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SLAVONIC LOANWORDS IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL PRESERVED IN THE SOUTH-WESTERN KARAIM MANUSCRIPT NO. ADUB.III.84

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Abstract

The paper discusses the etymology of Slavonic loanwords found in a previously unpublished South-Western Karaim translation of the Book of Daniel copied into manuscript no. ADub.III.84. South-Western Karaims were surrounded by speakers of Polish, Ukrainian and Russian, with the linguistic contact instigating changes in Karaim over a period of several centuries. The present article focuses only on the Slavonic impact upon Karaim vocabulary and attempts to determine whether the borrowed words can be traced back to Polish, Ukrainian or Russian etymons. The loanwords are additionally compared with their counterparts in ancient Polish Bible translations.

The aim of this article is to describe Slavonic loanwords attested in a South-Western Karaim translation of the Book of Daniel, a translation which is preserved in manuscript no. ADub.III.84. The text in question was written in the nineteenth century by Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz,¹ a Karaim *hazzan* from Halych, who was renowned for copying the Hebrew Bible, in its entirety, into South-Western Karaim (Németh 2021: 16).

¹ For information on Jeshua Josef Mordkowicz, see Zarachowicz (1925: 20–22), Walfish and Kizilov (2011: 211) and Cegiółka (2019: 10).

The manuscript known as no. ADub.III.84, however, consists only of Writings, except for the Book of Chronicles. The Book of Daniel, which is the source material of the present study, is written on folios 178 r^o-199 r^o.²

Slavonic loanwords in Karaim have been researched by a number of academics.³ The three dialects of Karaim, due to the geographic distances separating their respective users, were influenced to varying degrees by different Slavonic languages. In the eastern (Crimean) dialect few changes are observed and the influence is limited mainly to vocabulary borrowed from Russian. The northwestern (Troki) dialect exhibits numerous transformations related to Russian, Polish and Byelorussian, not only lexically but also with respect to phonology (e.g. the *ö, ü* > *’o, ’u* vowel change, excepting the word-initial position, as in *kün* > *kuń* ‘day’, which occurred under Russian influence) and to some extent morphology (Moskovič and Tukan 1993: 297). The south-western (Halych-Łuck) dialect has also been heavily influenced in terms of phonology, morphology and vocabulary by three languages – Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. Most academic papers addressing the Slavonic impact on Karaim fail to determine the exact language which has caused a given change, preferring to use the generic term Slavonic. The Karaim dictionary by Baskakov, Šapšal and Zajączkowski (1974), subsequently referred to as KRPS, is more precise since it provides the exact etymology whenever possible.⁴ Additionally, an article published by Németh (2010) elaborates upon the Polish influence on Southwestern Karaim, concentrating on non-lexical aspects, with an emphasis on issues related to syntax.

It is unquestionably more straightforward to discuss Slavonic loanwords in South-Western Karaim without attempting to determine whether the origin language of a given word is Polish, Ukrainian or Russian due to the similarities between these languages. Moreover, many Karaim manuscripts are not vocalized which impedes reading the texts correctly and renders the task of finding the correct etymons of Slavonic borrowings more difficult. In the case of the Bible translations copied by Mordkowitz, it is easier to draw the appropriate conclusions as the copyist showed due diligence while writing. He vocalized the entire text and spelling mistakes are rare.⁵

The present paper does not aim to undertake a comprehensive analysis of Slavonic loanwords in South-Western Karaim Bible translations in general, a task yet to be implemented, but rather to examine this issue using sample material from the

² I would like to thank the owner of the collection for making the manuscript available and allowing me to undertake my research based on its contents.

³ See e.g. Dubiński (1969), Moskovič and Tukan (1993) and Németh (2010). Moskovič and Tukan (1993) argue that a tentative estimate suggests up to 10% of the Karaim lexicon may consist of Slavonic borrowings, a statement which may be true with respect to contemporary Western Karaim. A closer examination of earlier manuscripts shows a much lesser impact of Slavonic vocabulary on all three dialects of Karaim.

⁴ In the case of the Slavonic borrowings for which the authors of the dictionary were not able to determine the precise etymology, it was decided to use the generic term Slav. (= Slavonic), e.g. the NWKar. word *papa* ‘father’ (KRPS 445).

⁵ For example, I counted only thirty-one scribal errors in the Book of Daniel in the manuscript ADub.III.84.

translation of the Book of Daniel preserved in manuscript no. ADub.III.84 (subsequently referred to as Dan). Thus, it should be borne in mind that the text under consideration is not extensive enough to reach definite conclusions with respect to South-Western Karaim. However, the aforementioned material is sufficient to provide us with a variety of Slavonic loanwords by the means of which we may determine the general characteristics of the borrowings employed in South-Western Karaim Bible translations in the nineteenth century.

