Offprint from
MEDITERRANEAN LANGUAGE REVIEW
edited by Marcel Erdal,
Werner Arnold, Martin Maiden,
and Yaron Matras
with the editorial assistance of
Ingeborg Hauenschild

16 (2005)

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden
HENRYK JANKOWSKI
Adam Mickiewicz University

READING LOOSE SHEETS OF PAPER FOUND AMONG THE
PAGES OF CRIMEAN KARAİM MEJUMAS

This paper presents and discusses three Purim songs and a poem of war
found among the pages of a Crimean Karaıım mejuma. Two Purim songs,
called Ağavat No 1 and Ağavat No 2, are composed in Crimean Karaıım and
one, Ağavat No 3, is in Russian. They are written on a loose sheet of paper.
In addition, there are a few notes on both sides of this sheet, including a
verse in the form of Turkish manı, called Üç qaranfil ‘three carnations’.
Except for a line in a typical Crimean Hebrew semi-cursive, which writes
the title of a poem not provided on this sheet, all are written in Cyrillic
script in pencil. The poem of war is written on a few leaves folded as in a
notebook, in the same Hebrew semi-cursive, also in pencil. Some lines are
hardly legible, and therefore some readings are tentative.

1. CRIMEAN KARAİM MEJUMAS AND THE QUESTION OF THE CRIMEAN
KARAİM LANGUAGE

As is well-known, secular literature of Crimean Karaııms is basically pre-
served in manuscripts called mejumas. The contents of mejumas are little
studied. There are no critical editions. The only mejuma known to the re-
searchers is that published by Radloff in 1888 and 1896. Unfortunately,
Radloff did not publish one mejuma. As he remarked, he selected portions
of one manuscript, added to it portions of a few other ones, as well as
Erak’s literary works. The 1896 printing was critically reviewed by Samoj-
lović (1917), who first surveyed the contents of Radloff’s publication set in

---

1 A preliminary version of this paper, presented on a conference in 2002 in Halich,
Ukraine, was published by L. Novoxvat’ko & al. (eds), Karaıımy Galyça: Istoriya
ta kul’tura. Materiały Miżnarodnoї Konferencii, Galyça 6–9 veresnja 2002 / The
Halych Karaııms: History and Culture. Materials of International Conference,
Halych, 6–9 of September 2002. Spolom: L’viv, Galyça, 142–155. – My thanks go
to Prof. Marcel Erdal for the careful reading of this paper and valuable improve-
ments and comments on it.
block Hebrew letters. A short article devoted to *mejumas* was published by Kokenaj (1933). Lastly, the author of these lines has prepared a paper in which he presents the contents of a *mejuma* once owned by Katyk (Jankowski forthcoming).

It is unknown how many manuscripts of this type have been preserved. Formerly many *mejumas* were included in Kokenaj’s collection. As Kušul’ says, she handed over 52 “works” from this collection to the Library of Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in 1981 (Kušul’ 1995: 48–49). However, we do not know how many *mejumas* there were between these works. Anyway, there are at least 19 *mejumas* in section F. 305, call numbers 106–119; 121–123; 125–126, and probably 265 and 268. There is a number of *mejumas* in possession of the Karaim congregation in Eupatoria, eight of which were examined by this author in 2001.

Most preserved *mejumas* date from the 19th century and the language of literary works included in them is a typical literary language used at that time in the Crimea by, as it seems, all Turkic speaking ethnic groups, including Crimean Tatars, Karaims and Krimchaks. This language, based on a southern standard, was very similar to Turkish, but not identical with it. It should be rather regarded as Crimean Turkish, as it was termed by Doerfer (1959). Naturally, there were also some specific ethnic features which distinguished Krimchak *jonks* from Crimean Tatar *jonks* and Karaim *mejumas*. Moreover, the copyists of the manuscripts used to leave marks of their own dialects on poetry and prose they copied. An essential point to stress is that the language of the literary works included in Karaim *mejumas* cannot be considered spoken language by any means. The spoken language of Crimean Karaims was not unique, it existed in a few local and social varieties, and was used in different styles, formal and informal variants (Jankowski 2003).

---

2. It is my pleasant duty to express my gratitude to Mr. Romualdas Firkovičius, the author of catalogue descriptions of section F. 143 (over 1,600 items from Shapshal’s collection), F. 301 (over 500 documents once belonging to the Karaim congregation in Lithuania) and F. 305 (ca. 250 documents of Simon Firkovič’s collection), who kindly provided me information on these documents.

