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NEW PERSPECTIVES IN KARAIM ETYMOLOGY?
THE ORIGIN OF LUTSK KARAIM *ḱemec*
'1. SOLDIER; 2. RUSSIAN (PERSON)'*⁾

Abstract. According to KRPS, *ḱemec* '1. soldier; 2. Russian (person)' is native Lutsk Karaim. Since the word lacks any cognates on Turkic ground, in the present paper an attempt is made to link the word to Germ. *Kamasche* 'gaiters' and to explain its phonetic shape as being a consequence of the influence of the language of Polish Jews.
Keywords: etymology, Lutsk Karaim, Eastern Yiddish, Polish, Russian, soldier, gaiters, borrowing.

1. The word is not native Karaim

Since Turkologists are not lucky enough to have an etymological dictionary of Karaim at their disposal, the first instinct when checking the origin of a certain word is to open the trilingual Karaim-Russian-Polish dictionary and hope that a one-letter qualifier will bring us at least one step closer to the answer. The entry of KarL. *ḱemec* '1. soldier; 2. Russian (person)' (KRPS 304) does not contain any etymological qualifier and therefore the impression we get is that the word is of Turkic origin.

The issue at stake is, however, that KarL. *ḱemec* lacks any Turkic cognates, which makes the claim of its native provenance dubious. Obviously, for semantic reasons we cannot consider Kipč. *kemeč* 'ungesäuert' (Radloff 1887: 32, s.v. *кämäụ*) as etymologically related to it. Apparently, neither can the analysed word be linked to *kemeči* 'boatman' (= *keme* 'boat' + *-či* suffix building agent nouns) as is attested in a number of Turkic languages, a good example being Kirghiz or Karachay-Balkar (KirgRS 371; KBlkRS 322).

What is more, the word is absent from the other two Karaim dialects, namely from Trakai and Crimean Karaim, which is an even stronger argument than the above-mentioned one against ascribing the word to the inherited lexicon. The dictionaries in which the word is attested are KRPS, KSB (41), R (II/2 1208, s.v. *κämäμ* (כֵּימֵיצ)), and the glossary published in Németh (2011b: 294).

Parenthetically we may add that the oldest attestation of the word in south-western Karaim that we know of is to be found in a manuscript that dates back to the period between 1841 and 1852 (Németh 2011b: 189) and was sent to Lutsk from Zhytomyr (present-day Ukraine).

2. If not Karaim, what then?

Obviously, if *ḱemec* is not a native word or derivative, then it must have been borrowed from some other language. But from which one?

Various articles, dictionaries and monographs published inform us that there are four main layers of loanwords in Lutsk Karaim: Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Slavonic (Polish, Russian, Ukrainian). Additionally, we find a group of words of Mongolic and (ultimately of) Turkish origin.

But when we looked at most of the available dictionaries of these languages or language groups we failed to find a "candidate" for the Karaim word's etymon. Curious as it may seem, its etymology involves a far more complex scenario.

a) The western etymological thread

We assume that the ultimate source of the word is Ar. غدامسي *ġadāmasī*, an adjective derived from the place name غدامس *ġadāmas* 'Ghadames (an oasis town in south-western Libya)'. The word has been loaned into several European languages.

The borrowing routes of the final etymon into the "main" European languages are settled (cf. e.g. Lokotsch 1927: 51, s.v. *ġadāmas*), but let us recapitulate them in a few words, since we will use some of this information in our further argumentation on semantic changes.