In the analysis, I provide the etymology of Slavonic loanwords and discuss whether the given word should be considered a loanword from Polish, Ukrainian or Russian. This task was possible only to a certain extent because most specialized vocabulary, e.g. that which pertains to military and administrative terminology, is phonetically identical in the three languages. Therefore, in such cases it is impossible to determine precisely the exact language from which a given word has been borrowed. Additionally, the list does not include Slavonic vocabulary that can be found in Karaim dictionaries, generally the Karaim-Russian-Polish dictionary (KRPS). However, the list does comprise words which have a different denotation than that attested in the Karaim dictionaries or for which a different etymology other than that suggested by the Karaim dictionaries is proposed. As such, this paper may be considered an addition to Karaim lexicography. While searching for probable etymons I mainly employed the following historical and etymological dictionaries; Linde's Polish dictionary (1807–1814), Tymčenko's (1930–1932) historical and Mel'nyčuk's (1982–2012) etymological dictionary of Ukrainian, as well as Filin's Russian dictionary (1965–2016) and Barchudarov's historical dictionary of Russian (1975–2008).

A comparison of the Slavonic lexicon was additionally undertaken using two Bible translations into Polish, namely the seventeenth century *Biblia Gdańska*, which was reprinted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the *Biblia Brzeska*, an earlier translation from the sixteenth century. A closer examination of the South-Western Karaim Bible translation in question versus the two Polish translations of the Bible mentioned above reveals significant similarities, though more in the case of the *Biblia Gdańska* than the *Biblia Brzeska*.⁶ This may suggest that the Karaim translators referred to the Polish Bible translations when faced in the original Bible text with Hebrew words that proved difficult to translate into a Karaim equivalent. It is also possible that the Polish loanword was perceived as already being assimilated in Karaim. The verse Dan 4:12 is a good example of the similarities between the Polish and South Western Karaim translations.

manuscript no. ADub.III.84:

Ancaq péni anyn qorenleribyla qalsynlar jerde da temirli buyovlar üçüne da tuşlu tüz-degi keget istine da köktegi çyq byla juvunur [...]. 'However leave the trunk with its roots in the ground, and iron chains inside it and bronze on the grass of the field. And it shall be washed with the dew of heaven.'

⁶ Thus, in the analysis below I adhered mainly to *Biblia Gdańska*.

Biblia Gdańska:

Wszakże pień korzenia jego w ziemi zostawcie, a niech będzie związany łańcuchem żelaznym i miedzianym na trawie polnej, aby rosą niebieską był skrapiany [...]. 'However leave the trunk of its roots⁷ in the ground, and it shall be bound with iron and bronze chains on the grass of the field so it may be sprinkled with the dew of heaven.'

In the fragment above two words are borrowed from Slavonic languages and both are identical with their Polish counterparts. The first, *pień* 'trunk', corresponds with the Polish *pień* 'trunk' and is not found in the Karaim dictionaries. The second, *qoren* 'root', is attested in KRPS (334), and, therefore, not included in the wordlist below.

Slavonic loanwords in alphabetical order

(1) *Arfa*, spelled ארפא, occurs in Dan four times (Dan 3:5, Dan 3:7, Dan 3:10, Dan 3:15) with the meaning of 'harp'. It is a loanword either from the Ukr. and Russ. *арфа* 'harp' or possibly from a now-obsolete Pol. word *arfa* 'harp'. Its counterpart in the Bibl. Gd. is *harfa* 'harp', while an earlier Polish translation, namely from the Bibl. Brz., provides the variant *arfa*. The contemporary Pol. equivalent has a word-initial *h-*, i.e. *harfa*, but Linde's Polish dictionary from 1808 provides the variant *arfa* (Linde 1808 vol. 2: 821). Tymčenko's historical dictionary also attests *arfa* for Ukrainian (Tymčenko 1930–1932: 34), whereas the Karaim dictionary attributes it only to SWKar. (KRPS 77) and states that the word has been borrowed from Russ.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:⁸

Ne zamanny ki esitseniz avazyn qornetnin byryynyn sqrypcein pišcalqanyn arfanyn symfonalianyn da bar ojun savutlarynyn tiškejsiz (Dan 3:5) 'When you hear the sound of a cornet, a trumpet, a violin, a pipe, a harp, a dulcimer, and all [kinds] of musical instruments, you shall fall down'

(2) *Dbatet*-,⁹ spelled דבאטת, only occurs in Dan once (Dan 3:16) with the meaning of 'to care'. It is formed of a Slavonic verb and a Trk. auxiliary verb *et-* 'to do', which is well-established in Turkic languages. It is not possible to determine from which specific language the verb has been borrowed as its origin is a common Slavonic word found in Pol. as *dbać*, in Ukr. as *дбати* and in Russ. as *дбать* all with the same denotation 'to care'. The equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. provides a similar but not identical

⁷ This is a literal translation of the Polish phrase "pień korzenia jego", which is not entirely clear in Polish as well.