3. My thanks go to Mr. Viktor Tirijaki, hazzan of Eupatoria congregation for making these manuscripts accessible.

4. In his publication, which is still the best description of the southern dialect of Crimean Turkic (in fact, only the western area of it stretching as far east as Üsküt), Doerfer makes a methodological mistake – he identifies the language of literary works collected in the described areas with the local dialects, which is not the case.
Fortunately, some copyists of *mejumas* added to the stories and poems known from Turkish literature local Karaim verses, songs, stories, anecdotes and plays, which they either composed themselves or heard from others. These portions of *mejumas* are very important, for they reflect the spoken language much better and also say a lot of the Karaim culture and life of which the normal, standard *mejuma* says nearly nothing. For example, in Katyk’s *mejuma* the following paragraphs have been identified as being of the local Karaim descent: *Şamvel Şışmannuñ türküşi*⁵ (100–101), *Borqutnuñ türküşi* (110–111), *Yañi <evlingen> soldadlarga çiğan* (122–124), *Komedya* (156–159), a dialogue in verse in the form of *manı* (194–197), (Jankowski forthcoming).

As can be seen, notes, remarks, comments and additions written on the pages of manuscripts as well as on loose slips and strips of paper found among the pages of *mejumas* are of great interest. We have to study all the extant documents carefully, even if on casual slips and torn, blurred strips of paper, and especially those written in Hebrew letters, because information included in these notes may be very important to our knowledge. The present article is a contribution to the study of informal Karaim penmanship. It should be stressed that the lines published below do not reveal Karaim literature in a high style. The wording is often simple, the rhythm and rhyme broken, but these strokes unveil everyday life and emotions of people in a much more vivid way than stories imported from Turkish literature.

### 2. PURIM SONGS

In the following, three Purim songs from *mejumas* will be provided in a transcription based on the modern Crimean Tatar writing standard, although the quality of vowels and consonants is maintained as much as possible. The spelling of Russian words is maintained, even if it is incorrect, e.g. Соцтатская, instead of Солдатская. The date of the recording of these songs is unknown. Based on the properties of the spelling and paper, it can be supposed that the songs were written down in the 1920s or 1930s.

---

⁵ In this article the transcription is identical with the modern Crimean Tatar writing based on the Latin script, approved in 1992–1993, with an additional sign ⟨i⟩ for the Cyrillic ⟨у⟩, IPA [i] which stands for a lax, lowered variety of /i/. The vowels /и ы/ were employed for the Cyrillic ⟨у ы⟩ etc. where applicable. Transliteration is provided for corrupt, inexact or debatable words in footnotes.
Ağavat N

I Büğüün bizde büyük bayram
Yaradanın olan qurban

II Şükürler olsun Var kudaya
Milletimize olmadi zaya

III Qutardi bizni şu Amandan
Soyı sopi bek yamandan

IV Mordehay ve Ester unutulmasın
Dordan doğru adları qalsın

V Mordehay ve Ester aşği olun
Aman ve Zeres qarşı olun

Üç qaranfil

1-3 [...] Ṭrı āğavat
4. Altmış yetmiş tuvar
5. Üç qaranfil

6 The word ağavat, from Hb. אָגָבַת 'love-song', absent from Mardkowicz’s dictionary and KRPS, is known in the Crimean Karaim tradition related to the Purim feast, e.g., “Впервый вечеръ Пурима выходит Агават т.е. в знакъ миролюбия учений и молодые люди ходятъ по домамъ с благословеніем и получаютъ подарки взпользо Газана и Шамаша” (Firković’ 1915: point 23).

7 Hb. מִלְשָׁה, Haman, e.g. Est. 3: 1.

8 Hb. מְרָדְכַּי, Mordekhai, e.g. Est. 2: 5.

9 Hb. זֶרֶשַׁ, Zeresh, Haman’s wife, e.g. Est. 5: 10.

10 Similar to the Rabbanite blessing performed after morning and evening prayer during Purim: מִלְשָׁ הַרְאָא ‘damned Haman’ and מְרָדְכַּי זֶרֶשַׁ ‘blessed Mordekhai’.
6-7 [...] Солдатская\(^{11}\) песня
(по караимски и русски)
вторая сторона {...} листа свободна

[1b]

Агават N 2

I  Šalom alehem aziz efendi
    Purim hayırlap buraya geldiğk
    Aydıınız dostlar sevleyik yaşlar
    Efendimize büyük dualar

II  Sizler begimiz sağ şen olasız
    Çoq iy[i]lık görüp çoq sevinesiz
    Siz er sızlatdan yiraq olasız
    припев

Агават N 3

I  Мы пришли друзья с приветом
    Рассказать, что в этот час
    День великого спасенья\(^{12}\)
    Озарили сияньем\(^{13}\) нас
    припев: Поздравляем караимов
        С этим светлым чудным днём,
        С наступлением Пурима
        С пирожками и вином.

