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A NORTH-WESTERN KARAIM MANUSCRIPT FOUND IN LUTSK – A CASE OF DIALECT MINGLING?*

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Abstract

The question of dialect mingling in Karaim has been raised by several authors. We know that there was continual contact between members of most Karaim communities during at least the last three centuries, but we know little about the intensity of the discussed phenomenon. Manuscripts reflecting the spoken language serve as our only source of knowledge. One must, however, be careful when editing them since not every manuscript that contains linguistic material referring to more than one Karaim dialect is to be treated as proof of dialect mingling. The present paper presents a critical edition of a Karaim manuscript written in 1868 which contains both north- and south-western elements, and aims to answer the question whether this document can be treated as a relevant example of dialect mingling.

1. Preliminary remarks

The document edited in this paper belongs to a modest but significant collection of Western Karaim manuscripts stored in Warsaw (in private hands)¹ and is held there under the catalogue number 43^{II}. Most of the materials edited to date from

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¹ Cf. Dubiński (1985).

this collection (in Németh 2010 and 2011) were written exclusively in south-western Karaim. The only exception in this group of manuscripts is the document analysed in Németh (2010), in which we find four fragments written in two dialects: two paragraphs in south-western Karaim and the other two in the north-western dialect with eastern Karaim elements. All these paragraphs are the work of four different and unknown authors.

Similarly to the document mentioned above, the text presented in this paper exhibits some instances of dialect mingling – it contains a number of evident south-western features even though it was written by a north-western Karaim speaker. Fortunately, we know the identity of the author as he signed the document. The manuscript is a private letter.

What makes the above somewhat more complex is that Mardkowicz (1933: 7–8) published a transcription of the present manuscript in which he altered most of the north-western Karaim characteristics in such a way to appear as if they had been written in his native south-western dialect. In our commentaries attached to the linguistic material we have therefore additionally made a comparison between the original manuscript and Mardkowicz's edition (letter III in his article).

Mardkowicz's decision to alter the linguistic features of the manuscripts he read should be explained as an attempt to compile exemplary linguistic material as a model to be followed by what was then a new generation of Karaim speakers. In Németh (2009) we presented a detailed description of this practice and interpreted it as a key aspect of the Karaim language purism movement characteristic of the interwar period.

2. General description of the manuscript

The cream-coloured sheet is folded into two halves and thus consists of four pages. The letter itself is written on the first two 175 × 220 mm pages in Karaim semi-cursive script (based on Hebrew script). The text of the letter is partly vocalised, clearly legible, written in light grey ink and in one hand. It was composed in Odessa on 17 July 1868, i.e. 29 July 1868 according to the Gregorian calendar.

3. The author's and the addressee's identities

Unlike some of the other Karaim letters written in the same period as the one currently being edited, we know the exact name of the author. He is *Jehoszafat* son of *Zacharja Kapłanowski*,² a citizen of Odessa at the time the letter was written. He was born in Trakai around 1813, and died probably in Odessa after 1886 (see below).

² We have cited the personal names of Karaims in contemporary Polish orthography. We do so first of all because this practice is widespread in Karaim studies and, secondly, so as to avoid the question of whether to transcribe, transliterate or translate first names of Hebrew origin as well as bypass the dilemma of whether to Anglicise the first names and surnames or instead to

From the present letter we know that he was already living in Odessa and dealing with the community's financial affairs in 1868. His father, *Zacharja* the son of *Izaak Kapłanowski* (born 1759, died 1831 in Trakai) used the title of rabbi and judge, had five sons, all of whom were born in Trakai. Worth mentioning is the fact that one of the author's brothers was *Boaz* (or *Bogusław*) *Izaak Kapłanowski* (born around 1814, died 1898 in Trakai) – the first to officiate as the hakham of Trakai (from 1863 on). The entire *Kapłanowski* family was living in Trakai until at least 1834, i.e. the year when they were listed in the census record list (*Ревизская сказка*) prepared between 21st and 28th May (see AGKŁ). The author was registered there as a 21 year-old married man, the father of a six year-old *Josif* who later, in 1869 opened his own photographer's shop in Trakai before he eventually moved to Warsaw. Apart from these details our knowledge of the life of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski* is fairly scant. What we do know is that in 1872 he signed *Izaak ben Solomon*'s posthumously published *Or ha-Levanah* (אור הלבנה), printed in Zhytomyr as a member of the Karaim community of Odessa, and that in 1886 he also published there a 50 page-long prayer book entitled (in present-day Russian orthography) *Друг людей: Нравоучение караим. юношеству с приведением текстов великих писателей священ. книг* (publishing house: *Типография Францова*), see Omelčuk (2006: item nr. 23226). The year 1886 is the last date attested in his biography.