⁸ All following examples from the manuscript have been transcribed and translated by the author of this paper.

⁹ The spelling of verbs borrowed from Slavonic languages is not standardized, as some verbs are written together with the auxiliary verb *et-* and some are written separately. The linguistic material is not extensive enough to determine which spelling is prevalent, so I decided that it would be reasonable to preserve the original spelling employed in the manuscript.

translation, namely *my się nie frasujemy* ‘we are not worried’; the verb *frasować się* ‘to worry, to be anxious’ is an obsolete term.

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

da ajtlylar meleħke Nevuħadnecaryǝ dbatetmejbiz biz bunun üciün ki qaruv bergejbiz sana (Dan 3:16) ‘and they said to the king Nebuchadnezzar “We do not care about this matter that we should answer you”’

(3) **Hetman**, spelled *הַטְמָן*, appears in Dan four times (Dan 3:2, Dan 3:3, Dan 6:8, Dan 11:18) and has the meaning ‘commander’. Its etymon is either the Pol. *hetman* or the Ukr. *зетман*, both with the same meaning, that is ‘commander’. The Slavonic *hetman* is a historical title given to commanders-in-chief in Czechia, Poland and Ukraine, and, therefore, it is impossible to determine from which language the word has been borrowed. The Russ. equivalent has a word-initial *g-*, i.e. *зетман*. Interestingly, the equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. is *wódz* ‘chief, commander’ while the Bibl. Brz. provides the word *hetmani* (the plural form of the word *hetman*).

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

ancaq hetman eksitir rusvajlygyn anyn (Dan 11:18) ‘but a commander shall put an end to his insolence’

(4) **Qolen**, spelled *קוֹלֵן*, appears in Dan twice (Dan 2:33, Dan 5:6) with the meaning of ‘shin, lower leg’. Its etymon is either the Pol. *goleń* or the Russ. *голень* ‘shin, lower leg’; the Ukr. *голены* ‘shin, lower leg’ (SPCU 81) in the historical Ukr. dictionary is a less probable origin. The word’s equivalents in the Bibl. Gd. and the Bibl. Brz. are *golenie* ‘lower legs, shins’ (the plural form of the word *goleń*).

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

qolenleri anyn temirli da ajaqlary anyn birlerinden temirli (Dan 2:33) ‘its legs [were made] of iron and its feet one part of them of iron’

(5) **Qornet**, spelled *קוֹרְנֵיט*, appears in Dan four times (Dan 3:5, Dan 3:7, Dan 3:10, Dan 3:15) and has the meaning ‘cornet (a musical instrument similar to a trumpet)’. It is a common word in all the three languages in question, i.e. *kornet* ‘cornet’ in Pol. and *корнет* ‘cornet’ in Ukr. and Russ., so it is impossible to establish from which language it has been borrowed. Interestingly, in the Book of Daniel it occurs in sentences next to the Trk. word *byrğy* (KRPS 145), attested in WKar., which has a similar denotation, namely ‘trumpet’. Its counterpart in both the Bibl. Gd. and the Bibl. Brz. is *trqba* ‘trumpet’. Cf. the word *arfa* for an example sentence as all the names of musical instruments appear in the same verse.

(6) **Āeń** (or **peń**) occurs only once in Dan (Dan 4:12), and with a possessive suffix, i.e. *peni* ‘its tree trunk’. It is spelled *פֵּינִי*. It may be a loanword from the Pol. *pień*, the Russ.

пень or the Ukr. *пень* ‘tree trunk’. Unfortunately the Karaim semicursive employed in the manuscript does not differentiate between a palatalized reading, i.e. *peń*, which would indicate the Pol. or Russ. provenance of this word, and a non-palatalized reading, i.e. *peň*, which would suggest an Ukr. influence (in Ukr. the word-initial consonant *p* is not palatalized). The word’s equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. is *pień* ‘tree trunk’.