II  В этот день в стране Медеев
    Нас Аман мечтал сгубить,
    Но чрез бого{г} караимов
    Сам с семьей своей погиб.
    припев:

III  Веселитесь старцы, дети,
    Веселисьа весь народ
    Наш господь в минути эти

\(^{11}\) Standard Rus. солдатская.
\(^{12}\) Standard Rus. спасения.
\(^{13}\) Standard Rus сиянием.
Comments
1. The Turkic language of these songs is a typical south-western language, very close to modern Turkish, e.g. olsun as opposed to the Kip. bolsun ‘let it be’; oldiğimi as opposed to bolğanın(ı) ‘that it was 3PS ACC’; sağ as opposed to sav ‘in a good health’, buraya as opposed to mında, bu yerde ‘to here’, gel- as opposed to kel- ‘to come’ etc.
2. The text reveals some typical Crimean features as lack of rounding harmony, e.g. oldiğimi versus olduğunu ‘id.’; the change -öy → -ew, e.g. söyleyik → sevleyik ‘let’s tell; let’s speak’; reduction of /f/ → /f/, e.g. siz ‘you’; deletion of /h/, e.g. Aman ‘Haman’, yaşlar as opposed to gençler ‘youngsters; young men’ etc.
3. The grammatical noun suffixes are mixed, the south-western forms appear alongside the north-western ones, e.g. milletimize ‘to our nation’, efendimize ‘to our Lord’, but dorğa ‘to a generation’ and bizni ‘us’.
4. The grammatical verb suffixes are all north-western, e.g. hayırlap versus hayırlayıp ‘when greeting’, bileyik versus bilelim ‘let’s know, let’s learn’.

English translation
Song 1

I  Its our great feast today! The sacrifice to the Creator.
   Refrain {Let’s cheer and laugh,} to know that it is Purim.

II  Thanks to Omnipresent God, there was no shortfall to our nation.
    Refrain.

14 See footnote 13.
15 Prof. Marcel Erdal suggests that -A in such forms as olasız and sevinesiz may be the south-western optative and not the typical north-western present.
III  He saved us from that Haman| from his cruel relatives.
    Refrain.

IV  May Mordekhai and Esther not be forgot,| may their memory pass
    on from generation to generation.
    Refrain.

V  Let Mordekhai and Esther be blessed,| let Haman and Zeresh be
damned.
    ----------- Refrain.

4) A wedding song [in Russian]
    Sixty-seventy pieces of cattle [in Hebrew characters]

5) Three carnations [in Karaim, Cyrillic script]
    1–3 [.] Three songs [in Russian]
    4. Sixty-seventy pieces of cattle [in Karaim, Cyrillic script]
    6-7 [.] Soldier’s song (in Karaim and Russian) [in Russian]

[Overleaf]

Song 2
I  Peace upon you, our dear lord!| We have come here to wish you a
    happy Purim!| Welcome friends, young mates, let’s perform| great
    prayers for our Lord!

II  May you be in good health and happiness, our lord| may you enjoy
    all goodness| and be safe from every oppression.
    Refrain.

Song 3
I  We have come as friends to greet you,| to say that it is a day of great
    salvation today| which has illuminated us.
    Refrain: We greet Karaims| on this bright, marvelous day,| with the
    coming of Purim,| with pies and wine.

II  On that day in the country of the Medes,| Haman intended to sweep
    us away,| but he was swept away himself by the hand of the Karaims’
    God.
    Refrain:
Rejoice, O elders and children,\ let us rejoice O the whole nation,\ in these minutes our Lord\ is illuminating [our] nation.

Refrain:
[Three carnations, written vertically in the low right corner]
You will be a carnation\ you will turn yellow and fade\ I was acquainted with your father\ you will be mine.

3. The Song of War

This poem is probably dedicated to the Russian-Turkish war, the so-called Crimean War of 1853–1856. The poem, which the author calls türkü, is written in couplets, numbering from 1 to 21, plus two lines after the typical Hebrew closing formula על המיים הזע `the end`. It takes up four pages, numbered VI–IX.\(^{16}\) The writing is regular and neat, although in a few places it is blurred and hardly legible. As said above, the poem was written in a typical Crimean Hebrew semi-cursive, for samples see Jankowski 2003: 126–129. The handwriting is professional and pleasing to the eye, it is evident that the author or the copyist was well educated in reading and writing, as the majority of the Karaim men. The numbers of couplets are in Arabic (European style), while the page numbers are in Roman. At this point note that prior to the Russian annexation of the Crimea in 1783 the Karaims mostly used Arabic symbols for numbers (Oriental style).

The style of the song is simple and the good command of the native language of the author is unquestionable. The language of the poem is mixed, with both south-western (Oghuzic) and north-western (Kipchak) traits, the latter being dominant. Therefore, it seems that the author either belonged to the congregation of Eupatoria or had Eupatorian roots. The admixture of south-western language features in the northern variety of

\(^{16}\) Beneath the song there are five lines of another türkü written in Crimean Turkish by the same hand, probably copied from a mejuma. This portion of the text was crossed. The coexistence of these two pieces of literature demonstrates that the Karaims in the Crimea used different languages and styles depending on the context and the social setting; for a discussion on this see Jankowski 2003. To illustrate the diversity of the language and style, I present these five lines in a transcription based on Turkish: [1] Neden meyl oldum yavrum selbi boyuña aman, aman [2] Melek mi katılmış avrum seniņ soyuņa [3] Soyunsam <gömleksiz> olsam, girsem koyniņa aman, aman [4] Ağam ağıl, daren čalği, yavrum oynasin [5] Kader mevlam, sen kavuştır nashi erime, aman, aman.
Crimean Karaim is normal, whereas the northern admixture in the language of the speakers of southern dialect is rare and rather stylistically motivated.