Leatherware from Tripolitania, in particular from the Oasis of Ghadames, became popular in the Iberian Peninsula during the years of Arab rule. In Castilian Spanish, this kind of leather was called *cuero guadamecí* 'leather from Ghadames' (Corominas 1967: 306), and was a translation of Ar. جلد غدامسي *ğild ġadāmasī* 'leather of Ghadames'. Over the course of the years the Spanish construction has been shortened into Sp. (before 1140) *guadamecí* 'tanned, embossed or dyed leather' (Corominas 1967: 306) and later entered French in this shape, via Occ. *gamacho* id. (cf. e.g. Dauzat et al. 1964: 332). The meaning of

Fr. (17ᵗʰ c.) *gamache* is 'guêtres, couverture de bottes'. The word thus gradually began to denote the products made of this material. The French word was the source of Eng. arch. dial. *gamash* 'a kind of leggings or gaiters, worn to protect the legs from mud and wet' (OED IV G: 34) and also of Germ. (1615) *Gamasche* ~ dial. *Kamasche* 'gaiters, buttoned up the sides, used also to protect rider's leg, made of twill or leather' (Grimm, J. / Grimm, W. IV 1208, XI 95; Kluge 1960: 230). From German and French our *Wanderwort* entered a number of eastern European languages.

b) The eastern etymological thread

As we can see, the *k* ~ *g* alternation appeared first in German dialects and was reflected later by alternating variants in several languages, cf. e.g. Hung. (1895) *gamásli* ~ (1789) *kamásli* (-*li* < Austr.-Bav. -*ļ* diminutive suffix) 'buttoned gaiters made of leather or broadcloth' (for further forms and meanings see TESz II 333). In turn, in some other languages, the existence of such alternants is a result of repeated borrowings from German and French, cf. e.g. Russ. *гамáша* ~ *камáша* 'gaiters, a sort of boots leg with fastening' (for further meanings see SRNG VI 128, XIII 15; ÈSRJ I 391; Dal′ II 268), or later probably from German and Russian, as is the case in Belarussian or, possibly, in Ukrainian, cf. Bruss. *гамáшы* [*h*-] ~ *камáшы* (pl.) 'men's boots' (TSBLM 142, 268; sg.: *гамáш* ~ *камáш*), Ukr. *гамáша* [*h*-] ~ *камáша* 'warm stocking without sole worn over shoes' (ESUM I 464-465, II 357; SUM II 24).

In Polish we have only the word *kamasz* attested in the meaning, broadly speaking, of 'a broadcloth cover worn over low shoes protecting a person's leg against the cold (up to one's ankles or knees)' or 'a close-fitting trousers-like clothing for infantrymen covering a person's leg from ankles up to the knees' (for further meanings see SEJP II 31-32; SW II 216; Linde I/2 941, I/1 356, s.v. *czechczery*), and it is of German origin.

It is important to mention from our point of view that not only the initial *k*-, but also the semantic field of Pol. *kamasz* points to its German origin. German gaiters, *die Gamaschen*, became very popular in Prussia in the late 17ᵗʰ and 18ᵗʰ c. due to its widespread use in the army (see Grimm, J. / Grimm, W. XI 95).[1] This military connection is strongly reflected in Polish, where one of the first attested meanings of *kamasze* (18ᵗʰ c.) was 'a kind of military trousers made of broadcloth' (SEJP II 36). Also in common use was, and still is, the collocation (1849)

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[1] The dictionary compiled by the Brothers Grimm contains an interesting description of the "role" the *Gamaschen* played in the Prussian army. Let us cite here the following short fragment (in the original orthography): "In allgemeinerem gebrauch waren sie zuletzt beim militär und dienten da sprichwörtlich als zeichen der alten steifen, zopfigen soldatenzucht" (Grimm, J. / Grimm, W. XI 95).

oddać w kamasze 'to recruit by force' (SJP III 488), *wziąć w kamasze* 'to be re-cruited', and *pójść w kamasze* 'to join the army'.

3. The Karaim etymological thread

Our aim is to examine whether KarL. *k̇emec* 'soldier' is closely related with this word – possibly with its *kamaš-type form attested in Polish and Bela-russian. At this point, it seems that such a form would stand the closest phoneti-cally to *k̇emec* 'soldier' for the lost of the final vowel. The apocope occurred most probably on Polish ground due to reinterpreting the word's morphological boundaries.[2]

Still, the three significant phonetic differences (*a – a* vs. *e – e*, and *š* vs. *č*), and the change in the word's meaning ('soldier's boots' → 'soldier') are con-spicuous and require a detailed explanation. Let us deal with these changes step by step below.