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

ancaq peni anyn qorenleribyla qalsynlar jerde (Dan 4:12) ‘but leave the trunk with its roots in the ground’

(7) *Pišcalqa*, spelled פֿישצאלקא, appears four times in Dan (Dan 3:5, Dan 3:7, Dan 3:10, Dan 3:15) with the meaning of ‘pipe’. It is without doubt a loanword from the Pol. *piszczalka* ‘pipe’, as its counterpart in the historical dictionary of Russ. is *пищалка* ‘dim. lyre’ (SRJH vol. 15: 64) and the word is not present in the Ukr. dictionaries. KRPS attests the variant *piscelka* (KRPS 447) for SWKar. The word has most probably been borrowed from a Polish Bible translation, that is from the Bibl. Gd., in which its equivalent is *piszczalka* ‘pipe’. Cf. the word *arfa* for an example sentence as all the names of musical instruments appear in the same verse.

(8) *Poborca*, spelled פּױבױרעך, appears in Dan twice (Dan 3:2, Dan 3:3) and has the meaning ‘collector, treasurer’. It is a loanword from the Pol. *poborca* ‘collector’ as it is not attested in either the Ukr. or Russ. dictionaries. As with the word *pišcalqa*, it has most probably been borrowed from the Bibl. Gd; *poborca* ‘collector’ is the equivalent word.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

da Nevuħadnecar meleħ ijdi ystyrma kšonzelerni vojvodalaryn hetmanlerni poborcalaryn šlaħtalaryn uredniqlerni (Dan 3:2) ‘and Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather the princes, the governors, the commanders, the treasurers, the nobles, the officials’

(9) A conjunction *pońevaž*, spelled פּױנױװאָז, occurs multiple times in Dan (Dan 2:10, Dan 3:29, Dan 5:12, Dan 6:4, Dan 6:5, Dan 6:23) with the meaning of ‘because’. It is clearly a loanword from the Pol. *ponieważ* ‘because’. The word is employed according to the Slavonic word order, namely it precedes the subordinate clause it introduces,¹⁰ e.g. *pońevaž joħtu [...] meleħ any erklenivcū* (Dan 2:10) ‘for there was [...] no king who has ordered this’. In some cases it is combined with conjunction *ki*, e.g. *pońevaž ki joħtu enge tenri ki bolaljay qutqarma bulaj* (Dan 3:29) ‘for there was no other god who was able to rescue like this’. The same tendency can be observed in conjunctions formed with *ki* and Trk. words in later Karaim texts, e.g. *nice ki* ‘as’, *nasly ki* ‘as’, *ħangi ki* ‘which, who’ in the Crimean Karaim translation of *Melukhat Sha’ul* (Smętek 2015: 73–75). The conjunction *pońevaž* has two equivalents in the Bibl. Gd., namely *gdyż* ‘for’ or *dlatego iż* ‘because’.

¹⁰ This type of word order must have also been influenced by the Hebrew syntax of the original biblical text, as is the case in other Karaim translations of Hebrew texts.

(10) *Postanovtet-*, spelled פֿױסטױנוױטעט or פֿױסטױנוױטעט, appears in Dan six times (Dan 1:5, Dan 1:10, Dan 1:11, Dan 3:12, Dan 6:9, Dan 6:16) with the meaning of ‘to decide, to appoint, to assign’, a denotation which is broader than its Slavonic etymon. The word may be a loanword either from the Ukr. *поставити* or the Russ. *поставить*, which share the same meaning, that is ‘to decide’. There are two equivalents in the Bibl. Gd., namely *postanowić* ‘to decide’ and *przełożyć* ‘to appoint’.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

Da postanovtetti alarya ol meleḥ jem har künlük jeminden asynyn ol meleḥnin (Dan 1:5) ‘And the king appointed them food from a daily provision of the king’s food’

(11) *Pusta et-*,¹¹ spelled פֿױסטאַעט, only occurs in Dan once (Dan 8:13) and has the meaning ‘to devastate, to desolate’. The etymons of the adjective *pusta* which forms the above verb may be either the Pol. adjective *pusty* ‘empty’ or the Ukr. adjective *nycmuï* ‘empty’ when it has the feminine gender, that is *pusta* or *nycma*, respectively. The verb is not present in Karaim dictionaries, yet Németh (2021: 28, 604) attests a verb with the same phonetic variant, i.e. *pusta et-* ‘to desolate’, in a Western Karaim Bible translation preserved in a manuscript from 1720. There is no direct equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. as the corresponding part of the verse Dan 8:13 is translated as *na po-deptanie podane będzie* ‘it shall be subjected to trampling’.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

ol navilik pustalyyy ücün ol hammeḥelik ‘olanyn ki ol tanmaq jazyq *pusta etedi* (Dan 8:13) ‘the empty prophecy concerning the continuous burnt offering that the transgression and sin make desolate’.

