

A BIBLE TRANSLATION INTO THE NORTHERN CRIMEAN DIALECT OF KARAIM

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The paper presents selected samples of a Bible translation into the northern Crimean dialect of the Karaim language. The samples are taken from a manuscript kept in the Rylands Library collection in Manchester. The present publication comprises an introduction, transliteration, phonetic transcription, grammatical sketch and a glossary. In the introduction, the reader will find a description of the manuscript with notes on graphemics.

I. Introduction

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript that contains portions of the Pentateuch and Lamentations, preserved in the collection of the Rylands Library, catalogue number (Gaster) H 170, is composed of 265 leaves bound in leather. It was first described by Steinschneider (1871: 38) and recently, in a detailed way, by Samely¹. Excerpts from Samely's description are provided below:

1. Number of leaves: 265; leaf 23 is blank.
2. The text begins on leaf 1a and ends on 245b. Foliation was marked by M. Gaster in Arabic numerals on each folio leaf of text pages (with two leaves, 161 and 173, being skipped and additional page numbering of 181A, 204A, 214A).²
3. There is no title page, but lines of metatext have been written on [1a] and [4a] of the first quire preceding foliated leaves.
4. The size of page is 208 x 160 mm and the number of lines is between twenty-six and twenty-seven, with the first page comprising sixteen lines plus an illustrated heading.
5. On each page there is a heading in the middle above the text and a catchword in the lower right hand corner.

¹ It is my pleasant duty to thank Dr Alexander Samely who runs the manuscript project at the Library for showing me the manuscript, encouraging to undertake philological work upon it, checking the transliteration, help and assistance.

² In this paper, following Samely, folio pages are marked 'a', recto pages 'b'.

6. The paper is yellowish or blueish and the sheets have the watermark N, M, etc.
7. The main text was written in greyish ink, the vocalization in brownish ink.
8. The basic biblical text contains Genesis 1:1 – Deuteronomy 32:51 on pages 1a–244b plus a short fragment of Lamentations 4:11–5:22 on pages 245a–245b.

The additional text on [1a] and [4a] was presented in Hebrew characters by Samely in his description. Lines with Hebrew text have been identified by Samely with corresponding parts of the Bible. The lines with Karaim text clearly stem from another hand, probably the owner of the manuscript. The language of the metatext differs from that of the Bible. It is influenced by Turkish and is obviously later. The manuscript was shown to me in November 1991 in Manchester, when I was conducting a seminar under the auspices of the TEMPUS scheme. Upon seeing it, it was clear that the language of the translation must be attributed to northern Crimean Karaim, a Kipchak dialect with both archaic and innovatory traits. This language can be identified with neither that of a Karaite Bible translation published in Turkey (Ortaköy 1835)³, nor with that known to us from Radloff's texts (Radloff 1896); both being nearly Turkish; nor with that of the Western Karaim Bible translation, fragments of which were edited by Kowalski (1929). It was also different from the translation discussed by Gordlevskij (1928).

This translation shares many similar linguistic features with a short fragment of the Bible appended by Šapšal to his article (Šapšal 1928), and with a prayer from 1734, the latter being republished, transcribed, discussed and provided with a glossary by Sulimowicz (1972; 1973). Hence we can assume that the manuscript is based on a translation made no later than the beginning of the eighteenth century. The copyist was therefore able to update this translation, either purposely or unintentionally. Note, however, that some later words had already been incorporated to the prayer dated 1734, and these modern words have their old equivalents in the present manuscript, e.g. **buyur-** 'to order' (Sulimowicz 1972: 59) vs **šimarla-**⁴; A **fikir** 'thought' (ibid.: 58) vs **sayiñč**; A **rahim+ -lân-** 'to be given mercy', (ibid.: 57) vs **yarliqa-** 'to have mercy, forgive'.

Comparing the vocabulary of this manuscript with the others mentioned above, it turns out that its language occupies an intermediate position between the isolated Kipchak variety of Western Karaim and the late Oghuziced Crimean Karaim.

Although the vocabulary of the manuscript does not supply many revelations and most of the words are known from Šapšal's Crimean glossary included in the dictionary compiled and edited by Baskakov, Zajaczkowski & Šapšal (1974, henceforth KRPS) as well as from the Troki dialect (Kowalski 1929), some lexical units may be interesting to the Turcologist, e.g. **iyin-** 'to be gathered', in KRPS only **iyin n** 'assembly, gathering' and **yilim et-** 'to wipe out' which occurs beside **yilis et-** 'idem', only the latter being provided by the dictionary.

At this point it must be emphasized that the opinion proclaimed by Sulimowicz (1972: 37), who said that Crimean Karaim is almost completely beyond the reach of

³ Cf. Poznanski 1918: 70: 'The Pentateuch in a Turkish translation written with Hebrew letters'.

⁴ Although this word is already attested in Old Turkic languages, I suspect that here it appears as interference with Turkish for the more usual Karaim **šimarla-**.

study, must nowadays be slightly modified. Firstly, we have had a good descriptive grammar of present-day Crimean Karaim since then (see Prik 1975), even though it differs considerably from the language of the earlier stages.⁵ Secondly, the contributions of Sulimowicz, provide us with specimens once almost inaccessible, as well as with many valuable notes on lexicon and grammar. Lastly, the Crimean Karaim vocabulary, as pointed out above, has been included in KRPS. Therefore, the present paper is regarded as a contribution to the historical grammar and lexicology of Crimean Karaim, and in a somewhat broader sense, to the history of Northwestern Kipchak.⁶

Having no opportunity to work in the library, I started my analysis on several xeroxed pages sent to me afterwards.

It must be stressed that I had no access to the Karaim Bible translation of 1841 published in Gözleve (Russian Eupatoria, Tatar Kezlev ~ Kózlev) (cf. Poznanski 1912–13: 45). However, certain lines of this book quoted by Kowalski (1929: 287ff) have given me an idea of the language of the translation.⁷

2. GRAPHIC FEATURES AND TRANSLITERATION

The writing of the manuscript reflects many traits of the parallel tradition of notation used in Turkic texts and transmitted from copyist to copyist. This includes the notation system for consonants employed in all the texts known to me, mentioned in the introduction. Though there are some differences in the notation of vowels as compared with the printed text from 1734 (cf. Sulimowicz 1972: 42), the vocalization of this manuscript is simpler. Yet, to some degree, both are ambiguous.

It is not my intention to go into a detailed graphic analysis of all the extant texts. This should be the subject of a separate study. The emphasis here is only on the particular manuscript under consideration.

In the unvocalized text, the translator or copyist adopted the following Hebrew letters for the following Karaim vowels and consonants:

⁵ This statement needs explanation. I suppose that the Karaim spoken in the Crimea has been a heterogeneous language since as early as the fifteenth century, when the Turkish influx started. Presumably, it has been diversified both geographically and socially since then, similar to Crimean Tatar and Turkish, which, in my view, have never been homogeneous tongues. Nevertheless, we must reckon with some literary tradition reflected in translations of religious works, and this is what we can study.

⁶ There is still a substantial gap between Middle Kipchak (*Codex Cumanicus*, Mameluke Kipchak) and the modern languages in the current study.

⁷ Sulimowicz, who had an opportunity to see the 1841 Bible translation, says that its language is almost identical with that of the prayer studied and republished by him (Sulimowicz 1972: 40); Gordlevskij (1928: 87) who compared the language of the printed Bible with that of the manuscript studied by him in Eupatoria says that the former was accommodated to the spoken language, while the latter is more archaic. To prove his claim, he quotes a number of words, which, however, can be found in our manuscript as well. Despite this similarity, it seems that our manuscript is not linguistically identical with it.

TABLE 1

Letter	Transcription	Transliteration
א	a-, e-; -a, -ä	'
ב	b	b
בּ	-w-, -w	ḅ
ג	g, ŋ	g
גּ	ğ	ğ
גײ	γ ⁸	γ
ד	d	d
ה	h, a	h
ו	u, o, ü, ö, rarely w	w
וו	w	ww
ז	z	z
זײ	χ	ħ
ט	t	ṭ
י	i, i, rarely y	y
יי	y	yy
כ, ך	k	k
כּ	χ	ḳ
ל	l	l
מ, ם	m	m
נ, ן	n	n
ס	s	ş
א	a	'
פ, ף	p	p
ף	f	p̣
צ, ץ	č	c
ק	q	q
ר	r	r
שׂ	š ⁹	š

⁸ This and the preceding diacritic often look alike.

⁹ Always without a dot.

Notes:

1. A distinction between front and back harmonic segments was marked by [k] and [q] only.
2. Each vowel noted by *vav* and *yod* in the initial was preceded by *alef*.
3. [a ä e] were normally not marked word-medially, but always in the initial and final, e.g. 1a(12) **ṭbq** [tabaqa] 'expanse', but 1a(14) **ṭbqny** [tabaqani] 'expanseACC'. Exception: 1b(8) **y's** [yaš] 'fresh; new'.
4. The letters **Ṣ** and **Ṣ** were used only in Hebrew, **Ṛ** in Hebrew and Arabic, **Ṛ** and **Ṛ** in Hebrew, Arabic, Persian and sometimes in Karaim, **Ṣ** in Hebrew, Arabic and exceptionally in Karaim words.
 - 4.1. The letter **Ṛ** sometimes marks the [a ä] in the final, e.g. 244b(12) **qwlaq laryinyah**.
 - 4.2. Occasionally, **Ṣ** was used instead of **Ṛ** for the Karaim **a-** e.g. 1b(10) 'Iy 'so', but 1b(21) 'Iyy; 245b(5) 'gc 'wood, tree', but 1b(12) 'gc-; 3a(9) 'yyd' 'monthDAT', etc.
 - 4.3. **Ṛ** sometimes stands for [χ], an aspirated variant of the Karaim [q].
5. Superlinear diacritics for **Ṛ**, **Ṛ**, **Ṛ** and **Ṛ** are often left out or are invisible on my copy.
6. Some of the letters are very similar, so that it was difficult to make a distinction between them.¹⁰ This property includes mainly *vav* and *yod*, sometimes *nun* and *zayin*, *kaf* and *bet*.
7. High vowels are always marked in the text. Defective writing is considered exceptional, e.g. 1b(25) **krm** [kirmä] 'to enter'.
8. There is an inconsistency in the notation of [y w]. Normally, these semivowels are written with double letters, but writing with single ones may be encountered even in identical words on the same page, e.g. 1b(22) **yryqny** 'lightACC', but 1b(23) **yyryq**.
9. Case suffixes **-nyg**, **-d'**, **-dn**, **-g'**, **-ny** as well as the plural suffix **-lr** are written either separately or are attached to the stem, without any transparent regularity. If the plural suffix is written separately, case suffixes are attached to it.
10. If two identical consonants meet on a morpheme boundary, they are marked by two separate letters, e.g. 1a(2) **yrṭṭy** [yarattī] 'created'. The spelling 'y(y)ṭy is considered defective for 'y(y)ṭṭy, to be read **ayttī** (< **ayt-** and not **ay-** 'to say'), which is proved by the verbal noun **aytuw**, see the glossary, as in Old and Middle Turkic languages.

Some pages of the text are vocalized. The vocalization follows in principle the Tiberian vowel notation, that is, vowels are indicated by means of sublinear symbols except for **Ṛ** and **Ṗ** (e.g. **Ṗ**).¹¹ The following symbols were used:

¹⁰ For this reason, stresses Sulimowicz (1972: 42), even such outstanding Hebraists, unacquainted with Karaim such as Poznanski, used to misread Karaim names. This circumstance was a considerable obstacle to deciphering the metatext in this manuscript, written by another hand and presenting a very short corpus.

TABLE 2

Symbol	Transcription	Transliteration
˘ (e.g. א)	a, ä	a
˙ (e.g. ע)	e	e
˚ (e.g. י)	ï, i	i
ֿ	u, ü	u
ֿ, ֿ (e.g. א, א)	o, ö	o

In addition, ֿ (e.g. ׀) marks the boundary of two consonants. ֿ (e.g. ׀) appears in a few words only, e.g. 243a(24) **duḡwldyir** [düḡülđir] ‘there is not’. Other signs were not used except in Hebrew words, including proper names.

3. TRANSCRIPTION

Word-initially, *alef* denotes [a], e.g. **’rwb** [aruw] ‘clean; pure’ or [e], e.g. **’ky** [eki] ‘two’. Note that a lower variety of /e/, [ä] is phonemically irrelevant in both Western (Kowalski 1929: xxix, lxxii; Musaev 1964: 43–47) and Eastern Karaim (Prik 1975: 25–26).

Especially in the Crimean dialect, /e/ in a non-first syllable is much lower and after medio-palatal consonants more retracted, see Prik, *ibid.* Therefore, I decided to transcribe this vowel, written in the translation as *patah*, with [ä] in both stem and suffixes, e.g. **beklädi** ‘(He) closed’, 3a(26); **biläsäm** ‘if I sharpen’, 244b(5), cf. 4.1.

In the first syllable, the lower variant of /e/, except for loanwords, is marked only if clearly indicated. This occurs twice in the manuscript: 243b(9) **babagyi** [bäbägi] ‘pupil3PS’ and 243b(17) **takalar** [täkälär] ‘goats’. This vowel is also present in the first syllable of some loanwords, e.g. 243b(4) A **dawwir** [dävür] ‘generation’.

My transcription retains the symbol **h** for פ in Persian and Arabic words irrespective of the pronunciation, e.g. 245b(5) P [ḡunaḡ], another possible transcription being [ḡünäh] (transliteration **ḡwnḡ**) ‘sin’; 245a(14) P [ḡanuz] (transliteration **ḡnwz**) ‘still; yet’, 245b(8) P [paḡa] (transliteration **ph**) ‘price’.

The combination of *alef* and *vav* indicates four vowels [o u ö ü] in initial position, e.g. [ört(ti)] ‘covered’ : [ort(asīna)] ‘in the middle, between’; [öč] ‘revenge’ : [üč] ‘three’ : [uč-] ‘to run away’.

צ is in Hebrew words transcribed as c [ts], e.g. **Ciyon** ‘Zion’, but in the common Semitic word **cdyq** as š [šadiq], otherwise as [č].¹²

¹¹ Whereas diacritics for consonants are superlinear.

¹² As Sulimowicz’s transcription of Hb מֶכַבֶּעַץ [mekabbeč] may suggest, the letter צ was in some Hebrew words pronounced [č] (Sulimowicz 1972: 38). This pronunciation could be affected by the reading of Karaim words where the letter צ marked the consonant [č].

3.1. Spelling, transliteration and transcription of loanwords

The vocabulary of foreign provenience in the manuscript falls into two groups, loanwords existing in spoken language and assimilated into the Karaim pronunciation and foreign words which are basically used as religious terms in literary language. A special subgroup includes proper names usually written as in the Hebrew biblical text. Since foreign and, occasionally, loanwords were pronounced in a different way than vernacular ones (cf. Kowalski 1929: xxix), they need a different approach.

Here, the following principles have been adopted:

1. Unlike Karaim words, **w** is always transcribed [v], e.g. Hb [avanliq] (< avan + -LIQ) 'sinfulness; corruption'.
2. A lower variety of /e/ can appear in any position, e.g. A [ävväl] 'before'; P [tärägä] 'window', but [Šem], [Yafet] and other proper names.
3. The Arabic and Persian [χ], usually marked by Š and transliterated as **ķ**, is transcribed as **χ**, e.g. A [aχīr] 'end', P [χor] (et-) '(to) scold'. This consonant, as an allophone of /q/, also appears in Karaim words, e.g. [aχča].
4. The quality of non-first syllable and first syllable unvocalized low unrounded vowel is difficult to establish. It might well have been [ä] or [a], e.g. **quvät** or **quvat** 'strength'; **qudrät** or **qudrat** 'power'; **här** or **har** 'each'; **günäh** or **gunah** 'sin'.
5. This is also the case with the non-first syllable [i] and [ī], e.g. **aχīr** or **aχīr** 'end'; **ğins** or **ğins** 'sort; kind'; **šira** or **šira** 'song'.

4. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

Before going into details, a general question arising for any work on a written text should be answered: to what extent is the writing system reliable? A comparison of vocalized and unvocalized pages shows certain divergences in the notation of vowels. The vocalized text sometimes exhibits the presence of unusual vowels, e.g. **üliš** for **ülüş**, which seems to be a kind of hypercorrection (so-called hyperortography or hyperortophony). Although we know that in some Turkic languages rounded : unrounded harmony does not work at all (for example the Tatar literary language, some varieties of northern Crimean Tatar, Noghai, etc.), this property of writing is treated as phonetically non-representative.

4.1. Vowels

On the basis of the unvocalized script, the following oppositional ranges of vowels may be set up:

*rounded : unrounded, i.e. /ü u ö o/ : /i i/ in any position, and

*mid, low unrounded : rounded, high unrounded, i.e. /e ä a/ : /ü u ö o i i/ in the initial and final.

The vocalized text, in addition, enables us to make a distinction between

*mid rounded : high rounded, i.e. /*ö o/* : /*ü u/* and

*mid front unrounded : low, i.e. /*e/* : /*ä a/*, the latter being allowed in practice only in the first syllable. This feature of the script establishes an important distributional rule, namely that /*e/* cannot occur except in the first syllable. This is confirmed by Prik, see above. Sulimowicz, from the fact that in non-first syllables the symbols of Tiberian vocalization for [e] were never used, as well as from his own and Ananiasz Zajączkowski's observations on the pronunciation in Crimean Karaim of vowels corresponding to the Turkic [ö ü] in this position, came to the conclusion that Crimean Karaim, similarly as in the Troki dialect and perhaps Armeno-Kipchak, does not possess front [e] except in the first syllable and does not possess front rounded [ö ü] at all (Sulimowicz 1972: 46, 47–48). However, marking /*e/* with *pataḥ* and *ḵameṣ*, as often seen in the 1734 text, may be interpreted in a different way.¹³

I agree with this author that Crimean Karaim front vowels are less front than, for instance, the corresponding vowels in standard Turkish.¹⁴

I believe that there is a need to distinguish them from those of the back range /*a u o/*. However, I am not convinced that this question can be settled on the basis of Hebrew script or that the inferences drawn from modern languages can be projected onto the earlier stages of language development.¹⁵

4.2. Consonants

Hebrew letters marking consonants can distinguish between phonological oppositions relevant to Crimean Karaim, except for palatalization, if it is phonologically relevant. The single letter symbolizing two different phonemes was *ḵ* for /*tj g/* and, if defectively written, for /*y/*.

In addition, the distinction between /*q/* and /*k/*¹⁶ signals respectively the back and front segments in which they occur. These consonants are, therefore, helpful in distinguishing between vowels.

¹³ To distinguish these phonemes from the original back vowels /*a u o/*, he transcribes them [á ú ó], (pp. 47–48). Even if Sulimowicz's transcription suggesting central pronunciation is more correct than his conclusion, in this paper the conventional symbols [ä ö ü] are preferred.

¹⁴ This is certainly true for all Kipchak languages except Kirghiz. More exactly, we can say that [ú ó] have F₂ 1300–1400 Hz as compared with 1500–1700 Hz for /*ü ö/* and [á] has F₁ about 700 Hz as compared with 400 Hz for /*e/*.

¹⁵ In addition, we must say that the document republished by Sulimowicz, the vocalization of which is more complicated than the one used in this manuscript, raises some unresolved problems, for example: 1. There are no clear rules in marking /*a/* in back harmonic words in which both *pataḥ* and *ḵameṣ* are used; 2. There are no clear rules in marking /*e/* in palatal words, both *segol* and *šere* are used, even in identical segments.

¹⁶ It should be stressed that the noticeable phonetic difference in pronunciation is so great that some take these consonants to be different phonemes.

5. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

5.1. Centralization of vowels

The central articulation of vowels is indicated in the vocalized passages for rounded vowels that contrast as high : mid. In other terms, this may be formulated as opening, reduction and more lax articulation.

This process is attested by the following words: 244a(8) **tow** (< **tuw**); 244a(8) **hoğra** (< **huğra**); 244b(13) **olus** (< **ulus**); 244a(12) **böyük** (< **büyük**) and 244a(21) **möhörlän-** (< **mühürlän-**). This will be shown in the transcription only if clearly vocalized.

5.2. Palatalization

The palatalization of **t** (> **č**) is well known from Western Karaim, for instance ***töplän-** (< **toplan-**) > **čöplän-**, although in many cases **t** before a front vowel turns into a palatalized **k'**, e.g. **k'l'a-** < **tilä-** 'to want, wish'.

The change **k' > č** (IPA **c**) is evidenced in the metatext, **č'ör** 'blind' < **k'ör**, and is well known from Urum (Garkavec 1981: 53).

5.3. Fortition and lenition

After a strong consonant, a weak one usually becomes strong, in other words it becomes voiceless, e.g. **ušpu** (< **uš + bu**) 'this one'. No fortition can be demonstrated in the absolute final position. I cannot give any reasonable explanation for the spelling **'rħtlyq** [ıryatliq].

Lenition is evidenced in the compound word **qarayuš** (< **qara + quš**) and even in the stem on the morpheme boundary in intervocalic position, e.g. **aɣar** (< **aqar**); **čiyar-čiyartın** (< **čiqar-**) (cf. Kowalski 1929: xxxii) **čyɣar-**.

Concerning **b** for **w**, e.g. **twbr** [tuwar], 3a(5), as opposed to **twwrđn** [tuwardan], 2b(15), it should be seen as defective writing, arising out of the omission of a superlinear stroke.

The consonants [d- g-] developed from the strong [t- k-], as in **deli**, **gün**, **geldi**, etc. in the historical development of the Turkish language. These words are, therefore, considered Turkish loanwords, although the process itself may be regarded as copied.

5.4. Affrication and fricativization

The change **y- > ğ-** cannot be demonstrated except in the mistakenly written 2b(9) **cynlgyn ? ğiynalyın**.

Fricativization of the postvelar strong plosive **q** > **χ**, caused by aspiration, may be shown in such words as **aχča** < **aqča**, written sometimes 'ħc', 4a(13); and **vaxt** < **vaqt**, 244a(22), presumably by analogy to P **taxt**, 245b(21).

5.5. Distant assimilation

Two kinds of this process are at work in Karaim, frontness : backness and roundedness : unroundedness vowel harmony. However, the text shows very little of the former. In contrast, some observations on the latter kind of assimilation may be readily drawn up.

Firstly, it is evident that there is a constraint on front vowels after unrounded vowels. The exceptions to this rule are the following: **salqum**, **sızluwli**, **tamur**, **yabuldular** and the common Turkic **yaymur**. In each case, the appearance (change or retention) of **u** is motivated by the labial surrounding. Compare, though **etiwçi** and **qiliwçi**.¹⁷ An example of the unmotivated occurrence is **qaraŋu(luq)**, but this is a Mongolian word.

Secondly, if a stem has a rounded vowel, the suffix must also contain the rounded vowel. Nonetheless, this rule operates only as far as the second suffix, e.g. **boldu** (but 245a(6) **boldilar**), **bolsun**, **yürüdü**, **kördü**, **kördüm**, **körünsün**, **künüzün**, **uzunluŋu**, as compared to **turyuzurmın**, **doğururmın**.

However, a number of suffixes with a high vowel never take rounded alternates. It is not clear whether it is a structural or graphic property. The non-harmonic morphemes are the following: **-nI**, e.g. 1a(2) **kökni**; **-nIŋ**, e.g. 1b(20) (though see 3a(9)) **kökniŋ**; **-InğI** ~ **-UnğI**, e.g. 1b(15) **üçünği**; **-GI** (in most cases), e.g. 2a(19) **qoyŋin**.

It must be emphasized that there are many inconsistencies, e.g. 245a(3) **oturuwçilari** versus 245a(17) **quwuwçularimiz**; 245b(17) **köŋlümüz-niŋ** versus 245a(19) **burnimiz** and 245b(2) **ülüşümüz**.

It is striking that the vocalized passages of the text reveal a remarkable non-harmonizing and even disharmonizing tendency. This often contradicts the unvocalized text where, in such cases, there is usually a *vav* indicating a front vowel. For this reason, vocalization like 243a(21) **ululiq** and 243b(3) **tüzidi** seems to be unlikely.

As said above, this is a kind of hypercorrection and presumably the unvocalized text is right, notably

*243b(11) **üstinä** : 1b(25) **üstünä**

*243b(8) **ülüşi** : 245b(2) **ülüşümüz**

*243b(6) **turyızı** : above

*244a(28) **bolsın** : above.

This writing tradition is well known from Old Anatolian Turkish, cf. **otur taxtuŋ üstine bu fikri unıt** 'sit on the throne and forget this thought' (Adamović 1985: 229).

¹⁷ The form of the suffix **-V) ĩI** is mostly unpredictable, as in the 1734 prayer, e.g. **eřitivçi** but **bilóvci** (p. 59), although it seems that labial stems take a round allomorph regularly in this text, e.g. **qorquvčy** (p. 60); **jułowčy** (p. 61).

6. MORPHOSYNTACTIC CATEGORIES

6.1. Noun

The noun has the morphological category of possession, number and morphosyntactic category of case.

6.1.1. Possession

Possession is expressed by the following suffixes:

Singular

1. -(V)m 243a(18) **aŷzim(niŋ)** ‘(of) my mouth’
2. -(V) ŋ 243b(2) **ataŋ** ‘your father’; 2a(25) **oŷlanlarŋ** ‘your sons’
3. -V; sV 1a(4) **yüzü** ‘its surface’; 243b(10) **uyasï(n)** ‘its nestACC’; 2b(26) **oŷlanlarï** ‘his sons’

Plural

1. -(V)mIz; -(V)mUz 245a(16) **aŷirimiz** ‘our end’; 245b(4) **suwlarimiz(nï)** ‘our waters’
2. -(V) ŋIz; -(V) ŋUz 4a(7–8) **aqlaŋiz(niŋ)** ‘(of) your uncircumsized (man)’
3. -(v)244a(19) **salqumlarï** ‘their (grape) bunches’.

6.1.2. Number

Number is expressed by the **-IAR** suffix attached to the stem. The noun is sometimes preceded by a numeral, e.g. 2b(19) **yedi künlärdän** ‘during seven days’; but also 2b(21) **qırq kečä** ‘forty nights’; 2b(14–15) **yedišär yedišär erkäk da tiši** ‘seven of every kind, male and female’. The suffix is optional on a noun preceded by the determiner **barča** ‘all; each, every’. However, if unsuffixed, it may also mean ‘whole’, e.g. 2b(12) **barča ewiŋ** ‘all your family’.

It must be stressed that the suffix **-IAR** has other meanings, but these will not be discussed here.

Regarding number, the question of what is countable and what is not in Karaim requires a separate study. Normally, countable nouns occurring without numerals must take the suffix **-IAR**, e.g. 2b(27) **ŷatınlarï** ‘their wives’, except if used collectively, 2b(5) **ol quštan ğinsinä** ‘from the bird(s) according to their kinds’. Evidently, we must reckon with a strong Hebrew influence on suffixation, as there is for instance in the case of 3a(8) **tiriliklär** ‘life; age’ and 1a(5) **suwlar** ‘waters’, since both words always occur in Hebrew in plural: מִיָּמִים, מִמַּיִם.

6.1.3. Case

The category of case is conveyed by means of suffixes attached to the verb stem, postpositions that follow the noun and function words, also called complex postpositions. Only the most relevant semantic dimensions will be discussed.

6.1.3.1. Case suffixes

- **zero suffix**; no case suffix is taken in the nominative or subjective and neither in the indefinite accusative or objective nor in the indefinite genitive or possessive (the latter includes mostly function words that follow unmarked nouns), e.g. 1a(10) (**da boldu**) **inir** ‘(and there was) evening’; 1a(7) (**da kördü**) **tañrîş** (**şol yarıqnî**) ‘(and) God (saw this light)’; 243a(17) **qulaqş tutuñiz** ‘keep ear(s)’ i.e. ‘listen’; 243b(18) **içärsin çayırş** ‘you will drink wine’; 245b(5) **boyunlarımızş üstünä** ‘upon our necks’.
- (V)**nI** is accusative or objective e.g. 2a(22) **çaypama barça tenni** ‘to destroy all bodies’ (i.e. ‘creatures’); after 3POSS the final **-I** is left out¹⁸, 243a(18) **aytuwların ayzımniñ** ‘the sayingsACC of my mouth’.
- nIñ** for genitive or possessive¹⁹ 2b(1) **xañınları oylanlarıñniñ** ‘wives of your sons’.

The following case suffixes express more meanings:

-**dA** is used for:

- locative, e.g. 3b(18–19) **Noah da ki birgäsinä gemidä** ‘Noah and those on the ship with him’
- temporal, 3a(9) **ol ekinği ayda** ‘in that second month’
- adessive (in so-called *habeo* constructions) 243b(27–28) **yoqtir alarda inamliq** ‘they have no faith’.

-**GA**, after 3POSS **-nA**, **-ñA**, is used for:

- lative, 2a(25) **kelgin ol gemigä** ‘come onto this ship’
- dative, 2a(12–13) **qilyin özünjä gemi** ‘make yourself a ship’
- objective, 243b(14) **emizdi añar bal qayadan** ‘fed him with honey from the rock’ (in the irregular, archaic form **-Ar**)
- addressive, 1a(9) **da atadı tañrı yarıqqa kün** ‘and God called the light day’; 243b(4) **soryin ataya** ‘ask the Father’.

-**DAn** is used for:

- original, 2a(13) **narat ayačından** ‘of pine wood’
- elative, 245b(16) **qartlar qabaqtan eksildilər** ‘the elders disappeared from the gate(s)’
- ablativ, 2b(8) **barça aştan ki ašalir** ‘from all kind of food to eat’.

These polysemic suffixes are also required by verb valency and idiomatic usage.²⁰

-**čA**, equative, 243b(6–7) **uluslarınñ sanınča** ‘according to the number of nations’.

¹⁸ In 3b(25) **da yilis etti şol barça halqi** ‘and (He) destroyed all people’ **-i** is a scribal error rather than Oghuz impact.

¹⁹ In 245b(18) **bašimznin** ‘of our head’, the writing **-nyñ** should also be seen as a scribal error, similar to 3a(14) **kününj < kün** ‘of the day(s)’.