3.1. Phonetics – part 1

It must be stated at the outset that an *a* > *e* change could not have occurred in Karaim, i.e. in a language which has an operating vowel harmony and both *a* and *e* noted as phonemes. Even though we can find very few Lutsk Karaim word pairs, which have variants with both velar and palatal vowels, such as, e.g., *cekic ~ cokuc* 'hammer' (KSB 19, 20), they definitely cannot serve as an analogy for a *kamac > *k̇emec* change. Firstly, because there is no trace of KarL. *kamac. Secondly, this type of alternation has deeper historical roots (although its mechanism has not yet been explained), well-known in Turkology (for *cekic ~ cokuc* see VEWT 103, s.v. *čäkük*).

Furthermore, we do not know about any relevant language or dialect in which *ka* > *k̇e* would be a characteristic change or in which a word like **k̇emeš* or **k̇emeč* would be attested. Seen in this light, we cannot treat the Belarussian, German, Polish and Ukrainian literary forms with *ka-* as the direct etymons of the Karaim word. A feasible explanation must be sought elsewhere.

As far as we know, the only phenomenon which allows us to explain a velar-to-palatal shift in this case is the relatively frequent *ky- ~ k̇ė-* alternation

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[2]   Namely, the Germ. *(e) Kamasche* (sg.) entered Polish as *kamasze*, where it has been interpreted as the plural form of a hitherto nonexistent *kamasz*. Importantly, the grammatical gender of the word has changed, too (it is a masculine form in Polish). The same process is evident e.g. in: Fr. *galoche* 'overshoe' > Germ. [*Galosche* ~] *Kalosche* id. (Grimm, J. / Grimm, W. IV 1198, XI 74; Kluge 1960: 229-230) > Pol. *kalosze* (pl.) → *kalosz* (sg.) 'galosh; overshoe' (SEJP II 31-32). *Nota bene*, neither Pol. *kamasze* nor Pol. *kalosze* are discussed in de Vincenz / Hentschel (2010).

(of Ukrainian origin) attested for south-western Karaim.[3] This observation seems especially promising if we assume an Eastern Yiddish[4] influence here, the question of which has never been raised in Karaim studies before. The reason why such an influence seems tempting is that in this language an unaccented *a* is regularly reduced to *ə* (see e.g. Beranek 1958: 50). This, in turn, would allow us to assume the following chain of changes: *ka-* > E Yidd. *kə-* > KarL. *ky-* > *ḱė-* (the *k* > *ḱ* change in front of *ė* is regular in Karaim).

The relevant Yiddish linguistic material available is as follows:

The word is attested, among others, in the dictionaries compiled by Strack (1916: 168), Harkavy (1928: 440) and Weinreich (1977: 435/358) on the one hand and in RussEVS 102 on the other. It is noted as קאַמאַש *kamaš* and, in the plural, as קאַמאַשן *kamašn*, respectively, and is explained with Germ. *Gamaschen*, Eng. *gaiter*, *spat*, *low laced boot* and Russ. *гамаша*. It seems to be either a loanword or a *Fremdwort* of Polish origin, first of all because it is, similarly to Pol. *kamasz*, a masculine form – as opposed to German and Russian (see Weinreich 1977: 435/358), and because it lacks a final vowel. Harkavy (1928: 440) derives it from Polish, too. A regular E Yiddish plural form of a Polish or Belarussian *kamaš*-type word would be **kamašn*.

Lifšic" (1876: 182) and Harkavy (1928: 440) also record קאַמאַש *kamaš*, but explain it with Russ. *кумáч* 'cotton fabric, usually of red colour'. We do not think, therefore, that the word is a cognate of the etymologized word; it is rather a loanword from Russ. (or from Ukr.) *кумáч*. We shall, however, make use of this word in our argumentation below.

