' in Ottoman Turkish (TLO I: 951).
    ${ }^{64}$ Another example potentially containing the aforementioned marker has not been discussed due to its contested etymology. While most theories accept that the word hïrsïz 'thief' incorporates the Turkish denominal marker $\{+\mathrm{sIz}\}$, the noun stem's origin remains debated. Some scholars propose that it derives from the Arabic word hayr (NS: 361), while others argue that it stems from the Turkic kür, 'face' (Bozok 2018: 68-69).

[^41]:    ${ }^{65}$ It is important to acknowledge that Prik and Musaev group the $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{K}\}$ marker together with $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{K}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{K}\}$ markers, which are analyzed separately in both Zajączkowski's exposition and our research (see entry G).

[^42]:    ${ }^{66}$ This lexeme is also attested in Crimean Karaim, as evidenced by its inclusion in CKED: 268 and KRPS: 439.

[^43]:    ${ }^{67}$ For obvious reasons (see section 2.1.1.1.1.) Halich Karaim do not possess the marker $\{$-ü $\}$.

[^44]:    ${ }^{68}$ The marker $\{$-ük $\}$ is also absent in Halich Karaim for reasons that are evident (refer to 2.1.1.1.1.).
    ${ }^{69}$ For obvious reasons (see 2.1.1.1.1.), the Halich Karaim dialect does not feature the rounded variant $\{$-üm \}.

[^45]:    ${ }^{70}$ The instance in question is part of a compound noun, as seen in Lev 1:16 gün doyusit 'east', where the term refers to 'day birth' in a literal sense.

[^46]:    ${ }^{71}$ Another word recorded in our data, [Lev 5:4] yaman 'wrong, bad, evil' (CKED: 444), may also contain the \{-mAn\} derivational marker. According to Erdal (1991a: 388), the word yaman appears to be related to the words yavïz and yavlak, suggesting that it may have been derived from yav-man.

[^47]:    ${ }^{72}$ Please note that only the form saklav is recorded for Crimean Karaim in the dictionaries (CKED: 337; KRPS: 461). Additionally, as the example also demonstrates, the distinctive characteristic of this marker, which induces rounding of the final unrounded vowels in verb stems, has been previously discussed (see Section 2.2.1.1.).

[^48]:    ${ }^{73}$ However, there are some examples where the copula $\{+$ DIr $\}$ does not occur, e.g., [Lev 1:5] esi $(k>g)+i+n+d \ddot{a}+$ $\emptyset$ door+3SG.POSS+PRNM+LOC+3SG.PRD 'that is by the door of...'.

[^49]:    ${ }^{74}$ Probably a calque of B.Heb bā îr 'ăšerer lō ḥōmāh lit. 'in city which to him wall'.

[^50]:    ${ }^{75}$ See B.Heb šêšet yāmîm lit. 'six days'.
    ${ }^{76}$ See B.Heb kāl- yamê; lit. 'all days'.

[^51]:    ${ }^{77}$ See B.Heb rabbîm yāmîm; lit. 'many days'.
    ${ }^{78}$ See B.Heb yaraqraqqōt 'greenish (plural adjective)'.
    ${ }^{79}$ See B.Heb 'ădamdammōt; ; lit. 'reddish (plural adjective)'.

[^52]:    ${ }^{80}$ See B.Heb yāmutū 'ărîrîm; lit. 'they shall die heirless ones'
    ${ }^{81}$ See B.Heb tamîmō$\underline{\underline{1}}$; 'complete (in plural form)'.

[^53]:    ${ }^{82}$ Within the corpus, a solitary instance exists where the voiced velar nasal $-\eta$ - of the marker is realized as a voiced dental - $n$-, as exemplified in Lev 26:18 yazïklarïnïz 'your sins'. This phenomenon may be ascribed to a scribal error, considering the close proximity of the letter nun [ 3 ], representing $n$, and the letter gimel [ $\lambda$ ], signifying $\eta$.

[^54]:    ${ }^{83}$ The examples onu and bunu contain the pronominal suffix, commonly referred to as $\{+\mathrm{n}\}$.

[^55]:    ${ }^{84}$ In Oghuz languages, the GEN markers typically appear as $\{+\mathrm{In}\}$ or $\{+\mathrm{Un}\}$ after final consonants, and $\{+\mathrm{nIn}\}$ or $\{+\mathrm{nUn}\}$ after final vowels. However, there are some exceptional cases that are only found in certain lexical items in Oghuz languages. For instance, the word su, meaning 'water', has an oblique stem suy+ before suffixes with initial vowels (Ragagnin 2022: 247), resulting in forms such as Turkish su(y)+un water+GEN.
    ${ }^{85}$ However, there is one exceptional example found in the book where the $\{+(\mathrm{y}) \mathrm{A}\}$ DAT marker occurs after the 3SG.POSS suffix (a feature that cannot be found in Oghuzic languages or Crimean Tatar), e.g., [Lev 11:39] $l e s ̌+i+y \ddot{a}$ 'carcass+3SG.POSS+DAT'.

[^56]:    ${ }^{86}$ In four examples that have a final $-k$, the expected DAT marker $\{+\mathrm{ke}\} /\{+\mathrm{kä}\}$ appears as $\{+\mathrm{e}\} /\{+a ̈\}$. This is likely a scribal error that occurs to avoid noting two kaph ( 5 ) characters that denote ' k ' in a row. This idea is supported by comparing other Karaim translations and similar examples from the corpus (see 2.1.1.2.2.). Therefore, such examples do not consist of the Oghuzic DAT marker. For instance, [Lev 15:33] erkäk+[k]e 'male+DAT'; [Lev 20:4] öldür $+m a ̈+m a ̈ k+[k] \ddot{a}$ 'to kill+NEG+VN+DAT; [Lev 25:7] kiyik+[k]ä 'beast+DAT'; and [Lev 26:5] säč+mäk+[k]ä 'to sow+VN+DAT'.
    ${ }^{87}$ However, there exist a few conflicting instances where the marker $\{+\mathrm{dA}\}$ appears following words that end in voiced consonants, such as in Lev $6: 23$ kodešs $+d \ddot{a}$ holy+LOC. Additionally, owing to the restricted context, the expected LOC marker $\{+$ te $\} /\{+$ tä $\}$ is not detected in our dataset.

[^57]:    ${ }^{88}$ However, in our dataset, certain counter-examples exist wherein the marker $\{+\mathrm{dAn}\}$ is observed following words that terminate in voiceless consonants, e.g., [Lev 8:32] et+dän ‘flesh+ABL'; [Lev 21:12] mikdaš+dan 'sanctuary + ABL'.

[^58]:    ${ }^{89}$ Typically, the denominator in these structures is the Biblical Hebrew fractional number עִשָּרוֹר ['iśśārōwn] 'tenth part; tithe' in the nominal case. For example, JSul.III. 01 (H.Kar.B) [Lev 14:21] 'isaron ezek unun birni and ADub.III. 73 (T.Kar.B) bir isaron öźak both mean 'a tenth of wheat flour'.

[^59]:    ${ }^{90}$ According to Jankowski (2018: 55-56), the manuscript known as Evr. I 143 does not include the rendering of the Biblical Hebrew definite article. However, the language used in this manuscript is still a subject of debate.

[^60]:    ${ }^{91}$ In our data, it is worth noting that nouns often appear without the indefinite article bir, serving solely to refer to indefinite phrases. This phenomenon is particularly common in Karaim Bible translations, which follow the structure of Biblical Hebrew. For example, in Lev [22:14] da kiši ki ašasa (see same structure in B. Heb וְאִישׁ כִּי־ יאכַל ), the word kiši 'person' refers to an indefinite person, resulting in the sentence translating to 'if a person eats'.

[^61]:    ${ }^{92}$ As previously noted in section 2.2.1.1.1, Zajączkowski's categorization pertains to Western Karaim alone. Nonetheless, our analysis has not revealed any divergences in connection with his descriptions.
    ${ }^{93}$ The noun al is not documented in Karaim; however, it has been recorded in earlier stages of Turkic languages, initially signifying 'device' or 'method of doing something'. Over time, it developed negative connotations, such

[^62]:    as 'deceit', 'guile' or 'dirty trick'. Note that, this noun in the meaning of 'trick' is attested in various Oghuzic and Kipchak languages as well (EDPT: 120).
    ${ }^{94}$ Cf. Zajączkowski 1932: 139-140; EDPT: 403-404; NS: 162.
    ${ }^{95}$ For instance, the verb yuvukla- to close+DER does not appear in Karaim by itself, but only in combination with the reciprocal marker $\{-s$ š\} as yuvuk $+l a-s$, to close + DER-RECP meaning 'to approach' (CKED: 475).

[^63]:    ${ }^{96}$ In addition to examples mentioned in (123), there is another instance found in Lev 12:7 as čokrak, which likely traces back to the verb čokra- (see Erdal 1991: 470), followed by the deverbal noun formative marker \{-k\}. However, it is important to note that this verb is not documented in the Karaim dictionaries.
    ${ }^{97}$ Erdal and Clauson did not investigate instances such as those found in Zajączkowski's study. Moreover, according to Nişanyan (NS: 200; 893), most of the examples provided for this marker can actually be traced back to two-syllable nominals with a final $-z$, to which the denominal verb formative $\{+\mathrm{A}\}$ is attached. For instance, titiz, meaning 'peevish', combined with $\{+\mathrm{e}\}$ results in titre-, and tepiz, meaning 'moving', combined with $\{+\mathrm{e}\}$ forms tepre-

[^64]:    ${ }^{98}$ It is important to note that the text does not offer any examples of first-person plural (1PL) usage.

[^65]:    ${ }^{99}$ As for a contrasting example, see, [Lev 16:20] bit-tir-sin to end (int.)-CAUS-3SG.VOL 'he shall end |it|'.

[^66]:    ${ }^{100}$ For information regarding this categorization, refer to Zajączkowski 1932: 129.
    ${ }^{101}$ For further details, see Zajączkowski 1932: 129.

[^67]:    ${ }^{102}$ Doerfer (1959a: 274) also observed the absence of the past tense marker \{-DU\} in Crimean Turkish, e.g., koy-dï- $\varnothing$ to put-PAST-3SG 'she/he/it put'.