²⁰ For instance, 245a(7) **qanya bulyan-** ‘to be defiled by blood’ is attestable in the Manichaen prayers edited by Le Coq in 1912; W. Bang has devoted much space to this and similar occurrences and formulated his opinion in an explanatory, but ultimately negative way: ‘Der Weg, auf dem der “Dativ” zu dieser Bedeutung gekommen ist, liegt heute noch nicht ganz klar vor unseren Augen’ (Bang 1925: 16–17).

6.1.3.2. *Simplex postpositions*

They are always put immediately after the noun. The postpositions **degin**, **dek**, **deginčäk** and **soŋra** require case suffixes which are therefore neutralized.

- **bilän** instrumental, 245b(5) **paħa** ~ ‘with valuables’; 2a(14) **smola** ~ ‘with pitch’; modalis, 243b(21) **iränčiliklär** ~ ‘with their meanness’; also **birlä**, see glossary²¹
- (GA) **dek** terminative, 245b(21) **dünyägä** ~ **oturursin** ‘you will sit for ever’ lit. ‘to the world’
- (GA) **degin** a variant of **dek**, 3b(16–17) **adamdan tuwaryħa** ~ ‘from the man to the livestock’
- **kibik** comparative, 245b(4) **tullar** ~ ‘like widows’
- **soŋra** possessive, 3a(6) **yedi ol künlärdän** ~ ‘after seven days’
- **üčün** causative, 244b(28) **anij** ~ ‘because of that’; dative, 3a(26) **kendi** ~ ‘for himself’.

6.1.3.3. *Complex postpositions*

Complex postpositions, unlike simplex postpositions are put either before or after the nouns they are related to. The noun is usually marked by the suffix **-nij** and the postposition takes one of the locative case suffixes preceded by a possessive suffix. In some instances, it also takes the plural suffix **-lar**. Function nouns also occur with possessive suffixes that mark personal pronouns similarly to adverbs, e.g. **birgä** which are also inventoried below.

Because this word class is rather large, only some frequent representatives of them will be listed with their basic meanings.

- **ald** ‘front’, ~**indän** 3a(1) ~**suwlarinij** ‘from these floodwaters’
- **ara** ‘between’, ~**sina** 4a(5–6) **ki saqlayaysiz ~ma da ~nijħa da ~sina urluyijnij artindän** ‘that you would keep between me and you and between the generations after you’
- **art** ‘back’, 4a(4) ~**indän** ‘after you’
- **birgä** ‘together; with’ 2b(27) – 3a(1) **da ħatınları oylanlarınij ~sinä** ‘and wives of his sons with him’; cf. **birlä** in the glossary and **bilän** above
- **orta** ‘middle’, 1a(12–13) ~**sinda ol suwlarnij** ‘in the middle (between) of the waters’
- **tip** ‘bottom’, 1b(4) **tibindän ol köknij** ‘from the bottom of heaven’
- **üst** ‘top’, 1b(25) **yer ~ünä** ‘on the earth’.

²¹ This postposition often expresses cause, apparently influenced by the Hebrew preposition *bē-*; the same may be observed in the text edited by Sulimowicz (1972), **da čajpadyħ seni kóp deliligimiz bilän** ‘and we acted against you because of our foolishness’ (Sulimowicz 1972: 57).

6.2. Verb

The verb is more complex than the noun and has the morphological and morphosyntactic category of tense, mood, aspect, number, person and voice. In the following sections, some of these categories will be analyzed.

6.2.1. Voice

Voice is expressed by verb suffixes and lexical units like **kendi**. In addition to the predicate, voice is relevant to the subject, object or agent, patient and factor.

6.2.1.1. Active voice

In this voice the subject of the verb is the agent of action, e.g. 244a(15) **neçik quwar bir bişni** ‘as one man puts to flight a thousand’.

Active verbs contrast with inactive or so-called indifferent (objectless) verbs. This difference is relevant in that they never take an object. Some verbs which have the valency of active verbs are semantically causative, e.g. 243b(13) **atlandirdi ani** ‘(he) mounted him’, that is ‘made him ride’.

6.2.1.2. Passive voice

Verbs in the passive denote the patient as subject, e.g. 245b(5) **quwulduq** ‘we were pursued’; 2a(8) **çaypaldı ol yer** ‘the earth was destroyed’; 245b(13–14) **biylär qollarından asıldılar** ‘the princes have been hung up by their hands’. The suffix which makes the passive is **-(V)l** and **-n** after **-IA**, e.g. 244a(5) **örtäl(gänlär)** ‘burntPL’.

6.2.1.3. Causative voice

There are two kinds of causative. The first involves inactive verbs, e.g. stative or mutative, as well as the factor which causes the state, change, etc. to the patient, expressed lexically. The factor is indicated by the verb subject, e.g. 244a(2) **açuwlandırayım alarnı** ‘I will make them angry’; 243b(28) **alar künlättilär meni** ‘they made me jealous’.

The second type differs in that the verb is active, and therefore the agent, which is not identical with the factor, performs an action expressed lexically as the object. The agent is indicated by the noun with a dative suffix, as in the 1734 prayer. There are only a few sentences of this type, e.g. 243b(14) **aşattı tağılların tarluwnıñ (da emizdi) añar (bal)** ‘he fed him with the fruits of the field (and fed with honey’, cf. a similar occurrence from the 1734 prayer, **eşittirajım alarya demá qajtyñyz qajtyñyz** ‘I will make them listen to the words “come back, come back”’, i.e. ‘I will tell them “come back, come back”’ (p. 60).

6.2.1.4. Reflexive voice

As usually explained, in this voice the agent performs an action on himself, that is, it is more or less identical with the object, e.g. 243b(11) **silkinir** '(the eagle) is hovering, shaking'. Not every suffix **-(V)n** forms the reflexive, e.g. **iyin-** 'to gather' is rather 'co-operative', **körün-** is used in the sense 'to appear' and not 'to show oneself'. **erklärn-** 'to dominate' and the like have this suffix for phonetic reasons, see 6.2.1.2. On the contrary, sometimes the passive suffix **-(V)I** appears to have a reflexive meaning, e.g. 3b(9) **ačil-** 'to became frank; open'; **yabul-** 'to close'.

The object may be identified with the agent by **kendi**, e.g. 243a(23–24) **čaypadi kendini Israel** 'Israel destroyed itself'. This is a lexical way of expressing the idea of reflexivity.

6.2.1.5. Medio-active voice

There is a particular group of Turkic verbs that are formally and/or semantically reflexive, though they take an object. These verbs and constructions have already been discussed in grammars (e.g. Banguoğlu 1986: 415). I call them medio-active, since the agent performs an action for himself and the results yielded have the main impact on him. There is one such construction in the text, 245b(8) **biz gunahların yükländik** 'we burdened ourselves with their sins'.

6.2.2. Tense

6.2.2.1. Past

This is made up by the suffix **-DI, -DU**, e.g. 1a(12) **da aytı tañrı** 'and God said'; 1b(21) **da boldu alay** 'and it was so'.

6.2.2.2. Present

The present is expressed by either the suffix **-(V)r**, e.g. 3a(3) **barča ki qimildar ol üstünä yerniñ** 'all that moves on the surface of the earth'; 243b(1) **H-ya mi tölärsiz muni?** 'is this the way you repay God?' or the suffix **-Ay + dIr**, see 6.2.4.

6.2.2.3. Future

This tense, expressed by **-(V)AğAQ**, is represented by one occurrence in the text, 244a(23) **tezlär keläğäklär alarya** 'they will come quickly to them'.

Another way of expressing future action is suffixing the verb with **-(V)r**. In most cases, reference to the future is made by the context, e.g. 244b(6) **qaytarırmin öç** 'I will take revenge'; 2b(19–20) **men yaydırırmin ol yer üstünä** 'I shall send rain onto the earth'. The latter suffix is, however, modally coloured and the sentences quoted express the idea of warning, menace.

A special meaning of modally coloured negated future is conveyed by the auxiliary verb **arttırmas-** 'will not any longer' with the main verb on **-mA**, e.g. 245a(10) **arttırmaslardır tirilmä** '(they) will not live any longer'; 245a(11) **arttırmaştır**

bakma alarni '(He) will not look after them any longer'; 245a(23) **arttirmastir yesir etmä seni ki siy'indiq** '(He) will not take you captive any more, you who once found shelter'. The auxiliary **arttir-** in the affirmative form marks continuous action 'to keep on; continue', apart from its other meanings, e.g. 'to increase; multiply'. KRPS 75 also provides an example of the use in the affirmative. In this Bible translation, the verb **arttirmas-** occurs in constructions copied from Hebrew, for example the sentence 245a (10) quoted above reflects the Hebrew לֹא יוֹסֵפוּ לִגְדֹר, that is **lo' yo:sifu: lagu:r**.

6.2.3. Mood

As inactive verbs are unmarked in relation to voice, so indicative verbs are unmarked in relation to mood. The other kinds of mood appearing in the text are the following:

6.2.3.1. Optative

This has forms for the first and third person singular and plural.

- 1SING **-AyIm**, 244a(6–7) **tišin yaman kiyiklärnin yibäräyim alarda** 'I shall send to them the fangs of wild beasts'
- 1PL **-Allm**, 245b(24–25) **qaytarýin bizni H özüñä da qaytalim** 'return us, O Lord, to yourself and we shall return'. This suffix is also attested in Sulimowicz's text, **ne sózlálim** 'what shall we say'; **ne aytalim** 'idem' (Sulimowicz 1972: 61) and contrasts with the suffix **-AyIQ**, widely used by modern Kipchak languages, including Western Karaim (Musaev 1964: 269)
- 3SING **-sIn** 243a(17) **da ešitsin ol yer** 'let the earth hear'
- 3PL **-sInIar** 1b(18) **da bolsunlar nišanlarğa** 'let them be signs'.

6.2.3.2. Imperative

The imperative has forms for the second person:

- 2SING **-QIn**, 2a(12–13) **qilyin özüñä gemi** 'make yourself a ship'; 2a(18) **aršin bilän tawusqin anı yuqartın** 'make it one yard high on the top'; 2b(12) **kelgin sen** 'come, you'
- 2PL **-(V) ɲIz**, 245a(8) **qiyiriniz** 'go away'; 245a(9) **tiymäniz** 'do not touch'.

6.2.3.3. Subjunctive

This mood is used with verbs in postpositional subordinate clauses. The main clause usually contains a verb expressing command, order, suggestion, request, but also declaration, belief, etc. It is formed by **-QAY** + **PS**. Subordinate clauses are introduced by the conjunction **ki**, e.g. 2a(15) **da budur ki qilyaysin anı** 'this is the way you shall make it'; already cited 2a(23) **barça ki yerdä qorayay** 'all (creatures) which (live) on the earth will perish'; 4a(5) **budur şartim ki saqlayaysiz** 'this is my covenant you shall keep'.

6.2.3.4. Desiderative

Being expressed by a combination of **-Qay** and the auxiliary verb **e(di)-**, desiderative clauses are introduced by the conjunction **vali** 'if only', e.g. 4a(25) **vali Yišmael tiri bolıyay edi aldima** 'if only Ismael might be alive before me'; 244a(14–15) **vali uslı bolıyay edilär, aılayay edilär munı aılayay edilär aıırların** 'if only they were wise and were to understand this, understand their end'.

6.2.3.5. Abilitive

No example is provided by the text. The single occurrence is negative, hence more exactly it is inabilitive:

245a(7–8) **tutki bolay almas edilär tiygänlär kiyimlärinä** 'so that nobody would dare to touch, lit. put on, their clothes'.

As seen, inabilitive is expressed by the auxiliary verb **al-ma-** which follows the verb 'to be' in an unusual form **bolay**.²² Normally, we would expect the converbal form **bola**, as pointed out by Musaev 1964: 265 (also in the contracted form **bolal(ma)-**). However, our reading must be correct, since the same form occurs in Sulimowicz (1972: 62): **ki bolaj almastyr kiši čydama syzłovuna bir tegánakniğ** 'that a man cannot stand the ache caused by a thorn'. Besides, the latter text also evidences affirmative occurrence of **al-**, that is, its abilitive usage, **nečik bolaj alyrmyz čydama syzłovuna otıu jyłanlarnyğ** 'how we will be able to stand the suffering caused by dragons (snakes breathing out fire)', *ibid.*

It is to be noted that in each case the auxiliary **al-** combines with the verb of existence. Therefore, we may infer that it must have been the normal way of expressing ability and inability.

6.2.4. Aspect

Sometimes an action, state or process is marked in the text progressively. This is the single aspectual category clearly present in our translation. However, it is not obligatory and usually appears as a result of Hebrew influence.

The progressive denotes an action performed continuously in contrast to a habitual action. Although the construction **-(V)r + e(di)-**, e.g. 2a(3–4) **šol yoluna ol tağriniğ yürür edi Noağ** 'Noah used to walk God's way' seems to be similar to English habitual, there is no clear evidence for any opposition between progressive and habitual.

The progressive is marked in the following ways:

1. The verb takes the suffix **-Ay + -dİr**, followed by a person marker, e.g. 244b(15–16) **ki men taniğ etäydir men sizgä bügin (!)** 'that I am explaining you today'; 244b(25) **sen čıyaydır sen anda** 'you will be rising up there'; 244b(19–20) **siz kečäydir siz** 'you will be crossing'. The progressive is also evidenced by the 1734 prayer, e.g. **jalvarajdyr biz sen bošatqyn bizgä** 'we are asking you to forgive us' (p. 57).

²² Which we can also find before **-dİr** in progressive verbs.

2. The main verb in the form **-A ~ -y** is followed by the auxiliary **tur-**, e.g. 3b(9–10) **da qoradi barča ten, ol qimilday turyan** ‘and all creatures that were moving perished’. It is worth noting that a passage of the manuscript makes a clear distinction between the aspectually marked **qozlay turyan** ‘which is/was stirring up’; **qimilday turyan** ‘which is/was moving’ compared with the unmarked **qozlayan** ‘stirring’; **qimildayan** ‘moving’, 3a(19–20); 3b(11–12).

7. SYNTAX

Some syntactic rules discovered in this Bible translation differ substantially from those encountered in many other non-periferal Turkic languages. These divergences must not be formulated in absolute, but in quantitative terms. In other words, a syntactic construction which is in another Turkic language marginal, rare, marked or optional, is in our text predominating. So far, little attention has been paid to Karaim syntax. Perhaps the only paper devoted to Karaim syntax is that by Baskakov (1965). Furthermore, the reader may find some remarks on syntax in Kowalski (1929), Musaev (1964), and concerning the spoken language, in my review article of Firkovič’s textbook (Jankowski 1993)²³. As already indicated, translation adheres maximally to the original patterns. Cases of more free translation are rare, e.g. 244b(4) **kötärsäm kökkä qudrätimni** ‘if I lift my power to heaven’ for Hb חַיְתִּי... ‘my hand’, cf. the English translation ‘I lift my hand to heaven’.

7.1. Word order

This grammatical category is the one most influenced by Hebrew. The translator strictly followed the word order of Hebrew phrases and sentences. Therefore, some of the Turkic syntactic rules are often violated. In other words, we can say that he ‘abused’ the relatively free word order patterns, exploiting them so that they became dominant or even obligatory. Some of these abuses are still unacceptable in the spoken language. At this point, I must stress that it is not my intention to deprecate the old Karaim tradition of Bible translation. What we shall do is to accept a different syntax in the spoken and written languages. Moreover, we must remember that it is the liturgical language that prevented the extinction of Karaim in existing communities.

7.1.1. Attributive constructions

If the determiner is an adjective or numeral, it usually precedes the determined word, e.g. 2b(7) **yaš ot** ‘fresh grass’; 2b(20) **qırq gün** ‘fourty days’; 2b(17–18) **yedişer yedişer erkäk da tişi** ‘male and female, seven by seven’, cf. 6.1.2; 4a(9) **sekiz künlük oylan** ‘boy eight days old’, cf. HB **u:ben šmonat yo:mi:m**; and including demonstrative adjectives copied from Hebrew, 1a(2) **šol kökni** ‘(the) heavenACC’; 2a(11) **ol yer** ‘the earth’.

²³ A paper on Karaim syntax by Csató will appear soon.

After a numeral, the head of an attributive construction may optionally take the plural suffix **-IAR**, e.g. 3a(6) **yedi ol künlärdän soğra** ‘after seven days’; 2a(4) **üç oylanlar** ‘three sons’. There is no transparent rule here.

If the determiner is an ordinal numeral or a numeral used in a non-quantitative function, it is often preceded by the head, e.g. 1a(11) **kün bir** ‘the first day’; 1b(2) **kün ekinği** ‘the second day’, which is an overt calque from the Hb **yo:m ehad, yo:m šeni**; moreover, sometimes it takes the plural suffix like an apposition, e.g. 2a(19–20) **tiplär ekinğilär da üçünğilär** ‘the second and third deck’; but 3a(9) **ekinği ayda** ‘in the second month’. This word order is also typical of compound numerals, 3a(8) **altı yüz birinği yilda** ‘year 601’.

To express a negative feature or the lack of a property, the attribute is negated by the postpositional word **dügül**, 2b(15) **ol tuwardan ki aruw düğöldür** ‘from the livestock which is unclean’. No privative suffix **-sIz** occurs in the text. The same and similar constructions are also used in spoken Western Karaim, cf. **unlu t’uv’ul iç’kiri** ‘a room not too large’ (Kowalski 1929: 109). Some Slavic influence may also have enhanced this way of expression, cf. Russian **nebol’shaja komnata**, Polish **niewielki pokój**.

If the determiner is a noun, it normally stands before the head which takes the possessive suffix, e.g. 2a(13) **narat ağaçından** ‘of pine wood’. However, there are only a few such constructions.

If the determiner is suffixed by the genitive suffix **-nIñ**, it always follows the head, e.g. 3b(25) **čoqraqları dāryanıñ** ‘the springs of the waters’.

On the order of complex postpositions see 6.1.3. Of these it is only **üstünä** that does not require **-nIñ**, and usually follows the head, 245a(17–18) **ol taylar üstünä** ‘onto those mountains’; 245b(5) **boyunlarımız üstünä** ‘upon our necks’. This is put before the head only once, but the noun takes the genitive suffix there, 3a(3) **ol üstünä yerniñ** ‘on the surface of the earth’.

7.1.2. Verb determiners

The position of the object, as well as adverbial and other nominal complements of the verb, mostly depends on what is emphasized in the original Hebrew text. The noun representing the object may be put postpositionally even if indefinite, e.g. 245b(6–7) **Misiryā berdik qol** ‘we submitted to the Egyptians’; 243b(18) **ičärsin çayir** ‘you will drink wine’.

7.1.3. Word order of subject and predicate

The same rules apply. On reading the first six lines of the manuscript we have seen that in this respect the Karaim version is a word-for-word translation of the Hebrew text into Karaim. Nearly the same can be said of the remaining parts.

7.2. Non-finite verbal constructions

Prepositional constructions are typical of Turkic syntax, but there are only a few participial and converbal ones.

7.2.1. Participial constructions

The following classes of participles occur in the text: **-(V)ĉI**, **-(V)r** (negative form **-mAz**) and **-QAn**.

-(V)ĉI is an active participle which may occur in a virtual participial construction with its own object that is equal to a relative clause. The text provides two examples of this, 1b(8–9) **yaš ot urluq etiwĉi urluq** ‘seeds which produce fresh grass’; *ibid.* **yimiš ayaĉi qiliwĉi yimiš** ‘fruits which produce fruit-trees’. In Sulimowicz’s text (1972: 58), this participle takes a marked object, **Sensin taŋrym jaratywĉy dunjany jaŋyzz** ‘it is only you, O God, who created the world’.²⁴ In other cases, **-(V)wĉI** appears in its typical function of a *nomen actoris*, e.g. **qutqaruwĉi** ‘savior’; **tar beriwĉi** ‘oppressor’; **oturuwĉi** ‘dweller’; **quwuwĉu** ‘pursuer’.

In short, **-(V)ĉI** is active, transitive or intransitive, able to be relativized and temporally neutral. For this reason, it is nominalizable, e.g. 245a(3) **barĉa oturuwĉilari dūnyāniĉ** ‘all inhabitants of the world’.

-mAz is a negative participle that is attested by only one example, 243b(15) **almaz qaya** ‘flinty crag’, lit. ‘crag impossible to climb up’.

-QAn and **-A(y) turyan**. **-QAn** is the least marked participle. It may be active or passive, transitive or intransitive, past-marking or temporally neutral. Its grammatical meaning depends on the verb. In addition, similarly to **-(V)ĉI**, it is nominalizable, e.g. 244a(5) **kūyġānlari qitliqniĉ** ‘those damaged by plague’; 3a(24) **da ol kalgānlār** ‘and those who came’, also similarly to **-(V)r**, being used as a finite verb, see 6.2.2.2. The **-QAn** participle rarely occurs in participial constructions, 243b(24) **yaratqan taŋri** ‘God the Creator, the creating God’; 244a(9) **emġān oylan** ‘sucking boy’. In the phrase 244a(22) **menimdir [...] oĉ tölāmāk tayŋan waŋtta** ‘it is mine [...] to take revenge when their legs slip’, the participle appears formally as an attributive, but this is a typical converbal construction.

To prove the statement about the markedness of the participle in question, I will illustrate its dependence on the semantics of the verb by the following:

1. If the transitive verb is passivized, the participle is passive, e.g. 244a(25–26) **tiyilġān da kemišilġān** ‘removed and rejected’. Therefore, it may be used in a resultative meaning, 244a(21) **muna ol saqlanyandır [...] möhörlängändir** ‘this is protected, indeed [...] (and) sealed (in my safes)’. In one occurrence, the verb is not passivized, although the participle has a passive meaning, 4a(10–11) **satın alyanı**

²⁴ Note the unusual position of the object.

aqčanıñ ‘bought by money’. This is undoubtedly because of the complexity of the verb.

2. If the transitive verb is not passivized, it has an active meaning, e.g. 245a(7–8) **tutki bolay almas edilär tiygänlär kiyimlärinä** ‘so that nobody would dare to touch their clothes, lit. so that there would be nobody who touches their clothes’; 244a(9) **emgän oylan** ‘sucking boy’. In these cases, the **-QAn** participle may be replaced by **-(V)čI**, see the form **jaratyvčy** as an alternative to **yaratqan** in Sulimowicz (1972), above.
3. If the verb is terminative, the participle refers to the past, e.g. 4a(10) **doyyanı ewniñ** ‘born in the household (family)’; 244a(5–6) **örtälgänläri uçqunniñ** ‘those burnt by sparks’.
4. If the verb is non-terminative and phasal, the reference to the tense depends on the context. Thus 3a(19–20) **qimildayan** may mean ‘one who moved’ or ‘one who moves’.

In contrast, it appears that the author of the 1734 prayer makes much more extensive use of participial constructions. There are more sentences with **-Qan vaxtta**, e.g. **oquyan vaxtta** ‘when it was read’; **jaraštirylyan vaxtta** ‘when it was composed’; **boşanyan vaxtta** ‘when absolved (from sins)’; **tutqan vaxtta** ‘when held’, as well as **turyan vaxtymyzda** ‘when we stood up’ (p. 61), and with other nouns marking time, **doyyan künimdän** ‘since the day I was born’ (p. 59). In addition, **-QAn** is used in relative constructions determining the subject or agent, e.g. **doğuraj turyan xatyn** ‘woman giving birth’ (p. 61), **janaj turyan ot** ‘burning fire’ (p. 62), **tanyan qul kibik** ‘like a revolting slave’ (p. 64), or object, when the verb is passivized, e.g. **jančylyan kóñil** ‘broken heart’ (p. 60).

7.2.2. Infinitive constructions

A particularly widespread verb form making up clauses of purpose is **-mA**, e.g. 1b(17) **ayırma** ‘to separate’; 1b(20) **yariq bermä** ‘to give light’.

The infinitive is placed postpositionally after the clause or verb group of the finite verb of the sentence, 2b(9–10) **bolsin saña da alarğa ašamağa** ‘let it be for you and them to eat’; 1b(21–22) **da yarattı tañrı şol eki ol ulu yarıqlarnı, şol ulu yarıqnı erklänmä künüzün [...]** ‘and God created two lights, the large one to govern during the day [...]’; 244b(16–17) **ki simarlayın alarnı oylanlarıñizğa saqlama, qılma şol barça sözlärin uşpu Toranıñ** ‘that you keep them to preserve for your sons and to do all that the Torah says’.

7.2.3. Converbial constructions

The text gives no evidence for converbs (gerunds) **-(V)b**. Converbs on **-A ~ -y** only occur in the conjunctive function with auxiliary verbs, see the paragraph on aspect. There is however one converbial construction that may be regarded as a prepositional subordinate clause with two converbs, but only the second has a lexical subject which is also

the subject of the finite verb, 243b(5–6) **üläškänindä biyik tağrı uluslarni ayır-yanında oylanlarin Adamniñ turıyızdı** ‘when they inherited (lit. on subdividing) when the great God separated the nations and set up the sons of Adam’. Here, **-känindä** and **-yanda** are compound, deparicipial forms. The subordinate clauses are temporal.

7.3. Sentence

7.3.1. Simplex sentences

They are often introduced by the conjunction **da** ‘and’, which is an overt Hebrew influence (**va**), e.g. 1a(12) **da aytti tağrı** ‘and God said’. The Arabic equivalent **vä** occurs only once: 3b(25) **vä yabuldular çoqraqları däreniñ** ‘and the springs of the waters closed’. However, this **vä** may also be a mistakenly copied Hebrew conjunction.

Another connector that is frequently placed at the beginning of a sentence is **ki** ‘since; that is because’, < Hb כִּי, e.g. 2b(19) **ki dayin yedi künlärdän...** ‘since, during seven days...’. Most of the sentences of this type are copied from Hebrew. Note that this conjunction may also connect complex explanatory sentences, e.g. 4a(18–19) **Saray xatiniñ atalmasıñ şol atin Saray ki Sarahdır** ‘your wife Sarai shall not be called Sarai, since her name will be Sarah’ (cf. the note in the appended glossary). This conjunction should not be confused with the homonymous **ki** in complex relative sentences, on this see below and also the note in the glossary.

7.3.2. Complex sentences

The commonest type of complex sentence is a complementational sentence composed of a main clause plus a subordinate clause that modifies and completes the statement pronounced in the former. All these subordinate clauses are postpositional and linked to the main clauses by the conjunction **ki** ‘that, which; what; then; where’, etc., < Persian **ki**:. Because it fulfils so many functions, some of the defining clauses point additionally to the main ones with an anaforic adverb or pronoun, e.g. **ki ... alarni** ‘whom’; **ki ... anda** ‘where’; **ki ... andan** ‘from where’, etc.

Desiderative clauses start with **vali** ‘if only’, see 6.2.3.4., conditionals with **egär**, e.g. 244b(5–6) **egär biläsäm yiltiramayin qiličimniñ da tutar šeraatni oñ qolım qaytarırmin öç tar beriwčilärimä** ‘if I sharpen my flashing sword and my right hand make justice, I repay my oppressors’.

Causal clauses sometimes begin with the conjunction cluster **aniñ üçün ki**.

7.3.2.1. Attributional clauses

This is the major type represented in the corpus, e.g. 2a(23) **barča ki yerdä qorayay** ‘all (creatures) which (live) on the earth will perish’; 243b(19–20) **tağriniñ ki yarattı ani** ‘GodACC who created him’. It should be noted that in relative clauses the simple past may also be used, e.g. 3b(14) **barčadan ki quruda öldülär** ‘from all (creatures) which died on land’.

7.3.2.2. Subjective clauses

These are not very frequent in the text, e.g. 4a(4–5) **budur şartım ki saqlayaysız** ‘that is my covenant you must keep’. Moreover, despite the fact that some clauses resemble subjective clauses, they are merely clauses of manner, e.g. 2a(15) **budur ki qilyaysın anı** ‘that is the way you shall make it’.

7.3.2.3. Objective clauses

This type is not very frequent, either, e.g. 244a(25) **körär ki ketti quvat** ‘(he) will see that strength is gone’; 245a(2–3) **inanmas edilär xanları yerniñ, barça oturuwçilari dünyaniñ ki kelgäy tar berüwçi** ‘the rulers and the inhabitants of the world did not believe that the oppressor would come’.

Besides, such sentences constitute a specific sub-grouping of complex sentences.

7.3.2.4. Adverbial clauses

This group subsumes clauses that define various adverbials of manner, place, cause, etc. Only some examples of them will be given.

- Place adverbials: 244b(19–20) **ol yer üstünä ki siz keçäydir siz anda** ‘at the place where you are going to pass through (you are crossing)’;
- Manner adverbials: These are introduced by **neçik ki** ‘so (as)’, 2b(10–11) **da qıldı Noaḥ barça neçik ki simarladı aḡar taḡrı** ‘and Noah did all as God commanded him’; 244b(24–26) **da ölgin tayda [...] neçik ki öldi Aharon qardaşıñ** ‘and die on the hill [...] as your brother Aharon did’;
- Cause adverbials: One defining clause is connected with the main clause with the conjunction **tutki** ‘so that; for this reason’, which can hardly be evidenced from any of the present-day Kipchak languages. Neither could I find it in Radloff’s dictionary. Thus, to the best of my knowledge, the only reference book **tutki** may be found in is KRPS (Crimean dialect). Presumably, it is composed of the verb **tut-** ‘to keep; hold; catch’ and the Persian **ki**. KRPS explains it ‘(so) as if’. Unfortunately, there is only one occurrence of it in the manuscript and the sentence is, as often, clumsy, 245a(7–8) **bulıandılar qanğa tutki bolay almas edilär tiygänlär kiyimlärinä** ‘(they) were defiled by blood so that no one would touch their clothes’.

8. VOCABULARY

The bulk of the lexical material in the manuscript consists of Karaim words. The majority of them are characteristic of the Kipchak lexicon and have correspondences either in Middle Kipchak, cf. *Codex Cumanicus*, or in modern languages like Crimean Tatar, Kumuk, Karachai and Balkar, but also Tatar, Bashkir, Kazakh, Noghai and Kirghiz.