(12) *Pustalyq*, spelled פֿױסטאַליק, occurs in Dan four times (Dan 8:13, Dan 9:18, Dan 9:27, Dan 12:11) with the meaning of ‘desolation, devastation’. Analogically to the verb *pusta et-* ‘to devastate, to desolate’ discussed above, it is a loanword from the Pol. *pusta* or the Ukr. *nycma* ‘empty’ (the feminine forms of the adjectives *pusty* or *nycmuï* ‘empty’, respectively) combined with the Turkic suffix *-liq* which forms nominals. Its equivalent in the Bibl. Gd., namely *spustoszenie* ‘havoc, desolation’, is derived from the same root word and has a similar meaning, whereas the word *pustalyk* attested for SWKar. in KRPS has a somewhat different denotation, that is ‘wilderness, desolate place’ (KRPS 449).

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

tegilir pustalyq istine (Dan 9:27) ‘desolation will be poured out onto him’

¹¹ There are two other loanwords in manuscript no. ADub.III.84 which have the same etymon, namely an adjective *pusta* (Dan 9:26, Dan 9:27, Dan 11:31) ‘empty’; attested in KRPS for WKar. (KRPS 449); and a noun *pustalyq* (Dan 8:13, Dan 9:18, Dan 9:27, Dan 12:11) which is discussed below.

(13) **Rov**, spelled רוֹב, appears only once in Dan (Dan 9:25) with the meaning of ‘ditch’. It seems that its etymon is the Russ. *rov* ‘ditch’ rather than the Pol. *rów* ‘ditch’ as the Karaim semicursive employed in the manuscript allows a clear distinction to be made between the vowels *o* and *u* (וֹ and וּ, respectively). The contemporary Ukr. counterpart is *piø* ‘ditch’, although a historical Polish-Church Slavonic-Ukrainian dictionary by Witwicki from the nineteenth century attests the variant *rov* ‘ditch’ for Ukr. (SPCU 252), a variant which may also be the etymon of the Karaim loanword. The counterpart in the Bibl. Gd. is *przekopanie* ‘digging’, whereas the Bibl. Brz. has *opadłość murów*¹² ‘decline of walls’.

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

da qondarylyr [...] keskin rov ancaq qysqa vahtlarda (Dan 9:25) ‘it will be rebuilt with [...] steep ditches, though in short time’

(14) An adjective **sqarlatovyj**, spelled סְקָרְלַטוֹוִיִּי, appears in Dan three times (Dan 5:7, Dan 5:16, Dan 5:29) and has the meaning ‘scarlet, purple’. The dictionary produced by Witwicki in the nineteenth century provides the variant *шкарлатовію* ‘scarlet’ for Ukr. (SPCU 292), which is a borrowing from Pol.¹³ and not subsequently attested in Ukr. The etymon of the Ukr. *шкарлатовію* is the Middle Polish *szkarlatowy* ‘scarlet’. The historical dictionary by Linde provides the variants *szarlatowy* and *szkarlatowy* (Linde 1812 V: 512) for Pol., with the latter being more prevalent in speech. According to Barchudarov the historical equivalent in Russ. was pronounced with the word-initial consonant *s*, i.e. *скорлатный* (SRJH vol. 24: 240). The consistent spelling of the word-initial *s* in the word *sqarlatovyj* in the Karaim manuscript, instead of the sound *š*, is most probably an example of a dialectal form characteristic of the language used in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth. Kurzowa (1985: 96) states that there is evidence of words pronounced with *s* instead of *š*, particularly in the rural areas of the south-eastern part of the Commonwealth, e.g. *skło* ‘glass’ instead of *szkło*; *sklanka* ‘glass, tumbler’ instead of *szklanka*. The equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. is the noun *szarlat* ‘scarlet’.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

har kisi qajsy uhusa bu jazysny da jorasyn anyn anlatsa mana sqarlatovy upraq kijer (Dan 5:7) ‘anyone who reads this writing, and explains its interpretation to me, shall be clothed in a scarlet robe’

(15) **Sqrypce** is another word associated with musical terminology and means ‘violin’. It appears in Dan three times (Dan 3:5, Dan 3:10, Dan 3:15) and each time is spelled as סְקֵרְפֵּצֵי, so its spelling cannot be attributed to a mistake by the copyist. It is most probably a transitional form between the Pol. *skrzypce* and the Ukr. *скрипка* or the

¹² The meaning of this phrase is not entirely clear.

¹³ Cf. an etymological dictionary of Ukr. by Mel’nyčuk (2012 vol. 6: 383).