[^68]:    ${ }^{103}$ However, our data reveal three exceptions in which the past tense marker, commencing with the voiced consonant $\{-\mathrm{d}\}$, is affixed to verb stems that end with an unvoiced final consonant, e.g., degiš-di- $\emptyset$ to change-PAST-3SG 'it has changed'; [Lev 26:43] hor it-di- $\emptyset$ to despise-PAST-3PL 'they despised'.

[^69]:    ${ }^{104}$ The markers were listed as $\{-(\mathrm{I}) \mathrm{r}\},\{-(\mathrm{U}) \mathrm{r}\}$ and $\{-(\mathrm{A}) \mathrm{r}\}$.

[^70]:    ${ }^{105}$ It is worth noting that the same marker also functions as a future participle marker in our data, as illustrated in Section 2.2.2.6.

[^71]:    ${ }^{106}$ Among the pertinent examples, a distinct petrified conjunction can be identified, illustrated by ol-ma-ya- $\emptyset$ (to be-NEG-VOL-3SG) in Lev 10:7, which conveys the meaning of 'or else'. It is essential to highlight that in Crimean Karaim, this conjunction more frequently appears as bol-ma-yay- $\emptyset$ (to be-NEG-VOL-3SG), representing 'or else; lest' (CKED: 90). Consequently, this particular case accentuates both the phonological and morphological distinctions between Ottoman Turkish and Kipchak linguistic features.

[^72]:    ${ }^{107}$ Nonetheless, Çulha (2019: 135-136) documents this marker, drawing upon Crimean Karaim mejumas as a source.

[^73]:    ${ }^{108}$ Pertaining to the deverbal nominal formative functions of the marker $\{-Q A n\}$ within our dataset, see Section 2.2.1.1.1.2.
    ${ }^{109}$ Nevertheless, Gülsevin (2016: 99-100) records the presence of this marker within the Trakai Karaim.

[^74]:    ${ }^{110}$ For a comprehensive analysis of the influence of Biblical Hebrew on a Karaim Bible translation, refer to Olach (2013).

[^75]:    ${ }^{111}$ Besides, noun phrases that function as appositives also present an inverse order, e.g., [Lev 1:5] oflanlarï Aharonnïy ol kohenlär 'the sons of Aaron the priests'.

[^76]:    ${ }^{112}$ In one instance, we also observe this feature within a postpositional construction (refer to Section 2.3.1.2.2).

[^77]:    ${ }^{113}$ Lit. 'fracture instead of fracture'. Probably a calque of B.Heb שֶׁבֶר תַּחת שֶׁבֶר; lit. 'fracture instead of fracture'.
    ${ }^{114}$ Lit. 'eye instead of eye'. Probably a calque of B.Heb שיַין תַּחת עַיִן
    

[^78]:    ${ }^{116}$ Lit. 'fracture instead of fracture'. Probably a calque of B.Heb שֶׁבֶר תַּחַת שֶׁבֶר; lit. 'fracture instead of fracture'.
    
    ${ }^{118}$ Lit. 'tooth instead of tooth'. Probably a calque of B.Heb שָׁp
    ${ }^{119}$ Lit. 'everything which there is no to him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb כל אֲשֶׁר הֵין־לו; lit. 'all which there is no to him'.
    ${ }^{120}$ Lit. 'everything which there is no to him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb לל צֶשׁר צין־לוֹ; lit. 'all which there is no to him'.

[^79]:    ${ }^{121}$ Personal communication, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Michał Németh.
    ${ }^{122}$ Personal communication, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Michał Németh.

[^80]:    ${ }^{123}$ Remarkably, the presence of a similar structure in the Trabzon dialects of Turkey (Coşar 2015: 248-249) warrants further attention. This is especially significant considering the dialect's pronounced Kipchak influence, while it remains unaffected by the Hebrew Bible. Thus, further research might enlighten the remaining questions.

[^81]:    ${ }^{124}$ The term بالعكس [bil-'aks] in Arabic is composed of three constituent parts. The first element is ب [bi], which means 'by' or 'with'. The second element is the definite article ال [al]. Finally, the third element is عكس ['aks], a term that translates to 'opposite' or 'contrary'. Taken together, these elements form the complete expression بالعكس [bil- 'aks], which can be interpreted to mean 'on the contrary'.
    ${ }^{125}$ The Arabic word includes several elements Arabic ب [bi] 'by'+ ال [al] 'definite article + ذات [dāt] 'person' = بالذات [bi'd-dāt] 'in person'.

[^82]:    ${ }^{126}$ However, it is also important to highlight that all the prepositions in our dataset are the result of inverse order of genitive constructions, which also appears in Armeno-Kipchak and the language of the Codex Cumanicus (see Csató 2011: 171).
    ${ }^{127}$ It is important to recognize that some postpositions and prepositions may already exist in inflected forms. For example, göre (as previously mentioned in Section 2.2.2.5.), which means 'according to', is derived from the verb gör- 'to see' and is followed by the converb marker $\{-\mathrm{a}\}$. In this context, such postpositions and prepositions are also considered as uninflected as they are in petrified forms.
    ${ }^{128}$ It is essential to highlight that, in the structures identified within our dataset, these case markers comprise dative, ablative, genitive markers, along with the nominative zero suffix.

[^83]:    129 The Hebrew relative pronoun ${ }^{[1 / \text { ăšer], signifying 'which, who, that, because, when, or since', is often }}$ rendered by the Persian counterpart, $k i$, in our text (see 2.3.2.2.2.1.). The presence of a subordinate clause following the main clause and its postpositional nature within the sentence are atypical characteristics in Turkic languages. It is probably the slavish rendering of the original text, e.g., B.Heb 'ad 'ăšer yiṭhār; 'until which he is clean'.

[^84]:    ${ }^{130}$ As is demonstrated, only in Chapter 11 is this conjunction replaced with the Arabic ve, which was common in Ottoman Turkish and is still used in Turkish (see 2.2.4.).

[^85]:    ${ }^{131}$ Lit. 'admonishing, you shall admonish'. A calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), e.g., B.Heb הוֹכֵח תּוֹכִים; lit. 'to correct you shall correct'.

[^86]:    ${ }^{132}$ Note that inflected forms are only counted when they refer to a new meaning. Besides, slight phonological differences are also considered as different examples.

[^87]:    ${ }^{133}$ It is important to highlight that in our text, the word binek is used exclusively to signify 'saddle'. Therefore, this usage deviates from the definitions provided in standard dictionaries.

[^88]:    ${ }^{134}$ It appears as miy (KRPS: 406-407).
    ${ }^{135}$ It appears as miy (KRPS: 406-407).

[^89]:    ${ }^{136}$ Despite the fact that the precise form devširilme is not documented in our available Ottoman Turkish dictionaries, it does appear in ÖTS in the context of Turkish. However, it is not explicitly stated whether this form was indeed present in Ottoman Turkish, a possibility that remains highly plausible.
    ${ }^{137}$ In Crimean Tatar, the term öte is only listed before the word kün, denoting 'yesterday'. When it appears before yïl, it signifies 'last year' (KRUS: 423).

[^90]:    ${ }^{138}$ In Crimean Tatar, the word pisiirme stands for 'jam', which therefore differs from our data.

[^91]:    [Lev 19:13] zülüm+lä
    oppression+DER
    'to violate, opress'.

[^92]:    ${ }^{139}$ This group does not encompass any personal proper names.

[^93]:    ${ }^{140}$ For the descriptions of these two Ottoman Turkish Bible translations, please refer to the abbreviations section.

[^94]:    ${ }^{141}$ Regarding the structure of compound nouns，see Section 2．2．2．1．2．

[^95]:    ${ }^{142}$ An exception exists with the so-called Ortaköy 1832-1835 edition, which was not published in Crimea, and its language is occasionally referred to solely as Turkish while it also presents some Karaim features (Jankowski 2018: 52-53).

[^96]:    143 'The translation of Book of Leviticus' in Biblical Hebrew.
    ${ }^{144}$ Lev 1:1 in Biblical Hebrew. It is also the beginning of a weekly Torah portion: Parashot Vayikra (Lev 1:15:26).
    145 JSul.IV.02A: Aharon; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: Aharonnïy. | JSul.III.01: Aharonnun. | A.Dub.III.73: Aharonnun.
    ${ }^{146}$ JSul.IV.02A: Aharon; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: Aharonnï̈. | JSul.III.01: Aharonnun. | A.Dub.III.73: Aharonnun.
    ${ }^{147}$ JSul.IV.02A: kousï; a scribal error. |BSMS 288: isi. | JSul.III.01: iyisi. | A.Dub.III.73: iy.

[^97]:    ${ }^{148}$ JSul．IV．02A：Unvocalized text．

[^98]:    ${ }^{149}$ JSul.IV.02A: yuvuklaštirsïn; a scribal error. |BSMS 288: yuvuklaštirrÿ̈n. |JSul.III.01: yuvutsun.|A.Dub.III.73: yuvutsun.

[^99]:    ${ }^{150}$ JSul.IV.02A: kovš; an orthographical tendency (see 2.1.1.2.2.).
    ${ }^{151}$ JSul.IV.02A: yazïk; a scribal error. |BSMS 288: yazïklï. | JSul.III.01: yazïklï. | A.Dub.III.73: yazïklï.
    152 JSul.IV.02A: čỉkarï/čikäri; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: čïharï. | JSul.III.01: tïskartïn. | A.Dub.III.73: tïškartïn.

[^100]:    ${ }^{153}$ JSul.IV.02A: kovš; an orthographical tendency (see 2.1.1.2.2.).
    ${ }^{154}$ JSul.IV.02A: kovš; an orthographical tendency (see 2.1.1.2.2.).
    ${ }^{155}$ JSul.IV.02A: koluyï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: kolun. | JSul.III.01: kolun. | ADub.III.73: kolun.