Some words inherited from Old Turkic languages have only been preserved in a few Kipchak languages, e.g. **boluş-** ‘to help’; **kerti** ‘indeed’; **içkertin** ‘inward(s)’; **çiyar-**

tīn 'outward(s)'; **yuqartīn** 'upward(s).²⁵ Other words are recorded solely in historical documents, e.g. **asrī** 'very' (CC). Still others are preserved in only a few modern languages, e.g. **borla** 'grapes'; **inir** 'evening'; **kemiš-** 'to throw away'; **tawus-** 1) 'to complete' 2) 'to wipe out'. Finally, a small group of words are typically Karaim and, to my knowledge, they are not attested to in any other language. These are **čaypa-** 'to destroy' ? < **čayna-** 'to chew; abuse'; **tas bol-** 'to perish' ? < **tawus bol-** 'to be destroyed'; **tuw et-** 'to wipe out; destroy' ? < **tuw** 'abortion' + **et-**.

Two words which occur in the text are only evidenced from Western Karaim, **inir** 'evening' and the Slavic borrowing **pusta** 'barren' (**smola** is absent from KRPS, though see the note in the glossary).

At the same time, several other words and forms which are absent from Western Karaim are encountered in the Crimean dialect, e.g. **aγdi-** 1) 'to hit' 2) 'to trap; lie in ambush' (in Western Karaim **andī-**); **taγin** 'and; then' (besides **dayin**).

There are derivatives not evidenced so far, even though derived from well-known stems, e.g. **inamliq** 'faithfulness' < **ina(n)-** 'believe, trust', cf. **inamli** in the glossary'. See also the note in section 1 on **iyin-** and **yilim et-**.

The strongest proof in favour of Crimean provenience is no doubt the presence of Turkish words that do not exist beyond Crimea, which had been an area of direct contacts over the centuries. For example:

doγ- 'to be born'	versus Kipchak tuw-
doγur- 'to give birth'	tuwdur-
gel- 'to come'	kel-
gemi 'ship; ark'	kemi; kemä
gün 'day'	kün
kendi 'himself; herself', etc.	öz

Note that **gel-** and **gün** emerge in the corpus exceptionally alongside the Kipchak equivalents, whereas the others do not occur in the Kipchak form at all.

As indicated in the introduction, most loanwords come from Arabic and Persian. These languages contributed thirty-three and thirty-one words respectively. The next, but much smaller word group, is Hebrew, with a total of nine. Four further lexical units are Semitic in a broad sense, and some six words originate from European languages such as Greek, Italian and Slavic. Lastly, there are five or so words of unknown or unclear origin.

The following lists encompass the loanwords arranged in groups:

- Arabic loanwords: **aγir**, **aqil**, **ayip**, **ävväl** (and **ävvälki**), **binyat**, **dünyä**, **ğamaat**, **ğins**, **halq**, **hazrat**, **huğra**, **ğazna**, **meräslä-**, ? **naamat**, **näfäs**, **ömür**, **qahir**, **qayyam**, **qudrät**, **qurban**, **quvat**, **säkinlän-**, **sünätlä-**, **šart**, **šaytan**, **šeraat**, **tabaqa**, **tamam**, **vedä**, **vaxt**, **vä**, **yesir**, **zalim**
- Persian loanwords: **asayiš**, **avara**, **avaz** (**iy-**), **därya**, **dušman**, **egär**, **eškärt**, **gör**, **gunah**, **ğan**, **hanuz**, **har**, **heč**, **ğor** (**et-**), **ki**, **leš**, **möhörlän-**, **mundar**,

²⁵ Note that the 1734 prayer already provides evidence for the common Turkic **yuqari**, more exactly **joγary** 'upward(s)', which points to later linguistic contacts (Sulimowicz 1972: 57), whereas this Bible translation utilizes solely the archaic forms derived from the stem with the suffix **-tīn**.

nišan, paħa, pir, simarla-, šaħar, tağ, taχt, täräğä, ten, tez, urusfay(liq), vali, viran

– Hebrew loanwords: **avanl(liq), ħevlik, kafara (et-), kohen, ki, mabul, mašiyah, šira, Tora**

– European loanwords: **furin, χoron, irħat(liq), pusta, sunor, smola**

– Mongolian loanwords: **narat, qaranju(luq), oram, soqur, tölä-**

– Semitic loanwords: **adam, dävır²⁶, sadıq, nābi or nāvi**

– Words of unknown or unclear origin: **aqlap (aqlafli), for²⁷, ħag, tuwar.**

Some objects and notions were rendered by different synonymous and closely related terms, e.g.

– **tawus et-, tuw et-, čaypa-, yilim et-, yilis et-** ‘to wipe out; destroy’

– **šiš-, semir-, baziq bol-** ‘to become fat; gross’

– **qora-** ‘to pass away; die’, **öl-** ‘to die’

– **ešik** ‘door’, **qabaq** ‘gate; door’,

including cases where one word was vernacular and the other (others) loan, e.g.

– **ayruqsu et-, qurban et-** ‘to sacrifice’

– **yaziq, gunah** ‘sin’

– **ačuw, χišim, qahir** ‘anger’.

In conclusion, we can say that the percentages obtained reflect roughly the same relationship to the source text as any other variety of written language documented from that period. However, Karaim occupies a special position among its kindred languages. It has taken a very long, old literary tradition and enriched it, from both near and far, with many innovations arising out of a variety of linguistic influence.

²⁶ Though in Arabic form, this is a Hebrew word borrowed directly from the Bible and is used with a biblical meaning

²⁷ According to Kowalski (1929: xvii), it is Persian.

II. Samples

TRANSLITERATION

[1a]

- (1) bw tr' y?'wrm ggy d?r? kum²⁸ k/s't'g/n' 'c?
- (2) hbw...
- (3-6)²⁹

[4a]

- (1) bw tfšyr twr' 'çq b/dr mrdky hmšk'l
- (2) 'hnwn³⁰ 'cw š'šmyn nyndyr kmšy'³¹ mny' 'lmšyn
- (3) bnym dy' 'lmšyn 'lšdy' 'nyny' n/gtrym
- (4) bršyn ' ? r brmšy' 'ky' kwzy' cy³²r 'wlšyn
- (5) n'm šmw'l šyšmn³³

²⁸ Interrogative personal pronoun *küm*, Common Turkic *kim*, cf. Prik 1976: 100; absent from KRPS.

²⁹ These lines contain Hebrew text deciphered by Samely in his description of the manuscript: (3) ברך ייחד כוככי בקר וירעו כל בני (Ps. 5:4), (4) ה בקר השמע קולי בקר אערך לך ואצפה אלהים (Iob. 38:7), (5) ואתי אלך ה שועתי ובבקר הפלהי (Ps. 88:14).

³⁰ This may be how the owner of the manuscript rendered the popular pronunciation of Hb חכם *çahan*, cf. Kowalski 1929: 190 *çaxam* 'hoher Geistlicher'.

³¹ Spelling of final low vowels differs from that in the biblical text; a *yod* precedes the final *alef*.

³² Or a defectively written *vav*.

³³ Note another writing in line (2) above.

TRANSCRIPTION

[1a]

- (1) Bu Tora?(n)i üyränmäkni küm ? ač...
 (2) ?

[4a]

- (1) Bu tefsir Tora İçaq ? Mordeçay Hamaskil
 (2) hahanun³⁴ ʔʕʔ³⁵ Šišman-nündür. Kimsä munü almasın.
 (3) Benim diyä almasın. Alsa da ana ne (ney)tärim³⁶ ?,
 (4) Bersin. Ägär bermäsä eki közü çör³⁷ olsun.
 (5) nam Šamuel Sišman.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

[1a]

- (1) This Torah is to learn? Who(ever) ?
 (2) ?

[4a]

- (1) This Torah with comments is a property of hahan Isaak Mordekhai Hamaskil
 (2) Shishman, the Lord is my rock and my redeemer. No one should take this away
 (3) saying that it is theirs. If someone takes [it] away, what will I tell him ?,
 (4) he should give [it back]. If he does not do so, may his both eyes be blind!
 (5) Named Samuel Shishman.

³⁴ However, if one assumes defective writing, another reading may be *açanun* 'agaGEN'.

³⁵ Samely assumes this is a Hb abbreviation 'the Lord is my rock and my redeemer'.

³⁶ That is *ne aytarim/äytärim*; another possible reading: *anı netärim* 'what will I do with him'.

³⁷ Phonetic shift from *k* before a palatal vowel into *č* (the most accurate symbol for this consonant is IPA *c*) is evidenced in some Turkic languages, also in the Crimea e.g. in Urum, cf. Garkavec 1981: 53.

1a (transliteration)

בראשית

- (1) ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ. 'wwl
 (2) bšt' yrṭṭy ṭgry šwl kwkny d'yšwl ymny.
 (3) וְהָאָרֶץ d'wl yyr 'dy wrn dbwš dqmgwlvwq
 (4) ywzw 'wštwn' dryynyg dyly ṭnrynyg 'sr 'dy
 (5) ywzw 'štwn' 'wl šwblmyg. וַיֹּאמֶר d'yṭy
 (6) ṭgry bwlšwn yyryq dbwldw yryq. וַיֵּרָא
 (7) dkwrw ṭgry šwl yryqny ky ykšydyr d'yrydy
 (8) ṭgry 'ršyn' 'wl yryqnyg d'ršyn' 'wl qmgwlvwq
 (9) nyg. וַיִּקְרָא d'tdy ṭgry yryqg' kwn dqm
 (10) gwlvwqg' 'tdy kc' dbwldw 'ygyr dbwldw 'r
 (11) ṭ' kwn byr³⁸. וַיֹּאמֶר
 (12) d'yṭy ṭgry bwlšwn ṭbq' 'wrṭsynd' 'wl
 (13) šwblmyg dbwlšwn 'yyrywwcy 'ršyn' šwnyg šwby'
 (14) וַיַּעַשׂ d'yrṭṭy ṭgry šwl ṭbqny d'yrydy
 (15) 'ršyn' 'wl šwblmyg ky ṭybyndn ṭbqnyg³⁹
 (16) d'ršyn' 'wl šwblmyg ky 'wštwn dn ṭbqnyg

³⁸ The initial fragment of the Bible translation presented by Šapšal (1928: 601) contains Gen 1,1:1-5; Ms 1a:1-11, and includes the following text: *Ilk bašta yaratti Taḡri ol kökni da ol yerni da ol yer edi ('tdy) qoḡuš (qawšy) da boš (bwšy) da qaranyuluq yüzleri üstüne teḡizniḡ da yeli Taḡriñiḡ eser edi yüzleri üstüne suwlarñiḡ (šwlrk). da aytṭi Taḡri bolsun yariq da boldi yariq da kördi Taḡri ol yariqnñ kim yaḡšidñ ol. da qaranyuliqqa atadi keče. da boldi inḡ da boldi erte kün bir.*

³⁹ Note that this manuscript does not mark low vowels between consonants, therefore, line 12 above *tabaqa*, with a $\bar{\eta}$ in final position, cf. KRPS(k): 502 *tabaqa* 'layer; expanse'; see also K: 46 *avlaḡtyḡ*.

1a (transcription)

*

- (1) * . ävväl
 (2) başta yarattı tañrı şol kökni da şol yerni. *
 (3) da ol yer edi viran da boş da qaranyuluq
 (4) yüzü üstünä däryanıñ, da yeli tañrınıñ esär edi
 (5) yüzü üstünä ol suwlarnıñ. * da aytı
 (6) tañrı: bolsun yarıq da boldu yarıq. *
 (7) da kördü tañrı şol yarıqni ki yaxşıdır, da ayırdı
 (8) tañrı arasına ol yarıqniñ da arasına ol qaranyuluq-
 (9) niñ. * da atadı tañrı yarıqqa kün da qaran-
 (10) yuluqqa atadı kečä, da boldu injir da boldu er-
 (11) tä⁴⁰, kün bir *
 (12) da aytı tañrı: bolsun tabaqa ortasında ol
 (13) suwlarnıñ da bolsun ayırıwçı⁴¹ arasına suwnıñ suwya.
 (14) * da yarattı tañrı şol tabaqanı da ayırdı
 (15) arasına ol suwlarnıñ ki tibindän tabaqanıñ,
 (16) da arasına ol suwlarnıñ ki üstündän tabaqanıñ.

⁴⁰ K: 46 *tan*.

⁴¹ K: 46 *ajyrıçlyx*.

1b

- (1) dbwldw 'ly. אִקְרָא d'tdy tgr̥y t̥bq' g'
 (2) kwk dbwldw 'ygyr dbwldw 'rt' kwn 'kynḡy
 (3) אִמְרָא d'yyty tgr̥y 'yynṣynlr̥ 'wl ṣwblr
 (4) tybyndn 'wl kwknyg byr yyr̥g' d' kwrwnṣwn
 (5) 'wl qwrw d' bwldw 'ly. אִקְרָא d'tdy tgr̥y
 (6) qwrw g' yyr d'yynyn' 'wl ṣwblrnyg⁴² 'tdy t̥gwzlr̥
 (7) dkwr̥dw t̥gr̥y ky ykṣydyr אִמְרָא d'yyt̥ty
 (8) t̥gr̥y yṣṣyn 'wl yyr y'ṣ' wṭ' wrlwq
 (9) 'tybcy 'wrlwq yymṣ 'yey qylybcy ymyṣ ḡynṣyn'
 (10) ky 'wrlwṡw 'nyg 'wl yyr 'wṣṡwn' dbwldw 'ly.
 (11) אִתְּצֵא dcyṡr̥dy 'wl yyr yṣ' wṭ' wrlwq 'tywwcy
 (12) 'wrlwq ymṣ 'gcy qylwwcy ymyṣ ḡynṣyn' ḡnṣyn'
 (13) d'yac qylwwcy ymyṣ ky 'wrlwṡw 'nyg ḡynṣyn'
 (14) dkwr̥dw t̥gr̥y ky ykṣydyr. אִדָּא dbwldw 'ygyr
 (15) dbwldw 'rt' kwn 'wcwnḡy. אִמְרָא
 (16) d'yyty t̥gr̥y bwlṣwn yryqlr̥ t̥bq̥syn d' 'wl kwk
 (17) nyg 'yyrm' 'rṣnd' 'wl kwknyg d'rṣnd' 'wl
 (18) kc' nyg dbwlṣwnlr̥ nyṣnlrg' dwd' lrg' dkwn
 (19) lrg' dyylrg'. אִדָּא dbwlṣwnlr̥ yryqlrg' t̥bq'
 (20) ṣynd' 'wl kwknyg yryq br̥m' 'wl yr 'wṣṡwn'
 (21) dbwldw 'lyy. אִיעֵשׁ dyr̥t̥ty t̥gr̥y ṣwl 'ky 'wl
 (22) 'wlw yryqlr̥ny ṣwl 'wlw yryqny 'rklnm' kwnwzwn
 (23) d'yṣwl kycy yryqny 'rklnm' kc' d'yṣwl
 (24) yyldyzlmy. אִירָן dbr̥dy 'lmy t̥gr̥y t̥bq'
 (25) ṣynd' kwknyg yryq krm' 'wl yyr 'wṣṡwn'
 (26) אִלְמִשָּׁל⁴³ d'r̥klnm' kwnwzwn d' kc' d'yym'
 (27) 'rṣyn' 'wl yryqny d'rṣyn' 'wl qr̥ngwlwq [nyg]

⁴² Ms. ṣwblrnyg.

⁴³ Ms. אִלְמִשָּׁל.

1b

- (1) da boldu alay. * da atadı tañrı tabaqa-ya
 (2) kök da boldu injir da boldu ertä, kün ekingi.
 (3) * da aytı tañrı: iyinsinlar⁴⁴ ol suwlar
 (4) tibindän ol kökniñ bir yergä da körünsün
 (5) ol quru, da boldu alay. * da atadı tañrı
 (6) quru-ya yer da iyinına ol suwlarınj atadı teñizlar⁴⁵,
 (7) da kördü tañrı ki yaxşıdır. * da aytı
 (8) tañrı: yeşärsin ol yer, yaş ot urluq
 (9) etiwçi urluq, yimiş ağaçı qılıwçi yimiş, ğinsinä⁴⁶
 (10) ki urluğu anıñ ol yer üstünä, da boldu alay.
 (11) * da çiyardı ol yer yaş ot urluq etiwçi
 (12) urluq, yimiş ağaçı qılıwçi yimiş, ğinsinä ğinsinä,
 (13) da ağaç qılıwçi yimiş ki urluğu anıñ ğinsinä.
 (14) da kördü tañrı ki yaxşıdır. * da boldu injir
 (15) da boldu ertä, kün üçünği *
 (16) da aytı tañrı: bolsun yarıqlar tabaqasin-da ol kök-
 (17) -niñ, ayırma arasında ol kökniñ da arasında ol
 (18) kečä-niñ, da bolsunlar nişanlaryä⁴⁷ da vadälärgä⁴⁸ da kün-
 (19) lărgä da yıllaryä. * da bolsunlar yarıqlaryä tabaqa-
 (20) sinda ol kökniñ yarıq bermä ol yer üstünä,
 (21) da boldu alay. * da yarattı tañrı şol eki ol
 (22) ulu yarıqlarnı, şol ulu⁴⁹ yarıqnı erklänmä künüzün,
 (23) da şol kiçi yarıqnı erklänmä kečä, da şol
 (24) yıldızlarnı. * da berdi alarnı tañrı tabaqa-
 (25) sinda kökniñ yarıq kirmä ol yer üstünä,
 (26) * da erklänmä künüzün da kečä, da ayırma
 (27) arasına ol yarıqnıñ da arasına ol qaranyuluq

[catchword, i.e. suffix] niñ.

44 K: 47 *iştyrylsyntar*; CTat. *ğiyil-*; Trk. *yığıl-*.

45 Ms. *ıgwzlr* which suggests *teñizlär*.

46 Or *ğinsinä*.

47 K: 46 *b' elgilarğa*.

48 K: 46 *vaydataryä*; KRPS: 155(th); *vayda*; (k): *vade*; (Š,k): *vede*.

49 K: 46 *urğuraxny* and then *kiçirakni*.

2a

פרשת נח

- (1) אלה bwlrdyrlr twdwqlry nh nyg nh
- (2) cdyq kyšy 'dy twyl 'dy
- (3) dbwrlrynd' šwl ywlwn' 'wl tğrynyg ywrrwr 'dy
- (4) nh. ויולד dwdgwrwd nh 'wc 'wglnlr šwl šm
- (5) ny šwl hm ny d'y šwl ypt ny. ורתשחת d'
- (6) cyypldy 'wl yyr 'ldyn' 'wl tğrynyg d'twldw
- (7) 'wl yr 'wwnlyq. וירא dkwrdw tğry šwl
- (8) ymy dmwn' cyypldy ky cyypdy brc' tn šwl
- (9) ywlwn 'wl yyr 'wštwn'. ויאמר d'yytty tğry
- (10) nh g' 'kyry brc' tnnny kldy 'ldym' ky
- (11) t'wldw 'wl yr 'wwnlyq 'ldlrydn⁵⁰ dmwn' mn cyypyy
- (12) dyr mn 'lr 'wcwn šwl ymy. ועשה qylgyn 'wzwg'
- (13) gmy nrq 'gčyn dn h'wğr' lr qylgyn 'wl gmyg'
- (14) dšylgyn 'ny 'ckrtyn dcygrtyn šlm' byln ::
- (15) וזה d' bwdwr ky qylgyyšyn 'ny 'wc ywz 'ršyn
- (16) 'wzwnlwgw 'wl gmyny 'lly 'ršyn kglygy d'
- (17) 'wřwz 'ršyn byyklygy. וזהו tğg' qylgyn
- (18) 'wl gmyg' d'ršyn byln t'bwšqyn 'ny ywgrtyn
- (19) d'šwgyn 'wl gmynyg ynyn' qwygyn typlr 'kynğy
- (20) lr d'wcwnğylr qylgyn 'ny ויאני dmn mwn'
- (21) mn ktyryrmyn šwl mbwl ny šwb 'wl yyr
- (22) 'wštwn' cyypm' brc' tnnny ky 'nd' t'ryy
- (23) yn t'byndn 'wl kwknyg brc' ky yrd' qwryyy
- (24) ויהקמתו d'twrgwzrmyn šwl šrtym ny byrg'
- (25) g' dklgyn 'wl gmyg' šn d'wglnlryg

⁵⁰ Ms. 'ldlrydn.

2a

* *

- (1) * bulardırlar tuwduqları Noaḥ-niñ. Noaḥ
 (2) sadıq kişi edi, tügäl edi
 (3) da buralarında? şol yoluna ol tañriniñ yürür edi
 (4) Noaḥ. * da doḡurdu Noaḥ üç oylanlar: şol Şem-
 (5) -ni, şol Ḥam-ni da şol Yafet-ni. * da
 (6) çaypaldı ol yer aldına ol tañriniñ da toldu
 (7) ol yer avanlıq⁵¹. * da kördü tañrı şol
 (8) yerni da muna çaypaldı ki çaypadı barça ten şol
 (9) yolun ol yer üstünä. * da aytı tañrı
 (10) Noaḥ-ya: aḡiri barça tenniñ keldi aldima, ki
 (11) toldu ol yer avanlıq aldarından, da muna men çaypay-
 (12) -dır men alar üçün şol yerni. * qılyñ özüñä
 (13) gemi narat ayaçın-dan, huğra-lar qılyñ ol gemigä
 (14) da silayın anı içkertin da çıyartın smola⁵² bilän ::
 (15) * da budur ki qılyaysın anı: üç yüz arşın
 (16) uzunluḡu ol gemini elli arşın keñligi da
 (17) otuz arşın biyikligi. * täräğä qılyñ
 (18) ol gemigä da arşın bilän tawusqın anı yuqartin,
 (19) da eşiğin ol geminiñ yanına qoyyın. tiplär ekinği-
 (20) -lär da üçünğilär qılyñ anı. * da men muna
 (21) ketirirmin şol mabul-ni suw ol yer
 (22) üstünä çaypama barça tenni ki anda tiri-
 (23) -gän tibindän ol kökniñ, barça ki yerdä qorayay.
 (24) * da turḡuzurmın şol şartım-ni birgä-
 (25) -ñä. da kelgin ol gemigä sen da oylanlarıñ

⁵¹ Hb ׀ע; in Bible דמח.

⁵² Ms. *šlm'*, i.e. *sloma* 'straw', instead of *smola* 'pitch', both < Slavic.

2b

- (1) dk̄tynyg dk̄tynlry 'wglnlryg nyg byrg'
 (2) ומהמבול ומכל⁵³ dbrc' 'wl tyrydn brc' 'ndn
 (3) 'kyšr brc' dn k̄tym' 'wl gmyg' tyrylm'
 (4) byrg' g' 'rkk d̄tyšy bwlšwnlr. מדהעו
 (5) 'wl qwštn ġynšyn' d'wl 'twbrdn ġynšyn'
 (6) brc' qymyl d̄ynyndn 'wl yrnyc ġynšyn' 'kšr
 (7) brc'dn klšynlr šg' tyrylm'. ואתה dšn
 (8) 'lgyn 'wzwg' brc' 'štn' ky 'šlyr d'
 (9) cynlgyn 'wzwg' dbwlšyn šg' d'lyr' 'šm'
 (10) g'. ויעל d̄qyldy n̄h brc' ncyk ky šymr
 (11) ldy 'gr t̄gry 'ly qyldy. ויאמר d'yyty⁵⁴
 (12) H⁵⁵ n̄h ga kl̄gyn šn dbrc' 'byg' 'wl gmyg'
 (13) ky šny kwrdwm cdyq 'ldym' 'wšbw dwwrđ'
 (14) וכל brc' 'wl 'rwb 'twwrđn ydšr ydšr
 (15) 'rkk d̄tyšy d'wl 'twwrđn ky 'rwb dwȳwldwr⁵⁶
 (16) 'wl 'kyšr 'rkk⁵⁷ d̄tyšy. וגל dgyn
 (17) qwšwn 'wl kwknyg ydšr ydšr 'rkk d'
 (18) tyšy tyrgyzm' 'wrlwq yyzw 'wšwtn' brc'
 (19) 'wl yrnyc. כ' ky dgyn ydy kwnlrdn mn
 (20) ygdyryrmyn 'wl yr 'wšwtn' qyrq gwn d'
 (21) qyrq kc' dyl̄yš 'tmyn šwl brc'
 (22) 'wl ḥlqny ky yrt̄tym ywzw 'wšwtnđn 'wl
 (23) yrnyc. ויעל d̄qyldy n̄h brc' ncyk ky
 (24) šymrldy 'gr H. ונת d̄nh 'l̄ty ywz
 (25) yšr kyšy 'dy d'wl mbwl bwldw šwb 'wl
 (26) yr 'wšwtn'. ויאכל d̄kldy n̄h d'wylnlry
 (27) dk̄tyny dk̄tynlry 'wglnlry nyg byrg'

53 Hb 'and the flood', a word which does not fit this line.

54 A *zayin* in the right margin, marking chapter 7.

55 Compound grapheme of God's name.

56 Ms. *dwynldwr*.

57 Ms. 'kkk.

2b

- (1) da *χatini* da *χatinlari* oylanlari-ni birgäjä
 (2) * da barča ol tiridän barča tendän
 (3) ekišär barča-dan ketirmä ol gemigä tirilmä
 (4) birgä-ñä erkäk da tiši bolsunlar. *
 (5) ol quštan ğinsinä da ol tuwardan ğinsinä,
 (6) barč a qimildayanından ol yemiñ ğinsinä ekišär
 (7) barčadan kelsinlär saña tirilmä. * da sen
 (8) alyin özünjä barča aştan ki ašalir da
 (9) ğıynalyin özünjä da bolsin saña da alary ašama-
 (10) - ya. * da qıldı Noah barča nečik ki simar-
 (11) -ladı arjar tarri, alay qıldı. * da aytü
 (12) H Noah-ya: kelgin sen da barča ewiñ ol gemigä
 (13) ki seni kördüm sadıq aldima ušbu dävirde.
 (14) * barča ol aruw tuwardan yedišär yedišär
 (15) erkäk da tiši da ol tuwardan ki aruw dügüldür
 (16) ol ekišär erkäk da tiši. * dayin
 (17) qušun ol kökniñ yedišär yedišär erkäk da
 (18) tiši tirgizmä urluq yüzü üstünä barča
 (19) ol yemiñ. * ki dayin yedi künlärdän men
 (20) yaydırirmin ol yer üstünä qırq gün⁵⁸ da
 (21) qırq kečä da yilis etärmin šol barča
 (22) ol halqni ki yarattım yüzü üstündän ol
 (23) yemiñ. * da qıldı Noah barča nečik ki
 (24) simarladı arjar H. * da Noah altı yüz
 (25) yašar kiši edi da ol mabul boldu suw ol
 (26) yer üstünä. * da keldi Noah da oylanlari
 (27) da *χatini* da *χatinlari* oylanlari-ni birgä-

⁵⁸ The line above *künlärdän*.