The date of the writing is not indicated, but it can be deduced that the poem was written in the years following the events of the 1853–1856 war when the memory of it was still fresh. At any event, it was after 1828–1829, since we have an indication to “twenty”. The author overtly sympathises with the Russians. His attitude represents a general attitude of Crimean Karaims, who by this time had already accepted the Russian rule over the Crimea.17 Despite his loyalty to the Russians, the language of the author of this poem is remarkably a Turkic language. He is not even accustomed to newly coined Russian names of Crimean cities, such as Feodosia, Sevastopol and Eupatoria, and calls them traditionally Kefe, Aqyar and Gözleve.18

VI
Türkçe çıqan[;] türkü

1  Bayraq açtın, görüldü ay man yıldız,
    Utanmadımın gelmeye küppegündüz19? Aynara.20

2  Dalfes ilen qurulğan kapitan21 bolup,
    Branelosler22 geldiler, domuzday solup. Aynara.

---

17 In his book on the participation of Karaims in Russian and Soviet military campaigns, Fuki infers that the number of fighting Karaims was high, but he was only able to find six names in archival documents (Fuki 1995: 33).

18 After submitting this article for publication, a shorter version of this song was found on pp. 170-173 of a Crimean Karaim mejuma copied in 1903 by Eliahu b. Yosef Qilci from Bahçesarai. Unlike what is published here, that version, titled Gözlevege gelen biranenoslerge çıqan türkü, is written in a language close to Crimean Turkish. There are also differences in the sequence of verses, their content and style. It is unfortunately impossible to publish the shorter version in extenso in the present article, but some corrupt words in the present version are written correctly in that one (to be referred to as Q below), making some amendments possible here.

19 Cf. Tur. güpegündüz.

20 Probably an exclamation consisting of the Tur. ay ‘oh!’ and the Tur. nara ‘shout; cry’ (TS 1632) ← Ar. na‘ra ‘noise, din, clamour, roar’ (Wehr 1980: 979). I owe gratitude to Prof. Marcel Erdal for this suggestion.

21 From the Rus. капитан ‘captain’.

22 From the Rus. броненосец ‘battleship’.
3 Bir qolunda kesesi hemde çubuq,  
Minda qalip qatesin, qalemiz\textsuperscript{23} coq. Aynara.

4 Cemaatlar <bayram>ğa\textsuperscript{24} adırlendi  
Branenoslar tobuman <gayırlendi>\textsuperscript{25}. Aynara.

5 Bayram topğa oqsamay atğan tobuñ  
Munasip olsin tobuña soyun sopuñ. Aynara.

6 Ayamadiñ sen attiñ eñ irisin?  
Soqaq boyu hanımlar cilay da qaçtı.\textsuperscript{26} Aynara.

VII

7 Atğan tobuñ irisi atlap geçti,  
Sermayesin dutmadi, zarar etti. Aynara.

8 Allah Allah tobuñınıñ balabani,  
{qar} Qarasımdan\textsuperscript{27} qorquñlı Alamanı. Aynara.

9 Soqaq boylı toplarıñ solup yatğan,  
Topni saña kim satğan, seni aldätğan? Aynara.

10 Tobuñ avzu avruvday cavırmı cavıgar\textsuperscript{28},  
Armiyasın\textsuperscript{29} vürursın\textsuperscript{30} canı cilğa? Aynara.

11 Qayda seniñ quvatıñ, qayda şañiñ,  
Qalesız\textsuperscript{31} şeher urmaqım ișağaniñ? Aynara.

\textsuperscript{23} Q 171.8 Niçin geldiñ bizlere, qalemiz yoq ‘Why did you come to us, we have no fortress’.
\textsuperscript{24} brym'ın g’.
\textsuperscript{25} ğyy<<=l'dy; cf. Azeri qayırıl- ‘to be done; to be prepared’ (ARS 85). Q 170, 6-7 
Cemaatlar bayramğa hadırları / Biranenoslar toptım hayırları ‘People came 
to celebrate the feast, and the battleships were greeted with cannon balls.’
\textsuperscript{26} These two verses do not fit each other but the corresponding verses in Q 170-171, 
15-1 do: Yağın geldiñ şehirge, ațş açtıñ / Soqaq boyu hanımlar cilay qaçtı ‘You 
drew near the city and began to fire / Women in the streets ran away crying.’
\textsuperscript{27} qr' syndn; in Q 170, 10 Siyasımdan qorquvtı Alamanı.
\textsuperscript{28} The reading cəlnman canar ‘it burns with flames’ would be better, but the verb is 
clearly written with the letter yod in the first syllable, i.e. çygr; in addition, the 
rhyme is incomplete; here the initial g- looks like ç-.
\textsuperscript{29} The initial letter looks like g with an over-stroke, but the reading c makes no sense.
\textsuperscript{30} Because of the meaning this reading is preferred despite the clear spelling ur- 
of this verb in the next couplet.
\textsuperscript{31} Cf. qalemiz coq in couplet 3. Since Q 171, 11 reads Boş şehirler urmaqım seniñ 
șañıñ?, another possible reconstruction would be Qalqışz (halqışz) şeher urmaqım 
ișağaniñ? ‘Is hitting an empty city the glamour that you rely upon?’
12 Cigirmi cilda bir geldin, ne qonmadin?
Aqšam sefa Orusda* qoqlar edin. Aynara.