[^101]:    156 JSul.IV.02A: gövdäsindä; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: gövdäsinä. | JSul.III.01: gevdesine. | ADub.III.73: gövdasińa.
    ${ }^{157}$ JSul.IV.02A: kumlarya; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: torlarya. $\mid$ JSul.III.01: bedenelerge. | ADub.III.73: bedeńalarǵa.
    ${ }^{158}$ JSul.IV.02A: Spelled אבוּוּ; a scribal error.

[^102]:    159 JSul.IV.02A: koyzanna; a scribal error.| BSMS 288: ḳoyzanya. | JSul.III.01: koymaÿ̈nda. | ADub.III.73: koymaгїnda.

[^103]:    ${ }^{160}$ The weekly Torah portion: Parashot Tzav (Lev 6:1-8:36).
    ${ }^{161}$ Lev 6:1 in Biblical Hebrew.

[^104]:    162 JSul．IV．02A：günüydä，a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：künindä．｜JSul．III．01：küninde．｜ADub．III．73：kününd́a．
    ${ }^{163}$ JSul．IV．02A：A partially unvocalized text．
    164 JSul．IV．02A：anča；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：da．｜JSul．III．01：vale．｜ADub．III．73：da．

[^105]:    165 JSul.IV.02A: ta[.Jïmlarï̈̈; partially illegible text. | BSMS 288: sayı̈tlarïn. | JSul.III.01: savutlarïn. | ADub.III.73: savutlarïn.

[^106]:    ${ }^{166}$ The weekly Torah portion: Parashot Shemini (Lev 9:1-11:47).
    ${ }^{167}$ Lev 9:1 in Biblical Hebrew.
    168 JSul.IV.02A: saylamlarne; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: tügällär. | JSul.III.01: tigellerni. | ADub.III.73: tüǵalíarni.

[^107]:    ${ }^{169}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized word.

[^108]:    ${ }^{170}$ JSul.IV.02A: türnak čatallilardan; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: tuyak etivčilärdän. | JSul.III.01: tuyaklavculardan. | ADub.III.73: tuyaklavčulardan.
    ${ }^{171}$ Although it is written in a parenthesis, the word differs from ada tavušan 'rabbit' and stands for 'hedhegog'. This different interpretation is also present in BSMS 288, e.g., kirpi.| JSul.III.01: krolik.| ADub.III.73: krolik.
    ${ }^{172}$ The accusative suffix belongs to the word tavušan.
    ${ }^{173}$ JSul.IV.02A: yemeysiz; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: ašamayiz. | JSul.III.01: asamanïz. | ADub.III.73: ašamayiz.
    ${ }^{174}$ JSul.IV.02A: ironïñ̈, erroneously copied from some Ottoman Bible translations, e.g., Cod. Or. 1101a-f: eronïlerun̈̈, 4B.Or.131-1: ironïlirunï (see Işık 2021: 350). | BSMS 288: peresni. | JSul.III.01: peresni. | ADub.III.73: peresni.

[^109]:    175 JSul．IV．02A：Spelled
    ${ }^{176}$ JSul．IV．02A：toyïn̈̈；a scribal error．Although the Karaim dictionaries have listed the form toyï for Crimean Karaim denoting＇ibis＇（CKED：410，KRPS：535），it was erroneously copied from some Ottoman Bible translations，e．g．，Cod．Or．1101a－f：toltu；4B．Or．131－1：toltu＇a species of owl＇（see Işık 2021：356－357）．｜BSMS 288：yanšufnï．｜JSul．III．01：kuzzunnï．｜ADub．III．73：yanšufnï．
    ${ }^{177}$ JSul．IV．02A：raḥamïü̈̈；probably a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：raḥamanï．｜JSul．III．01：raḥamnï．｜ADub．III．73： raḥamnï．
    ${ }^{178}$ JSul．IV．02A：hüdhüdini；erroneously copied from some Ottoman Bible translations e．g．，Cod．Or．1101a－f： hüdhüdi；4B．Or．131－1：hüdhü̈di（see Işık 2021：359）．｜BSMS 288：duhifatnü．｜JSul．III．01：duhifatnü．｜ADub．III．73： duhifatnï．
    ${ }_{179}$ JSul．IV．02A：kušunnïך；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：ḳušnïy．｜JSul．III．01：ḳusnun．｜ADub．III．73：ḳušnun．

[^110]:    ${ }^{180}$ JSul．IV．02A：güneš kelerisi；erroneously copied from 4B．Or．131－1：güneš keleri（see Işık 2021：366）．｜BSMS 288：kovah．｜JSul．III．01：koah．｜ADub．III．73：kovah．
    ${ }^{181}$ JSul．IV．02A：yüldïz kelerisi；erroneously copied from 4B．Or．131－1：yïldïz keleri（see Işık 2021：366－367）．｜ BSMS 288：leta＇a．｜JSul．III．01：leta＇$a$ ．｜ADub．III．73：leta＇a．
    ${ }^{182}$ JSul．IV．02A：kerten kelesi；erroneously copied from some Ottoman Bible translations，e．g．，Cod．Or．1101a－f； kerten kele；4B．Or．131－1：kerten kele（see Işık 2021：366）．｜BSMS 288：ḥomet．｜JSul．III．01：ḥomet．｜ADub．III．73： homet．
    ${ }^{183}$ JSul．IV．02A：göz töbä；erroneously copied from the Ottoman Bible translations，e．g．，Cod．Or．1101a－f： köstebek；4B．Or．131－1：köstebek（see Işık 2021：363）．｜BSMS 288：tinšemet．｜JSul．III．01：tinšamet．｜ADub．III．73： tinšamet．
    ${ }^{184}$ JSul．IV．02A：lešiyä；probably a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：gövdäsinä．｜JSul．III．01：gevdesine．｜ADub．III．73： gövd́asińa．

[^111]:    ${ }^{185}$ JSul．IV．02A：$d$ ；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：$d a$ ．｜JSul．III．01：$d a$ ．｜ADub．III．73：da．
    
    187 JSul．IV．02A：̧̌annyїn；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：弓̌annïy．｜JSul．III．01：зannïn．｜ADub．III．73：弓̌annïn．
    ${ }^{188}$ The weekly Torah portion：Parashot Tazria（Lev 12：1－13：59）．
    ${ }^{189}$ Lev 12：1 in Biblical Hebrew．

[^112]:    ${ }^{190}$ JSul．IV．02A：š̌̌ǐik，a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：šisisik．｜JSul．III．01：sisik．｜ADub．III．73：šišik．
    ${ }^{191}$ JSul．IV．02A：hastlik；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：hastalik．｜JSul．III．01：hastalik．｜｜ADub．III．73：hastalik．
    ${ }^{192}$ JSul．IV．02A：šisikdü̈；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：šisǐkdä．｜JSul．III．01：sisikte．｜ADub．III．73：küvmáaktá．
    ${ }^{193}$ JSul．IV．02A：［．］emi［．］dir，a partially illegible text．｜BSMS 288：aruvdïr．｜JSul．III．01：aruvdu．｜ADub．III．73： aruvdur．

[^113]:    194 JSul.IV.02A: mundandïr; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: mundardïr. | JSul.III.01: murdardï. $\mid$ ADub.III.73: murdardï.
    ${ }^{195}$ JSul.IV.02A: derdirligi; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: mečora 'lïyï. | JSul.III.01: cara 'atïdï. | ADub.III.73: cara atï.

[^114]:    196 JSul.IV.02A: sïzlatïÿ̈; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: eksitivči. | JSul.III.01: sïzlatadoyandï.| ADub.III.73: tavusadoyan.
    ${ }^{197}$ JSul.IV.02A: küydürülüsin; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: küydürülsin. | JSul.III.01: kivdirilsin. | ADub.III.73: küvdürülsün.
    198 JSul.IV.02A: kestä; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: ketsä. | JSul.III.01: ketse. | ADub.III.73: ketśa.
    199 JSul.IV.02A: boyÿ̈y; a scribal error. |BSMS 288: boynïy. | JSul.III.01: osnovanün. | ADub.III.73: osnovanïn.
    ${ }^{200}$ The weekly Torah portion: Parashot Metzora (Lev 14:1-15:33).

[^115]:    ${ }^{201}$ JSul.IV.02A: kïrïmïzï, probably a scribal error. |BSMS 288: kïrmïzï. |JSul.III.01: kïrmïzï. | ADub.III.73: kïrmizzzi.
    ${ }^{202}$ JSul.IV.02A: sačïīï, a scribal error. | BSMS 288: sac̈ï. | JSul.III.01: cacïn. | ADub.III.73: čači.
    ${ }^{203}$ JSul.IV.02A: sac̈īï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: sac̆ïn. | JSul.III.01: cacïn. | ADub.III.73: čačïn.
    ${ }^{204}$ JSul.IV.02A: sakalïï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: sakalïn. | JSul.III.01: sahalïn. | ADub.III.73: savalïn.
    ${ }^{205}$ JSul.IV.02A: kirpiklärin; a scribal error. |BSMS 288: kirpiklärin. |JSul.III.01: kaslarïn. |ADub.III.73: kas̆larïn. ${ }^{206}$ JSul.IV.02A: upraklarï̈i; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: upraklarïn. | JSul.III.01: upraklarïn. | ADub.III.73: upraklarïn.

[^116]:    ${ }^{207}$ JSul.IV.02A: bermayï, probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: barmayï. | JSul.III.01: barmayï. | ADub.III.73: barmayï.

[^117]:    ${ }^{208}$ JSul．IV．02A：tutuvluÿ̈̈ïnniz；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：tutuvlïÿ̈ŋïznïy．｜JSul．III．01：tutuvluぬиnuznun．｜ ADub．III．73：tutuvluk yeriyiznin．

[^118]:    ${ }^{209}$ JSul.IV.02A: kı̈rïmzï; probably a scribal error. |BSMS 288: kïrmüzï.| JSul.III.01: kïrmüzï. | ADub.III.73: kïrmüzï.
    ${ }^{210}$ JSul.IV.02A: šišikkä; a scribal error. |BSMS 288: šišikkä.| JSul.III.01: sisikke.| ADub.III.73: šišiknin.
    ${ }^{211}$ JSul.IV.02A: upraklarï̈ï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: upraklarïn. | JSul.III.01: upraklarïn. | ADub.III.73: upraklarïn.