3a

- (1) brgšyn' 'wl gmyγ' 'ldyndn šwblrynyg 'wl mbwl
 (2) nyg. מן 'wl 'rwb ʔwʔrdn ky 'rwb dwywldwr
 (3) d'wl qwšʔn dbrc' ky qymyldr 'wl 'wšʔwn' yrnig⁵⁹
 (4) שנים 'kyšr 'kyšr gldylr nḥ g' 'wl gmyg'
 (5) 'rkk dʔyšy ncyk ky šymrldy ʔgry nḥg'.
 (6) ד'ד' d'dy ydy 'wl kwnlr dn šwgr' d' šwblry
 (7) 'wl mbwl nyg bwldwlr 'wl yr 'wšʔwn'. :::
 (8) בשנת 'lty ywz bymğy yyld' ʔrylykryn'
 (9) nḥ nyg 'wl 'kynğy 'yyd' 'wn yydynğy kwnwn⁶⁰
 (10) d' 'wl 'yynyg 'yšbw kwnd' yryldylr
 (11) brc' cwqrqlry 'wlw dryy' nyg d' ʔrğ'
 (12) lry 'wl kwknyg 'cyldylr ד'ד' d' bwldw
 (13) ygmwr 'wl yyr 'wšʔwn' qyrq kwn dqyrq
 (14) kc'. כעצם kndyšnd' 'wšbw kwnwg
 (15) kldy nḥ dšm dḥm dypt 'wglnlry nḥ⁶¹
 (16) nyg dkʔyny nḥ nyg⁶² dkʔynlry 'wglnlrynyg
 (17) byrglryn' 'wl gmyg'. ד'ד' 'lr dbrc'
 (18) 'wl ʔry gšynšyn'⁶³ dbrc' 'wl ʔwʔr gšynšy
 (19) šyn' dbrc' 'wl qymyldyn 'wl qymyldyy
 (20) ʔwrgn 'wl yyr 'wšʔwn' gšynšyn' d' brc'
 (21) 'wl qwš gšynšyn' dbrc' qwš brc' qntly :
 (22) ד'ד'⁶⁴ dkldylr nḥ g' 'wl gmyg' 'kyšr
 (23) 'kyšr brc' ʔndn ky 'nd' ʔryyğn ::
 (24) ד'ד' d'wl klgnlr 'rkk dʔyšy lr
 (25) brc'⁶⁵ ʔndn kldylr ncyk ky⁶⁶ šymrldy 'gr
 (26) ʔgry dbkldy h kndy 'wewn : : ד'ד'
 (27) dbwldw 'wl mbwl qyrq kwn 'wl yr 'wšʔwn'

59 Ms. yy.

60 Ms. kwnwnn.

61 Ms. nḥ.

62 Ms. ny.

63 Ms. gšynšyn'.

64 Ms. ד'ד'.

65 Ms. br brc'.

66 Ms. ncyky.

3a

- (1) birgäsınä ol gemigä aldından suwlarınıñ ol mabul-
 (2) -nıñ. * ol aruw tuwardan ki aruw düğüldür
 (3) da ol quştan da barça ki qımıldar ol üstünä yernıñ
 (4) * ekişär ekişär geldilər Noağ-ya ol gemigä
 (5) erkäk da tişi neçik ki simarladi tañrı Noağya.
 (6) * da edi yedi ol künlär-dän soñra da suwları
 (7) ol mabul-nıñ boldular ol yer üstünä.
 (8) * altı yüz birinçi yılda tiriliklärinä
 (9) Noağ-nıñ ol ekinçi ayda on yedinçi künün-
 (10) -dä ol aynıñ uşbu kündä yarıldılar
 (11) barça çoqraqları ulu därya-nıñ da täräğä-
 (12) -läri ol köknıñ açıldılar. * da boldu
 (13) yaymur ol yer üstünä qırq kün da qırq
 (14) keçä. * kendisindä uşbu künnüñ
 (15) keldi Noağ da Şem da Häm da Yafet, oylanları Noağ-
 (16) -nıñ da xatını Noağ-nıñ da xatınları oylanlarınıñ
 (17) birgälärinä ol gemigä. * alar da barça
 (18) ol tiri ğinsinä da barça ol tuwar ğinsi-
 (19) -nä⁶⁷ da barça ol qımıldayan ol qımılday
 (20) turğan ol yer üstünä ğinsinä da barça
 (21) ol quş ğinsinä da barça quş barça qanatlı.
 (22) * da keldilər Noağ-ya ol gemigä ekişär
 (23) ekişär barça tendän ki anda tirigän.
 (24) * da ol kelgänlär erkäk da tişi-lär
 (25) barça tendän keldilər neçik ki simarladi anjar
 (26) tañrı da beklädi H kendi üçün : : *
 (27) da boldu ol mabul qırq kün ol yer üstünä

67 Ms. ğinsisinä.

3b

- (1) dkwbdyłr 'wl šwblr dkwtrdyłr šwl gmyňy
 (2) dbyyk bwldw 'wštwnđn 'wl yrnýg ויגברו
 (3) dkwcyydyłr 'wl šwblr dkwbyydyłr 'šry 'wl yyr
 (4) 'wštwn' dywrwdw 'wl gmy ywzw 'wštwn' 'wl šwb
 (5) lrnýg. ויהימים d'wl šwblr kwcydyłr 'šry
 (6) ...⁶⁸ 'wl yr 'wštwn' dybwldwłr brc' 'wl
 (7) byyk tglr ky tybyn' brc' kwknyg. חמש
 (8) 'wnbš 'ršyn ywgrtyn kwcydyłr 'wl šwblr
 (9) dybwldwłr 'wl tglr ויגוע dqwrđy brc'
 (10) tn 'wl qymyldyy twryn 'wl yr 'wštwn' qwš
 (11) d'⁶⁹ twwrđ⁷⁰ dkyyk d' brc' 'wl qwzłyn
 (12) d' 'wl qwzlyytwryn 'wl yr 'wštwn' dbrc'
 (13) 'wl 'dm. כל⁷¹ brc' npsy tyry gnyg
 (14) bwrnwnd' dyr brc' dn ky qwrwd' 'wldwłr.
 (15) ויהי d' ylym 'ty šwl brc' 'l hlqy
 (16) ky ywzw 'wštwn' 'wl yrnyg 'dm dn twwrg'
 (17) dgyn qymyldgn g' dgyn dqwšwn' dgyn 'wl kwk
 (18) nyg dylyš bwldwłr 'wl yrdn dqłdy tk nħ
 (19) dky byrgšyn' gmyd'. ויגברו dkwcyydyłr
 (20) 'wl šwblr 'wl yr 'wštwn' ywz 'lly kwn ::
 (21) ויזכר dšgyndy tgry šwl nħ ny d' šwl
 (22) brc' 'wl kyyk ny d'yšwl brc' 'wl twwr
 (23) ny ky brgšyn' gmyd' dktyrđy tgry
 (24) yyl 'wl yr 'wštwn' dškyndyly⁷² 'wl šwblr
 (25) ויסכרו wybwldwłr cwqrqlry drynyg dtrğ'
 (26) lry 'wl kwknyg dtyyldy 'wl ygmwr 'wl kwk
 (27) tn. וישבו dqyytyłr 'wl šwblr

[catchword: 'wštwnđn]

⁶⁸ A blotted, illegible word.

⁶⁹ Ms. d' d'.

⁷⁰ It is likely that the copyist mixed up this and the following conjunction with the locative case suffix.

⁷¹ Ms. כל.

⁷² Ms. škyndylyr.

3b

- (1) da köbäydilär⁷³ ol suwlar da kötärdilär šol gemini,
 (2) da biyik boldu üstündän ol yerniñ. *
 (3) da küčäydilär ol suwlar da köbäydilär asrī ol yer
 (4) üstünä da yürüdü ol gemi yüzü üstünä ol suw-
 (5) -larniñ. * da ol suwlar küčäydilär asrī
 (6) ? ol yer üstünä da yabuldular barča ol
 (7) biyik taýlar ki tibindä barča kökniñ. *
 (8) on beš aršin yuýartın küčäydilär ol suwlar,
 (9) da yabuldular ol taýlar. * da qoradī barča
 (10) ten, ol qimilday turýan ol yer üstünä quš
 (11) da tuwar da kiyik da barča ol qozlayan
 (12) da ol qozlay turýan ol yer üstünä da barča
 (13) ol adam. * barča näfäsi tiri ğannüñ
 (14) burnunda-dir barča-dan ki quruda öldülär.
 (15) * da yilim etti šol barča ol halqī
 (16) ki yüzü üstünä ol yerniñ adam-dan tuwaryä
 (17) degin qimildayan-ya degin da qušuna degin ol kök-
 (18) -niñ da yilis boldular ol yerdän. da qaldı tek Noaħ
 (19) da ki birgäsinä gemidä. * da küčäydilär
 (20) ol suwlar ol yer üstünä yüz elli kün.
 (21) * da sayındı tarǵı šol Noaħ-ni da šol
 (22) barča ol kiyik-ni da šol barča ol tuwar-
 (23) -ni ki birgäsinä gemidä, da ketirdi tarǵı
 (24) yel ol yer üstünä da säkinländilär ol suwlar.
 (25) vä yabuldular çoqraqları däryanıñ da täräğä-
 (26) -läri ol kökniñ, da tiyildi ol yaýmur ol kök-
 (27) -tän. * da qayttılar ol suwlar

[catchword: üstünä]

⁷³ Despite the fact that the writing suggests *köbdilär* < *köb edilär* '(they) grew', I prefer identifying this word with the verb *köbäy-* 'to grow' as in line 3 below, just like *küčäy-* 'to be strengthened' and assuming a defective writing.

4a

- (1) šwl brc' yryn kn'n nyg twtwblwgwn' dwnynyg
 (2) dbwlwrmyn 'lrg' tgryg'. וְאָמַר d'ytyy tgry
 (3) 'brhm g' dšn šwl šrtym ny šqlgyn šn d'
 (4) 'wrlwgw' 'rtygdn dwrlryn'. וְאָמַר bwdwr
 (5) šrtym ky šql'yyšyz 'rm' d'rgyzg' d'ršyn'
 (6) 'wrlwgyg nyg 'rtygdn šwntlnm' syzg' brc'
 (7) 'rkk. וְנִמְלֵתֶם dšwntlgыз šwl 'tyn 'qlpygyz
 (8) nyg dbwlšwn nyšnyn' šrtnyg 'rm' d'rgyzg'
 (9) וְבִן dškyz kwnlwk 'wyln šwntlnšyn syzg'
 (10) brc' 'rkk dbyrlrygyz g' dwggny 'bnyg d'
 (11) štyn 'lgny 'qcnyg brc' yt' wlvštn ky 'wrlw
 (12) gwgdn dwgwł dyr 'wl. וְהָמוּל šwntlnm' šwnt
 (13) lnšyn dwggny 'bygnyg dštyn 'lgny 'hc'gnyg
 (14) dbwlšwn šrtym 'tygyz d' šrtyn' dwnyy'nyg
 (15) וְעָרַל d'qlply 'rkk ky šwntlms' šwl 'tyn
 (16) 'qlpynyg dksylšyn 'wl g'n 'wlwšlryndn šwl
 (17) šrtym ny bwzdw. וְאָמַר d'ytyy tgry
 (18) 'brhm g' šry ktynyg 'tlmsyn šwl 'tyn
 (19) šry ky šrhdyr 'ty. וְבָרַכְתִּי d'lgyšlrmyn⁷⁴
 (20) 'ny dbwlšwn⁷⁵ 'wlwšlrg' knlry 'wlwšlrmnyg 'ndn
 (21) bwlwrlr. וְיַפֵּל dtwštw 'brhm ywzlry
 (22) 'wštw'n' dkwldw d'ytyy kwglwnd' ywz yšr
 (23) kyšyg' dwgrmy⁷⁶ dyš' šrh dwqsn yšr kty'n
 (24) dwgwrrmy. וְאָמַר d'ytyy 'brhm 'wl tgry
 (25) y' wly yšm' 'l tyry bwlgy 'dy 'ldym':
 (26) וְאָמַר d'ytyy krt'y šrh⁷⁷ ktynyg dwgwrrw
 (27) šg' 'wgwl d' tgy'n šwl 'tyn yčq d'

[catchword: turgwzwmyn]

⁷⁴ Corrected in the left margin.

⁷⁵ Ms. *dbwlwrsyn*.

⁷⁶ Ms. *dwgrmy*.

⁷⁷ Ms. *šr'*.

4a

- (1) šol barča yerin Kanaan-niň tutuwluçuna dünýäniň⁷⁸
 (2) da bolurmîn alaryça taňriya. * da aytı taňri
 (3) Abraham-ya: da sen šol šartim-ni saqlayın, sen da
 (4) urluçuğa artıñdan dövirlärinä. * budur
 (5) šartim ki saqlayaysız arama da arañizya da arasına
 (6) urluyiň-niň artıñdan: sünätlänmä sizgä barča
 (7) erkäk. * da sünätläñiz šol etin aqlafıñiz-
 (8) -niň, da bolsun nišanına šartniň arama da arañizya.
 (9) * da sekiz künlük oylan sünätlänsin sizgä,
 (10) barča erkäk da birläriñiz-gä doçyanı ewniň da
 (11) satın alyanı aqçanıñ barča yat ulustan ki urlu-
 (12) çuñdan dügül-dir ol. * sünätlänmä sünät-
 (13) länsin doçyanı ewiñniň da satın alyanı aqçanıñ.
 (14) da bolsun šartim etiñiz-dä šartına dünýäniň.
 (15) * da aqlafli erkäk ki sünätlämäsä šol etin
 (16) aqlafiniň, da kesilsin ol ğan uluslarından. šol
 (17) šartim-ni bozdu. * da aytı taňri
 (18) Abraham-ya: Saray çatiniň atalmasıñ šol atın
 (19) Saray, ki Sarah-dır atı. * da alyişlarmîn
 (20) anı da bolsun uluslaryça çanları uluslamıñ andan
 (21) bolurlar. * da tüştü Abraham yüzläri
 (22) üstünä da küldü da aytı köñlündä: yüz yaşar
 (23) kişiğä doçar-mi⁷⁹ desä, doqsan yaşar çatın
 (24) doçurur mi. * da aytı Abraham ol taňri-
 (25) ya: vali Yişmael tiri bolçay edi aldima⁸⁰ :
 (26) * da aytı: kerti, Sarah çatiniň doçurur
 (27) saña oçul da tayın šol atın İçaq da

[catchword: turyuzirmîn]

⁷⁸ Hb calque לֹאֵחָזֵק עוֹלָם.

⁷⁹ Hb Pres. fut. 3 p. sing.: יוֹלֵד '(does) he give(s) birth, i.e. will he be a father?'.
 80 Hb פְּנִיָּה, i.e. 'aldıpa'.

243a

פרשת האזינו

- (17) האזינו qwulaq t̥wut̥wugyiz 'ey kwoklar daʃwozlayyim da'ešyit̥syin 'wol
 (18) yer 'ayyt̥wubl̥aryn 'gzyimnyig. יֵעָרַף 'agar yagmwur
 (19) kyibyik 'aqaylyim t̥amlar cyiq kyibyik 'ayyt̥wub̥yim 'wupaq yagmwurlar kyibyik
 (20) yaš 'woṭ 'wštyina' da'yiryi yagmwurlar kyibyik kwok 'wot 'wštyina'.
 (21) הָצֹר kyi 'at̥yin h nyig caqyryirmy beryigyiz 'wlwlyq ṭagryimyizga'.
 (22) 'wol ṭagryi t̥wugaldyir 'yišyi 'anyig kyi barca' ywollaryi šera'aṭ byilan 'yinaṁlyi
 (23) ṭagryi daywoq̥tyir qyiggyirlyiq cadyiq dadwogryi dyir 'wol. שָׂדֵה־תֵּן cayypadyi
 (24) kendyinyi išra'el ṭagryi dwugyil da'alar dugwuldyir⁸¹ 'woglanlaryi dabwudyir
 'wol

⁸¹ Vocalized by a *ḳibbuš*.

243a

*

- (17) *. qulaq tutuñiz, ey köklär da sözläyim, da ešitsin ol
(18) yer⁸² aytuwlarin ayzimniñ. * ayar yaçmur
(19) kibik aqilim, tamlar čiq kibik aytuwim, ufaq yaçmurlar kibik
(20) yaš ot üstünä da iri yaçmurlar kibik kök ot üstünä.
(21) * ki atın H-niñ čaqırımın⁸³, beriñiz ululıq tañrimizya. *
(22) ol tañrı tügäldir işi anıñ ki barča yolları šeraat bilän inamli
(23) tañrı da yoqtır qıñirliq, sadiq da doyrı-dır ol. * čaypadı
(24) kendini Israel tañrı dügül, da alar dügüldir oylanları da budır ol.

⁸² A similar formula of addressing is to be found in Šapšal (1928: 601), Jes 1:2: *Ešitiñiz kökler da qulaq tutqın yer.*

⁸³ Word emended, Ms. *caqyiryirmyi.*

243b

- (1) 'yyiplaryi tərş dawuwr daqyiggyir. h ga' myi t̄wolaršyiz mwunyi delyi
 (2) 'wulyiş da'wuşlyi dwugyil mwuna' 'wol 'aṭag yaratt̄yi šenyi 'wol yaratt̄i
 (3) šenyi da d̄t̄wwzyidy⁸⁴ šenyi. זכר שאqyinyin⁸⁵ kwunleryin dwunya' nyig
 'aglagyiz
- (4) yyillaryin har dawwir nyig šworgyin 'aṭaga' da 'aglaṭšyin šaga' qartlaryiga' da'
 (5) 'ayytšyinar šaga'. כהנחל 'wulaškanyinda' biyyik ṭagryi 'wulwuşlarnyi
 (6) 'ayyirganyinda' 'woglanlaryin 'adam nyig t̄wurgyizdyi šwunor laryin 'wulwuşlar
 (7) nyig šanyinca' 'woglanlaryinyig yišra'el nyig. כ' kyi payyi h nyig 'wulwuşw
 (8) ya'aqob dyir payyi 'wulyišy nyig. מצאהו 'taṭtyi 'anyi yaban yerda' wyran
 (9) dapwšta' yerda' cebraladyi 'anyi 'aqyillandyirdyi 'anyi şaqladyi 'anyi babagyi
 (10) kyibyik kwozyinyig. כנשר qara' gwuş kyibyik qwozgar 'wuyyaşyin balalaryi
 (11) 'wştyina' şyilkynyir yyay? r⁸⁶ qanaṭlaryin 'alyir 'anyi kwotaryir 'anyi
 (12) qanaṭyi 'wştyina' ה h yalgyiz kwondaryir 'anyi daywoṭtyir byirgaşyina'
 (13) yaṭ ṭagryi. רכבהו 'atlandyirdyi 'anyi biyyiklaryi 'wştyina' yernyig
 (14) da'aşatt̄yi ṭaqyillaryin ṭarluwubnyig da'emyizdyi 'agar bal qayya' dan dayag
 (15) 'wol 'almaz qayya' dan. חמאח şaryi yagyin şyigymnyig daşwutyin qwoynyig
 (16) şyiylyişyi byilan şemyiz qwoylarnyig daqwocqar larnyig balalaryi başannyig
 (17) daṭaka' lar şyiylyişyi byilan na'amat laryinyig 'aşlyiq nyig daqanyin bworla
 (18) larnyig 'yicarşyin cagyir. ושמך daşemyirdyi yišra'el daṭebagan bwoldyi
 (19) şemyirdyig bazyiq bwoldyig šyištyig dakemyišt̄yig ṭagryiny kyi yaratt̄yi
 (20) 'anyi da 'alcaq 'eṭtyi ṭagryişyin yaryilyaşyi nyig. קנאהו kwullatt̄yilar
 (21) anyi yaṭ ṭagryilar byilan 'yirancyilyik lar byilan 'acwblandyirdyilar 'anyi.
 (22) יזבהו⁸⁷ qwrban 'eṭarlar šayyṭan larga' ṭagryi ga' dwugyil agryilar kyi byilma'
 (23) dyilar 'alarnyi yagyilar ywubwuqтан keldyilar qworqmadyilar 'alardan
 'aṭalaryigyiz.
- (24) צור ṭagryi yaratt̄yi šenyi 'wunwuṭtyig da'wunwuṭtyg yaratqan ṭagryignyi.
 (25) אירא dakwordyi h daṭwor 'eṭtyi 'acwbwndan 'woglanlaryinyig daqyizlaryinyig.
 (26) אומר da 'ayyt̄tyi yeşyirayyim ḥazraṭlaryimnyi 'alardan kworyyim nedyr
 (27) 'aḳyirlaryi kyi tərş dawyir dyir 'alar 'woglan lar kyi ywoṭtyir 'alarda'
 (28) 'yinamlyiq. הם 'alar kwunlatt̄yilar menyi ṭagryi byilan dwugyil 'acwblandyir

84 Ms. *kwwzyidy*.

85 Ms. זכר *zagyinyin*.

86 A blurred word.

87 Ms. יזבהו.

243b

- (1) ayıpları ters dövür da qıñır. H-ya mi tölärsiz munı deli
 (2) ulus⁸⁸ da uslı dügil. muna ol atañ yarattı seni ol yarattı
 (3) seni da tüzidi seni. * sayınyın künların dünyä-niñ. añlarñız
 (4) yılların har dövür-niñ. sorıñ ataya da añlatsın saña qartlarıña da
 (5) aytsınlar saña. * üläşkäninä biyik tañrı ulusları
 (6) ayırğanında oylanların Adam-niñ turğızdı sunor-ların uluslar-
 (7) niñ sanınça oylanların Yisrael-niñ. * ki payı H-niñ ulusu
 (8) Yaqob-dir payı ülişi-niñ. * taptı anı yaban yerdä viran
 (9) da pusta yerdä çewrälädi anı aqıllandırdı anı saqladı anı bābāgi
 (10) kibik köziniñ. * qara guş kibik qoşyar uyasın balaları
 (11) üstünä, silkinir, yayar qanatların alir anı, kötarir anı
 (12) qanatı üstünä. * H yalyz köndärir anı da yoqtır birgäsinä
 (13) yat tañrı. * atlandırdı anı biyikläri üstünä yerniñ
 (14) da aşattı tañılların tarluwniñ da emizdi añar bal qaya-dan da yay
 (15) ol almaz qaya-dan. * sarı yayın sıyıñniñ da sütin qoyniñ
 (16) sıylısı bilän semiz qoyların da qoçqar-ların balaları Başannıñ
 (17) da tākä-lär sıylısı bilän naamat-ların aşlıq-niñ da qanın borla-
 (18) -ların içärsin çayır. * da semirdi Yisrael da tebäğän boldı.
 (19) semirdiñ, bazıq boldıñ şıştiñ da kemiştiñ tañrını ki yarattı
 (20) anı da alçaq etti tañrısın yarılğaşi-niñ. * küllättilär
 (21) anı yat tañrılar bilän iränçilik-lär bilän açuwlandırdılar anı.
 (22) * qurban etärlär şaytan-larğa, tañrı-ğa dügül tañrılar ki bilmä-
 (23) -dilär alarnı yanıl ar yuwuqtan keldilär qorqmadılar alardan atalarıñız.
 (24) * tañrı yarattı seni, unuttıñ da unuttıñ yaratqan tañrıñı
 (25) * da kördi H da çor etti açuwundan oylanların da qızların.
 (26) * da ayttı: yeşiräyim hazratlarımni alardan, köräyim nedir
 (27) ağırları, ki ters dövür-dir alar, oylan-lar ki yoqtır alarda
 (28) inamlıq. * alar künlättilär meni tañrı bilän dügil açuwlandırdı-

88 Ms. 'wulyis.

244a

- (1) dyilar meni heḅlyyklary byilan damen kwullaṭayyim 'alarnyi 'wulwuṣ byilan dwugwul
- (2) delyi 'wlwuṣ byilan 'acwḅlandyirayyim 'alarnyi. כִּי kyi 'woṭ cagyilydyi 'acwḅwum
- (3) da' dayandyi tyiptagyi gworga' degyin da' wortḏydy yernyi daṭakylilyin dakwuydyirdyi
- (4) byinyat laryin taḡlarnyig. תַּשׁוּשָׁיִם taḡwuwšayyim 'wṣṭlaryina' yamanlyiqlar
- (5) 'woqlaryimnyi taḡwuwšayyim 'alarda'. מִזֶּה mizə kwuyganlaryi qyitlyiq nyig da' wortal ganlaryi 'wucqwunnyg dakeṣmagyi 'acyilyiknyig daṭyiyšin yaman kiyyiklamyig yyibrayyim
- (7) 'alarda' 'agwuṣyi byilan ṣwurkalganlaryi nyig ṭwopraq nyig. מִזֶּה מִדְּרוֹךְ mizə mizə cyiḡartyin
- (8) twob 'eṭar qyilyic dḥwoḡra' lardan qworqwub dagyin yyigyit dagyin bwy qyiz 'amcak
- (9) 'emgan 'woglan pyir kyiṣyi byilan. אֲמַרְתִּי amartə 'ayyttyim 'acwḅlandyirayyim
- (10) 'alarnyi 'ekṣyitayyim kyiṣyidan ṣagyinclaryin. לֹא lo walyi 'acwḅwundan
- (11) dwuṣmannyig qworqarmyın bwolmagayy yaṭ bwolgayylar dwuṣmanlaryi bwolmagayy
- (12) 'ayytqayylar qwolwumyız bwoywuk bwoldyi da h qyilmadyi barca' mwunyi. כִּי kyi
- (13) taṣ bwolgan kegaṣlyi 'wulwuṣ dyir 'alar daywoṭtyir 'alarda' 'aqyil. לֹא lo
- (14) walyi 'wuṣlyi bwlgayy 'edyilar 'aglagayy 'edyilar mwunyi 'aglagayy 'edyilar 'aḡyir
- (15) laryin. אֵיכָה אֶכְרֹם ayəḡə nekəyik qwuwar byir byig nyi da'ekyi qacyiryirlar ṭwumannyi
- (16) 'n ? †⁸⁹ byilan kyi dwṣman laryi ṣaṭtyi 'alarnyi da h cyigara' berdyi 'alarnyi. כִּי kyi
- (17) kyi dwgyil taḡryimyz kyibyik taḡryi laryi dadwuṣman laryimyz ṣera' aṭcyilar.
- (18) כִּי kyi bwrlalyigyından ṣdwomi nyig bworlalyiqlaryi dabworlalyiqlaryından 'amworah
- (19) nyig bworla' laryi 'agw bworla' lar ṣalqwum laryi 'acyidyirlar 'alarga'. הֲבֵנִי ḥəbənə
- (20) agwuṣyi 'aḡyi ṭamyirlar nyig caqyirlaryi da' aḡwuṣyi 'woṭlyi yyilanlar nyig zalyim.
- (21) מִלֵּא מְנָה מְנָה mlə mənə 'wol ṣaqlangandyir byirgama' moḥworlangan dyir ḡazna' laryimda'.
- (22) לֵא מְנָה mlə mənə menyimdyir 'woc 'almaḡ da'woc ṭwolamak ṭayygan waḡṭṭa' 'ayyaqlaryi
- (23) kyi ywḅwṭtyir kwonyi ṣyinyiqliq laryinyig da tezlar keleḡaklar 'alarga'.
- (24) כִּי kyi ṣera' aṭ 'eṭar h ṣera' aṭyın 'wulwuṣyinyig daqwullaryi 'wuṣṭwuna'
- (25) 'aṣayyiṣ bwolyir kyi kwurar kyi keṭtyi qwuwaṭ da ywoṭtyir ṭyiyilyan dakemyiṣyil
- (26) gan. אֲמַר amər da'ayyttyir qayyadyir taḡryi laryi taḡryi kyi ṣyiyindyilar
- (27) 'alar. אֲשֶׁר aṣər kyi yagyin qworban laryinyig 'aṣarlar 'yicarlar cagyiryin
- (28) qwoymaq laryinyig ṭwurṣyinlar da bwolyiṣṣyinlar ṣyizga' bwolṣyin 'wuṣṭyinyizga'

⁸⁹ Hb אֵם-לֵא כִי.

244a

- (1) -dilär meni hevlıkläri bilän da men künlätäyim alarni ulus bilän dügül
 (2) deli ulus bilän açuwlandırayım alarni. * ki ot çayıldı açuwum-
 (3) -da da yandı tiptägi görgä degin. da örtti yerni da tayılın, da küydirdi
 (4) binyat-ların taylarınij. * tawusayım üstlärinä yamanlıqlar
 (5) oqlarımni tawusayım alarda. * küygänläri qıtlıq-niñ da örtäl-
 (6) gänläri uçqunnij da kesmägi eçilikniñ⁹⁰ da tišin yaman kiyikläriñ yiberäyim
 (7) alarda ayusı bilän sürkälgänläri-niñ topraqnij. * Çiqartın
 (8) tuw etär qılıç da huğra-lardan qorquw dayın yigit dayın boy qız emçäk
 (9) emgän oylan pir kişi bilän. * aytım: açuwlandırayım
 (10) alarni eksitäyim kişidän sayınçların. * vali açuwundan
 (11) duşmanniñ qorqarmin bolmayay yat bolayalar duşmanları bolmayay
 (12) aytqaylar: qolumız böyük boldı da H qılmadı barça munı.
 (13) ki tas bolyan keñäşli ulus-dır alar da yoqtır alarda aqıl. *
 (14) vali usli bolayay edilär, aqlayay edilär munı, aqlayay edilär axır-
 (15) -ların. * neçik quwar bir biñ-ni da eki qaçırirlar tümänni
 (16) ant bilän ki duşman-ları sattı alarni da H çiyara berdi alarni. *
 (17) ki dügül tañrımiñ kibik tañrı-ları da duşman-larimiñ şeraatçılar.
 (18) * ki borlaliyından Sedom-niñ borlaliqları da borlaliqlarından Amora-
 (19) -niñ borla-ları ayu borla-lar, salqum-ları ağıdırlar alaryä. *
 (20) ayusı ağı tamirlar-niñ çayırları da ayusı otlı yılanlar-niñ zalim.
 (21) * muna ol saqlanayandır birgämä möhörlängän-dir çazna- larımda.
 (22) * menimdir öç almaq da öç tölämäk tayğan vaçtta ayaqları.
 (23) ki yuwuqtır küni siniqliq-lariniñ da tezlär keläğäklär alaryä.
 (24) * ki şeraat etär H şeraatın ulusiniñ da qulları üstünä
 (25) asayış bolır ki körär ki ketti quvat da yoqtır tiyilgän da kemişil-
 (26) -gän. * da aytır: qaydadır tañrı-ları, tañrı ki siyindilar
 (27) alar. * ki yayın qurban-lariniñ aşarlar, içärlär çayırin
 (28) quymaq-lariniñ, tursınlar da bolışsınlar sizgä, bolsın üstünizgä

⁹⁰ Hb קטב מרירי 'the evil; epidemic; disease', whereby the 1st constituent means 'bitter; poisonous', hence Karaim *eçilik* 'bitterness'.

244b

- (1) qalqan. קאלקאן kworygyz 'endyi kyi menmyin menmyin 'wol daywoqtyir tagryi
 (2) byirgama' men 'woldyiryimyi datyirgyzyimyi yaralyi 'etarmyiin damen
 (3) 'wogaltyimyiin daywoqtyir qwudratyim dan qwuťqaryibcyi. וָוֹגאָלִיִּיִם kyi
 (4) kwotaršam kwokka' qwudratyimni da'aytyimyi qayyamdyir men dwonyyaga'
 (5) degyin. דֵּגִינָא 'egar byilašam yyiltyiramagyin qyilyicyim nyig da twuťar šera' ať
 (6) nyi 'wog qwolyim qayytaryimyi 'wc tar beryibcyi laryima' dadwšman laryima'
 (7) twolarmyin. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם 'ešyrtymyiin 'woqlaryimni qandan daqyilyicyim
 (8) 'ašar 'eť qanyindan leš nyig dayešyir nyig bašyindan twolwoḅlaryi nyig
 (9) dwušman nyig. דְּוִשְׁמָןִיִּיִם biyyandyirygyz 'wulwušlar 'wulyišyin kyi qanyin
 (10) qwullaryi nyig 'woc 'alyir da 'woc qayytaryir tar beryibcyi laryiga' da kafarah
 (11) 'etar yeryin 'wlwšyi nyig. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם⁹¹ da keldyi mošeh⁹² da'
 (12) šwozladyi šwol barca' šwozlaryin 'wšpw širah nyig qwlaq laryinyah 'wol
 (13) 'wolwuš nyig 'wol da hwoše'a 'woglan nwun nyig. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם da taťwųštyi mošeh
 (14) šwozlama' šwol barca' 'wšpw šwozlarnyi barca' yšra'el ga'. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם
 (15) da'ayyťtyi 'alarga' qwoywugyiz kwoklyigyiznyi barca' 'wol šwozlarga' kyi men
 (16) taťnyiq 'etayydyir men šyizga' bwugyin kyi šyimarlagyin 'alarnyi
 'woglanlaryigyiz
 (17) ga' šaqlama' qyilma' šwol barca' šwozlaryin 'wšpw tworah nyig. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם
 (18) kyi bwoš šwoz dwgyildyir 'wol šyizdan kyi 'woldyir tyirlyigygyz dawušpw
 (19) šwoz byilan 'wuzartyryšyiz kwunlar 'wol yer 'wštyina' kyi šyiz kecayydyir
 (20) šyiz 'anda' merašlama' 'anyi. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם da šwozladyi
 (21) h mošeh ga' kedyišyinda' 'wšpw kwunnyig dema'. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם cyiqqyin tagyi
 (22) na' 'wšpw kecyiblar nyig tagyi na' nbwo nyig kyi yeryinda' mwo'ab nyig
 (23) kyi 'aldyina' yryihwo nyig dakworgyin šwol yeryin kna'an nyig kyi men
 berayydyir
 (24) men 'woglanlaryina' yšra'el nyig twuťwublyiq ga'. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם da'wolgyin tag
 (25) da' kyi šen cyiayydyir šen 'anda' dacwoplanyin 'wulwušlaryiga' necyikkyi
 'woldyi
 (26) 'aharwon qardašyig hwor וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם da' dacwoplandyi 'wulwuš laryina'. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם 'anyig
 (27) 'wucyin kyi tagryigyiz maga' 'wortašyinda' 'woglanlaryinyig yišra'el nyig
 šwuḅlaryin da'
 (28) mryibah šyinyig qadešnyig yabanyinda' cyinnyig 'anyig 'wcyin kyi 'ayyrwuqšyi

[catchwords: 'ťmdygyz mny]

⁹¹ Ms. וָוֹלֵאָרִיִּיִם.