VIII
13 Atğan tobuñ köbüsün <t>oaplal aldıq,
Qaranğda qalmadın, <ceme> qalduq. Aynara.
14 Yavrum Orus bayırda ateş açtı,
Allah{i} seni urğan son arında qaçtıñ. Aynara.
15 Orus toptan aşadı altı yedi,
Nek ardiña çekildiñ, acimi edi? Aynara.
16 Kefe bilen erişeme, Keriç yaqın,
Sen tobuña <tisanma> özünden saquin. Aynara.
17 Yigit olsañ varsana sen Aqyarğa,
Tumanuñdan qıstırır seni yarğa. Aynara.
18 Top atğandan eyidir sesiñ aytsañ
Ay yıldızdan <opurdığ> Keriçde yatsañ. Aynara.

IX
19 Anda saña adırdır musafir oda,
Kökis kerip yaldarsın datlı suvغا. Aynara.
20 Saña qarşı çığarlar cayavman altı,
Törge geçip aşarsın turupdan datlı. Aynara.
21 Gözleve digil qaytmaya, qayta qayta,
Qaburğandañdan deleler ata ata. Aynara.
    Tam ve nišlam
    x    x    x

32 *swrwsda*, i.e. (aqšam) sefa Orusda.
33 *g'n*; this word should probably be corrected to ceñe, cf. Tur. yen-'to overcome; to defeat'; the reading cana ← caña ← yanů here 'shortly before' is less likely and the Trk. *ğana ← yana 'again' does not seem to have much sense.
34 *y<.>nn*.
35 *wpwrdfq*; an unclear word; it may be compared with the Noghai opyra- 'to break down; to fall down' (NOS 249) or the Kazakh opyr- 'to splinter; to crack' (QOS 641); it must be noted that this reading recalls the vulgar verb osur- 'to fart'.
[Ya <vururuz> İstanbul, gireriz <Şam>a
Ya alırız Moskvayı, doyarız ama.]

Comments

The following are a few characteristic North-Western features of this poem’s language:

1. Phonetic features, e.g. c- as opposed to the south-western y-, e.g. cılıy versus ağlay ~ ağlayır ‘[she] weeps; they weep’; suvğa versus suya ‘into water’; kıkııs versus göğüz ‘breast’.

2. Grammatical noun suffixes, e.g. ay man yıldız versus ay ilen yıldız ‘moon and star’ (but dalfes ilen ‘with a fez’); domuzday versus domuz gibi ~ kibi ~ (archaic) kibik ‘like a pig’.

3. At the same time, many south-western forms are present throughout the verses, e.g. dutmadi versus tutmadi ‘[he] did not keep, hold’; geçti versus keçti or ötti ~ ötti ‘[he] passed’.

4. The vocabulary is typically Crimean Turkic, with a few South-Western and a few Russian words.

5. Lastly, there are a few remnants of the archaic Turkic languages of the Crimea, e.g. nek ‘why’ and the postposition bilen ‘with’, which occurs along with ilen, see above.

English translation

VI

Song of those who fought the Turks

1 You have unfurled the flags, and star and crescent appeared, are you not ashamed to come daytime?

2 Battleships have come, [led by] a captain with a fez on [his] head, and they are panting like swine.

3 With a pouch and a tobacco-pipe in one hand, what would you do if you stayed here? We have no fortress!

36 The reading veririz ‘we will give’ is less likely, but the meaning of alırız Moskvayı in the next line is also unclear.

37 The first line of this couplet is hardly legible because the paper was folded along it and some letters are indistinct.

38 The redif repeated at the end of every couplet is omitted from this translation.

39 The ms. has ḡmd”, whereas Q 171, 7 has ḡmd”.
People came to celebrate the feast, and the battleships were greeted with cannon balls.

The cannon balls that you shot do not resemble the feast ball, may they turn against your relatives!

Are you not ashamed to shoot the biggest one? Women in the streets wept and escaped.

The biggest shot of your cannon failed and passed by, it was not worth its price.

O God, your biggest cannon ball, German-brand, is more dreadful than its silhouette.

The cannon balls are panting in the streets; who sold them to you and cheated you?

The mouth of the cannon ball is like a disease, it flames; will you be hitting the army as long as the New Year?