In light of the widely ranged vowel reduction process in Yiddish, two closely related questions remain: what was the actual pronunciation of the word and where did the stress fall in it. RussEVS 102 and Weinreich (1977: 435/358) answer the latter question by noting that the word was accented on the second syllable. Hence, it was most likely pronounced as *kəmášn*. The question remains where the accent fell in the word quoted by Strack (his dictionary's corpus was based on linguistic data collected in Poland). Oxytonic accentuation is probable in light of the general remark we find in the dictionary's introductory notes

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[3]   The close-mid *ė* in south-western Karaim is a complementary variant of *e*, and is never distinguished from the latter in writing. The alternation is characteristic above all of Karaim spoken in Halych, but is also reported for Lutsk Karaim. Besides, the process is attested for western Ukrainian dialects – predominantly, but not exclusively, for the Upper Dniestrian dialect (for a detailed analysis of this alternation see Németh 2011: 73-74). The *a* > *e* change, which appears in certain positions and is noted in some western Ukrainian dialects, is not noted in the Volhynian dialect (Žylko 1958: 144).

[4]   Lutsk lies near the borderline dividing north- and south-eastern Yiddish (see e.g. Beranek 1958: 80), thus it is difficult to say clearly which type of the language the local Jews (SE or NE?) spoke.

saying "der Ton ruht gewöhnlich auf der letzten Silbe; auf der vorletzten nur bei einigen Flexionsendungen" (Strack 1916: IX). We cannot be sure, however, whether this remark also concerns Slavonic loanwords. If stressed on the last syllable, its actual pronunciation must have been *kəmáš*.

If initially stressed – which is possible not only because the word is initially stressed in Polish, but also because the accent in SE Yiddish words of Slavonic origin happened to be shifted to the first syllable (Weinreich 1958: 21), then the קאַמאַש spelling should most probably be interpreted as *kámaš*, even though the vowel signs below both *aleph*s (אַ) point to [-*a*-] in the literary language. This is because E Yidd. *a* could not appear in a post-accentual position, either, and was mostly replaced by a reduced *ə* (see e.g. Weinreich 1958: 21).

We can draw an important conclusion from the above data, namely that the etymon of the Yiddish word must have been stressed on the second syllable (as is e.g. in Belarussian) or that the stress has been shifted to the second syllable on Yiddish linguistic ground if we are to explain the first syllable of the Karaim word by Yiddish influence. But before endeavouring to settle the origin of the Yiddish word, at this point it is much more important to answer another question: does the impact of Yiddish explain the other phonetic changes?

There are two major difficulties. First of all, we cannot explain the *š* > *c* affricatization on Yiddish, Karaim, let alone Slavonic ground. Even if we agree that in light of the mazuration-like *š > *s* and *č > *c* replacement in south-western Karaim such a shift is obviously to be explained by a two-step process, namely by *š* > *s* > *c* or *š* > *č* > *c*, the problem of affricatization remains.
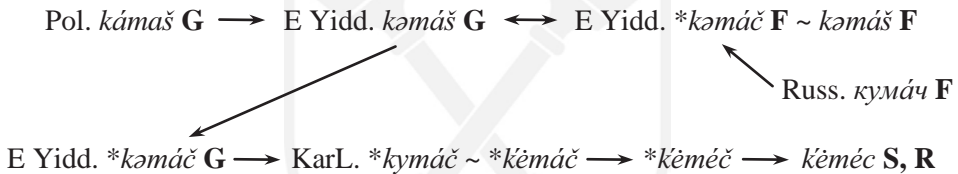
What we may suggest here is a blend with E Yidd. *kəmáč 'cotton fabric' < Russ. (or Ukr.) *кумáч* id., a trace of which may be seen in the form with -*š* that we have mentioned above noted by Lifšic" (1876) and Harkavy (1928: 440). Interestingly, we encounter a *č* ~ *š* alternation in the Russian cognates of this word, too, cf. Russ. *кумач* ~ (adj.) *кумашний* (Šipova 1976: 207) or Russ. dial. *кумачка* ~ *кумашка* 'dress, women's outerwear' (SRNG XVI 80). This alternation (and the word itself) in eastern Slavonic is, however, of Turkic origin and is not surprising (cf. also KarL. *kumas* ~ KarT. *kumaš* 'fabric, textile', KarK. *qumaš* 'silk fabric; cotton cloth' (KSB 46; KRPS 346, 374; Harviainen/Halén 2010: 279)). What is more, we even find Russ. *камач* 'dress, women's outerwear' (SRNG XIII 15; genitive: *камача*) as the variant of *кумачка* ~ *кумашка*, the first-syllabic *a* of which strongly resembles Russ. *камаша*. If we add that over the course of time the meaning of gaiters and the material they were made of has varied (cf. **2a**) – primarily they were made of leather, but already in the 18th century several types of textiles were used in their production (twill, broadcloth, wool, and linen cloth at least; see Linde I/2 941, I/1 356, s.v. *czechczery*, and SW II 216) – we realize how close the meanings of these two loanwords were to each other.