[^119]:    ${ }^{212}$ JSul.IV.02A: yaykamdï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: yaykamadï. | JSul.III.01: tastïrmasa. | ADub.III.73: yuvmasa.
    ${ }^{213}$ JSul.IV.02A: etiyi; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: etin. |JSul.III.01: gufun. | ADub.III.73: gufun.

[^120]:    ${ }^{214}$ JSul．IV．02A：güzlärindä；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：künlärindä．｜JSul．III．01：kinlerinde．｜ADub．III．73： künÍarind́a．
    ${ }^{215}$ JSul．IV．02A：erkäke；an orthographical tendency（see 2．1．1．2．2．）．
    ${ }^{216}$ The weekly Torah portion：Parashot Acharei Mot（Lev 16：1－18：30）．
    ${ }^{217}$ Lev 16：1 in Biblical Hebrew．

[^121]:    ${ }^{218}$ JSul.IV.02A: kanïÿ̈; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: kanïn. | JSul.III.01: kanïn. | ADub.III.73: kanïn.
    ${ }^{219}$ JSul.IV.02A: kanï̈ї; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: kanïn. | JSul.III.01: kanïna. | ADub.III.73: kanïna.

[^122]:    ${ }^{220}$ JSul.IV.02A: kollarï̈̈̈; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: kollarïn. | JSul.III.01: kollarïn. | ADub.III.73: kollarïn.

[^123]:    ${ }^{221}$ JSul.IV.02A: upraklaranï, a scribal error. | BSMS 288: upraklarnü. | JSul.III.01: upraklarnï. | ADub.III.73: upraklarni.
    ${ }^{222}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{223}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{224}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{225}$ JSul.IV.02A: ortlarïnda; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: ortalarïnda. | JSul.III.01: ortalarïnda. | ADub.III.73: ortalarïnda.

[^124]:    ${ }^{226}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288:
    berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{227}$ JSul.IV.02A: The copula -dir belongs to the postposition bilän although it appears after the parenthesis.
    ${ }^{228}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{229}$ JSul.IV.02A: upraklarï̈̈̈; a scribal error. | JSul.III.01: upraklarïn. | ADub.III.73: upraklarnï.

[^125]:    ${ }^{230}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{231}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    232 JSul.IV.02A: ‘ayïplarï̈ü; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: aÿ̈plarïn. $\mid$ JSul.III.01: ayiplerin. $\mid$ ADub.III.73: ayipĺarin.
    ${ }^{233}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{234}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{235}$ JSul.IV.02A: 'ayïplarï̈ï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: ayïbïn. | JSul.III.01: ayibin. | ADub.III.73: ayipin.
    ${ }^{236}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.

[^126]:    237 JSul.IV.02A: deest. |BSMS 288: כי | JSul.III.01: כי | ADub.III.73:
    238 JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    ${ }^{239}$ The weekly Torah portion: Parashot Kedoshim (Lev 19:1-20:27).
    ${ }^{240}$ Lev 19:1 in Biblical Hebrew.
    ${ }^{241}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.
    242 JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.

[^127]:    ${ }^{243}$ JSul.IV.02A: üstünä; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: üstü̈ä. | JSul.III.01: istine. | ADub.III.73: üstüya.
    ${ }^{244}$ JSul.IV.02A: kihatï, a scribal error.

[^128]:    ${ }^{245}$ JSul.IV.02A: maksulunï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: tahïlïn. | JSul.III.01: bitisin anïn. | ADub.III.73: bitišin anïn.
    ${ }^{246}$ JSul.IV.02A: etarfin; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: küÿ̈rïn. | JSul.III.01: kïrïÿ̈n. | ADub.III.73: kürïyün.
    ${ }^{247}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{248}$ JSul.IV.02A: Unvocalized text.

[^129]:    ${ }^{249}$ JSul.IV.02A: öldürmämäkä; an orthographical tendency (see 2.1.1.2.2.).
    ${ }^{250}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{251}$ JSul.IV.02A: üldürüllüsin; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: öldürülsin. | JSul.III.01: eltirilsin. | ADub.III.73: öltürülsün.
    ${ }^{252}$ JSul.IV.02A: ayaklap; probably a scribal error.

[^130]:    ${ }^{253}$ JSul.IV.02A: deest, added on the basis of BSMS 288: anaŋnï̈y da kïz kardašïnïy. | JSul.III.01: anannïn da tuvduyunип. | ADub.III.73: anaynïn da tuvduуипип.
    ${ }^{254}$ JSul.IV.02A: orya; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: anda. | JSul.III.01: ari.| ADub.III.73: arï.
    ${ }^{255}$ JSul.IV.02A: kïrmïldar; probably a scribal error.|BSMS 288: kı̈ymïldar.|JSul.III.01: tebrenedi.|ADub.III.73: tebŕańadi.
    ${ }^{256}$ The weekly Torah portion: Parashot Emor (Lev 21:1-24:23).
    ${ }^{257}$ Lev 21:1 in Biblical Hebrew.

[^131]:    ${ }^{258}$ JSul.IV.02A: yurmak; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: yulkmak. | JSul.III.01: yulkuv. | ADub.III.73: yulkuv.
    ${ }^{259}$ JSul.IV.02A: Illegible text; reconstructed on the basis of another printed copy of the edition: täs̈äkli.|BSMS 288: tešan. | JSul.III.01: sisken ayipli. | ADub.III.73: šišǩan ayipli.

[^132]:    ${ }^{260}$ JSul．IV．02A：hillä ver anda；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：aÿ̈p anda．｜JSul．III．01：ayip anda．｜ADub．III．73： ayip anda．

[^133]:    ${ }^{261}$ JSul．IV．02A：gümlä；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：barča．｜JSul．III．01：bar．｜ADub．III．73：bar．

[^134]:    262 JSul.IV.02A: Spelled אִילְיְְּּלֹר; a scribal error.
    ${ }^{263}$ JSul.IV.02A: önü̈ä; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: aldïna. | JSul.III.01: alnïnda. | ADub.III.73: alnïnda.

[^135]:    ${ }^{264}$ JSul．IV．02A：Unvocalized text．
    ${ }^{265}$ JSul．IV．02A：yerïkka；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：yarïkka．｜JSul．III．01：yarï̉lïkka．｜ADub．III．73：yarïklïkka．

[^136]:    ${ }^{266}$ The weekly Torah portion：Parashot Behar（Lev 25：1－26：2）．
    ${ }^{267}$ Lev 25：1 in Biblical Hebrew．
    ${ }^{268}$ JSul．IV．02A：veriydirmin；probably a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：beräydirmen．｜JSul．III．01：beremen．｜ ADub．III．73：beŕamen．
    ${ }^{269}$ JSul．IV．02A：kiyikä；an orthographical tendency（see 2．1．1．2．2．）．
    ${ }^{270}$ JSul．IV．02A：Unvocalized text．

[^137]:    ${ }^{271}$ JSul．IV．02A：Unvocalized text．
    ${ }^{272}$ JSul．IV．02A：kardašïdakini；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：dostun．｜JSul．III．01：dostun．｜ADub．III．73：dostun．
    ${ }^{273}$ JSul．IV．02A：Unvocalized text．
    ${ }^{274}$ JSul．IV．02A：A partially unvocalized text．
    ${ }^{275}$ JSul．IV．02A：A partially unvocalized text．
    ${ }^{276}$ JSul．IV．02A：yilïina；probably a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：yïlïna．｜JSul．III．01：yïlïna．｜ADub．III．73：yïlïna．

[^138]:    ${ }^{277}$ JSul.IV.02A: kiläsligi; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: yulovu. | JSul.III.01: yulunmak. | ADub.III.73: yulumak.
    ${ }^{278}$ JSul.IV.02A: kuvatnandïrrïn; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: kip tutkïn. | JSul.III.01: kiplegin. | ADub.III.73: kiplagin.
    ${ }^{279}$ JSul.IV.02A: korkkan; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: korkk̈̈n.| JSul.III.01: korkkun. | ADub.III.73: korkkun.

[^139]:    ${ }^{280}$ Lev 26:3 in Biblical Hebrew. It is the beginning of a weekly Torah portion: Parashot Bechukotai (Lev 26:327:34).
    ${ }^{281}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.

[^140]:    282 JSul.IV.02A: bay bozumuŋa; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: borla čöplämäkkä. | JSul.III.01: ïstïryan birtikke. | ADub.III.73: yïstïrmakka.
    ${ }^{283}$ JSul.IV.02A: säčmäkä; an orthographical tendency (see 2.1.1.2.2.).
    ${ }^{284}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{285}$ JSul.IV.02A: yayildïrïmün; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: yayïldïrïrmïn. | JSul.III.01: yaydïrïrmen. | ADub.III.73: yayarmen.
    ${ }^{286}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    287 JSul.IV.02A: hastlïknï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: hastalïknï. | JSul.III.01: hastalïknü. | ADub.III.73: hastaliknnï.
    288 JSul.IV.02A: hastlïknï; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: hastalïknï. | JSul.III.01: hastalïknü. | ADub.III.73: hastalikknï.
    ${ }_{289}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berirmen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.

[^141]:    ${ }^{290}$ JSul.IV.02A: arttirï̈m̈̈n; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). |BSMS 288: arttirïrmïn. | JSul.III.01: arttïrïrmen. | ADub.III.73: arttirïrmen.
    ${ }^{291}$ JSul.IV.02A: sïndïrïmïn; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: sündïrïrmïn. | JSul.III.01: sïndïrïmen. | ADub.III.73: sïdïrïmen.
    ${ }^{292}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{293}$ JSul.IV.02A: arttirï̈mïn; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). |BSMS 288: arttirïrmïn. | JSul.III.01: arttïrïrmen. | ADub.III.73: arttirïrmen.
    ${ }^{294}$ JSul.IV.02A: biyirimin; probably a scribal error. |BSMS 288: yibirmin.|JSul.III.01: iydirirmen. | ADub.III.73: iyarmen.
    ${ }^{295}$ JSul.IV.02A: getirimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). |BSMS 288: ketirirmin. | JSul.III.01: keltirimen. | ADub.III.73: keltirirmen.
    ${ }^{296}$ JSul.IV.02A: toplaŋïrsïz; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: čöplänirsiz. | JSul.III.01: ïstïrïnïsiz. | ADub.III.73: yišitirillsayiz.
    ${ }^{297}$ JSul.IV.02A: yibirimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). |BSMS 288: yibirirmin.| JSul.III.01: iydirimen. | ADub.III.73: iyarmen.
    ${ }^{298}$ JSul.IV.02A: verilisiz; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berilirsiz. | JSul.III.01: berilisiz. | ADub.III.73: berilirsiz.
    ${ }^{299}$ JSul.IV.02A: koluna; a scribal error. | BSMS 288: koluna. | JSul.III.01: koluna.|ADub.III.73: koluna.