Where is your power, where is your glamour; is shooting at an unfortified city what you rely on?

You came once in twenty years, why have you not remained? You would have smelled the Russians’ evening party.

We have collected many cannon balls; you did not remain after sunset, we overcame [you].

As soon as the dear Russians started shooting from the hill and God hit you, you retreated.

The Russians suffered a strike from cannon balls six or seven times, why did you retreat then? Was it bitter?

Do not joke with Kefe, for Kerch is near, do not rely on your cannon balls, take care of yourselves.

If you are brave, go to Aqyar, they will grasp you by your trousers and press to the abyss.
It would be better if you speak instead of shooting guns; we <are fed up with> the moon and crescent, when you stay in Kerch. There will be a guest room for you; you will, stretching your breast, swim in sweet water. They will come along to fight you, infantry and cavalry; when you take the honorable place at the table, you will eat sweeter than radish. There is no way to return to Gözleve, they will pierce your ribs by shooting the guns. The end.

[We either <hit> Istanbul and enter <Damascus> or capture Moscow, and it will be sufficient for us.] 44

4. CONCLUSION

Although the language of the documents like these examined is not identical with the spoken language, it is much closer to it than the language of high style and that of folklore literature shared with Turks. We can see that the language of some individuals at least, probably the members of the community of Eupatoria, reflected the northern or steppe Crimean Tatar dialect of this area, but also preserved some archaic features of Old Crimean Karaim, shared with Old Crimean Tatar and the other Turkic dialects of the peninsula.

With regard to religious questions, it is obvious that Crimean Karaims adhered more to the tradition of religion and liturgy 45 that was in many aspects common with that of Rabbanite Jews than Western Karaims did. 46 The feast of Purim was not popular among the Western Karaims. It is absent from Kowalski (1929), Mardkowicz’s dictionary (1935), it is not mentioned by Abkowicz (1987) and Traczyk (1987). Purim is not shown among the Karaim feasts in Karaj Awazy (No 12, 1938, p. 12a), although it is naturally indicated in the Karaim calendar (e.g. Karaj Awazy No 3, 1932, p. 25).

43 Not quite clear.
44 The sentence is not quite clear.
45 The catechisms by Duwan” (1890) and Firkovič” (1915) support this statement entirely.
46 However, there is evidence of many contacts with Rabbanite Jews and Rabbanite influence in the liturgy of Western Karaims (Malecki 1890: V; Munkácsy 1909: 187) as well, despite the efforts of later activists to eliminate it.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glossary Item</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>acı</td>
<td>'bitter' ← Tur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aç-</td>
<td>'to open'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad</td>
<td>'name', ~lary 'their names' ← Tur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adir</td>
<td>'ready', adirdir '[it] is ready' ← Ar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adırlen-</td>
<td>'to be prepared'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağavat</td>
<td>'song' ← Hb. အေး.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaman</td>
<td>'German' ← dial. Tur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aldat-</td>
<td>'to cheat; to deceive'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al-</td>
<td>'to take'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alehem</td>
<td>see şalom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ağışlı</td>
<td>'blessed'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allah</td>
<td>'God' ← Ar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alt</td>
<td>'six'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altmış</td>
<td>'sixty'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>'but' ← Tur ← Ar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman</td>
<td>Haman ← Hb. Համա.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anda</td>
<td>'there'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqšam</td>
<td>'evening' ← Tur. akşam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqyar</td>
<td>the Trk. name for Sevastopol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arlt</td>
<td>'rear; backside', ~diña çekil- 'to retreat'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armiya</td>
<td>'army' &lt; Rus. армия.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>așa-</td>
<td>'to eat; to acquire something unpleasant'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at-</td>
<td>'to fire (a gun, a cannon etc.)'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atesş</td>
<td>'fire' ← Tur ← Per.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atlal-</td>
<td>'to skip'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atlı</td>
<td>'horseman; cavalry'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avrûv</td>
<td>'pain; illness', ~day 'like a disease'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avuz</td>
<td>'mouth', avzu 'its mouth'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ay</td>
<td>'moon; crescent', ~man yıldız 'star and crescent'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aya-</td>
<td>'to regret; to be sorry'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aydın</td>
<td>'luminous, light', ~yz 'welcome! well done!' ← Tur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aynara</td>
<td>a word repeated in songs ← Tur. 'oh!' + Tur. ← Ar. na'ra 'shout; cry'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayt-</td>
<td>'to say; to speak'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aziz</td>
<td>'dear' ← Tur ← Ar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47 This glossary does not provide detailed etymologies of words.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>'father'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balaban</td>
<td>'great'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayır</td>
<td>'hill; mountain' (unlike Tur., where it is only used for a hill).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayram</td>
<td>'feast'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayraq</td>
<td>'flag'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belk¹</td>
<td>'lord', ~gimiz 'our lord'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bek²</td>
<td>'very'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ben</td>
<td>'I', ~im 'my' ← Tur. benim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilen</td>
<td>'with', cf. ilen and -man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bil-</td>
<td>'to know; to learn'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir</td>
<td>'one; a(n)'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biz</td>
<td>'we', bügün ~de büyük bayram 'its our great feast to day', ~ni 'us'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol-</td>
<td>'to be; to become', cf. ol-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boylı</td>
<td>'along; alongside', soqaq ~ 'in the streets'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyu</td>
<td>'along; alongside', soqaq ~ 'in the streets', cf. boylı.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branenos</td>
<td>'battleship' ← Rus. броненосец.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buraya</td>
<td>'(to) here' ← Tur., cf. mında.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bügün</td>
<td>'today'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>büyük</td>
<td>'big, great' ← Tur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calın</td>
<td>'flame', ~man 'with the flame'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canı</td>
<td>'new'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cayav</td>
<td>'pedestrian; on foot', ~man atlı 'infantry and cavalry'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cemaat</td>
<td>'people' ← Tur ← Ar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cen-</td>
<td>'to overcome; to defeat'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çigar</td>
<td>see çiq-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cila-</td>
<td>'to weep'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cil</td>
<td>'year'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigirmi</td>
<td>'twenty'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coq</td>
<td>'there is not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çekil-</td>
<td>'to retreat' ← Tur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çiq-</td>
<td>'to go out; to get out; to come out; to go up, to ascend', safa qarşı çiğarlar 'they will come along to fight you'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çoq</td>
<td>'much; many' ← Tur. çok, cf. köp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çubuq</td>
<td>'tobacco pipe'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>'and'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dalfes 'kind of fez' ← Tur. dalfes.
datlī 'sweet' ← dial. Tur. and s.d. CTat dath.
day 'like', domuzday ‘like a pig’.
del- 'to pierce' ← Tur.
digil 'not' ← dial. Tur. and s.d. CTat.
domuz 'pig', ~day ‘like a pig’ ← Tur.
dor 'generation', ~dan ~ğa ‘from generation to generation’ ← Hb. יֵית.
dost 'friend'.
doy- 'to have enough; to be satiated; to be satisfied' ← Tur.
and s.d. CTat.
dua 'prayer' ← Ar.
dut- 'to take; to catch', sermayesin ~madi ‘it was not worth its price’ ← dial. Tur. dut-.
e- 'to be', acımı ~di? ‘was it bitter?’.
efendi 'Sir, Mr.' ← Tur ← Gr.
eñ 'the most', ~ irisin ‘the biggest one’.
er 'each; every'.
eriș- 'to mock'.
Ester Esther ← Hb. חנה.
eyi 'good', çeyidir sesiñ aytsan ‘it would be better if you speak’.