⁹² Vocalized by a *holem* and a *šere*.

244b

- (1) qalqan. * körinüz endi ki menmin menmin ol da yoqtır tañrı
 (2) birgämä. men öldirirmin da tırgizirmin, yaralı etärmin da men
 (3) oñaltırmin da yoqtır qudrätim-dän qutqarıwçı. * ki
 (4) kötärsäm kökkä qudrätimni da aytırmin⁹³: qayyamdır, men dünyägä
 (5) degin. * egär biläsäm yiltıramayın qılıçim-niñ da tutar şeraat-
 (6) -ni oñ qolım, qaytarımın⁹⁴ öç tar beriwçı-lärimä da duşman-larımä
 (7) tölärmin. * esirtirmin oqlarımni qandan da qılıçim
 (8) aşar et qanıdan leş-niñ da yesir-niñ, başından tölöwläri-niñ
 (9) duşman-niñ. * biyädirinüz uluslar usın ki qanin
 (10) qulları-niñ öç alir da öç qaytarır tar beriwçı-lärigä da kafara
 (11) etär yerin usı-niñ. * da keldi Moşe da
 (12) sözlädi şol barça sözlärin uşpu şıra-niñ qulaq-larına ol
 (13) ulus-niñ ol da Hoşea oylan Nun-niñ. * da tawustı Moşe
 (14) sözlämä şol barça uşpu sözlärni barça Yisrael-gä. *
 (15) da aytı alaryä: qoyunız köñliñizni barça ol sözlärgä ki men
 (16) tanıq etäydir men sizgä bugün⁹⁵ ki simarlayın alarnı oylanlarıñiz-
 (17) -ya saqlama, qılma şol barça sözlärin uşpu Tora-niñ. *
 (18) ki boş söz dügildir ol sizdän ki oldir tirligiñiz da uşpu
 (19) söz bilän uzartırsız künlär ol yer üstünä ki siz keçäydir
 (20) siz anda meräslämä anı. * da sözlädi
 (21) H Moşe-gä kendisindä uşpu künniñ demä. * çiqqın tayı-
 (22) -na uşpu Keçiwlar-niñ⁹⁶ tayı-na Nebo-niñ ki yerindä Moab-niñ
 (23) ki aldına Yeriho-niñ da körgin şol yerin Kanaan-niñ ki men beräydir
 (24) men oylanlarına Yisrael-niñ tutuwlıq-qa. * da ölgin tay-
 (25) -da ki sen çiyäydir sen anda da çöplängin uluslarıña neçik ki öldi
 (26) Aharon qardaşın Hor-da da çöpländi ulus-larına. * anıñ
 (27) üçin ki tañrıñız marja ortasında oylanlarıñiñ Yisrael-niñ suwların-da
 (28) Mariba-sinñ Qadeş-niñ yabanında Cin-niñ anıñ üçin ki ayruqsı

[catchwords: etmädiñiz meni]

⁹³ Word emended, Ms. *da'ayytıyirmyi*.

⁹⁴ Word emended, Ms. *qayytaryirmyi*.

⁹⁵ Ms. *bwugyin*.

⁹⁶ Hb lit. 'Passing Hill', i.e. Abarim Range.

245a

- (1) כלה Ƨwɔgty h šwl qhɔryn Ƨwkty qhɔryn 'cwɔɔwnyg dayandyirdyi
 (2) 'wɔ cywn d' d'wɔɔdy bynyyɔ lr'n. לל 'ynnms 'dylr
 (3) kɔlry ymyg brɔ ' wɔwɔwɔɔylry dwny' nyg ky klgy Ƨr brɔɔcy.
 (4) ddšwmn qbqlryn' yrwšlym nyg. מלמלל zyzylryndn nby'
 (5) lrynyg qwnhlryndn khn lrynyg 'wl Ƨwkknlr 'wɔšynd' qnyn
 (6) cdyqlmyg. נעו 'br' bwldylr šwqwlrl kybyk 'wɔmlr d'
 (7) bwlgndylr qny' Ƨwɔky bwlyy 'lms 'dylr Ƨygyyylr kiyyimlaryi
 (8) n'. סורו qyyrylygyz mwndr 'bwz?dylr 'lrg' qyyrylygyz qyyrylygyz
 (9) Ƨyymgyz ky 'wɔɔylr ky dgyn 'br' bwldylr 'yyɔylr 'wlwšlrd'
 (10) 'rɔɔymslr dyr Ƨyrlm'. פני kɔšymy h nyg bwldw
 (11) 'lrg'⁹⁷ 'rɔɔymšɔwr bqm' 'lmy ywzlryn' khn lmyg ywz
 (12) 'ɔmdylr dqrɔlmy yrylqmdylr. נעוד⁹⁸ hnwz dgyn Ƨwwšwl
 (13) dylr kwzlrymyz bwlwšlwgymyz g' ky ɔɔɔyr bqmgymyz byln
 (14) bqɔyq 'wlwšq' ky ɔɔɔyr. צדו 'ɔldylr 'ɔlmlrymyzny
 (15) ywɔwɔkdn 'wɔmlrymyz d' ywɔwɔlšɔy Ƨyrymyz tmm
 (16) bwldw kwnlrymyz ky kldy Ƨyrymyz. קלמ ygył bwldylr
 (17) qwɔwɔɔwɔlrymyz qr' gwšlryndn 'rɔyq kwklrnyg 'wl ɔglr
 (18) 'wšɔwn' qwɔɔdylr byzny ybnd' 'gdydylr byzny. נפשי
 (19) bwɔnymyz nyg mšyyhy h nyg Ƨwɔwɔldy 'ɔlryn' ky 'yyɔyr
 (20) 'dyg kwlgšynd' Ƨyrylyrmyz 'wlwšlrd'. שיש bynyngyn
 (21) dšɔyngyn ġm'ɔy 'dwm nyg 'wɔwɔwɔɔcy yrynd' 'wɔ nyg dgyn
 (22) 'wšɔwg' kɔr šyrc' 'šyryršyn d'cylyršyn. מל tmm bwldw
 (23) gwnhyg ġm'ɔy cyyn nyg 'rɔymšɔyr yšyr 'ɔm' šny ky sgyndyg⁹⁹
 (24) gwnhygny ġm'ɔy 'dwm nyg 'škrɔɔy zyzylryg 'wɔwn

מל

97 Ms. 'lrgy.

98 *Ketib* (disapproved by the Karaims) is עורניה.

99 Ms. *šgyndy?*; the word is difficult to identify.

245a

- (1) * tığätti H şol qahürin tökti qahürin açuwnıñ da yandırdı
 (2) ot Ciyon-da örtädi binyat-ların. * inanmas edilär
 (3) çanları yerniñ barça oturuwçıları dünyä-niñ ki kelgäy tar bertiwçi
 (4) da duşman qabaqlarına Yeruşlem-niñ. * yazıqlarından näbi-
 (5) -lärnıñ gunahlarından kohen-lärniñ ol tökkänlär ortasında qanıñ
 (6) sadıqlarınıñ. * awara boldılar soqurlar kibik oramlar-da
 (7) bulıyandılar qanya tutki bolay almas edilär tiygänlär kiyimläri-
 (8) -nä. * qıyırılınız, mundar, avaz ydılär ? alarya: qıyırılınız, qıyırılınız,
 (9) tiymäniz, ki uçtılar ki dayın awara boldılar. aytılär uluslarda,
 (10) arttırmalar-dir tirilmä. * çışımı H-niñ boldu
 (11) alarya, arttırmastır baqma alarnı yüzlärinä kohen-lärniñ yüz
 (12) etmädilär da qartlarıñı yarlıqamadılar. * hänäz dayın tawusul-
 (13) -dılar közlärimiz boluşluğımız-ya ki heçtir baqmayımız bilän
 (14) baqtıq ulusqa ki heçtir. * atladılar atlamalarımıznı
 (15) yürümäktän oramlarımız-da yuwuqlaştı ağırimız, tamam
 (16) boldu künlärimiz ki keldi ağırimız. * yeñil boldılar
 (17) quwuwçularımız qara guşlarından artıq köklärniñ ol taylar
 (18) üstünä quwdılar bizni, yabanda aydıdılar bizni. * näfäsi
 (19) burnımız-niñ, maşıyahı H-niñ tutuldı awlarına ki aytir
 (20) edik kölgäsindä tirilirmiz uluslarda. * biyängin
 (21) da sewingin ğamaatı Edom-niñ oturuwçı yerindä Us-niñ dayın
 (22) üstünä keçär sırça esirirsın da açılırsın. * tamam boldu
 (23) gunahın, ğamaatı Ciyon-niñ arttırmastır yesir etmä seni ki siyündin
 (24) gunahınnı ğamaatı Edom-niñ eşkärtti yazıqların üçün.

*

245b

- (1) זכר¹⁰⁰ šgyngyn h n' bwdw byzg' bqqyn dkwrgyn šwl 'wryšpylygy
 (2) myzny. נחלתנו 'wlwšwmyz dgyšyryldy yłr g'
 (3) 'blrymyz yłr g' 'wkšwzlr bwdwq dywqȳr 't' 'analaryi¹⁰¹
 (4) myz ıwllr kybyk. ממינו¹⁰² šwblrymyzny 'hc' byln 'ctyk
 (5) 'gc lrymyz pȳ¹⁰³ byln gldylr bwywnlrymyz 'wštwn' qwłbwldwq
 (6) 'mgndyk d'yřłtyq bwlmdy byzg'. מצרים 'myšyr g'
 (7) brdyk qwl 'šwr g' ıwym' 'wtmk g'. אבותינו 'łlrymyz
 (8) zyzqly bwdwlr dywq bwdwlr dbyz gwnłlryn ywklndyk. עברים
 (9) qwllr 'rkłndylr byzg' qwtqrybcy ywqȳr qwllryndn. כנפשו
 (10) npsȳ¹⁰⁴ byln ğnymyz nyg kȳrdyk 'šymyzny 'ldyndn qylycy nyg
 (11) 'wl ybnnyg. עורנו ırylrymyz pwryn kybyk qyzdylr 'ldyndn¹⁰⁵
 (12) qłt'yrmq lrynyg qyłtyq nyg. נשים kȳnlmy cywn d' qyyndy
 (13) lr bwy qyzłmy šřlynd' yhwdh nyg. שרים byylr qwllryn
 (14) dn 'šyldylr ywzłryn qřłmnyg šyylmdylr. בחורים ygyłr
 (15) ny ıyrymn ıřtm' 'ldylr dqwwȳ 'wglnlr nyg 'gc byln šwryn
 (16) dylr. זקנים qřłr qbqdn 'kšyldylr ygyłr hglryndn.
 (17) שבת 'kšyldy byynmg' kwglwmwz nyg¹⁰⁶ dgšyryldy yšq' kwrwny
 (18) myz. נפלה ıwštȳ tȳy bšymyznyn wyy 'ndy byzg' ky zyzqly
 (19) bwdwq. על mwnyg 'wcwn bwdw šyzłwbly kwglwmwz bwlr 'wcwn
 (20) qrrdylr kwzłrymyz. על tȳy 'wcwn cyyn nyg ky wym bwdw ıwłkw
 (21) lr ywrwdwlr 'nd'. אלה šn h dwny' g' dk 'wtwrwřšyn ıktȳg
 (22) dwyrđn dwyrđ'. למה nwcwn 'wmwrg' dgyn 'wnřwřšyn byzny kmyšyr
 (23) šyn byzny 'wzwnłwgyn' kwnłmnyg. כי ky 'ncq kwr 'ım' kwr
 (24) 'ıtyg 'cwłbdyg 'wštwmwz' dgynck 'šry. השיבנו qyyřgyn
 (25) byzny h 'wzwg' dqyyłym ygyřqyn kwnłrymyzny 'wwłky kybyk

tm bhl'

¹⁰⁰ Ms. זכור.

¹⁰¹ Vocalized word.

¹⁰² Ms. ממינו.

¹⁰³ Hb calque מדיר 'price'.

¹⁰⁴ Ms. mistakenly? *npsȳ*, it must correspond to Hb נפש 'soul'.

¹⁰⁵ Ms. 'ndyndn.

¹⁰⁶ Ms. *gyg*.

245b

- (1) * sayınyın H ne boldu bizgä, baqqın da körgin şol urusfaylıyï-
 (2) -mizni. * ülüşümüz deñişirildi yatlar-ya,
 (3) ewlärimiz yatlar-ya, öksüzlär bolduq da yoqtır ata anaları-
 (4) -miz tullar kibik. * suwlarımızni aχça bilän içtik,
 (5) ayaç-larımız paħa bilän. geldilər boyunlarımız üstünä quwulduq.
 (6) emgändig da iryatlıq bolmadı bizgä. * Misir-ya
 (7) berdik qol, Aşur-ya toyma ötmäk-kä * atalarımız
 (8) yazıqlı boldular da yoq boldular da biz gunahların yükländig. *
 (9) qullar erkländig bizgä, qutqarıwçı yoqtır qollarından. *
 (10) náfası bilän ğanımız-niñ ketirdik aşimizni aldından qılıçı-niñ
 (11) ol yabannıñ¹⁰⁷. * terilärimiz furın kibik qızdılar aldından
 (12) qaltırmaq-larınıñ qıtlıq-niñ. * xatınlarını Ciyon-da qıynadı-
 (13) -lar, boy-qızlarını şaħarlarında Yehuda-niñ. * biylär qolların-
 (14) -dan asıldılar. yüzlärin qartlarınıñ siylamadılar. * yigitlär-
 (15) -ni tiyimän tartma aldılar da quwatı oylanlar-niñ ayaç bilän sürin-
 (16) -dilär¹⁰⁸. * qartlar qabaqtan eksildilər, yigitlär ħaglarından.
 (17) * eksildi biyinnägi köñlümüz-niñ deñişirildi yasqa xoronı-
 (18) -miz. * tüştü tağı başımızniñ, vay endi bizgä, ki yazıqlı
 (19) bolduq. * munıñ üçün boldu sizluwlı köñlümüz, bular üçün
 (20) qarardılar közlärimiz. * tayı üçün [!] Ciyon-niñ ki viran boldu, tülkü-
 (21) -lär yürüdülar anda. * sen H dünyä-gä dek oturursın taχtıñ
 (22) dävirdän dävirgä¹⁰⁹. * nüçün ömürgä dägin unutursın bizni, kemişir-
 (23) -sin bizni uzunluynä künlämniñ, ki ançaq xor etmä xor
 (24) ettiñ açuwlandıñ üstümüzgä degingäk asrı. * qaytarıñ
 (25) bizni H özüñä da qaytalım. yanjirtqın künlärimizni ävvälki kibik.

* *

¹⁰⁷ Hb lit. מפני הרב המדבר.

¹⁰⁸ This phrase, too, is calqued from the Hebrew text, consequently, the Turkic syntax is completely violated.

¹⁰⁹ Hb לדור ודור.

III. Glossary

Items are arranged alphabetically following the Latin alphabetical order; it means that **ä** is placed after **a**, **ï** after **i**, **ö**, after **o**, **ü** after **u**, **q** after **p**, **ɣ** after **g**, **χ** after **h**; verbal nouns suffixed with **-w**, e.g. **kečiw** 'passing', and **-qAn** participles, if nominalized, e.g. **yaratqan** 'Creator', are listed as sub-entries in case the verbal stem otherwise occurs; however, nouns derived from the verbal nouns are taken as separate entries, e.g. **qutqaruwčï** 'saviour'; nouns derived by the suffix **-mAQ** constitute separate entries, e.g. **baqmaq** 'sight'; infinitives on **-mA**, as grammatical forms, are not listed separately.

ačil- *vi, v pass* 'to open'; 'be opened', **täräğäläri ol kökniñ ~dilar** 'the windows of heaven opened', 3a(11–12); **esirirsin da ~irsin** 'you will be drunk and frank', 245a(22).

ačuw *n* 'anger', **~undan oylanlariniñ da qızlariniñ** 'because (he was) angry with his sons and daughters', 243b(25).

ačuwlan- *vi* 'to be angry', KRPS(t,k): 89, 1) 'be angry' 2) 'to despair' 3) 'to regret', **~diñ üstümüzgä** 'you got angry with us', 245b(24).

ačuwlandir- *vt* 'to irritate, make angry', KRPS(t,k): 89, **yat tağrılar bilän, iränçiliklär bilän ~dilar anı** '(they) ~ed him with the foreign gods and with (their) meanness', 243b(21).

adam *n* 'man', **da barça ol ~** 'and every ~', 3b(12–13); Semitic 'adam.

ağï *adj* 'bitter', KRPS: 45 provides more forms like **ečči**, **ačči**, etc. with the meanings 'bitter; sad', **ağusı ~ tamirlarniñ çayirları** 'the wine of (its) roots is like poisonous bitterness', 244a(20); cf. Ortaköy 1835: 707 **zehiri gibi aźderlarin şarapları**.

ayaç *n* 1) 'tree', **~ qiluwčï yimiş** 'the fruit producing the ~s', 1b(13); 2) 'wood', **~larimiz paħa bilän** '(we payed) for our ~ with valuables', 245b(5).

ağdi- *vt* 1) 'to hit; strike; fight' 2) 'to trap; to lie in ambush'; cf. KRPS(Šk): 44, **yabanda ~dilar bizni** 'they pursued us in the desert', 245a(18).

ağiz *n* 'mouth', **aytuwlarin ağizimniñ** 'the wordsACC of my mouth', 243a(18); in 1734 **avuz** (Sulimowicz 1973: 52).

ağu *n* 'poison; venom', cf. KRPS(k): 44, also KRPS(k): 40 **awğu**, 1) 'bitter' 2) 'poisonous', **~sı bilän sürkälğanlariniñ topraqniñ** 'with the ~ of reptiles (lit. crawling) on the earth', 244a(7).

ağça (also: **aqča**) *n* 'money', KRPS(t): 86, **suwlarimizni ~ bilän içtik** 'we drank our water(s, lit.) paying for it, lit. with ~', 245b(4).

ağır *n* 'end', KRPS(Šk): 87, **keldi ~imiz** 'our ~ came', 245a(16); A **a:ğir**.

al- *vt* 1) 'to take', **~ğın özünä** 'take yourself', 2b(8); *v aux* 2) [when negated, expresses inability] 'to be unable', **tutki bolay ~mas edilär** 'so that (they) could not', 245a(7).

alar *pron pers* (plural) 'they', **~ üçün** 'because of them', 2a(12).

alay *adv* 'so', **da boldu ~** 'and it was ~', 1b(1).

- alçaq et-** *vt comp* 'to humiliate', **da ~ -ti tağrısın yarılıyaşınıñ** 'and (he) humiliated God's mercy', 243b(20).
- ald** *n* 'front; fore (part of sth)', KRPS(Šk): 64.
- aldına postp** 'before; in front of', ~ **ol tağrınıñ** 'before God', 2a(6); when calqued from Hb, it also denotes the actant or cause: **toldu ol yer avanlıq ~larından** 'the earth became full of sin because of them', 2a(11).
- aldından postp** 'from the front of; because of', ~ **qılıçınıñ** 'before his sword; from the front of his sword', 245b(10).
- alýışla-** *vt* 'to bless', **da ~rmın anı** 'I will ~ her', 4a(19–20).
- almaz part** 'inaccessible', ~ **qaya** 'rock impossible to climb up; flinty crag', 243b(15).
- altı yüz num** 'six hundred', **Noah ~ ~ yaşar kişi edi** 'Noah was six hundred years old', 2b(24–25).
- ana** *n* 'mother', see **ata**.
- ançaq adv** 'only; solely', KRPS(k): 70, **ki ~ xor etmä xor ettiñ** 'you only despised us', 245b(23–24).
- anda adv** 'there', **barça tenni ki ~ tirigän** 'every creatureACC that is alive over there', 2a(22–23).
- ant ? n** 'oath', KRPS(t,h,k): 69, ~ **bilän** 'on/under ~', 244a(16).
- añla-** *vt* 'to understand', ~**ñiz yıllarin har dövirniñ** 'understand the (past) years of each generation', 243b(3–4).
- añlat-** *vt, v caus* 'to explain', **soryñin atağa da ~sin sağa da qartlarıña** 'ask your Father and he will explain it to you and to your elders', 243b(4).
- aq-** *vi* 'to flow; rain', **ayar yağmur kibik aqilim** 'my wisdom will fall like rain', 243a(18–19).
- aqça** *n* 'money', 4a(11); cf. **ağça**.
- aqil** *n* 'knowledge; wisdom', **yoqtir alarda ~** 'they are people without sense', 244a(13); A 'aql.
- aqillandır-** *vt* 'to educate; give wisdom', ~**di anı** '(He) gave him wisdom', 243b(9).
- aqlafli** *n, adj* 'uncircumcised', KRPS(t,h): 57, ~ **erkäk** '~ man', 4a(15).
- aqlap** *n* 'uncircumcised man', KRPS(Šk): 58, **sünätläñiz şol etin aqlafıñizniñ** 'circumcise the foreskin of men from among you', 4a(7–8).
- ara** *n* 'middle; space between objects; distance', KRPS(t,h,k): 72, ~**ma da ~ñizğa** 'between me and you', 4a(8), copied from Hb בני וביניכם.
- arasına postp** 'between; among', **da ayırdı ~ ol suwlarnıñ ki tibindän tabaqanıñ, da ~ ol suwlarnıñ ki üstündän tabaqanıñ** 'and (he) separated (lit. between) the water under the layer from the (lit. between) water above the layer', 1a(14–16);
- arşin** *n* 'yard; cubit', **elli ~ keñligi** '50 yards wide (lit. of its width)', 2a(16).
- art** *n* 'back', ~**ıñdan dövirlärinä** 'with (lit. to) generations after you', 4a(4).
- artıq adv** 'more; beyond', **yeñil boldılar quwuwcularımız qara guşlardan ~ köklärniñ** 'our pursuers were swifter (lit. lighter) than the eagles in the sky', 245a(16–17).

- artfir-** *vi* 'to keep on; to continue', KRPS(t,h,k): 75, 1) 'to increase; multiply' 2) 'id' 3) 'repeat', ~**maslardir tirilmä** 'they will not live any longer', 245a(10).
- aruu** *adj* 'clean; pure', ~ **tuwardan** 'of clean animals', 2b(14).
- asayış** *n* 'bliss; joy', in KRPS(Š,k): 79 only ~**lan-** 'to enjoy' and (Halicz dialect) **asayis** 'beautiful', ~ **bolir** 'joyfully' or 'there will be bliss', 244a(25); P **a:sa:yiş** 'piece; relaxation'.
- asil-** *v pass* 'to be hung (up)', **biylär qollarından ~dilar** 'the princes have been hung up by their hands', 245b(13–14).
- asri** *adv* 'very; greatly', **köbäydilär** ~ '(the waters) increased greatly', 3b(4); KRPS(Šk): 81, Sulimowicz 1973: 52 'id' < **astri**, idem; cf. CC: 43 **asru**, **astru**, **astri**.
- aş** *n* 'food', **barça ~tan ki aşalir** 'from all kind of ~', 2b(8).
- aşa-** *vt, vi* 'to eat', **alarya ~ama** 'for them to eat', 2b(9); **yayın qurbanlarınin ~rlar** 'they eat the fat of their sacrifices', 244a(27).
- aşal-** *v pass* 'to be eaten', 2b(8).
- aşat-** *vt, v caus* 'to feed; make eat; nourish', ~**tî tağılların tarluwniñ** '(He) fed (him) with the fruits of the field(s)', 243b(14).
- aşliq** *n* 'croops; cereals; food', KRPS(Šk) 'id', (t): 92 **aşliğ** 'rye', **naamatlarınin ~niñ** (a very clumsy translation) 'the goods3POSS GEN of croops, i.e. cereals, grains', 243b(17).
- at** *n* 'name', **ki Sarahdır ~i** 'that her ~ is Sarah', 4a(19).
- ata** *n* 'father', **muna ol ~ñ** 'here is your Father', 243b(2).
- ata ana** *n comp* 'parents; father and mother', **yoqtir ~ ~larimiz** 'we have no parents', 245b(3–4).
- ata-** *vt* 'to call; name', **da ~di tağri yariqqa kün** 'and God called the light day', 1a(9).
- atal-** *v pass* 'to be called; named', KRPS(t,h,k): 83, **Saray çatiniñ ~masin şol atin Saray** 'your wife Sarai shall not be called Sarai (note that the passivized verb takes the objective case suffix, yet we can seek another explanation: **ata-** *vt* + **alma-** auxiliary verb expressing inability), 4a(18–19).
- atla-** *vi, vt* 'to step; stalk', 245a(14).
- atlam** *n* 'step', KRPS(t,h,k): 83, **atladilar ~larimizni** '(they) followed (stalked us at every ~) our ~s', 245a(14).
- atlandir-** *vt, v caus* 'to mount sb, put onto a horse; make ride', KRPS(Šk): 84 'to mount sb', ~**di anı biyikläri üstünä yerniñ** '(He) made him ride on the heights of the land', 243b(13).
- avanliq** *n* 'sinfulness; corruption', 2a(7, 11); Hb ۱۱۷; cf. K: 161.
- avara** *n* 'trouble; anxiety', KRPS: 40 'id', but ~ **ol-** 'to roam; grope', ~ **bol-** 'id', ~ **~dilar soqurlar kibik oramlarda** '(they) groped through the streets like blind men', 245a(6); P **a:va:ra**.
- avaz iy-** *vi comp* 'to cry', KRPS(Mard): 39 ~ 'to say; send sound i.e. to sound', ~ **~dilär alarya** 'they cried to them', 245a(8); P **a:va:z**.

- aw** *n* 'trap', KRPS(t,h,k): 39, 1) 'fishing-net; snare; trap' 2) 'hunting' 3) 'wild animals; beasts', **tutuldi ~larına** '(he) was caught in their traps', 245a(19).
- ay** *n* 'month', **ekinği ~da** 'in the second ~', 3a(9).
- ayaq** *n* 'foot; leg', 244a(22).
- ayip** *n* 'sin; shame', KRPS(t,h,k): 56–57, **~lari ters dāvir da qijir** 'warped and crooked generation', 243b(1); A 'ayb.
- ayir-** *vt* 'to separate', **da ~di tañri arasına ol yarıqnıñ da arasına ol qaranyuluqnıñ** 'and God ~d the light from the darkness', 1a(7–9).
- ayiriwçi** *adj*, *n* 'separating', **da bolsun ~ arasına suwnıñ suwya** 'let there be (a layer) ~ water from water', 1a(13); K: 46 **ayıryçtyç**.
- ayruqsu et-** *vt comp* 'to sacrifice; devote', KRPS(Šk): 54 **ayruqsı et-**, ~ **~mädiñiz meni** 'you did not sacrifice me', 244b(28).
- ayt-** *vt, vi* 'to say; tell', **da ~ti tañri** 'and God said', 1a(5–6).
- aytuw** *verbal n* 'saying; telling', in 1734 both **ajtuv** and **ajtov** (Sulimowicz 1973: 49), **da ešitsin ol yer ~ ların ayzımniñ** 'let the earth hear what my mouth is saying', 243a(17–18).
- ävväl** *adv* 'before', ~ **bašta** 'in the beginning', 1a(1); A 'awwal.
- ävvälki** *adj* 'previous; being beforehand', ~ **kibik** 'as before', 245b(25).
- bal** *n* 'honey', 243b(14).
- bala** *n* 'child; nestling, young bird', **qara guš kibik... ~lari üstünä silkinir** 'like the eagle ... over its youngs', 243b(10–11).
- baq-** *vi, vt* 'to look at; watch for; watch over', **artfırmastır ~ma alarnı** '(He) will not watch over them', 245a(11); **~tiq ulusqa ki heçtir** 'we watched for a nation which does not exist', 245a(14).
- baqmaq** *n* 'sight; look', KRPS(h): 99 **bakmak** 'sight; look', **baqmayımız bilän baqtıq** 'we watched for (a nation), lit. with our looking', 245a(13–14).
- barça** *adj* 1) 'all; every', ~ **ten** 'every man; all the people', 2a(8); 2) 'whole', ~ **Yisraelgä** 'to the whole Israel', 244b(14).
- baş** *n* 'head', **~ından tölöwlariniñ dušmannıñ** 'as repayment with the heads of adversaries', 244b(8–9).
- bašta** *adv* 'in the beginning', ~ **yarattı tañri šol kökni da šol yerni** '~ God created the heavens and the earth', 1a(2).
- bazıq** *adj* 'fat', KRPS(Šk): 97, (h): idem **bazık**, (t): 98 **bazıç**, ~ **boldiñ** 'you got fat', 243b(19); CC: 53.
- bäbäk** *n* 'pupil', KRPS(Šk): 146, **saqladı anı bäbägi kibik köziniñ** '(He) guarded him as the apple of his eye', 243b(9–10).
- beklä-** *vt* 'to close', **da ~di H kendi üçün** 'and God locked him (out, lit. for Himself)', 3a(26).
- ber-** *vt* 1) 'to give', **yarıq ~mä ol yer üstünä** 'to give light on the earth', 1b(20); 2) *v aux* (expresses ingressive aspect), **da H çiyara ~di alarnı** 'and God rejected them', 244a(16).
- bil-** *vt* 'to know', **~mädilär alarnı** '(they) did not know them', 243b(22–23).