The addressee of the letter, *İcchak* the son of *Zarach Bezikowicz*, was born around 1807 and died after 1872. He lived in Lutsk and officiated there as the *gabbai*, i.e. treasurer. He appears in the census record list prepared in Lutsk in 1834 as a 26 year-old married man and a father of two daughters. The census prepared 24 years later (see AGKŁ) informs us that he had seven children – four daughters and three sons. Those sons of his who are worthy of mention here are *Zarach* (born 1835) and *Mordechaj* (born 1842), who later also became Odessan citizens. In 1904 *Mordechaj* composed a letter from Odessa on paper with a printed letterhead stating the following: *Магазинъ заграничной обуви З. Безиковича въ Одессѣ, Екатеринин. ул., д. Вагнера. Фирма суц. съ 1860 г.* (see Németh 2011: 235). This would mean that the shoe shop was most probably established by his brother *Zarach*, who, *nota bene*, also signed the above-mentioned copy of *Or ha-Levanah* from 1872, and was listed there as an Odessan citizen, too.

4. Transcription

In the transcription we attempted to reconstruct the phonetic level of the letter's content. However, we have marked the palatality of consonants in north-western forms only where it is phonologically relevant. South-western forms are transcribed in the way they would probably have been pronounced in Lutsk Karaim. The Slavonic interpolations are transcribed according to their original sound. The Hebrew fragments embedded in the Karaim text are transliterated and quoted in italic letters.

transcribe them on the basis our phonetic transcription. We have put forward our arguments in favour of a Polish-orthography-based presentation of proper names in Németh (2011: 19).

Hebrew abbreviations are explained in the commentaries. The translation of the whole text, including all Hebrew fragments, is provided in chapter 5. We have noted the differences between Mardkowicz's reading and the original text in every case where Mardkowicz's system of transcription clearly points to a different reading. In other words, we show where our transcription differs and not where our transcription systems are different. This means that discrepancies which would not have been reflected anyway in Mardkowicz's article are not noted separately. For instance, he did not note the palatality of *k* in front of *-e-*, which means that *kenesa* in Mardkowicz's article equals *kenesa* in our transcription.

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- [1] *bh*³
 [2] 1868. juł⁴ 17. *ph b'wdss'*
 [3] *'hwby ydydy km'⁵ yšhaq hgb'y, bn kmhr⁶ zrh hnbwn bzyqwwyş zl⁷*
 [4] *wkl hqhl hqdws' dy Łucka!*⁸
 [5] Burunhu biřiđin kahałnyn 18. podpisba⁹ kabuł eřip, yřtyrdyx¹⁰ ařča¹¹
 [6] 300. rubeł da iđđik kawodunuzha. *r*¹² *Jeszua Szemoel* jazdy ki kabuł eřfi oł
 [7] ařčany.¹³ Ekińči biřik kelđi mana kahałyjyzdan¹⁴ 5. podpisba ki ũlařřilar¹⁵
 [8] oł ũc¹⁶ już¹⁷ rubełny, da jazyłhan kimlaręa,¹⁸ da ki beraxa beřilđi *qq*¹⁹
 Adeřniń²⁰
 [9] da tabu eřadłar²¹ ndrłari²² ũcuń,²³ da ki dowerennost ijilđi. Bu bary jaxřy²⁴

³ בְּעִזְרַת הַיְיָ: An abbreviation of Hebr. בְּעִזְרַת הַיְיָ 'with the Lord's help'.

⁴ יוֹל: M: *ijul*. The lack of a word-initial *aleph* points to a reading with *j*.

⁵ כַּמְעַ: The abbreviation stands most probably for Hebr. כְּבוֹד מַעֲלֵת 'honourable sir' or, perhaps, עֲדֵן מְנוּחָתוֹ 'the honourable repose of which is Eden' (for the latter interpretation see Munkácsi (1909: 187) and Németh (2011: 344)).