[^142]:    ${ }^{300}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{301}$ JSul.IV.02A: verimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: berirmin. | JSul.III.01: berimen. | ADub.III.73: berirmen.
    ${ }^{302}$ JSul.IV.02A: suvurïmün; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). | BSMS 288: suvurïrmïn. | JSul.III.01: suvurumen. | ADub.III.73: suvururmen.
    ${ }^{303}$ JSul.IV.02A: getirimin; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5). |BSMS 288: ketirirmin. | JSul.III.01: keltirimen. | ADub.III.73: keltirirmen.

[^143]:    304 JSul.IV.02A: deest. Reconstructed on the basis of ADub.III.73: ואבדתם Da taspolursiz ortasinda hanliklarnïn da tavusur sizni yeri dušmanlarǐiziznïn. | BSMS 288: deest. | JSul.III.01: ואבדתם Da taspolusiz hanliklar arasïna da tavusur sizni yeri dusmanlarïniznïn.
    ${ }^{305}$ JSul.IV.02A: getirimen; probably a tendency towards consonant deletion (refer to section 2.2.1.5) or a scribal error. | BSMS 288: ketirirmin. | JSul.III.01: keltirimen. | ADub.III.73: keltirirmen.

[^144]:    306 JSul.IV.02A: arparlarnïy; probably a scribal error. | BSMS 288: arpalarnï̈. | JSul.III.01: arpalar. | ADub.III.73: arpalar.

[^145]:    ${ }^{307}$ JSul．IV．02A：yilizina；probably a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：yïlïna．｜JSul．III．01：yïlïna．｜ADub．III．73：yïlïna．
    ${ }^{308}$ JSul．IV．02A：bešingisini；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：bešiņ̆isini．｜JSul．III．01：besinci ilisini．｜ADub．III．73： bešinči ülüšün．
    ${ }^{309}$ JSul．IV．02A：degiškägi；a scribal error．｜BSMS 288：degištirmägi．｜JSul．III．01：alïskanü．｜ADub．III．73： alïskanï．

[^146]:    ${ }^{310}$ Lev 27:34 in Biblical Hebrew.
    ${ }^{311}$ Psalm 89:52 in Biblical Hebrew: 'Blessed be the LORD forever! Amen and amen'.

[^147]:    ${ }^{312}$ Lit. 'man from yourselves'.
    ${ }^{313}$ Lit. 'sheep'; a partially mistranslation, see B.Heb צ̌א; ‘flock; sheep'.
    ${ }^{314}$ Lit. 'by taking a healthy male he shall bring it forward'.
    ${ }^{315}$ Lit. 'according to its joints'.
    ${ }^{316}$ Lit. 'they shall give'; see B.Heb יִתְנֻן; lit. 'they give'.
    ${ }^{317}$ Lit. 'sheep'; a partially mistranslation, see B.Heb צׂאן; ‘flock; sheep'.
    ${ }^{318}$ Lit. 'by taking a healthy male he shall bring it forward'.
    ${ }^{319}$ Lit. 'according to its joints'.

[^148]:    ${ }^{320}$ Lit. ‘dripped down'.
    ${ }^{321}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    
    ${ }^{323}$ Lit. 'thick unleavened bread'.
    ${ }^{324}$ Lit. 'slicing you shall slice it |into| pieces'. A construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.) and is usually attributed to Biblical Hebrew influence. However, the Hebrew Bible does not present the exact
    
    ${ }^{325}$ Lit. 'put'.

[^149]:    ${ }^{326}$ Lit. 'grape molasses'.
    ${ }^{327}$ Lit. 'first offering'.
    
    ${ }^{329}$ Lit. 'firsts'.
    ${ }^{330}$ Lit. 'firsts'.
    ${ }^{331}$ Lit. 'you shall give', see B.Heb נָתָּ; lit. 'you give'.
    ${ }^{332}$ Lit. 'it'.

[^150]:    ${ }^{333}$ Lit. 'it'.
    ${ }^{334}$ Lit. 'it'.
    ${ }^{335}$ Lit. 'holy'; a B.Heb lexical copy, e.g., שְדְֶ; lit. 'holiness'.
    ${ }^{336}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb נָתָן; ‘he gives'.
    ${ }^{337}$ Lit. 'hollow corners'.
    ${ }^{338}$ Lit. 'incense of the spices'. Probably a calque of B.Heb, e.g., קטֹרֶת הַסַּמִּים; lit. 'incense of the spices'.

[^151]:    ${ }^{339}$ Lit. 'it'.
     place, the place pouring out the greasy ash'.
    ${ }^{341}$ Lit. 'on the place, which pours out the ash', see B.Heb עַלֹשֶׁפֶך הֶדֶּשֶׁן ; lit. 'on the place pouring out the greasy ash'.
    ${ }^{342}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{343}$ Lit. 'hollow corners'.
    ${ }^{344}$ Elder brother; a form of address to an older man (CKED: 33).

[^152]:    ${ }^{345}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb נָּסָן; lit. 'he gives'.
    ${ }^{346}$ Lit. 'hollow corners'.
    ${ }^{347}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{348}$ Lit. 'hollow corners'.

[^153]:    ${ }^{349}$ Lit. 'the one which lays eggs'.
    ${ }^{350}$ Lit. 'he became unclean and became guilty'.
    ${ }^{351}$ Lit. 'he knew'.
    ${ }^{352}$ Lit. 'he became'.
    ${ }^{353}$ Lit. 'to all'.
    ${ }^{354}$ Lit. 'he knew'.
    ${ }^{355}$ Lit. 'he became'.
    ${ }^{356}$ Lit. 'for it'.
    ${ }^{357}$ Lit. 'his power does not suffice'.
    ${ }^{358}$ Lit. 'from the opposite of'.
    ${ }^{359}$ Lit. 'his power does not suffice'.
    ${ }^{360}$ A measure; an amount of wheat which is given to miller in exchange for grinding (ÖTS 3: 2513).
    ${ }^{361}$ Lit. 'grasp of it with his full palm', see B.Heb מלוֹא קְקְ; lit. 'fullness of his fistful'.

[^154]:    ${ }^{362}$ Lit. 'it'.
    ${ }^{363}$ Lit. 'misleads |a| misleading |act|'. Probably a calque of B.Heb תְמְׂל מַעַל ; lit. 'misleads |a| misleading |act|'.
    ${ }^{364}$ Lit. 'becoming guilty he became guilty'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction, which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אָשׁם אָשׁׁם; lit. 'to be guilty, he was guilty'.
    ${ }^{365}$ Lit. 'misleads $|a|$ misleading |act|'. Probably a calque of B.Heb תִaְ ;
    ${ }^{366}$ Lit. 'the oppression which he oppressed'. Probably a calque of B.Heb הבְזָלָה אֲשֶׁר גָּזָּ; lit. 'the pillage which he pillaged'.
    ${ }^{367}$ Lit. '|the thing| which is taken by holding which he took it by holding'. Probably a calque of B.Heb הָעשֶׁק אֲשֶׁר シֶָּק lit. 'the extortion which he extorted'.
    ${ }^{368}$ Lit. 'the committal which was committed him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb הַפִּקדזוֹן אֲשֶׁר הָפְקזד lit. 'the committal which was committed him'.
    ${ }^{369}$ Lit. ‘with his head'.

[^155]:     (see 2.3.1.3.2.).
    ${ }^{371}$ Lit. 'bringing forward he shall bring forward'. A construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.) and is usually attributed to Biblical Hebrew influence. However, the original text does not present the exact structure for this verse: B.Heb הַקְרב; lit. 'to bring forward'.
    ${ }^{372}$ Lit. 'with his palm', see B.Heb $ב ְ ּ ק ְ ְ צ ;$ lit. 'with his fistful'.
    ${ }^{373}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb $\begin{gathered}\text { Trָ } \\ \text {; }\end{gathered}$ l lit. 'statue of world'.

[^156]:    ${ }^{374}$ Lit. 'him', see B.Heb iאת; lit. 'him'.
    375 'A measure; an amount of wheat which was given to miller in exchange for grinding' (ÖTS 3:2513).
    ${ }^{376}$ Lit. 'make |someone| bring'.
    ${ }^{377}$ Lit. 'it'.
    ${ }^{378}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חָק־עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.
    ${ }^{379}$ Lit. 'tile'.
    ${ }^{380}$ Lit. 'cooked'.
    ${ }^{381}$ Lit. 'cooked'.
    ${ }^{382}$ Lit. 'it'.

[^157]:    ${ }^{383}$ Lit. 'it shall be to him', see B.Heb לוֹידְיֶ; lit. 'it shall be to him'.
    
    ${ }^{385}$ Lit. 'it shall be to him', see B.Heb לוֹהְהֶה
    
    ${ }^{387}$ Lit. 'like his brother', see B.Heb ${ }^{3}$;ְָָחיו; lit. 'as brother to him'.
    ${ }^{388}$ Lit. 'family; lineage; race'.
    ${ }^{389}$ Lit. 'intention'.
    ${ }^{390}$ Lit. 'its morning', see B.Heb מִמְּחֲחָרת; lit. 'from morrow'.
    ${ }^{391}$ Lit. 'being eaten if it is eaten'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction, which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אםם האָּל יאָאֵל; litt. 'if to be eaten it is being eaten'.
    ${ }^{392}$ Lit. 'him'.