- bilä-** *vt* 'to sharpen', KRPS(h,k): 117; (h,t,k): 119 'id', **egär biläsäm yiltiramayın qılıçimniñ** 'if I ~ my flashing sword' (lit. the flash of my sword), 244b(5).
- bilän** *postp* 'with', KRPS(k): 117 **bile ~ bilen**; 119 **bilan, smola ~ ~** 'pitch', 2a(14); **suwlarimizni axça ~ içtik** 'we drank our water(s, lit.) paying for it, lit. with money', 245b(4).
- binyat** *n* 'foundation(s)', KRPS(k): 120, **da küydirdi ~larin taylarniñ** 'and (it) burned the ~s of the mountains', 244a(3–4); A **bunyat, binyat**.
- biñ** *num* 'thousand', 244a(15).
- bir** *num* 'one', ~ **yergä** 'to ~ place', 1b(4); 'first', **kün ~** 'the first day', 1a(11).
- birgä** *postp* 'together with', Sulimowicz 1972: 57 **birgámá** 'with me', **da yoqtir ~sinä yat tañrı** 'and no foreign god is with him', 243b(12–13); ~**ñä** 'with you', 2a(24–25); cf. the headword below.
- birlä** *postp* 'together with', KRPS(t,h): 145 only **bila**, (h): 149 **bela**, Sulimowicz 1973: 55 **birgá**, Prik 1976: 156 **blen, da ~läriñizgä doyyanı ewniñ** 'and each born in your household with you', 4a(10); cf. **bilän**.
- biy** *n* 'prince; duke; ruler', KRPS(t,h,k): 115, **~lär qollarından asıldılar** 'the princes have been hung up by their hand', 245b(13–14).
- biyän-** *vi, v refl* 'to rejoice; be happy', ~**gin da sewingin** 'be happy and rejoice', 245a(20–21).
- biyändir-** *vt* 'to delight', KRPS(h,k): 116 **biyendir-** (and many other forms in all dialects), ~**ijiz, uluslar ulusin** 'make His people rejoice, O nations', 244b(9).
- biyänmäk** *n* 'joy; happiness', **biyänmägi köñlümüzniñ** 'the joy of our hearts', 245b(17).
- biyik** *adj* 'high', ~ **boldu** '(the waters) rose (became high)', 3b(2); 'great' ~ **tañrı** 'the Most High; the Great God', 243b(5); *n* 'high place; height', ~**läri üstinä yerniñ** 'on the heights of the land', 243b(13).
- biyiklik** *n* 'height', **otuz aršin biyikligi** '30 yards (cubits) high', 2a(17).
- biz** *pron pers* 'we', **quwdılar ~ni** '(they) pursued us', 245a(18); **qullar erkländilär ~gä** 'the slaves ruled over us', 245b(9).
- bol-** *vi* 'to be; to become', **da ayttı tañrı: ~sun yariq da boldu yariq** 'and God said: "Let there be light" and there was light', 1a(5–6); **da ~urmin alarğa tañrıya** 'and I will be God for them', 4a(2); 'to get (+ *adj, part*); to become' **bazıq ~diñ** 'you got fat', 243b(19).
- bolış-** *vi* 'to help', KRPS(k): 130 **bolış-**, (t,k): 139 **buluş-**, etc., ~**sinlar sizgä** 'let (them) help you', 244a(28); cf. **boluşluq**.
- boluşluq** *n* 'help', KRPS(t,k): 130 **boluşluk**, ~, **tawusuldılar közlärimiz boluşluymizya ki heçtir** 'our eyes failed looking for help (for us) in vain', 245a(12–13).
- borla** *n* 1) 'grape', KRPS(t,h,k): 131 1) 'vineyard' 2) 'grape-vine', **qanın ~larniñ** 'the bloodACC of grapes', 243b(17–18).

- borlaliq** *n* 1) 'vineyard' 2) grape(-vine), KRPS: 131, **borlaliyından Sedomniñ ~ları** 'their grapes come from Sodom's vineyards, lit. among their grapes (are the grapes) from Sodom's vineyards', 244a(18).
- boş** *adj* 'empty', **viran da ~** 'devastated and ~', 1a(3); **ki ~ söz dügil** 'the word(s) which is (are) not idle', 244b(18).
- boy qız** *n comp* 'young girl; virgin', KRPS: 127, **dayın yigit, dayın ~** 'both young boys and young girls', 244a(8).
- boyun** *n* 'neck', **geldilär ~larımız üstünä** '(they) came upon our ~s, i.e. they stalked, chased us', 245b(5).
- böjük** *adj* 'big; great', KRPS(Šk): 144, **büyük, qolumiz ~ boldi** 'our hand became great', 244a(12); a dialectal variant of **büyük**.
- bu** *pron dem* 'this', **~lardırlar tuwduqları Noahniñ** 'these are Noah's relatives', 2a(1); **munı (ACC) tölärsiz ~** 'your repay so (lit. this)', 243b(1); **munıñ (GEN) ~ üçün** 'because of this', 245b(19); **~lar (PLUR)**, 245b(19).
- bulyan-** *vi* 'to become turbid; defile, KRPS(t,h,k): 1) 'turbid' 2) 'to startle; fear' 3) 'desecrate', **~dılar qanğa** '(they) were defiled by blood', 245a(7).
- burun** *n* 'nose', **burnunda** 'in its nose', 3b(14); **näfäsi burnumızniñ** 'the breath of our ~, i.e. taken by our ~', 245a(18–19).
- buz-** *vt* 'to spoil; undo; deform', KRPS(t,h,k): 136 ~, **šartimni ~du** '(he) has broken my covenant', 4a(17); **buzdyq šartyn tañrymyznyñ** (Sulimowicz 1972: 57).
- bügin** *adv* 'today', KRPS(Šk): 144, **bügün, tañıq etäydir men sizgä ~** 'I am explaining you today', 244b(16); cf. Kazakh **bügin**.
- çayıl-** *vi, v pass* 'to be struck; kindled', **ot ~di açuwumda** 'fire kindled in my anger', 244a(2–3).
- çayır** *n* 'wine', KRPS(Šk): 620 'vodka; wine', **içärsin ~** 'you will drink ~', 243b(18); according to KRPS, the word is of Persian origin; cf. Zajaczowski (1961: 41); Eckmann (1988: 253) proclaims no opinion; according to Doerfer (TMEN: 1090), ~ is a Turkic word, meaning originally 'blue', borrowed then by Persian.
- çaqır-** *vt* 'to call', **ki atın H-niñ ~irmin** 'for I will proclaim the name of God', 243a(21).
- çaypa-** *vt* 'to destroy; pull down', **da muna men ~ydir men alar üçün şol yerni** 'then I am going to destroy the earth because of them', 2a(11–12); cf. K: 177 **çeiḡpa-**, KRPS(t,k): 621.
- çaypal-** *v pass* 'to be destroyed; corrupt; wrong', **da ~di ol yer aldına ol tañriniñ** 'and the earth was corrupt (destroyed) before God', 2a(5–6).
- çewrälä-** *vt* 'to surround; fence', KRPS(Šk): 639 'id', **~di anı** '(He) surrounded him', 243b(9).
- çiyar-** *vt* 1) 'to push out; bring out', **da ~di ol yer yaş ot urluq etiwçi urluq** 'and the earth produced the seed bearing grass (plant) seeds', 1b(11–12); **~a ber-** 'to sacrifice; give out', KRPS: 635, **da H ~a berdi alarnı** 'and God ~ed them', 244a(16).
- çiyartin** *adv* 'outside', KRPS(k): 635 'id', **ičkertin da ~** 'inside and outside', 2a(14).

- čiq** *n* 'dew', **tamlar ~ kibik aytuwim** 'my saying will descend (lit. drop) like ~', 243a(19).
- čiq-** *vi* 'to go up', **~qin tayına uşpu Kečiwlärnij** 'go up the Passing Hills', 244b(21–22); neither KRPS nor Kowalski provide this meaning, though very common in modern Kipchak languages; only Sulimowicz (1973: 59) 'wejšć na; monter'.
- čöqraq** *n* 'spring; source', **barča ~lari ulu däryanij** 'all the springs of the great water', 3a(11).
- čöplän-** *v* *coop* 'to assemble; come together', KRPS(Šk): 632, **da ~di uluslarına** 'and (he) joined his people', 244b(26).
- da** *conj* 'and', **~ boldu injir** '~ there was evening', 1a(10); **şol kökni ~ şol yerni** '(the) heavenACC ~ the earthACC', 1a(2); copied from Hb 1.
- dayin** (also **tayin**) *conj* 'and; then', **~ quşun ol kökni** 'then, also the birdACC of (the) heaven', 2b(16–17); Sulimowicz (1972: 57) ~; translated 'also, too' (Sulimowicz 1973: 59).
- därya** *n* (**suw**) 'large river; waters', **yüzü üstünä ~ni** 'over the surface of the waters', 1a(4); cf. K: 46 **južlari üst'uına t'erañ suvnun**; P **därya:**, cf. **suw**.
- dävir** *n* 'generation', **seni kördüm sadıq aldıma uşbu ~dä** 'I saw (you) that you are righteous in this ~', 2b(13); **ayıplari ters ~ da qijir** 'warped and crooked ~', 243b(1); written in the text by double waw, װװ, this word should semantically be correlated with Hb 'generation; period of time' rather than with A **dawr** which is akin; however, this pronunciation is copied from Arabic, as the vocalized text shows, 245b(22).
- de-** *vt, vi* 'to say; tell', KRPS(h,k): 183, **da sözlädi H Moşegä kendisindä uşpu künnij ~mä:** 'and God told Moses on the same day saying:', 244b(20–21).
- degin** *postp* 'till; up to; down to', **tiptägi görgä ~** 'down to the graves below', 244a(3); **dünyägä ~** 'for ever, world-DAT-POSTP, 244b(4–5).
- deginčäk** 'id', KRPS(Šk): 183, **deginče, ačuwlandij üstümüzgä ~ asri** 'you got angry with us very much', 245b(24).
- dek** *postp* 'till; up to', KRPS(Šk): 184, **dünyägä ~** 'for ever', 245b(21); cf. **degin**.
- deli** *adj, n* 'foolish; fool', KRPS(Šk): 184 'id', the other two dialects have **teli** (ibidem 562), **~ ulus** '~ people', 243b(1–2).
- deñişiril-** *v* *pass* 'to be substituted for; replaced with', KRPS(k): 565 **teneştiril-**, see also Sulimowicz (1972: 58) **degiştir-**, 'to be evened; equalized', **ülüşümüz ~di yatlarğa** 'our portion (inheritance) was turned over to the strangers', 245b(2); cf. CTat **deñiştir-** 'to change' (QRL: 48).
- doğ-** *vi* 'to be born', **yüz yaşar kişigä ~ar mi?** 'will (a son) ~ ~ to a man a hundred years old?', 4a(22–23); both ~ and **doğur-** is also attested in Sulimowicz (1972: 52).
- doğyan** *part* 'born', **~i ewnij** 'born in the household (family)', 4a(10).
- doğri** *adj, adv* 'right; just; upright', KRPS(t): 179 **doğru**, (Šk): **doğri, ~dir ol** 'He is just', 243a(23); this Oghuz word also exists in some Kipchak languages, e.g.

- Dobrudja Tatar (along with the Kipchak variant **tora**), Crimean Tatar (QRL: 50) and even in the Troki dialect of Karaim, as can be seen above; this points to the early Oghuz - Kipchak contacts; the expectable Kipchak form is **tori**; cf. Tatar **turī** (TRS: 558), the Kipchak languages, however, prefer **čīn**, **kerti**, **dūris**, etc.
- doγur-** *vt* 'to bear; give birth' (also used in relation to a man), **da ~du Noah üç oylanlar** 'and Noah had three sons', 2a(4).
- doqsan** *num* 'ninety', ~ **yaşar çatın** 'a ~ years old woman', 4a(23).
- duşman** *n* 'enemy; adversary', KRPS(t,k): 182, **vali ačuwundan ~niñ qorqarmın** 'but I fear from the anger of the adversary', 244a(10–11); P **du:şman**.
- dügül** (also: **dügil**) *v neg, part neg* 'no; not; is not, etc.', cf. **dúgúl** (Sulimowicz 1972: 58), **da ol tuwardan ki aruw ~dür** 'and also of the animals who are unclean', 2b(15); **usli dügil** 'unwise', 243b(2).
- dünya** *n* 1) 'world', **sayınyñ künläri ~niñ** 'consider the days of the ~', 243b(3); 2) 'for ever', **tutuwluyuna dünyäniñ** 'to you for ever; as an everlasting possession', 4a(1); ~ **gä degin** 'for ever', 244b(4–5); KRPS(Šk): 182 **dün'e**; Sulimowicz (1972: 58) **dunja**; the word is also present in the two other dialects; A **dunya**: e- *vi, v aux* 'to be' (has forms in past tenses only), **da ol yer ~di viran da boş** 'and the earth was devastated and empty', 1a(3); (in compound verbs expresses habitual action) **esär ~di** 'blew', 1a(4); **aytır ~dik**, 'we (used to say) said', 245a(19–20).
- eçilik** *n* 'bitterness; poison', KRPS(Šk): 672 **eçči** 'bitter', **da kesmägi ~niñ** 'and the blow of bitterness; plague', 244a(6).
- egär** *conj* 'if', ~ **biläsäm...** '~ I sharpen...', 244b(5); P **agar**.
- eki** *num* 'two' **da yarattı tağrı şol ~ ol ulu yarıqlarnı** 'and God created these ~ great lights', 1b(21–22).
- ekinği** *num ord* 'second', **kün ~** 'the ~ day', 1b(2).
- ekişär** *num distrib* 'two by two; two each', **barça tendän ~** 'two of every kind of creature', 2b(2–3).
- eksil-** *vi* 'to diminish; decrease; disappear', KRPS(t,k): 657 1) 'to decrease, diminish; disappear; lose'; 2) 'perish', **qartlar qabaqtan ~dilär** 'the elders disappeared from the gate', 245b(16).
- eksit-** *vt* 'to diminish; reduce', ~ **äyim kişidän sayıncların** 'I will erase their memory from mankind', 244a(10).
- elli** *num* 'fifty', ~ **arşin** '~ yards', 2a(16).
- em-** *vt* 'to suck', 244a(9).
- emčäk** 'nipple', KRPS(Šk): 661, ~ **emgän oylan** 'sucking boy, boy sucking the nipple', 244a(8–9).
- emgän-** *vi* 'to toil; drudge', ~ **dik** 'we toiled', 245b(6).
- emiz-** *vt* 'to suckle', KRPS(h,k): 661, vs Troki **öm'uz'**-, ~ **di anjar bal qayadan** '(he) fed him (DAT, that is, valency typical of causative construction) with honey from the rock', 243b(14).
- endi** *adv* 'now', **körüñiz ~** 'see now', 244b(1).
- erkäk** *n* 'male', ~ **da tişi** '~ and female', 2b(4).

- erklän-** *vi* 'to dominate; govern; head', **da berdi alarni (...)** ~ **mä künüzün da kečä** 'and (he) gave them (...) to govern during the day and the night', 1b(24–26); KRPS: 667 'id', **qullar ~dilär bizgä** 'the slaves ruled over us', 245b(9).
- ertä** *n* 'morning', **da boldu** ~ 'and there was morning', 1a(10–11); K: 46 **tan**.
- es-** *vi* 'to blow', **da yeli taqriniñ ~är edi** 'and the wind of God blew', 1a(4).
- esir-** *vi* 'to become drunk', KRPS(t,h,k): 669, **~irsin da açilirsin** 'you will be drunk and frank', 245a(22).
- esirt-** *v caus, vt* 'to drink', KRPS(t,h,k): 669 1) 'to drink; make drunk' 2) 'exhaust', **~irmin oqlarimni qandan** 'I will impregnate blood with my arrows', 244b(7).
- eşik** *n* 'door', **da ešigin ol geminiñ yanına qoyğın** 'put a (lit. the) doorACC in the side of this ship', 2a(19).
- ešit-** *vi, vt* 'to hear', **da ~sin ol yer** 'let the earth ~', 243a(17–18).
- eškärt-** *vt* 'to make clear; (say, do) frankly', KRPS(k): 673, Sulimowicz (1972: 61), **aškar-, gunahıñni ğaamati Edomniñ ~ti** '(He) exposed the sin of Edom's community', 245a(24); P **a:ška:r** 'clear; open; evident'.
- et** *n* 'flesh; meat', ~ **qanıdan lešniñ** 'the flesh and the blood of slain (carcasses)', 244b(8).
- et-** *v aux* 'to do; make', **alçaq** 'low' > **alçaq et-** 'to abase; humiliate', 243b(20); **qurban** 'sacrifice' > **qurban et-** 'to sacrifice', 243b(22).
- etiwçi** *part, n* 'doing; making', **yaš ot urluq ~ urluq** 'seed producing the seeds of the fresh grass', 1b(11–12).
- ew** *n* 1) 'house' 2) 'home; family', **kelgin sen da barča ~iñ** 'come, you and your whole family', 2b(12).
- ey** *interj* 'o; hey', ~, **köklär** 'o, heaven', 243a(17).
- furin** *n* 'oven', KRPS(Šk) ~ and **firin**, (h,k): 595 **furun**, ~ **kibik** 'like an ~', 245b(11); Italian **forno**.
- gel-** *vi* 'to come', **ekišär ekišär ~dilär Noahya** 'they came to Noah by two', 3a(4); cf. **kel-**.
- gemi** *n* 'ship; boat; (biblical) ark', 2a(13); Oghuz form, used, though in Crimean and Halicz dialect, KRPS: 159, 166, largely used in CTat (cf. QRL: 44); OT **kemä** or most frequently **kemi** (DTS: 297; Borovkov 1963: 171; Yüce 1988: 138); in Modern Kipchak languages the form **keme** prevails, e.g. Karachai-Balkar, Kazakh, Kirghiz (cf. QMOS: 322; QMS: 148; KRS(Jud): 371); Kumuk **geme** (KRS: 96).
- gör** *n* 'grave', KRPS(t): 161, **tiptägi** ~ 'the lower ~(s); the graves below', 244a(3); P **gu:r**; in Bible Hb **גֵּהֶנְזַיִם** 1) 'hell' 2) 'grave'.
- gunah** *n* 'sin' (cf. **yaziq**), KRPS(k): 162 **gunah**, **güneh** and **yunay** ((k): 259), also **guneh** ((h): 160), **g'un'ah** ((t): 167), **~larından kohelnärniñ** 'because of the ~s of their priests', 245a(5); P **guna:h**.
- gün** *n* 'day', **qırq** ~ 'forty ~s', 2b(20); cf. **kün**.
- ğamaat** *n* 'community', KRPS(k): 171, (t): 174 **ğimat**, in 1734 **ğemaat** (Sulimowicz 1973: 61), **ğamaati Edomniñ** '~ of Edom; Edom's people', 245a(21); A **ğama:** 'at.

- ğan** *n* 'soul; living mankind', **da kesilsin ol ~ uluslarından** 'let this man cut off from his people', 4a(16); P **ğa:n**.
- ğins** (or: **ğins**) *n* (only in suffixed form with 3PS) 'sort; kind', **anıj ~inä** 'according to its kind', 1b(13); A **ğins**.
- ğıynal-** ! *v pass* 'to be gathered', this reading is suggested by the writing **cynlgyn**, ***ğıynal(γin)**, a form widely spread among Kipchak languages, e.g. Kirghiz, KRS(Jud): 277, (< **ğıyna-**, just like **ğıyil-** < **ğıy-**), in KRPS: 174 there is only **ğıyil-** and **ğıy-**, however, we must correct the scribe, because of the suffix **-γin** which does not fit the sentence: **barča aştan ki aşalir da ğıyγin** (and not **ğıynalγin**) **özünä** 'take (lit. gather) some of every kind of food to eat for yourself', 2b(8–9).
- H** *n* *abbreviated* [letter standing for God's name].
- hag** *n* 'violin (-type instrument)', KRPS(Šk): 606, **qartlar qabaqlardan eksildilər, yigitlär ~larından** 'the elders disappeared from the gates, the young men threw away their instruments', 245b(16).
- halq** *n* 'people', **şol barča ol ~ni ki yarattim** 'all ~ACC I created', 2b(21–22); A **halq**.
- hanuz** *adv* 'still; more(over)', KRPS(k): 607, ~ **dayin tawusuldılar közlärimiz** 'moreover, our eyes failed', 245a(12–13); P **hanu:z**.
- har** (or **här**) *adj* 'every; each', KRPS(k): 'id', **her** ((Šk): 608), **yar** ((t,h,k): 164), **añlañiz yılların ~ dävırniñ** 'understand the (past) years of each generation', 243b(3–4); P **har**.
- hazrat** *n* 'dignity; majesty', KRPS(k): 597, **yeşiräyim ~larımni alardan** 'I will hide my dignity from them', 243b(26); A **hadrat**.
- heç** *pron* (in negative sentences) 'nothing', KRPS(Šk): 608, **baqtıq ulusqa ki ~tir** 'we watched for a nation which does not exist', 245a(14); P **hi:ç**.
- hevlik** *n* 'quarrel; argument', **açuwandılar meni ~läri bilän** '(they) angered me with their quarrels', 243b(28)–244a(1), Hb לכהל.
- huğra** *n* 'room', ~**lar qilyin ol gemigä** 'make rooms in (lit. to) this ship', 2a(13); attested in all Karaim dialects in alternating forms (KRPS: 605); A **huğra**.
- хан** *n* 'king; khan; ruler', KRPS(t,h,k): 600, ~**lari uluslarniñ** 'the kings of the nations', 4a(20); ~**lari yerniñ** 'the rulers of the earth', 245a(3).
- хатин** *n* 'wife', ~**iñ da ~lari oylanlariñniñ** 'your ~ and your sons' wives', 2b(1).
- хазна** *n* 'treasure; safe; vault', KRPS(t,h,k): 597, **möhörlängän ~larımnda** 'sealed in my safe(s)', 244a(21); A **хазна**.
- хišim** *n* 'anger; God's anger', KRPS(t): 610 **хišim** translated 'reka Boga; oblicze Boga', that is like in the biblical text 'God's face (of anger)', Hb פני ה' אלהים; ~**i H-niñ** 'God's anger', 245a(10).
- хор et-** *vt* 'to reject; scold', KRPS(t,h,k): 603, **da kördi H da ~ ~ti** 'and God saw and rejected (them)', 243b(25); P **ho:r**.
- хорон** *n* 'dance', KRPS(Šk): 604, **yasqa deñişirildi ~imiz** 'our ~ has turned to mourning', 245b(17–18); Greek → Turkish **horon**, cf. TS: 651.

- ič-** *vt, vi* 'to drink', ~**ärsin čayir** 'you ~ wine', 243b(18).
- ičkertin** *adv* 'inside', KRPS(Šk): 211 'id', it is worth noting that the complex suffix **-kertin** is composed of the directive **-QARI** and an Uighur-type ablative suffix with the high vowel, cf. Zajączkowski (1932: 49–50), 2a(14).
- ijir** *n* 'evening', **da boldu** ~ 'and there was ~', 1a(10); cf. K: 46, KRPS(Š,k): 651 **ijir** ~ **ijyir** 'id' (6 variants).
- iränčilik** *n* 'meanness', KRPS(Šk): 206, 243b(21).
- iri** *adj* 'great; big', ~ **yaymurlar** 'great rains (showers)', 243a(20).
- iš** *n* 'work; job', ~**i anij** 'His work(s)', 243a(22).
- išbu** see **ušbu**.
- inämlī** *adj* 'faithful', ~ **tañri** 'a ~ god' KRPS: 650, 243a(22–23).
- inämlīq** *n* 'faith; faithfulness', **oylanlar ki yoqtir alarda** ~ 'sons that have no faith', 243b(27–28); KRPS provides only **inämlī**, see above.
- inan-** *vt, vi* 'to believe', KRPS(t,h,k): 650, ~**mas edilär xanlarē yernij** 'the rulers of the earth did not ~', 245a(2–3).
- iryatliq** (spelled by **-h-**) *n* 'salary; wages', **emgändik da ~ bolmadī bizgä** 'we toiled and there were no wages for us', this word, explained in KRPS(Šk): 651 as 'labour; servant's work', similarly in TS: 663, here is used in the sense 'salary; wages'; cf. Redhouse (1986: 502) 'day labor; a day's wages', Greek **εργατης**, cf. Symeonidis (1976: 68).
- iyin** *n* 'mass', ~**ina ol suwlarınij** 'to the masses of water', 1b(6).
- iyin-** *vi, v refl* 'to be gathered', **da aytī tañri: ~sinlar ol suwlar** 'and God said: "let the water ~"', 1b(3); the Ms shows clearly the form with initial **i-**: **iyinsinlar** ~ **iyinsinlar**; cf. KRPS(Šk): 650 **iyin** 1) 'gathering; assembly' 2) 'army; military group'; K: 47 **ištyrylsynlar**; NRS: 127 **yiyin-**; QRL: 152 **ğiyil-**; Tur **yıgıl-**.
- kafara et-** *vt* 'to forgive; atone', Sulimowicz (1972: 63), facts 10 (Sulimowicz 1973: 76) **kapara et-** 'id' which appears with synonymous **bošat-** and **mexiŋa ber-**, **da ~ ~är yerin ulusiniñ** 'and (He) will recompensate for His people giving them land', 244b(10–11); Hb **הַרְחִיק מִפְּרִי** 1) 'forgiveness' 2) 'sacrifice'; note that in one of Krymchak texts published by Polinsky (1991: 141) there is a compound verb **kapara ol-** 'to be sacrificed; killed'.
- keč-** *vt, vi* 'to pass; cross', **ol yer üstünä ki siz ~äydir siz** 'in the land you are crossing', 244b(19–20).
- kečiw** *verbal n; n* passing', **K~lärnij tayına Nebonij** 'up to the ~s by the mountain Nebo', 244b(22); this rather clumsy phrase reflects the calque translation of the mountain Abarim, Hb **הַר הָעֵבְרִים**.
- kečä** *n* 'night', **da qaranγuluqqa atadī** ~ 'and (he) called the darkness "night"', 1a(9–10).
- kel-** *vi* 'to come' Sulimowicz (1973: 76), **aγiri barča tennij ~di aldima** 'the end of all people came (lit.) before me, 2a(10).
- kemiš-** *vt* 'to throw; reject', KRPS(Šk): 391, ~**irsin bizni** 'you forsake us', 245b(22–23); this verb, well known from OT languages (DTS: 297) presently exists only in

Karaim (Radloff 1899: 1210–1212), according to Radloff, it is derived by suffix -š from the verb **kemi-** as attested in Teleut and Kazakh in the meaning ‘to diminish’ (in Shnitnikov’s dictionary (1966: 123) there is a misprint ‘to dominish’).

kemišil- *v pass* ‘to be thrown; rejected’, KRPS(k): 391, **tiyilgän da ~gän** ‘stopped and rejected’, 244a(25–26).

kendi *pron refl* ‘-self’, this word is not used by the majority of modern Kipchak languages, which express the idea of reciprocity by **öz**; KRPS provides an old variant **kensi** ((t,h): 305) and **kense** ((k): 391); hence **kendi** is to be regarded as a Turkish loan-word, see, however, Sulimowicz (1973: 64; 77) **gendi** and **kendi**; **öz** is otherwise even in Azeri and Turkmen, cf. ARL: 276–277; TrkmRS: 498–489; note, however, that **kändü** was also present in Eastern Turkic, cf. Borovkov (1963: 172) and in Mameluke Kipchak, Zajaczkowski (1961: 94); for other Middle and Old Turkic data see **kendü** in DTS: 29; **čaypadı ~ni Israel** ‘Israel destroyed itself’, 243a(23–24).

keñäšli *adj* ‘resourceful; clever; wise’, cf. KRPS(Šk) and other dialects with many forms): 392 **kegeš** ‘counsel; advice; admonition’; in Sulimowicz (1972: 62) **keñäš** seems to mean ‘wisdom’: **kišilári ol keñäšniñ da aqylnyñ** ‘wise and resourceful people’ and ‘intention; inclination’, **egár ~ ettik esá keñäšin jamanlyqnyñ** ‘if we intended to do wrong’; cf. KRPS(t): 305 **k’enjaš** 1) ‘counsel; advice’ 2) ‘intention’, ~ **ulus** ‘wise nation’ (as opposed to the nation without sense); **keñäš**, 244a(13).

keñlik *n* ‘width’, 2a(16).

kerti *adv* ‘indeed; really’, KRPS(Šk): 392 ‘just; real; righteous’, ~, **Sarah xatiniñ doyrur saña oýul** ‘that’s right, your wife Sarah will bear you a son’, 4a(26–27).

kesmäk *n* ‘cutting’, **da kesmägi ečilikniñ** ‘and the blow (lit. cutting) of bitterness; plague’, 244a(6).

kesil- *v pass* ‘to be cut’, **da ~sin ol ğan uluslarından** ‘let him cut off from his people’, 4a(16).

ket- *vi* ‘to go’, **ki körär ki ~ti quvat** ‘when He sees that (their) strength is gone’, 244a(25).

ketir- *vt* ‘to bring’, **men ~irmin šol mabulni** ‘I will bring the floods’, 2a(21).

ki¹ *conj* ‘that’ (in practice, introduces any relative clause), **oýlanlar ~ yoqtır alarda inamliq** ‘the sons that have no faith’, 243b(27–28); **tañrıları ~ siyindilar alar** ‘their gods they fled to’, 244a(26–27); **da kördü tañrı šol yarıqnı ~ yaxšidir** ‘and God saw that this light is good’, 1a(7); cf. **neçik ~, tut ~; P ki: ~ ke.**

ki² *conj* ‘for, since; because’, ~ **atın H-niñ çaqırırmin** ‘for I will proclaim the name of God’, 243a(21); Hb ۾ (both **ki¹** and **ki²** are usually regarded as one Persian loan-word, KRPS: 316; Sulimowicz 1973: 77).

kibik *postp* ‘like; similar’, **çiq kibik** ‘like dew’, 243a(19).

kiçi *adj* ‘small’, **šol ~ yarıqnı** ‘that ~ small lightACC’, 1b(23); cf. K: 46 **kiçirakni.**

kir- *vi* ‘to enter; get in’, **yariq ~mä ol yer üstünä** ‘that the light be (lit. enter) over the earth’, 1b(25).