Furthermore, there may be some doubts about the *a > e* change in the final syllable. The most pressing idea would be to explain it by the impact of vowel harmony. Even though the idea should not be entirely dismissed, there are two serious counterarguments against it. Firstly, the overwhelming majority of Slavonic (but also e.g. Hebrew) loanwords in south-western Karaim are not adjusted to vowel harmony. Secondly, in native words the *ky- > k̇ė-* change did not cause a velar-to-palatal shift in the subsequent syllables, cf. e.g. *kyjyn > k̇ėjyn* 'torment' (Zajączkowski 1931: 7).

Equally plausible, or so it may seem, is the idea of explaining the *a > e* change in the second syllable as being due to the palatalizing influence of *č*, a phenomenon that is well-known in Turkology (see e.g. Räsänen 1949: 58). The alveolar pronunciation of *-č* in Slavonic loanwords, *Fremdwörter*, and family names was common in the 19th century, as we argued in Németh (2011a: 87-88; 2011b: 26-27). Examples of an *ač > eč* change are also known in Crimean Karaim, cf. e.g. *sač > seč* (Jankowski 2003: 122).

If this is true, the *-č > -c* change must have been the final step in the phonetic adaptation process.

The sketch below presents what we have said so far (**F** = 'cotton fabric', **G** = 'gaiters', **R** = 'Russian (person)', **S** = 'soldier'; ↔ = blend; → = borrowing or internal phonetic development):

Pol. *kámaš* **G** ⟶ E Yidd. *kəmáš* **G** ⟷ E Yidd. **kəmáč* **F** ~ *kəmáš* **F**

Russ. *кумáч* **F**

E Yidd. **kəmáč* **G** ⟶ KarL. **kymáč* ~ **k̇ėmáč* ⟶ **k̇ėméč* ⟶ *k̇ėméc* **S, R**

Difficulties:
1) The *ky ~ k̇ė* alternation is characteristic mostly of Halych Karaim.
2) E Yidd. **kəmáč* is not attested.
3) The question of the *ač > eč* change is problematic.
4) The etymon of the Yiddish word: the only word which fits here is Bruss. *kamáš* (stressed on the second syllable, two-syllabic structure). The Belarussian origin of a word used in a territory where Pol. *kámasz* was widely spread (in the area around Lutsk) is, however, dubious. We must assume, then, that the stress has been shifted to the second syllable already in Yiddish.
5) It is difficult to explain the 'gaiters' → 'soldier' semantic shift without quoting the Polish material as the Yiddish word has no military connection.

3.2. Semantics – part 1

The latter semantic shift can be easily explained if we adduce the military connotations of Germ. *Kamasche* and Pol. *kamasze* we mentioned in section **2b**. The 'gaiters worn by soldiers' → 'soldier' metonymy could have been caused by the simultaneous use of two widely spread Slavonic collocations: Pol. *wziąć w kamasze* 'to induct into the army' and Russ. *взять в солдаты* id., both using the same verb ('to take') and the same government ('into'). This could have easily led to a reinterpretation of the meaning of *kamasze* as 'soldiers', all the more so as this change must be seen in the context of the trilingual (i.e. Russian-, Polish-, and Karaim-speaking) milieu of Lutsk Karaims.[5]

Seen in this light, we should rather expect the word to be of Polish origin in Karaim. See, however, the next two sections.