Russ. *скрыпка* ‘violin’.¹⁴ In an article addressing the mutual influence of Polish and Ukrainian through the centuries, Łesiów states that dialects in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth displayed many features of a transitional dialect between Polish and Ukrainian (Łesiów, De Lossa, Koropeckyj 1998: 399–401). The word *sqrypce* may be an example of such a mixed dialectal form. Sicińska (2013: 169–170) provides multiple examples taken from 17th and 18th century epistolographic material that was written in southeastern Polish dialects in which standard Polish words are realized with the sound *r* instead of *rz*, e.g. *komieyszar* ‘commissioner’ (< stand. Pol. *komisarz* ‘commissioner’), *potreba* ‘need’ (< stand. Pol. *potrzeba* ‘need’), *powietra* ‘air-GEN’ (< stand. Pol. *powietrza* ‘air-GEN’). The Ukrainian influence is clearly visible when the phonetic realization of the above-mentioned words is examined with respect to their Ukr. counterparts, namely *комісар*, *потреба*, *повітря*. The word *sqrypce* has a corresponding equivalent in the Bibl. Gd., namely *skrzyyce* ‘violin’. Cf. the word *arfa* for an example sentence as all the names of musical instruments appear in the same verse.

(16) The word *starosta* ~ *štarosta*, spelled שְׂטָרוֹסְטָ, occurs only once in Dan (Dan 3:3) and has the meaning ‘community leader, staroste’. It is spelled with the word-initial *shin* instead of *samekh*. From an etymological point of view *starosta* should be spelled with a word-initial *s*, however, Kurzowa (1985: 96–97) stated that in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth the sound *s* was sometimes pronounced as *š*, e.g. *szkarpetki* < *skarpetki* ‘socks’, *szpyrytus* < *spirytus* ‘spirit’. Unfortunately, this word only occurs once in the manuscript, so it is impossible to determine whether the spelling with the word-initial *shin* is a copyist’s mistake or an accurate representation of how the South-Western Karaims pronounced this noun. *Starosta* may be a loanword from either the Pol. *starosta*, the Ukr. *смапосма* or the Russ. *смапосма* ‘community leader’, but it is most probably a borrowing from Pol. as this word was used primarily in Pol. administration. Its counterpart in the Bibl. Gd. is *starostowie* (a plural form of *starosta*) ‘community leaders’.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

Ol vahтта ystyryndylar kšonzeler vojvodalar da hetmanlar starostalar (Dan 3:3) ‘Then the princes, the governors, and the commanders, the community leaders gathered’

(17) *Symfonalia* is another word related to music and it occurs in Dan three times (Dan 3:5, Dan 3:10, Dan 3:15). It is spelled שִׁמְפוֹנְאִלְיָ and denotes ‘an archaic musical instrument, dulcimer’. Its etymon is most probably an obsolete Pol. noun *symfonał* which denotes an archaic musical instrument. It is attested in the Polish dictionary by Linde as *symfonał* ‘muzyczne narzędzie | musical instrument’ (Linde 1812 V: 497). Szydłowska-Ceglowa (1977: 98–102) argues that it was not used in Polish after the seventeenth century. Its equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. is also *symfonał* ‘musical instrument’. A similar translation is found in the Russian Synodal Bible from 1876, namely

¹⁴ For Russ., Barchударov attests *скрыпка* and a contemporarily obsolete variant *скрыпка* (SRJH vol. 25: 23).

симфония, yet it is the Polish Bible that seems to have influenced the SWKar. translation. Cf. the word *arfa* for an example sentence as all the names of musical instruments appear in the same verse.

(18) *Šlahta*, spelled שְׁלַחְתָּא, appears in Dan twice (Dan 3:2, Dan 3:3) with the meaning of ‘noble, nobleman’. A semantic change in the usage of this word can be observed as in Slavic languages it denotes a higher social class, nobility, whereas in the Karaim translation the word refers to a member of this class. Its etymon is either the Pol. *szlachta*, the Ukr. *шляхта* or the Russ. *шляхта* ‘nobility’ but it is not possible to indicate from which language it has been borrowed as this word has denoted the noble class in many Slavic languages since the Middle Ages. The Karaim dictionary states that the word *šlahta* is a loanword from Pol. (KRPS 647). Interestingly, the word does not have a similar equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. nor in the Bibl. Brz., unlike the previous Slavonic loanwords. Counterparts provided in the Polish Bible translations are: *w prawach biegli* (Bibl. Gd.) ‘lit. experts in laws’ and *radni panowie* (Bibl. Brz.) ‘legal advisers’ which have an entirely different denotation.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

da Nevuħadnecar meleħ ijdi ystyrma kšonzelerni vojvodalaryn hetmanlerni poborcalaryn šlahtalaryn uredniqlerni (Dan 3:2) ‘and Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather the princes, the governors, the commanders, the treasurers, the nobles, the officials’