⁶ כְּבוֹד מַעֲלֵת: An abbreviation of Hebr. כְּבוֹד מַעֲלֵת רַבִּי 'honourable sir and the Rabbi'.

⁷ זָכְרוֹנוֹ לְבִרְכָה: An abbreviation of Hebr. זָכְרוֹנוֹ לְבִרְכָה 'may his memory be blessed; of blessed memory'.

⁸ The Hebrew heading was translated by Mardkowicz (1933: 7) in these words: *1868 jil-da, 17 ijulda. Adeste. Siwerim k. m. Jicchak oł gabbaj, uwłu ribbi Zarachnyn oł akyl-łynyn, Bezikowicz da bar oł aziz dzymat Łuckada*. The translation is faithful to the original.

⁹ פּוֹדְפִיס בָּא: The writing follows the spelling of Pol. *podpis* 'signature' and Russ. *подпись* id. even though the actual pronun-

ciation reflects *-tp-* in both cases. See also this word repeated in line 7 below.

¹⁰ M[ardkowicz]: *ystrydyk*.

¹¹ M: *achca*.

¹² רַ: An abbreviation of Hebr. רַב 'sir' or רַבִּי 'rabbi'.

¹³ M: *achcany*.

¹⁴ M: *kahałynyzdan*.

¹⁵ M: *iliřřilar*.

¹⁶ M: *ic*.

¹⁷ M: *jiz*.

¹⁸ M: *kimłerge*.

¹⁹ קֶק: An abbreviation standing for Hebr. קְהֵלָה קְדוֹשָׁה 'Holy Community'. Repeated also in line 16. M: *kahałyna*.

²⁰ M: *Adesnin*.

²¹ M: *etedler*.

²² נְדֵרְלֵרִי: Hebr. נְדֵר '1. solemn promise; 2. sacred donation' used with the plural and possessive suffix. The word is repeated in line 22. M: *nederłeri*.

²³ M: *icin*.

²⁴ M: *jachsy*.

- [10] kylynhan da jazyłhan. Da anyn üćuń²⁵ ki bahasyz²⁶ har ńeřsańi²⁷ kyłma waχtynda
- [11] da kołajły. To hanuz biźńiń²⁸ kahałda yštyryłhan²⁹ aχčadan³⁰ 62. rub. *ksp*³¹
- [12] 20. rub. beřđik Łuckadan kełğań³² karajlarha,³³ *rl*³⁴ *Hugelge*³⁵ *Sultańskiha*³⁶
- [13] da öźğalařińa,³⁷ hocaalyk³⁸ keřma³⁹ jołlaryna. 7 rub. bołdu hoca,
- [14] a kałhan 35. rub. ijańiń⁴⁰ kołuja⁴¹ kawodujnun ałej⁴² ńećik⁴³ gabbajnyń. Daha⁴⁴
- [15] ijańiń⁴⁵ 45. rub. kołuja⁴⁶ kawodujnun, kajsy aχčany⁴⁷ ijdı mana *r*’š *hłkmym*⁴⁸
- [16] *Nachamo Babowicz ndr*⁴⁹ pogoreleclar⁵⁰ üćuń⁵¹ yštyryłhan⁵² *qq*⁵³ Akjarnyn *rl*
- [17] Sewastopolda. Isanamen⁵⁴ ki kawoduj rast baharsyn⁵⁵ ki bary kylynhej⁵⁶ dohrułukba,⁵⁷
- [18] ki kiřiğa de⁵⁸ bołmahej⁵⁹ krywda [~ kriwda]⁶⁰ ülařmakfa⁶¹ aχčany.⁶² Zatym⁶³ kabuł eřip bu
- [19] šeķśań⁶⁴ rubełny, jazarsyz⁶⁵ kahałdan bir biřik *r*’š *hłkmym Babowiczka*⁶⁶ ałłatadohon⁶⁷

²⁵ M: *icin*.

²⁶ M: *bahasiz*.

²⁷ M: *nerseni*.

²⁸ M: *biźnin*.

²⁹ M: *ystryryłhan*.

³⁰ M: *achcadan*.

³¹ כסף: Hebr. כֶּסֶף ‘1. silver; 2. money’. The word was used in Lutsk Karaim, too (cf. Németh (2011: 295, s.v. *Kesef*). M: *kesef*.

³² M: *kełgen*.