[^158]:    ${ }^{393}$ An animal that died a natural death (CEDHL: 402).
    ${ }^{394}$ An animal torn by wild beasts (CEDHL: 252).
    ${ }^{395}$ Lit. 'to every work'; see, B.Heb לְלְל־־ְדָאכָה; lit. 'for any of work'.
    ${ }^{396}$ Lit. 'eating you shall not eat it'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֲלל לֹא תאכְלֶהו; lit. 'to eat you shall not eat it'.
    ${ }^{397}$ Lit. 'before'.
    ${ }^{398}$ Lit. 'it shall be to him', see B.Heb לוֹ תִדְּדה; lit. 'it shall be to him'.
    ${ }^{399}$ Lit. 'to statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb לְלחקת עוֹלָם; lit. 'to statue of world'.

[^159]:    ${ }^{400}$ Lit. 'he gave', see B.Heb ${ }^{2}$ ? $;$; lit. 'he is giving'.
    ${ }^{401}$ Lit. 'he gave', see B.Heb ${ }^{\prime 8}$ ?; lit. 'he is giving'.
    ${ }^{402}$ Lit. 'flower'. Probably a calque of B.Heb צִיץ; lit. ‘flower'.
    403 'Tall sheepskin hat'.
    ${ }^{404}$ Lit. 'he gave', see B.Heb ${ }^{6}$ ?; lit. 'he is giving'.

[^160]:    ${ }^{405}$ Lit. 'according to its joints'.
    ${ }^{406}$ Lit. ‘joints'.
    ${ }^{407}$ Lit. 'its soft |place|'.
    ${ }^{408}$ Lit. 'its soft |place|'.
    ${ }^{409}$ Lit. 'before'.

[^161]:     lit. 'seven of days he shall fill your hand'.
    ${ }^{411}$ Lit. 'he gave', see B.Heb ${ }^{\text {SOP: }}$; lit. 'he is giving'.

[^162]:    ${ }^{412}$ Lit. 'according to its joints'.
    ${ }^{413}$ Lit. 'and he did', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{414}$ Lit. 'and he filled his palm', see B.Heb ויְַלֵּא כַפּוֹ; lit. 'and he is filling his palm'.
    ${ }^{415}$ Lit. 'before'.
    ${ }^{416}$ Lit. ‘first; beforehand; initially'.
    ${ }^{417}$ Lit. 'every person'.
    ${ }^{418}$ Lit. 'they gave', see B.Heb

[^163]:    ${ }^{419}$ Lit. 'lift'.
    ${ }^{420}$ Lit. 'lift'.
    ${ }^{421}$ In that way.

[^164]:    ${ }^{422}$ Lit. 'seeking, he sought'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb
    ${ }^{423}$ Lit. 'eating you shall eat it'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אָכוֹל תּאֹכְלו; lit. 'to eat you shall eat it'.
    ${ }^{424}$ Lit. 'became'.
    ${ }^{425}$ Lit. 'although'.
    ${ }^{426}$ Lit. 'island rabbit'.
    ${ }^{427}$ Lit. 'did'.
    ${ }^{428}$ Lit. 'it completely parts its hoof's dividing |part|'.
    ${ }^{429}$ Lit. 'everything which to him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb כֹל אֲשֶׁר־לֹ; lit. 'all which to him'.
    ${ }^{430}$ Lit. 'wing'.

[^165]:    ${ }^{431}$ Lit. 'everything which there is no to him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb כל אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לו; lit. 'all which there is no to him'.
    ${ }^{432}$ Lit. 'lay eggs'.
    ${ }^{433}$ Lit. 'soul', see B.Heb שֶׁשׁׁ; lit. 'soul'.
    ${ }^{434}$ Lit. 'everything which there is no to him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb כל אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לוֹ; lit. 'all which there is no to him'.
    ${ }^{435}$ Eagle owl.
    ${ }^{436}$ Uncertain translation; 'a species of owl; an owl' (WAED: 372, CPED: 804).
    ${ }^{437}$ Probably 'carrion vulture' (vultur percnopterus) (CEDHL:613).
    ${ }^{438}$ Lit. 'flying bird', see B.Heb הָעוֹף; lit. 'the flyer'.
    ${ }^{439}$ Lit. 'flying bird', see B.Heb הָעוֹף; lit. 'the flyer'.
    ${ }^{440}$ Lit. 'to him knees from above to its feet to leap with them on the land'. Probably a calque of B.Heb לְנַּתר בָּהן
    
    ${ }^{441}$ Probably a kind of locust (CEDHL: 230).
    ${ }^{442}$ Probably 'locust' or 'grasshopper' (CEDHL: 207).
    ${ }^{443}$ Lit. 'bird', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{444}$ Lit. 'a complete division it does not divide'.

[^166]:    ${ }^{445}$ Lit. 'on its soles', see B.Heb עַל־כַּפָּיו; lit. 'on soles of him'.
    ${ }^{446}$ Lit. 'lay eggs'.
    ${ }^{447}$ Flowerpot vessel.
    ${ }^{448}$ Lit. 'it was given', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{449}$ Lit. 'lifts'.

[^167]:    ${ }^{450}$ Lit. ‘you shall be holy', see B.Heb וְהְיִתֶם קְדשׁׁים; ;
    ${ }^{451}$ Lit. 'between the clean', see B.Heb בין הטְטָהר; lit. 'between the clean'.
    ${ }^{452}$ Lit. 'between the animal', see B.Heb בין החיָּה; lit. 'between the animal'.
     because', see B.Heb כְּנְדָּתָהּ; lit. 'as isolation of her'.
    ${ }^{454}$ Lit. 'fountain; spring'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    ${ }^{455}$ Lit. 'her power does not suffice'.

[^168]:    ${ }^{456}$ Lit. 'make'
    ${ }^{457}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{458}$ Lit. 'spreading if it spreads'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction, which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֲa־פָּשה תִפְשֶׁהֹ; lit. 'if to diffuse it is diffusing'.
    ${ }^{459}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{460}$ Lit. 'the health of...'.
    ${ }^{461}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{462}$ Lit. 'spreading if it spreads'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֲם מִסגָא תִסגי; litt. 'if to bud it is budding'.
     appearance of eyes of the priest'.

[^169]:    ${ }^{464}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{465}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{466}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{467}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{468}$ Lit. 'spreading $\mid$ if $\mid$ it spreads'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אִם מִסגָא תִסגי; lit. 'if to bud it is budding'.
    ${ }^{469}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{470}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{471}$ Lit. 'its health'.
    ${ }^{472}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{473}$ Lit. 'spreading if it spreads'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֻם מִסגָא תִסגי; lit. 'if to bud it is budding'.
    ${ }^{474}$ Lit. 'make'.

[^170]:    ${ }^{475}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{476}$ Lit. 'burn'.
    ${ }^{477}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{478}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{479}$ Lit. 'spreading $\mid$ if $\mid$ it spreads'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אִם מִסגָא תִסגי; lit. 'if to bud it is budding'.
    ${ }^{480}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{481}$ A kind of disease (CEDHL: 65); harmless eruption of the skin, skin-disease' (LVTL: 111).
    ${ }^{482}$ Bald on the forehead (CEDHL: 89).

[^171]:    ${ }^{483}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{484}$ Lit. 'is'.
    ${ }^{485}$ Lit. 'in all leather work'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בְּכָל־מְלאכְת עוֹר; lit. 'in any of work of leather'.
    
    
    

[^172]:    ${ }^{489}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{490}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{491}$ Lit. 'wild'.
    ${ }^{492}$ Lit. 'the one bird', see B.Heb הֲצָּפוֹר הָאֶחָת; lit. 'the bird the one'.
    ${ }^{493}$ Lit. 'wild'.
    ${ }^{494}$ Lit. 'wild'.
    ${ }^{495}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{496}$ Lit. 'wild'.

[^173]:    ${ }^{497}$ The capacity of a bucket (CKED: 348).
    ${ }^{498}$ Lit. 'them', see B.Heb אזָם; lit. 'them'.
    ${ }^{499}$ The capacity of a bucket (CKED: 348).
    ${ }^{500}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{501}$ Lit. 'its soft |place|'.
    ${ }^{502}$ The capacity of a bucket (CKED: 348).
    ${ }^{503}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb ${ }^{504}$ ?
    ${ }^{504}$ Lit. 'its soft |place|'.
    ${ }^{505}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{506}$ Lit. 'if his power does not suffice'.
    ${ }^{507}$ The capacity of a bucket (CKED: 348).
    ${ }^{508}$ Lit. 'to what if his power suffices'.

[^174]:    ${ }^{509}$ The capacity of a bucket (CKED: 348).
    ${ }^{510}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{511}$ Lit. 'its soft |place|'.
    ${ }^{512}$ Lit. 'he gives', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{513}$ Lit. 'its soft |place|'.
    ${ }^{514}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{515}$ Lit. 'do', see B.Heb עָשָָה; 'do'
    ${ }^{516}$ Lit. 'from what if his power suffices'.
    ${ }^{517}$ Lit. 'to what if his power suffices'.
    ${ }^{518}$ Lit. 'if his power does not suffice'.

[^175]:    ${ }^{519}$ Lit. 'road road'.
    ${ }^{520}$ Lit. 'greens'. Probably a calque of B.Heb יִבקובקץק; ; lit. 'greenish ones'.
    ${ }^{521}$ Lit. 'reds'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אֻדְדָּ
    ${ }^{522}$ Lit. 'low'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    ${ }^{523}$ Lit. 'break'.
    ${ }^{524}$ Lit. 'broke'.
    ${ }^{525}$ Lit. 'buds'. Probably a calque of B.Heb פָּרָ; lit. 'buds'.
    ${ }^{526}$ Lit. 'pulled out'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חלּץ; lit. 'pulled out'.
    ${ }^{527}$ Lit. 'broke'.
    ${ }^{528}$ Lit. 'coming if he comes'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֲם־בּ יָבּאֹ; lit. 'if to come he is coming'.
    ${ }^{529}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{530}$ Lit. 'to sprinkle'.