3.3. Semantics – part 2

In our view the appearance of the meaning 'Russian (person)' in Karaim allows us identifying the source of the Karaim word with greater accuracy. Namely:

KRPS is the only source which notes this additional meaning. Thus it must have been added by the authors of that dictionary.[6] Still, we do not have any reasons to doubt that such a meaning really existed. Moreover, the 'soldier' → 'Russian (person)' shift seems highly probable if we take into account that in Imperial Russia Karaims and Jews had the right to pay the so-called *rekrutowe* in order not to be inducted into the army. More precisely, *rekrutowe* was a kind of a tax imposed by Jewish and Karaim communities on their members and collected for the purpose of exempting them from the army or to pay non-Karaims and non-Jews in order that they replace them in the army (see e.g. SW V 508; Németh 2011b: 314). It seems obvious then that from the point of view of Karaims soldiers were those people who were recruited not among them, but rather tended to be viewed as 'foreigners'. In other words: 'soldiers' were 'those who served the Tsar' – and therefore, by way of generalization, were 'Russians'.

This would suggest that the contacts between Karaims and Jews must have been relatively close, at least when it came to matters connected with soldiery.

Interestingly, the meaning of KarL. *ḱemec* could have been influenced by KarLT. *javan* '1. soldier; 2. Greek (person); 3. Russian (person); 4. member of the Orthodox church' (KSB 34; KRPS 214) < PBHebr. יָוֵן *jāvān* '1. Greek; 2.

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[5]   The Russian collocation was certainly known by Lutsk Karaims; it was even calqued by them as *ḱemecłerǵe ałma* (Németh 2011b: 221).

[6]   The sources shown in that dictionary are Mardkowicz's KSB and Radloff's *Versuch*, but in these works we only find 'żołnierz | Soldat' and 'солдатъ | der Soldat', respectively.

non-Jewish soldier' ~ EAHebr. *jovon* id. (Even-Shoshan II 687) > E Yidd. *jovn* 'soldier'.[7]

3.4. Phonetics – part 2

In light of the word's semantic development, perhaps the most feasible approach would be to assume that KarL. *ḱemec* is a loanword from Pol. (pl.) *kamásze* (stressed on the second syllable) used in the collocation *wziąć w kamasze*, but was spoken as it was pronounced by the milieu of Polish Jews. This is all the more likely as the language that Karaims and Jews used to communicate with each other on every day basis must have been some of the local Slavonic languages; Hebrew was rather the language of liturgy and theology among Karaims. Let us take a closer look at such a scenario below.

First of all, the coexistence of Pol. *kamásze* and E Yidd. *kəmášn* could have easily lead among Polish Jews to a reduced articulation of the initial syllable of the Polish word. A reduced *ə* in place of *a* would also certainly not be surprising given that a reduced articulation of unaccented vowels has been noted for the local dialects of Ukrainian and Polish, too (Zilynśkyj 1979: 190-192; Kurzowa 1985: 416; see also Brzezina 1979: 105-106). Again, this reduced vowel could have been overtaken as *y* in Karaim and could have resulted in a *ky* ~ *ḱė* alternation.

Secondly, the idea that the *š > č* change occurred in the language of Polish Jews as a result of a blend of Pol.J. *kəmáše* 'gaiters, etc.' with a coexisting E Yidd. *kəmáš* ~ **kəmáč* 'cotton fabric, etc.' remains valid. Importantly, the Yiddish equivalents of Pol. *wziąć w kamasze* (see **3.1.**) are *araynshtekn [yenem] in layvnt* '*liter.* to stick [somebody] into linen' and *araynshtekn [yenem] inem sharn gevant* '*liter.* to stick [somebody] into the gray cloth' (Gold, D. L., personal communication), which could have easily triggered such a blend.[8]

Besides, the idea that the process occurred in Karaim and was due to a blend with Russ., Ukr. *кумáч* 'cotton fabric' should not be dismissed entirely, either, especially in light of the trilingualism mentioned above.[9]

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[7] Noteworthy is the fact that, similarly to *ḱemec*, KarLT. *javan* is not classified in KRPS as a loanword, either, which has already been pointed by Altbauer (1979-1980: 214; mistakenly noted as *ŭабан*). The *-a-* in the Karaim form shows that the word cannot be of immediate Yiddish origin.