(19) Another interesting loanword is *ulice*, spelled אוּלִיצֵיָא. It occurs only once in Dan (Dan 9:25) with the meaning of ‘streets’. It is most probably derived from the plural form of the Pol. noun *ulica* ‘street’, that is *ulice* ‘streets’. In this rare example it may be observed that it is not the singular form of the word that has been borrowed but the plural variant.¹⁵ The plural form is not reflected in the Hebrew Bible, which provides the singular variant, that is רְחוּב ‘street’, nor in the Polish Bible translations, in which the singular variant is also found (Bibl. Gd. *ulica*, Bibl. Brz. *ulica* ‘street’). The loanword does not occur in KRPS, which only attests the Turkic counterpart, that is *oram* ‘street’ (KRPS 431), for all three Karaim dialects.

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

da altymyš eki haftalardan qajtyr da qondarylyr ulice (Dan 9:25) ‘and after sixty-two weeks he shall return and streets shall be rebuilt’

(20) *Uredniq*, spelled אורִיִדְנִיק, appears in Dan three times (Dan 3:2, Dan 3:3, Dan 3:27) and has the meaning ‘official, officer’. Analogically to the word *sqrypce*, it is most probably a transitional form between the Pol. *urzędnik* ‘official, clerk’ and the Ukr. *урядник*

¹⁵ It is also possible that the copyist made a mistake and erroneously spelled the word *ulice* with a *tseré*, which is used to mark the sound *e*, instead of a *patach* or *kamat*, which are used to mark the sound *a*. If this was the case the word would be read as *ulica*, which is the singular form of the word.

or the Russ. *урядник* ‘army officer’. As in the case of other words Karaim has borrowed from Slavonic languages, it is sometimes impossible to determine whether a word should be read with the front vowel *i* or the back vowel *y* as the Hebrew script does not allow such a distinction. If the word was borrowed from Ukr. it should be read as *urednyq*, but if it is instead a Pol. influence, it should be read as *uredniq*. Once again a counterpart in the Polish Bibles is almost identical, namely *urzędnicy* ‘officials, clerks’ (the plural form of *urzędnik*) in both the Bibl. Gd. and the Bibl. Brz.

An example sentence from the manuscript is given below:

Da yštyryndylar ksonzeler uredniqler da vojvodalar da keneščileri meleħnin da baqtylar bu erenlerni ki erklenmedi alarda ot guflarynda alarnyn (Dan 3:27) ‘And the princes, the officials, and the governors, and the king’s advisers gathered and saw these men, upon whose bodies the fire had no power’

(21) *Utrymacet-*, spelled אוֹרְיִמְצִיט, appears twice in Dan (Dan 11:6, Dan 11:25) and has the meaning ‘to retain, to keep, to maintain’. Although its etymon may be the Ukr. *утримати* ‘to hold, to keep’, it is noteworthy that there is a phonetically close counterpart in Pol., namely *utrzymać* ‘to maintain, to keep’. Thus, the verb *utrymacet-* may be another example of a mixed dialectal form of Polish-Ukrainian provenance in which Polish words are realized with the sound *r* instead of *rz*, similarly to the above-mentioned word attested in the manuscript, that is *sqrypce*. Interestingly enough, its equivalent in the Bibl. Gd. is the phonetically similar, but semantically different verb *otrzymać*¹⁶ ‘to receive, to obtain’.

An example phrase from the manuscript is given below:

ancaq ki utrymacetmesti kücü ol bileknin ani turalmasty da bilegide anyn (Dan 11:6) ‘but she will not retain the strength of [her] arm, nor he and his arm will be able to last’

Conclusions

The list above presents twenty-one Slavonic loanwords attested in the Book of Daniel in the South-Western Karaim manuscript no. ADub.III.84. The vast majority of the borrowings are nouns (i.e. fifteen), yet there are examples of four verbs, one adjective and one conjunction.

When examining this vocabulary it should be borne in mind that South-Western Karaims were fluent in Polish, Ukrainian and Russian, so they could freely borrow words from these languages whenever they deemed it necessary. The analysis showed

¹⁶ The relevant fragment from Dan 11:6 in the Bibl. Gd. is as follows: *wszakże nie otrzyma siły ramienia* ‘although she will not receive the strength of the arm’, which is almost identical to the Karaim version. It may suggest that the Karaim translator intended to copy the Polish translation but made a spelling mistake in the verb *utrymacet-*. This hypothesis can be refuted by the fact that this is not the only occurrence of the verb in the manuscript, thus the above-mentioned spelling mistake seems unlikely.