[^176]:    ${ }^{531}$ Lit. 'wild'.
    ${ }^{532}$ Lit. 'to sprinkle'.
    ${ }^{533}$ Lit. 'wild'.
    ${ }^{534}$ Lit. 'wild'.
    ${ }^{535}$ Lit. 'the unclean time'.
    ${ }^{536}$ Lit. 'the clean time'.
    ${ }^{537}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אִישׁ אִישׁ; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{538}$ Lit. 'his shameful flesh'.
    ${ }^{539}$ Lit. 'his shameful flesh'.
    ${ }^{540}$ Lit. 'vessel'.

[^177]:    ${ }^{541}$ Lit. 'be jumped'; 'be leaped'.
    ${ }^{542}$ Lit. 'remains clean'.
    ${ }^{543}$ Lit. 'do', see B.Heb עָשָׁה; 'do'.
    ${ }^{544}$ Lit. 'for her being away', see B.Heb בִנְדָּתָהּ; lit. 'in isolation of her'.
    ${ }^{545}$ Lit. 'lying if he lies'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֵם שָׁכב יִשְׁכַּב; lit. 'if to lie he is lying'.

[^178]:    ${ }^{546}$ Lit. 'if flows the fluid of her blood', see B.Heb יזוּב זוֹב דָּשָהּ; lit. 'it is discharging discharge of blood of her'.
    ${ }^{547}$ Lit. 'more'.
    ${ }^{548}$ Lit. 'vessel'.
    ${ }^{549}$ Lit. 'remains clean'.
    ${ }^{550}$ Lit. 'do', see B.Heb עָשָׁה; ‘do’.
    ${ }^{551}$ Lit. 'and', see B.Heb ! ; lit. 'and'.

[^179]:    ${ }^{552}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{553}$ Lit. ‘firepan'.
    ${ }^{554}$ Lit. 'his full palms'.
    ${ }^{555}$ Lit. 'give'.
    ${ }^{556}$ Lit. 'and'.

[^180]:    ${ }^{557}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{558}$ Lit. 'he shall give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{559}$ Lit. 'to statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb לְחִקת עוֹדָם; lit. 'to statue of world'.
    ${ }^{560}$ Lit. ‘statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חֲקֶת עוֹלָם; lit. ‘statue of world'.

[^181]:    ${ }^{561}$ Lit. 'to statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb לְחֵקת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.
    ${ }_{562}^{562}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb צישׁ צישׁ; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{563}$ Lit. 'blood', see B.Heb aȚ̦; lit. 'blood'.
    ${ }^{564}$ Lit. 'to their kid faces' (here the 'kid' refers the animal), see B.Heb לשְׂעִירִם; lit. 'to he-male goats'.
    ${ }^{565}$ Lit. 'statue for life', see B.Heb חֲקתת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.
    ${ }^{566}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb צישׁ צישיש; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{567}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אִישׁ אישׁי; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{568}$ Lit. 'and I give', see B.Heb וְנָתַתִּ; lit. 'and I give'.

[^182]:    ${ }_{569}^{569}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אישׁ אִישׁ; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{570} \mathrm{An}$ animal that died a natural death (CEDHL: 402).
    ${ }^{571}$ An animal torn by wild beasts (CEDHL: 252).
    ${ }^{572}$ Lit. 'as deed of the place of Egypt'. Probably a calque of B.Heb, e.g., כְכַמְעֵׂה אֶרֶץ־מִצְרַים ; lit. 'as deed of land of Egypt'.
     Egypt'.
    ${ }_{574}^{574}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אישׁ אִישׁ; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{575}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{576}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{577}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{578}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{579}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.

[^183]:    ${ }^{580}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{581}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{582}$ Lit. 'shames'; 'defects'.
    ${ }^{583}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{584}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{585}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{586}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{587}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{588}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{589}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{590}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{591}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{592}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{593}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{594}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{595}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{596}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    597 The co-wife's.
    ${ }^{598}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{599}$ The first wife.
    ${ }^{600}$ The first wife
    ${ }^{601}$ Lit. 'healthy'.

[^184]:    ${ }^{602}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{603}$ Lit. 'in the health of your opposite |person|'.
    ${ }^{604}$ Lit. 'you shall not give', see B.Heb לא־תִּתן; lit. 'you shall not give'.
    ${ }^{605}$ Lit. 'nonexistences'.
    ${ }^{606}$ Lit. 'from its morning', see B.Heb מְּמָּחָרָת; lit. 'from morrow'.
    ${ }^{607}$ Lit. 'being eaten if it is eaten'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), e.g., אִם האָכל יֵָאֵל; lit. 'if to be eaten it is being eaten'.

[^185]:    ${ }^{608}$ Lit. 'knowingly'.
    ${ }^{609}$ Lit. 'be put to your side'.
    ${ }^{610}$ Lit. 'you shall not give', see B. Heb לאח לñ; lit. 'you shall not give'.
     poor one'.
     great one'.
    ${ }^{613}$ Lit. 'admonishing, you shall admonish'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), e.g., B.Heb הוֹבֵם תוֹכָים; lit. 'to correct you shall correct'.
    ${ }^{614}$ Lit. ‘drive away hatred'.
    ${ }^{615}$ Mixed stuff; mixed linen (CKED: 370).
    
    ${ }^{617}$ Lit. 'to his head'.
     she was not ransomed'.

[^186]:    ${ }^{619}$ Lit. 'you shall not look at cloud'. Probably an influence of B.Heb לא תְעַנגו; lit. 'you shall not bring cloud'.
    ${ }^{620}$ Lit. 'you shall not encircle', see B.Heb לזא תַקפּ;
    ${ }^{621}$ Lit. 'you shall not give', see B.Heb לֹא תִּתְּנו; lit. 'you shall not give'.
    ${ }^{622}$ Lit. 'brand-marked writing '. Probably a calque of B.Heb כְתבֶת קעְעָע ; lit. 'writing of brand-mark'.
    ${ }^{623}$ An amount of wheat which was given to miller in exchange for grinding (ÖTS 3: 2513).
    ${ }^{624}$ The capacity of a bucket (CKED: 348).
    ${ }^{625}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אישׁ אִישׁ; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).

[^187]:    ${ }^{626}$ Lit. ‘dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb מוֹ; יוּקוּ; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{627}$ Lit. 'And I will give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{628}$ Lit. 'covering, if they cover'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֵם העְלם יָעִלימו; lit. 'if to obscure they are obscuring'.
    ${ }^{629}$ Lit. 'And I will give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{630}$ Lit. 'And I will give', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{631}$ Lit. 'holy'.
    ${ }^{632}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אישׁ wir lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{633}$ Lit. ‘dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb מוֹת יוּקחת; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{634}$ Lit. ‘dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb ממות יוּקָת; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{635}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{636}$ Lit. 'dying, they shall be killed two of them'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb ממותתיוּמְתחּ שִׁגֶיהֶם; lit. 'to be put to death they shall be put to death two of them'.
    ${ }^{637}$ Lit. 'dying, they shall be killed two of them'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb משמוֹתיוּמְתחּ שִׁגֶהם; lit. 'to be put to death they shall be put to death two of them'.

[^188]:    ${ }^{638}$ Lit. 'dying, they shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb ממוֹת־יוּלְתו; lit. 'to be put to death they shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{639}$ Lit. 'gives his bed to'.
    ${ }^{640}$ Lit. 'dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb מוֹת יוּמָת; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{641}$ Lit. 'dying, they shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb ממוֹת־יוּמְתו; lit. 'to be put to death they shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{642}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{643}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{644}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{645}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{646}$ Lit. 'fountain; spring'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    ${ }^{647}$ Lit. 'fountain; spring'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    ${ }^{648}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{649}$ Lit. 'shame'; 'defect'.
    ${ }^{650}$ Lit. 'they shall die |being| depraved |of children|', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{651}$ Lit. 'deprived (plural) |of children|'. see B.Heb שְירִירִים יִדְיו; lit. 'they shall be heirless-ones'.
    ${ }^{652}$ Lit. 'and', see B.Heb !; lit. 'and'.

[^189]:    ${ }^{653}$ Lit. 'make'.
    ${ }^{654}$ Lit. 'dying, they shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb ממוֹת־יוּמְתוּ; lit. 'to be put to death they shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{655}$ Lit. 'they shall stone with stone'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    ${ }^{656}$ Lit. 'they shall not pluck pluck'. Probably an influence of B.Heb לֹאיקִרְחוּ קְרָחָה; lit. 'they shall not make bald baldness'.
    ${ }^{657}$ Lit. '|one| with a vicious path'.
    ${ }^{658}$ Lit. ‘driven out by'. Probably a calque of B.Heb $\underset{\sim}{3}$;

[^190]:    ${ }^{659}$ Lit. 'expelled'. Probably a calque of B.Heb גְרוּשָּה; lit. 'one being driven out'.
    ${ }^{660}$ Lit. '|the one| with a vicious path'.
    ${ }^{661}$ Lit. 'if becomes trick in him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb צֻשֶׁר יִּשְה בוֹ מוּם; lit. 'who in him |there| is blemish'.
    ${ }^{662}$ Lit. 'in him trick'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בוֹ מוּם; lit. 'in him blemish'.
    ${ }^{663}$ Lit. 'one in whose eye white has fallen'.
    ${ }^{664}$ Lit. 'in him trick'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בוֹ מוּם; lit. 'in him blemish'.
    ${ }^{665}$ Lit. 'trick in him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בוֹ מוּם; lit. 'in him blemish'.
    ${ }^{666}$ Lit. 'there is trick in him'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בוֹ מוּם; lit. ‘in him blemish'.

[^191]:    ${ }^{667}$ Lit. 'and', see B.Heb !; lit. 'and'.
    
    ${ }^{669}$ Lit. 'comes out'.
    ${ }^{670}$ Lit. 'lays eggs'.
    ${ }^{671}$ Lit. 'to all his uncleanness', see B.Heb לְל טְמְצָתi; lit. 'to any of his uncleanness'
    ${ }^{672}$ Lit. 'it'.
    ${ }^{673} \mathrm{An}$ animal that died a natural death (CEDHL: 402).
    ${ }^{674}$ An animal torn by wild beasts (CEDHL: 252).
    ${ }^{675}$ Lit. 'with them', see B.Heb iz; lit. 'with it'.
    