<gayirlen-> 'to be greeted' (probably a variant of hayırlan-).
geç- 'to pass' ← Tur.
gel- 'to come' ← Tur.
gir- 'to come in; to enter' ← Tur.
görün- 'to appear; to look' ← Tur.
gör- 'to see' ← Tur.
Gözleve the Trk. name for Eupatoria.
gül- 'to laugh' ← Tur.
hanım 'lady'.
hayırla- 'to greet'.
hemde 'and' ← Tur. ← Per. and de / da
ısan- 'to trust'.
ilen 'with', cf. bilen and -man.
iri 'great; huge'.
İstanbul ‘Istanbul’.
iyilik ‘goodness’, cf. eyi.
kapitan ‘captain’ ← Rus. к а п и т а н .
Kefe *the Trk. name for Teodosia.*
Keriç *the Trk. name for what is in Rus. Керчи.*
ker- ‘to stretch’.
kese ‘tobacco-pouch’.
kim ‘who’.
kökis ‘breast’.
kölp ‘many’, ~lbüsün ‘many; many of; most of’.
küppegündüz ‘daytime’.
-man ‘with’.
-mi ‘if; whether’.
mında ‘here’, cf. buraya.
millet ‘nation’, ~imize ‘for our nation’ ← Tur ← Ar.
Mordehay Mordekhai ← Hb. מְודֵכָה.
Moskva ‘Moscow’.
munasip ‘suitable’ ← Tur ← Ar.
musafir ‘guest’ ← Tur ← Ar.
ne ‘what’.
nek ‘why’.
nişlam see tam.
oda ‘room’ ← Tur.
ol- ‘to be; to become’, cf. bol.
<opurdiq> (translation uncertain, see the note).
oqşa- ‘to be similar; to resemble’.
Orus ‘Russian’.
onya- ‘to play; to cheer’.
opzioni ‘yourself’.