[8] A similar one occurred in Swedish between *damast* ~ arch. *damask* 'damask, reversible figured fabric' and the word etymologized in our paper, see *damask(er)* 'gamash' (Hellquist 1970: 133).

[9] We found a short description of a rare phenomenon consisting in an alternation of alveolar affricates and fricatives (*š* ~ *č*) in Polish spoken by Jews in Brzezina (1979: 61, 108) and Altbauer (1931: 12). The very modest number of examples, however, did not convince us enough to postulate it here.

The apocope of the final -*e* is to lesser degree problematic, as it could have happened on Karaim ground due to the same process as in the case of Germ. *Kamasche* > Pol. *kamasz.* In other words, Polish-speaking Karaims must have been aware of the word's morphologic boundaries, and surely also knew that the -*e* indicates plural as well as how to derive its singular form.

However, the question of the *a* > *e* change in the final syllable remains open. We cannot propose any other feasible explanation for it than the one presented in section **3.1**.

Thus the sketch offered in section 3.1. could be modified according to this scenario as follows:

Pol. *kamasze* **G** ⟶ Pol.J. **kəmášə* **G** ⟷ E Yidd. **kəmáč ~ kəmáš* **F**

Russ. *кумáч* **F**

KarL. **kymáč ~ *k̇ėmáč* ⟶ **k̇ėméč* ⟶ *k̇ėméc* **S, R**

Difficulties:
1) The question of *ky ~ k̇ė* alternation in Lutsk Karaim remains valid here.
2) E Yidd. **kəmáč* is not attested.
3) The question of *ač* > *eč* change remains problematic.

4. Conclusions

Regardless of the fact that some details of this word's etymology remain debatable and that Polish influence seems far more plausible here than that of Yiddish, the list of languages usually mentioned when it comes to Karaim etymology should certainly be augmented to include Yiddish (cf. e.g. the lack of such qualifier in KRPS). Interestingly, David L. Gold (New York) has recently drawn our attention to KarL. *ćiring* 'jewellery' (KSB 20; KRPS 614), which is undoubtedly of immediate Yiddish origin. Even though it ultimately originates from Germ. *Zierung* 'ornament, decoration' (Grimm, J. / Grimm, W. XXXI 1224ff.), the *u* > *i* change is to be explained only by SE Yiddish mediation (for the history of the *u* > *i* change see e.g. Joffe 1954: 118), cf. E Yidd. צירונג *cirung* 'decoration' noted by Strack (1916: 166).

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A b b r e v i a t i o n s

adj. = adjective; **Ar.** = Arabic; **arch.** = archaic; **Austr.-Bav.** = Austro-Bavarian dialect of German; **Bruss.** = Belarussian; **Cz.** = Czech; **dial.** = dialectal; **E** = eastern; **EAHebr.** = Eastern Ashkenazic Hebrew; **Eng.** = English; **Fr.** = French; **Germ.** = German; **Hung.** = Hungarian; **KarL.** = Lutsk Karaim; **KarLT.** = Lutsk and Trakai (= western) Karaim; **Kipč.** = Kipchak (Codex Comanicus); **liter.** = literally; **Occ.** = Occitan; **PBHebr.** = Post-Biblical Hebrew; **Pol.** = Polish; **Pol.J.** = Polish pronounced by Jews (in south-eastern Kresy); **Russ.** = Russian; **SE** = south-eastern; **Slav.** = Slavonic; **Sp.** = Spanish; **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **Yidd.** = Yiddish.

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