- kiši** *n* 'man', **Noah altı yüz yaşar ~ edi** 'Noah was six hundred years old', 2b(24–25).
- kiyik** *n* 'wild animal, beast', **tuwar da ~** 'livestock and ~s', 3b(11).
- kiyim** *n* 'clothes', 245a(7).
- kohen** *n* 'priest', KRPS(t) **koɣen**, (k): 328 **koɣen**, Sulimowicz 1972: 60 **kohen**, **gunahlarından ~läriñ** 'because of the sins of their ~s', 245a(5); Hb ךׁוהן.
- köbäy-** *vi* 'to grow; increase', KRPS(Šk): 336, TRS:Ž 331, **da küčäydilər ol suwlar da ~dilär asrı ol yer üstünä** 'and the waters rose and increased greatly on the earth', 3b(3–4).
- köñül** *n* 'heart', KRPS(Šk): 338, **da ayttı köñlündä** 'and (he) said to himself', 4a(22); **qoyuñız köñliñizni barça ol sözlärgä** 'put your ~ to all these words', 244b(15).
- kök** *n* 'heaven', **bašta yarattı tañrı šol kökni** 'in the beginning God created (the) ~s', 1a(2).
- kölgä** *n* 'shadow', KRPS(k): 337 **kölege**, etc., note that all forms possess an **-e-** between the second and the third consonant, similarly Kowalski (1929: 220) **k'ol'ag'a**, but CTat **kölge**, which, along with **köletke**, is taken for dialectal (literary form is **talda**); QRL: 71; **~sindä tirilirmiz** 'we will live under his ~', 245a(20).
- köndär-** *vt* 'to lead sb', KRPS(Šk): 338, **~ir anı** '(He) leads him', 243b(12).
- kör-** *vt, vi* 'to see', **da ~dü tañrı šol yarıqni ki yaxşıdır** 'and God saw that the light is good', 1a(7).
- körün-** *vi, v refl* 'to be seen; look; be visible; appear' **da ~sün ol quru** 'and let dry ground be seen (appear)', 1b(4–5).
- kötär-** *vt* 'to lift', **da ~dilär šol gemini** 'and (the waters) ~ed the ship', 3b(1).
- köz** *n* 'eye', **bular üçün qarardılar ~lärimiz** 'because of these things our ~s got dim', 245b(19–20).
- küčäy-** *vi* 'to be strengthened', **da ~dilär ol suwlar** 'and the waters got powerful', 3b(3); KRPS(Šk): 355, TRS: 330.
- küllät-** *vt* 'to make jealous', KRPS: 353 **künüle-** ~ **künüwle-**, **külle-**, etc. 'id', **~tilär anı** '(they) made him jealous', 243b(20–21).
- kün** *n* 'day', ~ **ekinği** 'the first ~', 1b(2); Sulimowicz (1973: 80) **kún**.
- künlät-** *vt* 'to make jealous', see **küllät-**.
- künüzün** *adv* 'in the day (time)', 1b(22); cf. KRPS(k): 354 'id'.
- küydür-** *vt* 'to burn; set on fire', KRPS(Šk): 352, **da ~di bunyatların taylarnıñ** 'and (it) set on fire the foundations of the mountains', 244a(3–4).
küygän part 'burnt', **~läri qitliqniñ** 'damaged by plague, lit. burnt by shortage (starvation)', 244a(5).
- leš** *n* 'dead body; carcass', KRPS(k): 399, **qiliçim ašar et qanıdan ~niñ** 'my sword will devour the flesh and the blood of slain, lit. carcasses', 244b(7–8); P laš.
- mabul** *n* 'floods', **men ketirirmin šol ~ni suw ol yer üstünä** 'I will bring the floodwaters on the earth', 2a(21–22); Hb מבוּל.

- men** *pron pers* 'I', ~ **öldirirmin** 'it is me who kill', 244b(2); **mağa** (DAT) 'to; for me', 244b(27); **meni** (ACC), **alar künlättilär** ~ 'they made me jealous', 243b(28); **menim** (GEN) ~**dir öc almaq** 'it is mine to avenge', 244a(22); ~**min ol** 'I am He', 244b(1).
- meräslä-** *vt* 'to heir, bequeath', KRPS(Šk): 416, **siz küçäydir siz anda meräslämä** 'you will be passing over there to heir'. 244a(19–20); A **mira:t** + **-IA**.
- mašiyah** *n* 'anointed; (M~) Messiah', KRPS(h): 404 **masiyax**, ~**i H-niñ** 'God's anointed', 245a(19); Hb משיח (Ms משיח); cf. A **masi:h**.
- möhörlän-** *v pass* 'to be stamped; sealed', KRPS(Šk): 409 **möhörlä-**, ~**gänlär xaznalarimda** '(it) is sealed in my safes', 244a(21).
- muna** *adv* 'here; look; so (much), **da ~ çaypaldı** 'and it was so corrupted', 2a(8); *prtcl* (mostly not translated) 'here; look; listen, ~ **ol atañ yarattı seni** 'this is your Father who created you', 243b(2).
- mundar** *adj* 'dirty; unclean', KRPS(k): 410 'id', **qiyiriliñiz**, ~ 'go away, you (are) dirty', 245a(8); P **murda:r** (Räsänen 1969: 345).
- naamat** *n* 'goods; property' (the word is used in a very clumsy sentence:) **da tākälär siylisi bilän ~lariniñ ašliqniñ** 'the choice heads of rams and the finest pieces (ears) of cereals', 243b(17); probably of A origin, see K: 246 and KRPS: 418 < **ni'mat**.
- narat** *n, adj* 'pine-tree, pine-wood', cf. KRPS(h): 418, QRL: 94, Memetov 1988: 14; ~ **ayacı** 'pine tree', 2a(13); Mongolian **narad** (Räsänen 1969: 350).
- näbi** (or **navi**) *n* 'prophet', KRPS: 417, Sulimowicz (1973: 82), **yaziqlarından ~lärniñ** 'because of the sins of their ~s', 245a(4–5); A **nabi(yyun)** or Hb (נבי)נבי.
- näfäs** *n* 'breath; breathing', ~**i tiri ğanniñ burnundadır barçadan ki quruda öldülär** 'every creature (soul) which was alive (took breath through its nose) that moved over the land died', 3b(13–14); A **nafs**.
- ne** *pron inter, rel* 'what', **köräyim ~dir axırları** 'I will see what their end will be', 243b(26–27).
- neçik** *adv inter* 'how'; **neçik ki** *adv rel*, **da qıldı Noağ barça ~ ~ simarladı añañ tañrı** 'and Noah did everything as God commanded him', 2b(10–11).
- nišan** *n* 'sign', **da bolsun ~larğa** 'and let (them) serve as signs', 1b(18); cf. K: 46 **b'elgilarğa**; P **niša:n**.
- nüçün** *adv inter* 'what for; why', KRPS(k): 420 **nuçun**, ~ **ömürgä degin unutursın bizni** 'why have you forgot us for ever?', 245b(22).
- oylan** *n* 'boy; son(!)', KRPS(Šk): 423 1) 'son; boy' 2) 'young', ~ (!) **Nunniñ** 'Nun's son', 244b(13).
- ol** 1) *pron pers* 'he; she; it', **doyrıdır** ~ 'He is just', 243a(23); **alar** (PLUR) ~ **dügüldir oylanları** 'they are no longer his children', 243a(24); **añañ** (DAT) **neçik ki simarladı ~ tañrı** 'how God commanded him', 2b(10–11); [see **anda** (LOC)]; **andan** (ABL) **ğanları uluslarıniñ ~ bolurlar** 'the kings of the nations will be from her', 4a(20); **anı** (ACC) **da alçıslarmın anı** 'and I will bless her', 4a(19–20); **anıñ** (GEN) **işi** ~ 'His work(s)', 243a(22); 2) *adj dem* 'that' (more

- distant than *şol*); calqued from Hb definite article \aleph : **da ~ yer** 'and the earth', cf. *şol*.
- on beş num** 'fifteen', ~ ~ **arşin** '~ ~ yards', 3b(8).
- on yedinği num ord** 'seventeenth', 3a(9).
- oñ adj** 'right', ~ **qolım** 'my ~ hand', 244b(6).
- oñalt- vt** 'to heal, cure', KRPS(t,h): 430 'id', **men öldirirmin da tirgizirmin, yaralı etärmin da men ~irmın** 'it's me who kills and animates, wounds and heals', 244b(2-3).
- oq n** 'arrow', 244a(5); **esirtirmin ~larımni qandan** 'I will impregnate blood with my ~s', 244b(7).
- oram n** 'street', KRPS(t,h,k), **soqurlar kibik ~larda** 'like blinds in the ~s', 245a(6); cf. Noghai ~ (NRS: 249), Tatar, Bashkir **uram** (TRS: 590, BRS: 578), Mongolian **oram** (Räsänen 1969: 364).
- orta n** 'middle':
- ortasında postp** 'in the middle, to the middle; between', ~ **ol suvlarnıñ** 'between the waters', 1a(12-13); ~ **oylanlarınıñ Yisraelniñ** 'among the sons of Israel', 244b(27).
- ot¹ n** 'grass', **yaş ~** 'fresh ~', 1b(8).
- ot² n** 'fire', ~ **çayıldı** 'fire was kindled', 244a(2); **da yandırdı ~ Ciyonda** 'and (He) set Zion on ~', 245a(1-2).
- otlı adj** 'flaming; firely', KRPS(t,h,k): 434 **otlu**, the vocalization exludes the reading **otalı** 'poisonous', **ağusi ~ yılanlarınıñ zalim** 'the poison of ~ snakes is cruel', 244a(20); cf. **yılan**.
- otur- vi** 'to sit; dwell', **sen H dünyägä dek ~ursın** 'you, O God, are reigning for ever (sitting on the throne), 245b(21).
- oturuwçı n** 'dweller; inhabitant', KRPS(Šk): 435 1) 'id' 2) 'who sits', **barça ~ları dünyäniñ** 'all inhabitants of the world', 245a(3).
- otuz num** 'thirty', 2a(17).
- öç n** 'revenge; vengeance', **qanin qullarınıñ ~ alir** '(He) will avenge the blood of His servants', 244b(9-10); ~ **qaytarir** 'He will take (lit. return) revenge', 244b(10).
- öksüz n** 'orphan', ~ **lär bolduq** 'we became ~s', 245b(3).
- öl- vi** 'to die', **da ~gin tağda ki sen çıyaydır sen anda** 'and die on the mountain where (lit. there) you are climbing', 244b(24-25).
- öldir- vt** 'to kill', **men ~irmin da tirgizirmin** 'it is me who ~s and animates', 244b(2).
- ömür n** 'life', KRPS(Šk): 441, ~ **gä degin** 'for life', 245b(22); A 'umr.
- ört- vt** 'to cover', KRPS(Šk): 443, **da ~ti yerni da tağılın** 'and (it) covered the earth and its produces', 244a(3).
- örtä- vt** 'to burn', KRPS(t,k): 443, **da ~di binyatların** 'and (the fire) destroyed its foundations', 245a(2).
- örtälgän part** 'burnt', 'to burn', ~ **läri uçqunnıñ** '~ by sparks', 244a(5-6).
- ötmäk n** 'bread', KRPS(Šk): 444, **toyma ~kä** 'to have enough ~', 245b(7).

- öz pron refl* ‘-self’, *~üñä* ‘(to) yourself’, 2a(12); cf. **kendi**.
- paha** *n* ‘price; valuables’, *~ bilän* ‘with valuables’, 245b(5); **P baha**:
- pay** *n* ‘portion; share; part’, KRPS(h,k): 445 ‘id’, *~i H-niñ ulusu* ‘God’s portion is his people’, 243b(7).
- pir** *n, adj* ‘old man; old’, KRPS(t,h): 447 1) ‘old man; old’ 2) ‘saint’, *~ kiši* ‘old man; senior’, 244a(9); **P pi:r**.
- pusta** *adj* ‘empty; barren’, KRPS(t,h): 449 ‘id’, **viran da ~ yerdä** ‘in a barren and empty place (land)’, 243b(8–9); Slavic **pusta**, note that the same adjective in feminine gender was also borrowed by Hungarian in the same meaning ‘steppe; wasteland’.
- qabaq** *n* ‘gate; door’ (cf. **eşik**), KRPS(Šk): 355 1) ‘gate’ 2) ‘town’, **ki kelgäy tar berüwci da duşman ~larına Yeruşlemniñ** ‘that the oppressor and enemy enter the gates of Jerusalem’, 245a(3–4).
- qačir-** *vt* ‘to drive away; chase’, KRPS(Šk): 367, **eki qačirirlar tümänni** ‘two men drive away ten thousand’, 244a(15).
- qahır** *n* ‘anger’ (cf. **ačuw**), KRPS(t,h): 298 **kaxır**, (k): 367 **qaxır**, etc., **tökti ~in ačuwniñ** ‘(He) poured out his anger (lit. the anger of his wrath; irritation)’, 245a(1); **A qahr** 1) ‘violence’ 2) ‘irritation’.
- qal-** *vi* ‘to remain; stay’, **da ~di tek Noah** ‘and Noah ~ed alone’, 3b(18).
- qalqan** *n* ‘shield’, **da bolsin üstüñizgä ~** ‘let it be shield upon you’, 244a(28)–244b(1).
- qaltırmaq** *n* ‘quiver; tremble; shiver’, KRPS(t): 287 **kaltramaç**, (h) **kaltramak**, (k): 360, **qaltırmaq, furin kibik qızdılar aldından ~lariniñ qitliqnıñ** ‘(our skin) got hot like an oven, quivering from hunger’, 245b(11–12).
- qan** *n* ‘blood’, 243b(17).
- qanat** *n* ‘wing’, **yayar ~larin** ‘(it) spreads its wings’, 243b(11).
- qanatlı** *adj* ‘winged; having wings’, **barça quş ~** ‘all the birds with wings’, 3a(21).
- qara guş** *n* ‘eagle’, KRPS(Šk): 363 **qaraquş**; **karakuş** *ibidem*, (t): 291 ‘id’, *~ ~ kibik* ‘like an eagle’, 243b(10).
- qaranıluq** *n* ‘darkness’, **da ~qa atadı kečä** ‘and the ~ (he) called night’, 1a(9–10); KRPS(Š,k): 363, according to Poppe (1962: 337) < Mongolian **qarañyui ~ qarañyu**.
- qarar-** *vi* ‘to get dark; dim’, KRPS(Šk): 363 ‘to become black’, **~dılar közlärimiz** ‘our eyes got dim’, 245b(20).
- qardaş** *n* ‘brother’, **Aharon ~iñ** ‘your ~ Aharon’, 244b(26).
- qart** *adj, n* ‘old, old man (woman)’, **saña ~lariña** ‘youDAT and your eldersDAT’, 243b(4).
- qayda** *pron inter* ‘where?’, **~dir tañriları ki sıyındılar** ‘~ are their gods they fled to?’, 244a(26).
- qayt-** *vi* ‘to return; come back’, **da ~tilar ol suwlar** ‘and the waters receded’, 3b(27).
- qaytar-** *vt* ‘to return’, **~irmın öč tar beriwçilärimä** ‘I will take revenge on my adversaries’, 244b(6).

- qayyam** *adj* 'solid; stable', KRPS(Šk): 358; *adv* 'certainly; surely', **da aytirmİN ~dİR**, **men dÜnyägä degİN** 'and I will say: 'Sure, I am for ever', 244b(4–5); A **qayya:m**, note that this is one of Allah's epithets, 'eternal'.
- qil-** *vt* 'to do; make', **~YİN ÖZÜŇÄ gemİ** 'make yourself a ship', 2a(12–13); **alay ~dİ** 'he did so', 2b(11); **H ~madİ barča muni** 'God has not done all this', 244a(12).
- qilİč** *n* 'sword', **tuw etär ~** 'the sword will slaughter', 244a(8).
- qilİwčİ** (also: **qİluwčİ**) *part, n* 'making, doing; producing', **yimiš ayačİ ~ yimiš** 'fruit which produces fruit-trees', 1b(9).
- qimilda-** *vi* 'to move', **barča ki ~r** 'all that moves', 3a(3).
qimildayan *part* 'moving', **barča ~İndan ol yernİŇ** 'from all the the creatures that move on the earth', 2b(6); **qimilday turyan** (progressive aspect) 'that is moving', 3a(19–20).
- qİjİR** *adj* 'bent; bowed; crooked (also fig, perverse)', 243b(1).
- qİŇİrlİq** *n* 'wrong; injustice', KRPS(Šk): 380 1) 'untruth; lie' 2) 'fault; crime' 3) 'injustice', **taŇrı da yoqtİR ~**, **sadıq da doyrİdİR ol** 'He is just God, upright and does no wrong', 243a(23).
- qİrq** *num* 'forty', **~ kečä** ' ~ nights', 2b(21).
- qİtlİq** *n* 'shortage, lack; hunger, starvation; plague', KRPS(Šk): 382, **küygänlärİ ~nİŇ** 'damaged by plague; burnt by hunger', 244a(5).
- qİyİrİL-** *v refl* 'to turn', KRPS(Šk): 379, **~İjİz, ~İjİz, tiymänjİz** 'turn (and go away), do not touch', 245a(8–9).
- qİyna-** *vt* 'to abuse; torture', KRPS(t,h): 379, **xaťİnlarnİ Ciyonda ~dİlar** '(they) abused the women in Zion', 245b(12–13); Sulimowicz 1972: 57 **egär (...)** **óksizni da tulny qyjnadyq esá** 'if we abused the orphans and widows'.
- qİz-** *vi* 'to get hot', **terİlärİmİz furİN kibik ~dİlar** 'our skin got hot like an oven', 245b(11).
- qočqar** *n* 'ram', KRPS(Šk): 372, **semİz qoylarnİŇ da ~larnİŇ balalärİ** 'the youngs of sheep and rams', 243b(16).
- qol** *n* 'arm; hand', **~ ber-** 'to submit', **Mİsİrya, berdİk ~**, 'we submitted to the Egyptians', 245b(6–7).
- qora-** *vi* 'to die; perish', KRPS(Šk): 371, **barča ki yerdä ~Yay** 'everything which (is) on the earth will perish', 2a(23).
- qorq-** *vi* 'to fear', **~madİlar alardan atalarİŇİz** 'your fathers did not ~ from them', 243b(23).
- qorquw** *verbal n; n* 'fear', 244a(8).
- qoy** *n* 'sheep', **sütİN ~nİŇ** 'the milkACC of the sheep; sheep milk', 243b(15).
- qoy-** *vt* 'to put; place', **da ešİgİN ol gemİNİŇ yanİna ~YİN** 'put a door in the side of the ship', 2a(19).
- qozya-** *vt* 'to stir up; rouse to', KRPS(Š,k): 368, **~r uyasİN** '(it) stirs up its nest', 243b(10).

- qozla-** *vi, vt* 'to lay eggs', KRPS(Šk): 368 'to breed', (t,h): 328 *ibid*; K: 224 **~yan**; *part, da barča ol ~yan da ol ~y turyan ol yer üstünä* 'and all the breeding (creatures) that breed on the earth', 3b(11–12).
- qudrät** *n* 'power', KRPS(k): 373 **qudrat** and **qudret, da yoqtir ~imdän qutqaruwçı** 'there is no one who can deliver from my ~', 244b(3); A **qudrat**.
- qul** *n* 'slave; servant', **~ları üstünä asayış bolir** 'there will be bliss (or compassion) upon His servants', 244a(24–25).
- qulaq** *n* 'ear', **~ tut-** 'to listen', **~ tutıñiz, ey köklär** 'listen, heaven', 243a(17).
- qurban** *n* 'sacrifice', **~ et- vi, vt** 'to sacrifice', **~ ~ärlär şaytanlarğa** '(they) ~ to the evils', 243b(22); A **qurba:n**.
- quru** *n* 'dry ground, land', **da körünsün ol ~** 'and let the dry ground appear', 1b(4–5).
- quş** *n* 'bird', 2b(5).
- qutqarıwçı** *n* 'saviour', KRPS(Šk): 376, **yoqtir qudrätimdän ~** 'there is no (saviour) one who can deliver from my power', 244b(3).
- quvat** *n* 'strength', KRPS(Šk): 373, **ki ketti ~** 'that (their) strength is gone', 244a(25); A **quvvat**.
- quw-** *vt* 'to put to flight, drive away, chase', KRPS(Šk): 372, **neçik ~ar bir biñni** 'how one man puts to flight a thousand', 244a(15).
- quwul-** *v pass* 'to be put on flight; driven away', **~duq** 'we were driven away', 245b(5).
- Quwuwçu** *n* 'pursuer; one who chases', 245a(17).
- quymaq** *n* 'sacrifice (offered in liquid, as opposed to solid sacrifice, cf. **qurban**); drink offering', KRPS(Šk): 373, **içärlär çayırin ~lariniñ** '(they) drink the wine of their drink offerings', 244a(27–28).
- sadiq** *adj* 'just; righteous', **Noah ~ kişi edi** 'Noah was righteous man', 2a(1–2); KRPS: 459 **saddik** (provides only this form from Troki dialect, qualifying it as Arabic), cf. A **sa:diq, siddi:q** 'id'; however, a direct link with Hb פִּדְיוֹן is suggested, as by Kowalski (K: 175), who provides, however, the reading c (IPA ts) of פִּדְיוֹן: **caddyk, cadyk**.
- sayın-** *vt* 'to think; consider', **da ~di tağrı şol Noahni** 'but God had Noah in his mind', 3b(21).
- sayınç** *n* 'thought; thinking; memory', **eksitayim kişidän ~larin** 'I will erase their memory from mankind', 244a(10).
- salqum** *n* 'bunch (of grapes)', KRPS(Šk): 462 **salqim**; (t,h): **solkun** 'id', 244a(19).
- san** *n* 'number', **~inča oylanlariniñ Yisraelniñ** 'according to the ~ of Yisrael's sons', 243b(7).
- saqla-** *vt* 1) 'to hide; keep; preserve', **şol şartimni ~yin** 'keep my covenant', 4a(3); 2) 'to guard; protect', **~di anı** '(he) guarded him', 243b(9).
- saqlan-** *v pass* 'to be hidden; kept; preserved', **muna ol ~yandır** 'this is protected, indeed', 244a(21).
- sat-** *vt* 'to sell', **duşmanları ~ti alarnı** 'the adversaries sold them', 244a(16).

- satın al-** *vt, comp* 'to buy', ~ **~yanı aqçanıñ** 'bought with money', 4a(11).
- säkinlän-** *vi* 'to calm down', KRPS(k): 'id', **da ~dilär ol suwlar** 'and the waters calmed down (stopped falling; receded)', 3b(24); A **sa:kin** 'calm; moveless'.
- sekiz** *num* 'eight', ~ **künlük oylan** 'boy ~ days old', 4a(9).
- semir-** *vi* 'to grow fat', **da ~di Yisrael** 'and Yisrael grew fat', 243b(18).
- semiz** *adj* 'fattened', ~ **qoylarnıñ** 'of fattened sheep', 243b(16).
- sen** *pron pers* 'you (thou)', ~ **alÿin özünä** 'and you, take yourself...', 2b(7–8); **saña** (DAT) **kelsinlär** ~ 'let them come to you', 2b(7); **seni** (ACC) **tañrı yarattı** ~ 'God created you', 243b(24).
- sewin-** *v refl* 'to be happy; rejoice', Oghuz form, though attested in Crimean dialect (KRPS(k): 496), because frequently used throughout the Crimea; cf. QRL: 109, the corresponding Kipchak form is **süyün-**, cf. the equivalents in TD and HD, Kumuk, Karachai-Balkar, etc.; ~ (KRS: 207; QMOS: 590), **biyängin da ~gin ğamaati Edomniñ**, 'be happy and rejoice, the community of Edom', 245a(20–21).
- silkin-** *v refl* 'to shake oneself', KRPS(h): 473–74 'id', **balaları üstünä ~ir** 'it hovers over its youngs', 243b(10–11).
- siz** *pron pers* 'you (thou and the other(s))', ~**gä barça erkäk** 'every man among you', 4a(6–7).
- siÿin-** *vi, v refl* 'to flee; to find refuge', **tañrıları ki ~dilär alar** 'their gods they fled to', 244a(26–27).
- siÿir** *n* 'cow', KRPS(t,h,k): 488 'cow; bull; ox; cattle', **sarı yaÿın ~niñ** 'the butterACC of cow; butter from herd', 243b(15); CTat **siÿir** 'cow' (QRL: 113).
- sila-** *vt* 'to spread sth with sth; to coat', ~**ÿin anı içkertin da çiyartın smola bilän** 'coat it with pitch inside and outside', 2a(14); KRPS(t,h,k): 491 'id'.
- şimarla-** *vt* 'to command; instruct', **neçik ki ~di añañ tañrı** 'as 'God commanded him', 2b(10–11).
- şiniqliq** *n* 'breakdown; perishment; unfortune', KRPS(Şk): 494, **yuwuqtur küni ~lariniñ** 'close is the day of their perishment', 244a(23).
- şırça** *n* 'mug; cup', KRPS(k): 495, **üstünä keçär** ~ 'the cup will be passed to you', 245a(22), this word was widely used in OT and MT in the meaning 'glass', for details see Zajaczkowski 1958: 48; 1961: 165; from among the modern languages, Radloff (1911: 649) gives only Turkish evidence, see also TS: 1300–01.
- şıyla-** *vt* 'to respect; honour', KRPS(t,h,k): 490 1) ~ 2) 'to (stand) treat', **yüzlärin qartlarnıñ ~madılar** '(they) did not respect (lit. the faces of) the elders', 245b(14).
- şıyli** *adj* 'honorable; magnificent', KRPS(t,h,k): 490, *n* 'choice; selected', ~**şı bilän semiz qoylarnıñ** 'with the choice heads of fattened sheep', 243b(16).
- şızluwli** *adj* 'aching; hurting; painful', KRPS(t,h,k): 489 **şızlaw** 'ache; pain', (Şk) ~ 'patient; one who suffers from pain', (Şk) **şızluwlu** 'id', **munıñ üçün boldı** ~ **köñlümüz** 'because of this our heart started aching', 245b(19).
- smola** *n* 'pitch', 2a(14); Slavic **smoła**, although absent from KRPS, this word, in the form **samala**, was already attested in the 12th century Khorezmian (Eckmann: 'Khorazmian') Turkic (Yüce 1988: 25).

- soğra** *postp* 'after', **yedi ol künlärdän** ~ 'seven days', 3a(6).
- soqur** *n* 'blind', KRPS(Šk): 478, **~lar kibik** 'like the ~s', 245a(6); < Mongolian **soqar** (Poppe 1962: 338).
- sor-** *vi, vt* 'to ask', **~yın ataya** 'ask the Father', 243b(4).
- söz** *n* 'word', **da sözlädi šol barča ~lärin uşpu širanıñ** 'and (Moses) spoke all the ~s of this song', 244b(12).
- sözlä-** *vi* 'to say; speak; talk', **da ~yim** 'and I will speak', 243a(17).
- sunor** *n* 'edge; border; boundary', KRPS(K): 493 'id', **turyuzdı ~ların ulusların** '(He) set up boundaries for the nations', 243b(6–7); Greek **σύνωπον**.
- suw** *n* 'water', **yüzü üstünä ol ~ların** 'over the surface of the ~s', 1a(5); cf. **därya**.
- sünätlä-** *vt* 'to circumcise', KRPS: 484 **sunetle-**, **da ~ñiz šol etin aqlafıñızın** 'and circumcise the flesh of your foreskin', 4a(7–8); A **sunna(t) + -IA**.
- sünätlän-** *v pass* 'to be circumcised', **sekiz künlük oylan ~sin** 'eight-day-boy must be circumcised', 4a(9).
- sürkalgän** *part* 'crawling', KRPS: 501 gives evidence for the verb 'to crawl' in many forms, probably the most similar is Troki dialect with **s'urk'al**, 244a(7).
- sürün-** *vi, v refl* 'to drag oneself; stagger', KRPS(Šk): 487, **quvatı oylanların ayaç bilän ~dilär** 'the strength of the boys has gone away under the burden of wood' (a clumsy translation), 245b(15–16).
- süt** *n* 'milk', **~in qoynıñ** 'sheep milk; the milkACC of sheep', 243b(15).
- şahar** *n* 'town; city', KRPS(k): 645, (Šk): 649 **şehar**, (t): 643 **şayar**, **~larında Yehudanıñ** 'in the towns of Judah', 245b(13); P **şahr**.
- şart** *n* 'condition; agreement; covenant', **~imni birgänjä** 'my covenantACC with you', 2a(24–25); **~im ki saqlayaysız** 'my covenant that you must keep', 4a(5); A **şart**.
- şaytan** *n* 'evil', KRPS(Šk): 643, **qurban etärlär ~laryğa** '(they) sacrificed to ~s', 243b(22); A **şayta:n**.
- şeraat** *n* 'law; justice', KRPS(k): 649 **şeraatği** 'judge', Sulimowicz (1972: 58) **şara'at**, but p. 59 **şera'at**, **barča yolları ~ bilän** 'all his ways are lawful', 243a(22); A **şar'ıyya** 'lawfulness; legality'.
- şeraat et-** *vt comp* 'to judge', **ki ~ ~är H şeraatın** 'that God will judge (them) according to His law', 244a(24); also: **şeraat tut-**, **da tutar ~ni** 'and (it) will judge', 244b(5–6).
- şeraatçı** *n* 'judge', **da duşmanlarımız ~lar** 'and our enemies are judges (will judge us)', 244a(17).
- şiş-** *vi* 'to get fat; swell', cf. **semir-**, **baziq bol-**, 243b(19).
- şira** *n* 'song', KRPS(t): 648, **da sözlädi šol barča sözlärin uşpu ~nıñ** 'and (Moses) spoke all the words of this ~', 244b(12); Hb שִׁירָה.
- şol** *adj dem* 'that', mostly copied from Hb definite article הַ: ~ **yerni** 'the earthACC', **יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ**, 1a(2); cf. **ol**.
- tabaqa** *n* 'layer; expanse', **bolsun ~ ortasında ol suwların** 'let be the layer between the waters', 1a(12–13); **da yarattı tağrı šol ~ni** 'and God created the layer', 1a(14); A **tabaqa**.