Table 1: List of Slavonic loanwords with their Polish, Ukrainian and Russian counterparts

In ADub.III.84	English	Polish	Ukrainian	Russian
<i>arfa</i>	harp	harfa	арфа	арфа
<i>dbatet-</i>	to care	dbać	дбати	дбать
<i>hetman</i>	commander	hetman	гетьман	гетман
<i>golen</i>	shin	goleń	голены	голень
<i>qornet</i>	cornet	kornet	корнет	корнет
<i>peń ~ peń</i>	tree trunk	pień	пень	пень
<i>piŝcalqa</i>	pipe	piŝczalka	–	пищалка
<i>poborca</i>	collector	poborca	–	–
<i>pońevaż</i>	because	ponieważ	–	–
<i>postanoviet-</i>	to decide	postanović	постановити	постановить
<i>pusta et-</i>	to devastate	pusta	пуста	пустая
<i>pustalyq</i>	desolation	pusta	пуста	пустая
<i>rov</i>	ditch	rów	рів ~ ров	ров
<i>ŝqarlatovyj</i>	scarlet	ŝkarlatowy	ŝкарлатовий	ŝкарлатный
<i>ŝqyrce</i>	violin	ŝkrzypce	ŝкрипка	ŝкрипка ~ ŝкрыпка
<i>starosta</i>	community leader	starosta	староста	староста
<i>ŝymfonia</i>	archaic musical instrument	ŝymfonał	–	–
<i>ŝlahita</i>	noble	ŝlachta	ŝляхта	ŝляхта
<i>ulice</i>	streets	ulice	улиця	улица
<i>uredniq</i>	official	urzędnik	урядник	урядник
<i>utrymacet-</i>	to retain	utrzymać	утримати	–

that all the analyzed words have Polish counterparts which may be considered as their Slavonic etymons. However, only five of them, namely *pišcalqa* ‘pipe’, *poborca* ‘collector’, *pońevaž* ‘because’, *symfonia* ‘an archaic musical instrument’ and *utrymacet-* ‘to retain’, are without any doubt derived from Polish as they do not possess phonetically appropriate counterparts in Russian and Ukrainian. As many as sixteen loanwords, e.g. *arfa* ‘harp’, *hetman* ‘commander’, *qornet* ‘cornet’, *postanovtet-* ‘to decide’ and *starosta* ‘community leader’, are to be found in more than one Slavonic language, so it is impossible to determine from which language they have been borrowed.

An interesting aspect of the Bible translation into South-Western Karaim is its correlation with the two Polish Bible translations, that is the *Biblia Gdańska* and the *Biblia Brzeska*. The majority of the Slavonic loanwords discussed have exact counterparts, mainly in the *Biblia Gdańska*, but in some cases also in the *Biblia Brzeska*, e.g. SWKar. *arfa* ‘harp’ vs. Bibl. Brz. *arfa* ‘harp’; SWKar. *pień* ‘tree trunk’ vs. Bibl. Gd. *pień* ‘tree trunk’; SWKar. *starosta* ‘community leader’ vs. Bibl. Gd. *starostowie* ‘community leaders’; SWKar. *ulice* ‘streets’ vs. Bibl. Gd. and Bibl. Brz. *ulica* ‘street’; SWKar. *sqrypce* ‘violin’ vs. Bibl. Gd. *skrzypce* ‘violin’. Only six of the twenty-one Slavonic loanwords do not have equivalents in the Polish Bible translations from that time, that is *dbatet-* ‘to care’; *qornet* ‘cornet’; *pońevaž* ‘because’; *pusta et-* ‘to devastate’; *rov* ‘ditch’; and *šlahta* ‘noble’.

The Book of Daniel is one of the shorter books of the Tanakh and, therefore, is not entirely apposite for statistically valid conclusions to be drawn. Regardless of that fact, the degree of correspondence between Slavonic loanwords in the South-Western Karaim Bible translation and their counterparts in the Polish Bible translations suggests that the authors of the Karaim translation could have been influenced by the earlier Polish translations. Further research is required to determine whether these preliminary conclusions will be confirmed by material found in South Western Karaim translations of other parts of the Tanakh.

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Abbreviations and symbols

Bibl. Brz. = <i>Biblia Brzeska</i>	Slav. = Slavonic
Bibl. Gd. = <i>Biblia Gdańska</i>	stand. Pol. = standard Polish
Dan = The Book of Daniel	SWKar. = South-Western Karaim
<i>dim.</i> = diminutively	Ukr. = Ukrainian
GEN = genitive	WKar. = Western Karaim
<i>lit.</i> = literally	Trk. = Turkic
Pol. = Polish	[] = words or phrases added in translation
Russ. = Russian	[...] = omitted words or phrases

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