³³ קראי לרגא: Suffixes indicating the plural dative case are attached to Kar. *karaj* ‘Karaim’ < Hebr. קְרָאִים id. (a plural form of קָרָא ‘biblical scholar, Bible teacher, reader of Scriptures; Karaite’, cf. Alcalay III 2336).

³⁴ רל: An abbreviation of Hebr. לִוְרָא לִוְרָא ‘it means’.

³⁵ M: *Hugelge*.

³⁶ M: *Sultanskijha*.

³⁷ M: *eźgelerine*.

³⁸ M: *hocaalyk*.

³⁹ M: *ketme*.

⁴⁰ M: *ijemen*.

⁴¹ M: *kołuna*.

⁴² M: *ałaj*.

⁴³ M: *necik*.

⁴⁴ M: *daby*. Pro *dahy*. A misprint.

⁴⁵ M: *ijsmen*. Pro *ijemen*. A misprint.

⁴⁶ M: *kołuna*.

⁴⁷ M: *achcany*.

⁴⁸ ראש החכמים: Hebr. רֹאשׁ הַחֲכָמִים ‘chief hakham’. The plural is used for expressing

esteem. M: *rosz hachamim*. *Hakham* among Karaims is the highest spiritual leader.

⁴⁹ נדר: Hebr. נָדַר ‘1. solemn promise; 2. sacred donation’. M: *neder*.

⁵⁰ M: *pogorelecler*.

⁵¹ M: *icin*.

⁵² M: *ystryryłhan*.

⁵³ M: *kahał kodeszinde*.

⁵⁴ אִיסַנְמִין: We postulate a clear south-western reading here even though the personal ending could also be deciphered as *-myn*. We believe that there is no need or indeed any real possibility to postulate a hybrid form reflecting south-western and north-western features, as e.g. **isanamyn* ← KarL. *isanamen* ↔ KarT. *iřanamyn*.

⁵⁵ M: *baharsen*.

⁵⁶ M: *kylynhaj*.

⁵⁷ M: *duhrułukba*.

⁵⁸ M: *kisige de*.

⁵⁹ M: *botmahaj*.

⁶⁰ Russ. *krusda* ‘untruth, injustice’, Ukr. *krusda* id. M: *krywda*.

⁶¹ M: *ilismekte*.

⁶² M: *achcany*.

⁶³ Ukr. *zatem* ‘subsequently; afterwards’, Ross. *zatem* id.

⁶⁴ M: *seksen*.

⁶⁵ M: *jazarsiz*.

⁶⁶ M: *Babowiczke*.

⁶⁷ M: *anłatadohan*. Etymologically, we would expect *-nl-*. The *-nl-* > *-łl-* change is a result of assimilation or hypercorrectness, cf. the dissimilation of *-łl-* > *-łł-* in north-western

- [20] *ki Adeřtań*⁶⁸ *kabuł eřtijiź*⁶⁹ 335. rub., a *qq*⁷⁰ Akjarnyn 45. rub., bary *meńim*⁷¹ kołum
 [21] *ařyra*⁷² da tabu *eřařsiź*⁷³ *řaxamha*⁷⁴ *kyłhan jaxřylyřlary*⁷⁵ *uřuń*.⁷⁶

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- [22] *Ekińci bitik jazarsyz*⁷⁷ *qq* Akjarnyn, tabu *eřa*⁷⁸ *ndrlaři uřuń*.⁷⁹ *Uřuńcu*⁸⁰
 [23] *bitik jazarsyz*⁸¹ mana *ki kabuł eřtijiź*⁸² 80. rubełny, da *jazyрыз kelđimo ařča*⁸³
 [24] *oźęa*⁸⁴ *kahałardan*, da *netekli*⁸⁵ *kajsy kahałdan*. *Tołajiz*⁸⁶ *jazuwçuha*⁸⁷ bu *ařčadan*⁸⁸
 [25] *ki jaxřy*⁸⁹ *jazhej*⁹⁰ *bitiklar*⁹¹ *řaxam Babowiczka*,⁹² da Akjarha. Da *berijiź*⁹³ *berařa*
 [26] *ařarha*. *Keřak*⁹⁴ *bołma wřenčny ařarha kimlar*⁹⁵ *kyładlar*⁹⁶ *jaxřylyř*.⁹⁷ to –
 [27] *ekińcide for jaxřylyřka*⁹⁸ *mořna*⁹⁹ *spořewacetma*.¹⁰⁰ Akjarha *adresni jazyрыз*¹⁰¹
 [28] *kahałnyn adyna: Sewastopol'skomu karaimskomu obřčestwu*.¹⁰² A *Goźławaęa*¹⁰³
 [29] *jazyрыз: řaxamu*¹⁰⁴ *Babowiczu*. Hali *ařtatamyn*¹⁰⁵ *kawodunuzha ne*¹⁰⁶ *uřuń*¹⁰⁷ *jazamyn*¹⁰⁸ –