Purim ‘Purim feast’ ← Hb. פָּרִים.
qaburğa ‘rib’.
qaç- ‘to escape; to flee’.
qal- ‘to remain’.
qale ‘fortress; stronghold’, ~siz ‘unfortified’ ← Ar.
qara 'black', ~si 'its silhouette'.
qaranfıl 'carnation; garden pink; clove pink' ← Ar.
qaranğı 'darkness', ~da 'after sunset'.
qargışlı 'damned'.
qarşı 'against'.
qate- 'what to do'.
qayda 'where'.
qayt- 'to return'.
qistur- 'to press'.
qol 'hand'.
qon- 'to settle; to stop for a night during a journey'.
qoqla- 'to smell; to nuzzle'.
qorqunçlı 'dreadful; terrible'.
quurban 'sacrifice' ← Ar.
quurlı- 'to be set up; to be established'.
qutar- 'to save; to rescue'.
quvat 'force; power' ← Ar.
şąğ 'to be well' ← Tur.
şaqın 'to be aware; to take care of'.
sarar- 'to turn yellow'.
sat- 'to sell'.
sefa 'enjoyment, pleasure' ← Tur ← Ar.
šen 'you', şañıa 'to you', ~ı 'you ACC', ~ıñ 'your'.
sermaye 'capital'; here 'price' ← Tur ← Ar.
ses 'sound'.
sevin- 'to be cheerful; to rejoice' ← Tur.
sevle- 'to speak', ~yık (...) büyük dualar 'let us perform great prayer' ← dial. Tur and s.d. CTat.
siqlat 'oppression' ← Tur. sıklət ← Ar.
sız 'you (honofiric)', sizler 'id.'.
sol- 'to fade'.
son 'after', Allah seni urğan ~ 'after God hit you', translated as soon as.
şopı see soy.
şopuň see soy.
şoqaq 'street' ← Tur. sokak (← Ar.).
soy 'family; race; lineage', ~ı şopı 'his relatives', soyuň şopuň 'your relatives'.
suv  ‘water’.
şalom alehem  ‘peace (be) upon you’ ← Hb. שָׁלוֹם עַלֶּיךָ.
<Şam>  ‘Damascus; Syria’.
şan  ‘fame; glory’ ← Tur ← Ar.
şehir  ‘town; city’ ← Tur ← Per.
şen  ‘cheerful; joyful’.
şu  ‘this one here’.
şükür  ‘thank’, ~ler ‘thanks’ ← Tur. ← Ar.
tam ve nişlam  ‘the end’ ← Hb. וָאֵלַע לְשָׁלוֹם ‘the end’.
tanış-  ‘to be acquainted’.
tobuman  see top.
tobuñ  see top.
top  ‘cannon ball; cannon’.
topla-  ‘to collect’ ← Tur.
tör  the place for a respectful, honourable guest.
tuman  ‘trousers’.
turup  ‘radish’.
tuvar  ‘cattle’.
Türk  ‘Turk’.
türkü  ‘folk song’ ← Tur.
unutul-  ‘to be forgotten’.
ur-  ‘to hit; to strike’.
utan-  ‘to be ashamed; to feel shame’.
üç  ‘three’.
var  here ‘omnipresent’.
var-  ‘to go’ ← Tur.
ve  ‘and’ ← Tur ← Ar.
vur-  ‘to hit; to strike’ ← Tur.
ya  ‘or’.
yalda-  ‘to swim’.
yaman  ‘bad; wrong’, here ‘cruel’.
yaqın  ‘near; close’.
Yaradan  ‘the Creator’ ← Tur.
yar  ‘abyss’.
yas  ‘young’.
yat-  ‘to lie’, here ‘to stay’.
yavru: yavrum polite form of address to a young boy or girl.
yedi 'seven'.
yetmiş 'seventy'.
yıldız 'star'.
yırağ 'far away'.
yığıt 'young man'.
zarar et- 'to loss'.
zaya 'shortfall; loss' ← Ar. ɗayā‘.
Zereş Zeresh ← Hb.שׁ, Haman’s wife.

EDITORIAL SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

(...): in translation, enclose an omitted text
{}: copyist’s cancellations
[ ]: editor’s additions
< >: in transcription, enclose editor’s corrections; in translation, enclose uncertain text
<.>: a full stop stands for an illegible letter
<...>: three points separated by spaces from parentheses stand for an undetermined number of letters
\: the end of a line
←: originated from
Ar.: Arabic
CTat.: Crimean Tatar
dial.: dialect
Gr.: Greek
Hb.: Hebrew
Per.: Persian
s.d.: southern dialect
Trk.: Turkic
Tur.: Turkish

REFERENCES


DUVAN’’: JA. 1890. Katihizis’’ Osnovy karaimskago zakona. [...] Odobren’’ Karaim-skim’’ Gahamom’’; S.-Peterburg’’.
MALECKIJ, F. A. 1890. *Runne Pallet’.* Vil’na. [The title and the name of the editor and translator in Hebrew letters: *מדלעפ הלעטיאטנ יי פאלט*]
RADLOFF, V. V. (ed.) 1888. *Macuma. Yane Qırımdağı Qaraymlar Arasinda Qullanılan Meseliler, Hikayetler, Zarpu-Meseliler, Tapmacalar, Tekerlemeler ve Türkülerdir.* S.-Petersburg’