- tağ** *n* 'crown' 245b(18); P **ta:ğ**.
- tay** *n* 'mountain', KRPS(Šk): 505 'id', **~i ücün Ciyonnıñ** 'for Mount Zion', 245b(20); as compared with Kipchak **taw** and Oghuz **day**, this is a continuation of OT form, preserved still in Shor and some dialects of Altai and Khakas, Radloff (1905: 795) as well as in Uighur and Yellow Uighur (Chen 1990: 252–53).
- tayın** (rare, cf. **dayın**) *conj* 'and; still', K: 180 and KRPS: 168 provide only forms with **d-**, **da ~ şol atın Içaq da** (the text breaks off, the next word which is the catchword **turyuzürmın** seems to belong to the next line) '**~** his name ACC (will be) Isaac', 4a(27).
- tayıl** *n* 'produce; fruit', KRPS(Šk): 518, **~ların tarluwnıñ** 'the fruits of the field(s)', 243b(14); cf. Tur **tahıl** (TS: 1401).
- tayıt** *n* 'throne', KRPS(t,h,k): 518, **~iğ dävir dän dävirgä** 'your **~** (let it be) from generation to generation', 245b(21–22); P **tayıt**.
- tamam** *n* 'end; finish', **~ bol-** *vi* 'to end; (be) finished', KRPS(h,k) **tamam ol-**, **~du künlärimiz** 'our days came to an end', 245a(15–16); A **tama:m**.
- tamir** *n* 'root', KRPS(t,h,k) **tamur**, **~larnıñ çayırları** 'wine from their **~s**', 244a(20).
- tamla-** *vi* 'to drop', **~r çiq kibik aytuwım** 'my saying will drop (fall, descent) like dew', 243a(19).
- tanıq et-** *vt comp* 'to explain', KRPS(Šk): 512 'to explain; witness', **barça ol sözlärgä ki men ~ ~äydir men sizgä bugün** 'all these words I am explaining you today', 244b(15–16).
- tañrı** *n* 'God', **da kördü ~** 'and **~** saw', 1a(7).
- tap-** *vt* 'to find', **~tı anı yaban yerdä** '(he) found him in a desert', 243b(8).
- tar beriwçi** *n* 'oppressor; tyrant', KRPS(t,h,k) **tar ber-** 1) 'to besiege 2) 'threaten; abuse; tyrannize', **qaytarırmin öc tar beriwçilärimä** 'surely, I shall take vengeance on my oppressors', 244b(6).
- tarluw** *n* 'field', KRPS(Šk): 515; Sulimowicz (1972: 58) **tarlov**, **da aştatti tayılların ~nıñ** '(He) fed (him) with the fruits of the field(s)', 243b(14).
- tart-** *vt* 'to pull; draw', KRPS(t,h,k): 515, **tiyirmän ~ma** 'to operate the mill; to turn the millstones (millwheels)', 245b(15).
- tas bol-** *vi* 'to perish', KRPS(t,h,k): 516, **~ ~yan keñäşli ulusdır** 'resourceful (wise) nation which perished', 244a(13).
- tawus-** *vt* 1) 'to complete; finish', cf. KRPS: 504, **arşın bilän ~qın anı yuqartın** (see the English translation of the Holy Bible 1978: 9 'finish the ark to within 18 inches of the top'), 2a(18); **da ~tı Moşe sözlämä şol barça uşpu sözlärni** 'and Moses has completed all those words', 244b(13–14); 2) 'to destroy', KRPS: 504, K: 261, **~ayım üstlärinä yamanlıqlar oqlarımni ~ayım alarda** 'I will heap calamities upon them I will expend my arrows against them' (i.e. 'I will destroy them with calamities and arrows'), 244a(4–5).
- tawusul-** *vi, v pass* 'to be tired', KRPS(t,h,k): 504 1) *vi, pass* from **tawus-** 2) 'to be tired', **~dılar közlärimiz** 'our eyes failed', 245a(12–13).

- tay-** *vi* 'to slip; slide', KRPS(t,h,k), ~**yan vaçtta ayaqları** 'their feet when they slip?', presumably 'their foot will slip when the time come', 244a(22).
- täkä** *n* 'goat', KRPS(Šk): 562, **da ~lär sıylısı** 'and choice ~s', 243b(17).
- tärägä** *n* 'window', KRPS: 566–67 (many forms), ~ **qilyin ol gemigä** 'make a ~ in (lit. to) this ship', 2a(17–18); P **tera:zu:**; cf. K: 262.
- tebägän** *part* 'restive; unruly', KRPS does not provide this word, which is, though, evidenced by Sulimowicz (1972: 53) 'krnǫbrny' and 1973: 101 'wierzgający, krnǫbrny' 243b(18).
- tek** *adv* 'only; solely; alone', ~ **Noah** 'Noah alone', 3b(18).
- ten** *n* 'body; entity; creature', **barča ~dän** 'of all creatures', 2b(2); P **tan**.
- teñiz** *n* 'sea; ocean', KRPS(Šk): 565 'id' with 6 alternating forms, **da iyinina ol suwlarnıñ atadı ~lär** '(he) called the masses of water "sea"', 1b(6).
- teri** *n* 'skin', ~**lärimiz furin kibik qızdılar** 'our ~ got hot like an oven', 245b(11).
- ters** *adj, adv* 'reverse; opposite; wrong', KRPS: 566, **ayıpları ~ dävır da qıñır** 'warped (perverse) and crooked generation', 243b(1).
- teyirmän** *n* 'mill', this word may be found in KRPS in many forms, most related are the following: (k) **tiyirmen**, (t) **tiyerm'an**, (h) **tiyermen**, **yigitläрни ~ tartma aldılar** '(they) took the young men to operate the mills (to drudge with millstones or millwheels)', 245b(14–15).
- tez** *adv* 'quickly; fast', ~**lär keläğäklär alarıya** 'they will come quickly to them', 244a(23); P **tüz**.
- tip** *n* 1) 'bottom' 2) 'deck; store', 2a(19), and derivatives:
tibindän *postp* 'from the bottom, below'
 ~ **tabaqanıñ** 'from under the expanse; layer', 1a(15).
- tirgiz-** *vt* 'to (re)animate; keep alive', 2b(18); **men öldirirmin da ~irmin** 'it is me who kills and animates', 244b(2).
- tiri** *adj, n* 'living; alive', **da barča ol ~dän** 'of all living creatures', 2b(2).
- tiril-** *vi* 'to live', **barča tendän ekişär barçadan ketirmä ol gemigä ~mä birgänä erkäk da tişi bolsunlar** 'you must have two of all living creatures, male and female to bring onto the ship that they live with you', 2b(2–4).
- tirilik** *n* 'life; age', **altı yüz birinği yılda ~liklärinä Noahnıñ** 'when Noah was six hundred and one years old', 3a(8–9); the plural **-lär** is copied from Hb ע"ד.
- tiş** *n* 'tooth; fang', ~**in yaman kiyiklärnıñ** 'the fangsACC of wild beasts', 244a(6).
- tişi** *n* 'female', **erkäk da ~** 'male and ~', 2b(4).
- tiy-** *vt* 'to touch', 245b(7).
- tiyil-** *vi, v pass* 'to stop; calm down; to be stopped; removed', cf. KRPS(Šk): 527; (t,h,k): 556 **tiyil-** 1) 'to stop' 2) 'to await; expect', also KRPS(Šk): 527 **tiyilgän** *part* 'arrested; imprisoned', ~**gän da kemişilgän** '(presumably) removed and rejected', it is also likely that this word is connected with the previous phrase: **...ketti quvat da yoqtır** '...strength is gone, does not exist, was waped out, 244a(25–26); **da ~ldi ol yağmur** 'and the rain stopped raining', 3b(26).
- tol-** *vi* 'to be full', **da ~du ol yer avanlıq** 'and the earth became full of sin', 2a(6–7).

- topraq** *n* 'earth; dust', **sürkälgänläriñiñ ~niñ** 'crawling on the ~', 244a(7).
- Tora** *n* 'Torah; law', **saqlama qilma šol barça sözlärniñ uşpu ~niñ** 'to keep (obey) all these words of ~', 244b(17); Sulimowicz transcribes תורה differently: **šol toraḡny** (1972: 56) and **šol tórálárin** (1972: 57); in my view, this word is a direct borrowing from Hebrew and should not be connected with Tur **törä**; Hb תורה.
- toy- vi** 'to become filled; satiate', **~ma ötmäkkä** 'to have enough bread; to be satiated with bread', 245b(7).
- tök- vt** 'to pour', **~ti qaḡir'in ačuwniñ** '(God) poured out his anger', 245a(1).
- tökkän part.**, **~lär ortasında qanin** 'among those who are shedding his blood', 245a(5).
- tölä- vt, vi** 'to pay', **H-ya mi ~rsiz muni?** 'is this the way you repay God?', 243b(1); < Mongolian **töle- ~ tölö-** (Poppe 1962: 339).
- tölöw verbal n** 'repaying; repayment, 244b(8).
- tul n** 'widow', **~lar kibik** 'like ~s', 245b(4).
- tur- vi 1)** 'to stand up; get up', KRPS(t,h,k) 1) 'id' 2) 'stand; stop' 3) 'last', **~sınlar** 'let them get up', 244a(28); 2) *v aux* (expresses progressive aspect), **ol qozlay ~yan ol yer üstünä** 'the breeding (lit. laying eggs [creatures]) on the earth, 3b(12).
- turyuz- vt** 'to set up; establish', **da ~urmın šol šartımnı** 'I will establish my covenant', 2a(24).
- tut- vt** 'to keep; hold; catch', **qulaq ~uḡız** 'listen', 243a(17).
- tutki conj** 'so that', KRPS(Šk): 549 '(so) as, as if', **~ bolay almas edilär tiyğänlär kiyimläriñä** 'so that nobody would dare to touch their clothes', 245a(7-8).
- tutul- v pass** 'to be caught', **mašiyahı H-niñ ~di awlarıña** 'the God's anointed was caught in his their traps', 245a(19).
- tutuwlıq n** 'possession; property; holding', KRPS: 550, **tutuwlıyuna dünyäniñ** 'to your everlasting possession', 4a(1).
- tuw et- vt comp** 'to slaughter', KRPS(t,k): 542, **çıqartın ~ ~är qılıç** 'the sword will slaughter (them) outside', 244a(8).
- tuwar n** 'cattle; livestock', KRPS(t,h,k): 542 'id', **ol ~dan ğinsinä** 'from the cattle, according to its kind', 2b(5).
- tuwduq n** 'relative', KRPS(Šk): 542 1) 'relative; cousin' 2) 'sister', in Troki and Halicz dialect only 'sister', **~lari Noaḡniñ** 'Noah's relatives', 2a(1).
- tügäl adj 1)** 'righteous; perfect; honest', **Noaḡ sadiq kişi edi, ~ edi** 'Noah was a just, righteous man', 2a(1-2); this is a synonym to Hb and A **sadiq**; KRPS(Šk): 551-52 provides nominal and adjectival meanings of this word, among the latter, there are 1) 'innocent; pure' 2) 'honest', word well-known from MT, cf. CC: 259 'perfect'; Zajaczkowski 1961: 189 and OT, DTS: 595; in Modern TL mostly used in the verbal sense 'to complete; finish' (QMOS: 667, KRS: 326 (dated)); in Tatar also 1) 'evenly; exactly' 2) 'full', cf. TRS: 571; in Karachai-Balkar 'almost; nearly' (QMOS: 667); 2) 'perfect', **ol taḡrı ~dir işi anıñ** 'the works of God are perfect' or 'He is God; his work (what He does) is perfect', 243a(22).

- tügät-** *vt* 'to finish; complete', KRPS(Šk): 552 1) 'to finish; bring to an end' 2) 'to destroy; exterminate', ~**ti H šol qaħirîn** 'God became extremely angry' (although this translation is somewhat distant, we must note that this verb copies the Hb verb כָּלַל), 245a(1).
- tülkü** *n* 'fox', KRPS(t): 570 **t'ul'k'u**, (k): 528 **tilki**, ~**lär yürüdülär anda** 'foxes walked there', 245b(20–21).
- tümän** *num* 'ten thousand; great number', KRPS(Šk): 553, **eki qaçirirlar ~ni** 'two men drive away a ~ ~', 244a(15).
- tüş-** *vi* 'to fall down', **da ~tü Abraham yüzləri üstünä** 'and Abraham fell face down', 4a(21–22).
- tüzi-** (despite this way of writing, more probable pronunciation was **tüzü-**) *vt* 'to create; form; shape; build', KRPS(Šk): 552 (q.v. for other variants and dialects), **yarattı seni da ~di** '(He) created and shaped you', 243b(2–3).
- uç-** *vi* 'to run away', KRPS(t,k): 1) 'to fly' 2) 'to fall down' 3) 'to rush', **ki ~tilar ki dayın avara boldılar** 'when (they) ran away and wandered', 245a(9).
- ulu** *adj* 'great', **şol ~ yarıqnı** 'that ~ lightACC', 1b(22); cf. K: 46 **uqluraxny**.
- ululıq** *n* 'greatness', **berıjz ~ taqrımızya** 'render the ~ to our God', 243a(21).
- ulus** *n* 'country; folks; nation', **barča yat ~tan ki urluğunđan düğüldir** 'from all the foreign countries (peoples; folks) that are not your offspring', 4a(11–12).
- unut-** *vt* 'to forget', ~**tuğ da ~tuğ yaratqan taqrıqnı** 'you forgot your God who created you', 243b(24).
- urluq** *n* 1) 'seed', ~ **etiwcı urluq** '~ bearing ~', 1b(8–9); 2) 'descendant', **sen da urluğuğa artıñdan dövirlärinä** 'you and (to) your descendants after you (and to the) generations (afterwards)', 4a(3–4).
- urusfaylıq** *n* 'disgrace; shame', KRPS(k): 581, **körgin şol urusfaylıyımizni** 'see our disgrace', in the prayer edited by Sulimowicz (1972: 57, facts 2), the stem of this word appear with unrounded vowels **yrysfaj**, 245b(1–2); P **ru:spi:**, cf. Tur **orospu**.
- usli** *adj* 'wise', ~ **dügil** 'unwise', 243b(2); **vali ~ bolıyay edilär** 'if only they were ~', 244a(14).
- uşbu** (also: **uşpu**, **işbu**) *adj dem* 'this one', ~ **dävirdä** 'in this generation', 2b(13).
- uşpu** *adj dem*, 244b(14), see **uşbu**.
- uya** *n* 'nest', KRPS(Šk): 575, **qozıyar ~sın** '(the eagle) stirs up its ~', 243b(10).
- uzart-** *vt* 'to prolong', KRPS(t,h,k): 574, 1) 'to prolong; make longer' 2) 'spend time', **uşpu söz bilän ~ırsız künlär** 'with these words (SING) you will make your days (ie your life) longer', 244b(18–19).
- uzunluq** *n* 'length', 2a(16); **kemişirsın bizni uzunluğıına künlärniğ** 'you forsake us for long days (so long)', 245b(22–23).
- üç** *num* 'three', ~ **oylanlar** '~ sons', 2a(4).
- üç yüz** *num* 'three hundred', 2a(15).
- üçin** (cf. **üçün**), **anığ ~** 'because of that; for this reason', 244b(26–27).

üçün *postp* 'because; so that', KRPS(t): 592, **üç'un**, **yaziqların** ~ 'because of your sins', 245a(24).

üçünği *num ord* 'third', **kün** ~ 'the ~ day', 1b(15).

üliš (cf. **ülüş**) **Yaqob payı ~iniñ** 'Jacob's portion is his share', 243b(8).

ülüş *n* 'portion; share; part', KRPS(t,k): 589 **ül'uş**, **ülüş** (and other forms), **deñşirildi ~ümüz yatlarğa** 'our portion (inheritance) was turned over to the strangers', 245b(2).

ülüş- *v coop* 'to share sth; to divide between themselves', KRPS(Šk): 589 'id', **~känindä biyik tañrı uluslarnı ayırğanında** 'when they inherited, when the Great God separated all nations', 243b(5–6).

üst *n* 'top', **açuwlandıñ ~ümüzgä** 'you got angry with us (lit. upon us), 245b(24).

üstünä *postp* 'above, over; onto', **yüzü ~ däryanıñ** 'over the surface of the river', 1a(4); **üstündän** 'from the top', ~ **tabaqanıñ** 'from the top of the expanse', 1a(16).

vadä *n* 'season', **da bolsunlar (...)** **~lärğä** 'and let them be (to mark, lit. let them be to signs and to seasons) the ~s', 1b(18); cf. K: 46 **vaydalarğa**; KRPS(th): 155 **vayda**; (k): **vade** and (Š,k): **vede**; A **va'da**.

vali *conj* 'if (only)', ~ **Yişmael tiri bolğay edi aldıma** 'if only Ismael might be alive before me', 4a(25); ~ **uslı bolğay edilär** 'if they only were wise', 244a(14); P **vali**: 'but; however'; K: 279; Kowalski admits the possibility of fusion with the Polish conjunction **ale** 'id', which is also attested in Western Karaim, but this is unlikely in the case of Crimean dialect; attested in Turkic languages deeply influenced by Persian, cf. Eckmann (1988: 285), but only in the sense 'but'; Musaeu (1964: 326) makes a distinction between P **vali** and Polish **ale**; in the manuscript ~ is no doubt used in the sense 'if (only)', since each time it introduces a desiderative sentence; none of existing linguistic elaborations provides this meaning.

vaxt *n* 'time', Sulimowicz (1972: 60) ~, 244a(22); A **vaqt**.

vay *interj* 'O, Oh', KRPS(t,h,k): 155, ~ **endi bizgä** 'woe to us', 245b(18).

vä *conj* 'and' (only one occurrence, in place of **da**, not to be found in KRPS, a Turkish word), ~ **yabuldular çoqraqları däryanıñ** '~ the springs of the waters closed', 3b(25); A **vä**, see, however, 7.3.1.

viran *adj* 'ruined; devastated', **da ol yer edi** ~ 'and the earth was devastated (i.e. formless; fuzzy)', 1a(3); P **vi:ra:n**.

yaban *n* 'desert', KRPS(k): 213 'id', ~ **yerdä** 'in a desert (land)', 243b(8).

yabul- *v pass, vi* 'to close; to be covered', **da ~dılar barça ol biyik taylar** 'and all the high mountains were covered', 3b(6–7); **da ~dılar çoqraqları däryanıñ** 'and the springs of the waters closed', 3b(25).

yay *n* 'grease, fat; oil', KRPS(Šk): 215 'tallow; fat; grease; butter', **bal qayadan da** ~ 'honey from the rock and oil', 243b(14); cf. KRPS(t,h,k): 214 **yaw** 'id'; in CTat, this sense is rendered by **may**, e.g. **ğermay** 'oil' (for the production of petroleum); cf. KRPS(Šk): 401 **may** 'fat'.

- sarı yay** 'butter', KRPS(t,h): 468 **sarıyaw** 'id', ~ **~in siyirniñ** '~ACC from cows', 243b(15).
- yaydır-** *v caus* 'to make rain rain; to send rain', **men ~rirmın ol yer üstünä qırq gün da qırq keçä** 'I will send rain onto the earth for forty days and forty nights', 2b(19–21).
- yaymur** *n* 'rain', **da boldu** ~ 'and rain rained (fell), lit. was', 3a(12–13).
- yağşı** *adj* 'good', **da kördü tañrı ki ~dır** 'and God saw that this is good', 1b(14).
- yalız** *adj, adv* 'alone', KRPS(t,h,k): 222, **H ~ köndärir anı** 'God Himself ~ leads him', 243b(12).
- yaman** *adj* 'bad, wrong; wicked; malicious', ~ **kiyiklär** 'wild beasts', 244a(6).
- yamanlıq** *n* 'bad act; badness; wickedness', KRPS: 224, 244a(4).
- yan** *n* 'side', **ol geminiñ ~ına** 'in (lit. to) the side of the ship', 2a(19).
- yan-** *vi* 'to burn', **da ~di tiptägi gördä degin** 'and (it) burned down to the lower graves', 244a(3).
- yandır-** *vt* 'to burn; kindle; set fire', KRPS(t,h,k): 226, **~di ot Ciyonda** '(He) set Zion on fire', 245a(1–2).
- yañı** *adj* 'new', 243b(23).
- yañırt-** *vt* 'to renovate; renew', KRPS(t,h): 226, **~qın künlärimizni** 'renew our days', 245b(25).
- yaralı** *adj, n* 'injured; wounded'.
- yaralı et-** 'to injure; wound', ~ **~ärmin** 'I wound', 244b(2).
- yarat-** *vt* 'to create', **bašta ~ti tañrı şol kökni da şol yerni** 'in the beginning God ~d (the) heaven(s) and the earth', 1a(2).
- yaratqan** *n, part* 'Creator', 243b(24).
- yarıl-** *vi* 'to split; be broken; break', **~dilar barça çoqraqları ulu däryaniñ** 'all the springs of the great water burst forth', 3a(10–11).
- yarılyaş** *n* 'salvation; redemption', KRPS(Šk): 236, **da alçaq etti tañrısın ~iniñ** 'and he humiliated the god of his salvation, 243b(20).
- yarılqa-** *vt* 'to have mercy; to forgive', KRPS(Šk): 236, **qartlarını ~madılar** '(they) had no mercy to the elders', 245a(12).
- yarıq** *n* 'light', **da boldu** ~ 'and there was ~', 1a(6).
- yas** *n* 'mourning', KRPS(t,h): 237, **~qa** 'to ~', 245b(17).
- yaş** *adj* 'young', ~ **ot** '~ grass', 243a(20); cf. K: 201 **ıaşot** 'frisches Gras, grünes Gras'.
- yaşar** *adv* 'to be ... years old', KRPS: 242 'id', **Noah altı yüz ~ kişi edi** 'Noah was six hundred years old man', 2b(24–25); this construction, used to express the age is also known in other Kipchak languages, such as Kazakh and Tatar, see e.g. TTAS, III: 664.
- yat** *adj* 'foreign; stranger', ~ **ulustan** 'from foreign countries (folks)', 4a(11).
- yay-** *vt* 'to expend; spread out', KRPS(t,h,k): 218, **~ar qanatların** '(it) spreads its wings', 243b(11).

- yazıq** *n* 'sin', KRPS(Šk): 217, ~larından nâbilärniñ 'because of the ~s of their prophets', 245a(4–5).
- yazıqlı** *adj* 'sinful', **vay endi bizgä ki ~ bolduq** 'woe to us, for we have sinned', 245b(18–19); cf. Sulimowicz (1972: 56) **jazyqly boldyq**.
- yedi** *num* 'seven', ~ künlärdän 'during seven days', 2b(19).
- yediñgi** *num ord* 'seventh', in: **on ~** 'seventeenth', 3a(9).
- yedišär** *num distrib* 'by seven; seven each', **ol aruw tuwardan ~ ~ erkäk da tiši** 'seven of every kind of clean animals, male and female', 2b(14–15).
- yel** *n* 'wind; blow', ~i tañriniñ 'the blow of God', K: 46 'id', 1a(4).
- yeñil** *adj* 'light', KRPS(Šk): 272 1) 'light; straight' 2) 'unworthy', ~ **boldılar quwuwçularımız** 'our pursuers became lighter, i.e. swifter (than the eagles in the sky)', 245a(16–17); a calque from Hb קליון.
- yer** *n* 1) 'earth', **yešärsin ol ~** 'let the ~ be green', 1b(8); 2) 'place', **bir ~gä** 'to one ~', 1b(4).
- yesir** *n* 'captive', KRPS(t,h,k): 276 **yesir, qanıdan lešniñ da ~niñ** 'from the blood of carcasses and ~s', 244b(8); A 'asi:r.
- yesir et-** *vt* 'take captive', 245a(23).
- yešär-** *vi* 'to become green', ~sin ol yer 'let the land ~ ~', 1b(8).
- yešir-** *vt* 'to hide', KRPS: 243 **yašir-**, ~äyim **häzratlarımni** 'I will ~ my dignity', 243b(26).
- yiber-** *vt* 'to send', KRPS(Šk): 243 **yibir-**, **tišin yaman kiyikläрниñ ~äyim** 'I shall send to them the fangs of wild beasts', 244a(6).
- yigit** *n* 'young man', **dayın ~ dayın boy qız** '~ men and young women', 244a(8).
- yimiš** *n* 'fruit', ~ ağaçı 'fruit-tree', ~ ~ **qılıwçı yimiš** 'fruit produces fruit-trees', 1b(9).
- yıl** *n* 'year', **altı yüz birinği ~da** 'in the six hundred and first year', 3a(8).
- yılan** *n* 'snake', cf. **otlı ~**, which corresponds to Hb תנין, 244a(20).
- yıldız** *n* 'star', 1b(24).
- yilim et-** (also: **yilis et-**) *vt* 'to destroy', KRPS(Šk): 266 **yilim** 'destruction; loss; extermination', ~ ~ti šol barça ol **halqı (!)** '(he) destroyed all people', 3b(15).
- yilis bol-** *vi* 'to be destroyed; wiped out', 3b(18).
- yilis et-** *vt* 'to destroy', **da ~ ~ärmin šol barça ol halqnı ki yarattım** 'I will put an end to all the people I created', 2b(21–22); ~ is noted in KRPS(t,k): 266, although Sulimowicz (1972: 53) stated it had been unknown in Western Karaim.
- yiltiramaq** *n* 'flash; glittering', KRPS(h): 265 **jültramak** 'id', **egär biläsäm yiltiramağın qılıčımniñ** 'if I sharpen my flashing sword', 244b(5).
- yol** *n* 'way', **ki çaypadi barça ten šol ~un** 'that all the people had corrupted all their ways', 2a(8–9).
- yoq** *v exist* 'there is (are) no; not to be', **da ~tİR birgäsinä yat tañrı** 'no foreign god is with him', 243b(12–13).
- yoq bol-** *vi comp* 'to perish; disappear', **atarımız yazıqlı boldular da ~ ~dular** 'our fathers sinned and are dead, there are no longer', 245b(7–8).

- yüqartın** *adv* 'upwards; on the top', **tawuŋın anı** ~ 'finish it on the top', 2a(18).
yuwuq *adj, adv* 'near', KRPS(Šk): 253, **~tan keldilər** '(they) came from the ~ distance', 243b(23).
yuwuqlaş- *vi* 'to be near; to approach', KRPS(Šk): 253, **~tü aŋırımiz** 'our end was near', 245a(15).
yüklän- *vi* 'to be burdened', KRPS(Šk): 262, **da biz gunahların ~dik** 'and we ~ed ourselves with their sins', 245b(8).
yürü- *vi* 'to walk', KRPS(t,k): 262, **da ~dü ol gemi yüzü üstünä ol suwlarnıñ** 'and the ship floated on the surface of the water', 3b(4–5).
yürümäk *n* 'walk(ing)', KRPS(t): 262, **yürüm'ak, atladılar atlamlarımıznı ~tän oramlarımızda** '(they) followed our steps when we were walking in our streets', 245a(14–15).
yüz¹ *n* 1) 'face', **da tüştü Abraham ~läri üstünä** 'and Abraham fell ~ down', 4a(21–22); 2) 'surface', **~ü üstünä däryanıñ** 'on the ~ of the river', 1a(5).
yüz et- *vi* 'to respect; to show honour', **yüzlärinä kohənlärnıñ ~ ~mädilär** 'they did not respect our priests', 245a(11); Sulimowicz (1972: 53) writes this word is well-known from the western Karaim dialects, **júz et-** 'zwracać uwagę, mieć wzgląd na ...', yet in KRPS(h): 19 only in the form **iz et-** in the meaning 'to assist; forgive'.
yüz² *num* 'hundred', 2a(15).
yüz elli *num* 'hundred and fifty', ~ ~ **kün** '~ ~ days', 3b(20).
zalim *adj* 'cruel', 244a(20); A **za:lim**.

PROPER NAMES

Abraham	4a(3)
Adam	243b(6)
Aharon	244b(26)
Amora	244a(18); Sulimowicz (1972: 57) ~
Aşur	245b(7)
Başan	243b(16)
Cin	244b(28)
Ciyon	245a(2); Sulimowicz (1972: 60) çijon .
Edom	245a(21)
Ĥam	2a(5)
Hor	244b(26)
Hoşea	244b(13)
Içhaq	4a(27)
Kanaan	4a(1)
Mariba	244b(28)
Misir	245b(6)
Moab	244b(22)

Moše	244b(11); Sulimowicz (1972: 56) moše .
Nebo	244b(22)
Noah	2a(1)
Nun	244b(13)
Qadeš	244b(28)
Sarah	4a(19)
Saray	4a(19)
Sedom	244a(18)
Šem	2a(4)
U s	245a(21)
Yafet	2a(5)
Yaqob	243b(8)
Yehuda	245b(13)
Yeriho	244b(23)
Yerušlem	245a(4); cf. KRPS: 683, besides Yerušalayim ; Sulimowicz (1972: 60) yeruša l aim, although in the text the vocalization suggests the reading [y(e)rušiläm], facs 6
Yisrael	243a(24)
Yišmael	4a(25)

ABBREVIATIONS

A	= Arabic
CTat	= Crimean Tatar
Hb	= Hebrew
HD	= Halicz dialect
MT	= Middle Turkic languages
OT	= Old Turkic languages
P	= Persian
TD	= Troki dialect
TL	= Turkic languages
Tur	= Turkish

The letters h, k, t and Š after KRPS indicate Halicz, Crimean and Troki dialect as well as Šapšal's dictionary included in KRPS

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