    ${ }^{677}$ Lit. 'expelled', see B.Heb

[^192]:    ${ }^{678}$ Lit. 'regret',
    ${ }^{679}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אִיש אִיש; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{680}$ Lit. 'intentions'.
    ${ }^{681}$ Lit. 'in him trick'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בוֹ מוּם; lit. 'in him blemish'
    ${ }^{682}$ Lit. 'intention'.
    ${ }^{683}$ Lit. 'trick', see B.Heb מוּם; lit. ‘blemish'.
    ${ }^{684}$ Lit. 'with extra'.
    ${ }^{685}$ Lit. 'with absent'.
    ${ }^{686}$ Lit. 'intention'.
    ${ }^{687}$ Lit. 'trick', see B.Heb מוּם; lit. ‘blemish'.
    ${ }^{688}$ Lit. 'in one day'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בְּיוֹם אֶחָד; lit. 'in day one'.

[^193]:    
     Sabbath'.
    ${ }^{691}$ A measure of liquid (CKED: 358).
    ${ }^{692}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חֵקת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.

[^194]:    ${ }^{693}$ Lit. 'from the morning of the Sabbath'. Probably a calque of B.Heb מִaְחָּרָת הַשׁׁבָּת; lit. 'from morrow of the Sabbath'.
    ${ }^{694}$ Lit. 'the morning of '. Probably a calque of B.Heb מִמְּחָרַת הַשׁׁבָּת; lit. 'from morrow of'.
    ${ }^{695}$ Lit. 'the offering of firsts'.
    ${ }^{696}$ Lit. 'do', see B.Heb עָשָהֹ; 'do'
    ${ }^{697}$ Lit. 'firsts'.
    ${ }^{698}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חֲקת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.
    ${ }^{699}$ Lit. 'you shall not finish', see B.Heb לֹזֹתְכֶלֶה; lit. 'you shall not finish'.
    700 'Shout; cry', see B.Heb תְּרוּנָה; 'shout; blast of war,; the sound of trumpet; alarm'.

[^195]:    ${ }^{701}$ Lit. 'do Sabbath your Sabbath'. Probably a calque of B.Heb תִּשְּבְּתוּ שַׁבַּתֶּם lit. 'you shall sabbath (cease) your Sabbath'.
    ${ }^{702}$ Lit. 'delay; constipation'.
    ${ }^{703}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חֲקּת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.

[^196]:    ${ }^{704}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חֲקת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.
    ${ }^{705}$ Lit. 'on the Sabbath day on the Sabbath day'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בְּיוֹם הַשְׁבָּת בְּיוֹם הַשׁׁבָּת ; lit. 'in day of the Sabbath in day of the Sabbath'.
    ${ }^{706}$ Lit. 'the side of the sons'.
    ${ }^{707}$ Lit. 'covenant of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בְּרִית עוֹלָם; lit. 'covenant of world'.
    ${ }^{708}$ Lit. 'statue of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb חֲקת עוֹלָם; lit. 'statue of world'.
    ${ }^{709}$ Lit. 'to be brain'.
    ${ }^{710}$ Lit. 'person person'. Probably a calque of B.Heb אִישׁ אִישׁ; lit. 'person person' (see 2.3.1.1.).
    ${ }^{711}$ Lit. 'dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb מוֹת יוּמָת; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{712}$ Lit. 'stoning they shall stone'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb רָגוֹם יִרְגְּמוּ lit. 'to pelt they shall pelt'.
    ${ }^{713}$ Lit. 'dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb מוֹת יוּלָת; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    

[^197]:    ${ }^{715}$ Lit. 'if he gives trick', see B.Heb יחתן מוּם; lit. 'he is giving blemish'.
    ${ }^{716}$ Lit. 'fracture instead of fracture'. Probably a calque of B.Heb שֶׁכֶר תּחַת שֶׁבֶר ; lit. 'fracture instead of fracture'.
    
    ${ }^{718}$ Lit. 'tooth instead of tooth'. Probably a calque of B.Heb שָׁן תַּחַ שׁׁן ; lit. 'tooth instead of tooth'.
    ${ }^{719}$ Lit. 'if he gives trick', see B.Heb יִתן מוּם ; lit. 'he is giving blemish'.
    ${ }^{720}$ Lit. 'it shall be given'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    
    ${ }^{722}$ Lit. 'and |the| beater of man', see B.Heb
    ${ }^{723}$ Lit. ‘seeds'.
    ${ }^{724}$ Lit. 'to eat'.
    ${ }^{725}$ Lit. 'you shall pass the voice of the trumpet of crying'. Probably a calque of B.Heb המעֲברְתָּ שׁוֹפַר תְּרוּעָה ; lit. 'you make pass the trumpet of blast'.

[^198]:    ${ }^{726}$ Lit. 'you shall pass the voice of the trumpet of crying'. Probably a calque of B.Heb הַשְברְתָּ שׁוֹפַר תְּרוּפָה ; lit. 'you make pass the trumpet of blast'.
    ${ }^{727}$ Lit. 'seeds'.
    ${ }^{728}$ Lit. 'if you sale sale'. Probably a calque of B.Heb תִמְכְּרוּ מָמְכָּר; lit. 'you are selling sale'.
    ${ }^{729}$ Lit. 'buying if you buy'. A construction which is usually attributed to a Biblical Hebrew influence (see 2.3.1.2.1.). However, the original text does not present the mentioned structure for this verse, see B.Heb ;ipir lit. 'to buy'.
    ${ }^{730}$ Lit. 'the hand of your friend'. Probably a calque of B.Heb מִיִּד עֲמִיתֶך ; lit. 'from hand of your companion'.
    ${ }^{731}$ Lit. 'sale'.
    ${ }^{732}$ Lit. 'sale'.
    ${ }^{733}$ Lit. ‘do'.

[^199]:    ${ }^{734}$ Lit. 'his power does suffice'.
    ${ }^{735}$ Lit. 'if attains'.
    ${ }^{736}$ Lit. 'according to his redemption'.
    ${ }^{737}$ Lit. 'his power does not suffice'.
    ${ }^{738}$ Lit. ‘deadline'.
    ${ }^{739}$ Lit. ‘deadline'.
    ${ }^{740}$ Lit. 'in the city which there is not to it wall'. Probably a calque of B.Heb בְּצְיר אֲשְׁר־לֹא לֹ חמָּה; lit. 'in city which not to him wall'.
    ${ }^{741}$ Lit. 'possession of world'. Probably a calque of B.Heb wֻחִּת עוֹלָם; lit. 'possession of word'.

[^200]:    ${ }^{742}$ Lit. 'by hard', see also B.Heb בְּפְּרֶך lit. 'in rigor'.
    ${ }^{743}$ Lit. 'until word'.
    ${ }^{744}$ Lit. 'by hard', see also B.Heb $\underset{7}{ }$ בְּפָּ ; lit. 'in rigor'.
    ${ }^{745}$ Lit. 'his strength suffices'.
    ${ }^{746}$ Lit. 'base'.
     become to him'.
    ${ }^{748}$ Lit. 'from his relative of his body'. Probably a calque of B.Heb מִשְֵּׁר רְּשָׁרֹ; lit. 'from kin of flesh of him'.
    ${ }^{749}$ Lit. 'his strength suffices'.
    ${ }^{750}$ Lit. 'by', see also B.Heb $\underset{7}{7}$; lit. 'by’.
    ${ }^{751}$ lit. 'by hard', see also B.Heb

[^201]:    ${ }^{752}$ Lit. 'you shall not give'. Probably a calque of B.Heb לֹא תְִּנוּ; lit. 'you shall not give'.
    ${ }^{753}$ Lit. 'seed sowing'.
    ${ }^{754}$ Lit. 'I give', see also B.Heb נָתַתְּ; lit. 'I give'.
    ${ }^{755}$ Lit. 'with upright stature'; see also B.Heb קוֹמְמִיּוּת: פ; lit. ‘upraised'.

[^202]:    ${ }^{756}$ Lit. 'heat |causing| disease'.
    ${ }^{757}$ Lit. 'and', see also B.Heb $!ְ$; lit. ‘and'.
    ${ }^{758}$ Lit. 'these', see B.Heb אֶּה; 'these'.
    ${ }^{759}$ Lit. 'I give'. Probably a calque of B.Heb
    
     high places'.
    ${ }^{762}$ Probably a calque of B.Heb זֶת־פִּגְרָרי ; lit. 'your solar images'.
    ${ }^{763}$ Lit. 'I give', see also B.Heb
    ${ }^{764}$ Lit. 'disgustingness'.

[^203]:    ${ }^{765}$ Lit. 'at that time', see B.Heb rw̦; lit. 'at that time'.
    ${ }^{766}$ Lit. 'at that time', see B.Heb ris, lit. 'at that time'.
    ${ }^{767}$ Lit. 'every person with his brother', see also B.Heb אֲישׁ־בְּאָחיו; lit. 'person with brother of him'.
    ${ }^{768}$ Lit. 'and', see also B.Heb $!$; lit. 'and'.

[^204]:    ${ }^{769}$ Lit. 'separates'.
    ${ }^{770}$ Lit. 'intention'.
    ${ }^{771}$ Lit. 'if his power suffices'.

[^205]:    ${ }^{772}$ Lit. 'redeeming if he redeems'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying
    
    ${ }^{773}$ Lit. 'dying, he shall be killed'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb מוֹת יוּלָת; lit. 'to be put to death he shall be put to death'.
    ${ }^{774}$ Lit. 'redeeming if he redeems'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֲםבגָּל יִגְאָל; lit. 'if to redeem he is redeeming'
    ${ }^{775}$ Lit. 'changing if he changes'. Probably a calque of a Biblical Hebrew construction which has an intensifying function (see 2.3.1.2.1.), see B.Heb אֲם דָמֵר יְיִירֶּנוּ, lit. 'if to redeem he is redeeming'.