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- Karaim, e.g. *utlu* > *uřlu*. (Kowalski 1929: xxxii). Cf. footnotes 105, 139.
- ⁶⁸ M: *Adesten*.
⁶⁹ M: *ettiniz*.
⁷⁰ M: translation missing.
⁷¹ M: *menim*.
⁷² M: *asyra*.
⁷³ M: *etersiz*.
⁷⁴ גא חכם: Hebr. חכם '1. wise, learned man; 2. hakham (rabbi)' used with the Karaim dative case suffix *-ha*. M: *chachamha*.
⁷⁵ M: *jachsylyřlary*.
⁷⁶ M: *icin*.
⁷⁷ M: *jazarsiz*.
⁷⁸ M: *ete*.
⁷⁹ M: *icin*.
⁸⁰ M: *icińci*.
⁸¹ M: *jazarsiz*.
⁸² M: *ettiniz*.
⁸³ M: *achca*.
⁸⁴ M: *eźęe*.
⁸⁵ M: *netekli*.
⁸⁶ M: *teleniz*.
⁸⁷ M: *jazuwçuha*.
⁸⁸ M: *achcadan*.
⁸⁹ M: *jachsy*.
⁹⁰ M: *jazhaj*.
⁹¹ M: *bitikler*.
⁹² M: *Babowiczke*.
⁹³ M: *beriniz*.
⁹⁴ M: *kerek*.
⁹⁵ M: *kimler*.
⁹⁶ M: *kyładyřar*. Mardkowicz probably replaced the word with its less colloquial variant. The non-abbreviated form would be *kyładyřtar*.
⁹⁷ M: *jachsylyř*.
⁹⁸ M: *jachsylyřka*.
⁹⁹ מוֹנָה: The word-final *hōlām* tells us that the word should be interpreted as the Russ. *можно* being transliterated and therefore the word-final vowel should be read as *-a*. M: *mozna*.
¹⁰⁰ M: *spodiewacetme*.
¹⁰¹ M: *jazyрыз*.
¹⁰² סײַן סײַט פּוֹלײַס כּוֹמו קאַריַמס כּוֹמו אױבֿשפּאַרײַטױ: Russ. *Севастопольскому караимскому обществу* 'to the Association of Karaims in Sevastopol'.
¹⁰³ The Trakai Karaim name (not attested yet) of Yevpatoria. M: *Gezłewęe*. In KRPS (p. 684) the Crimean Karaim form *Kozlüv* is noted (s.v. *Козлүв*).
¹⁰⁴ חכמו: KarT. *řaxam* 'Karaim spiritual leader' with the Russian dative case ending. M: *chachamu*. Cf. footnote 74.
¹⁰⁵ M: *anłatamen*. Cf. our commentary attached in footnote 67.
¹⁰⁶ M: *ne*.
¹⁰⁷ M: *icin*.
¹⁰⁸ M: *jazamen*.

- [30] kawodunuzha tiwił ǰazzanha? Mēn¹⁰⁹ sahyš¹¹⁰ eřamiń,¹¹¹ nećik¹¹² kuńdu¹¹³
juwłari¹¹⁴ Karaimłarıńiń¹¹⁵
- [31] Łuckada, hali kahał ǰyχtyłar¹¹⁶ yšwbłarha,¹¹⁷ to bołmast kimǰa¹¹⁸ kełma¹¹⁹
kenesaha
- [32] da miškińlik sartyn bołmasty kimǰa¹²⁰ tołama¹²¹ ǰazzanha ki oł tefiła¹²² etkeǰ.
- [33] A zatym yštiryńyp¹²³ kahał sahyšetijiz¹²⁴ može¹²⁵ kylarsyz¹²⁶ buleǰ,¹²⁷ ki bu 8o.
rubełdan
- [34] ǰoć¹²⁸ neteklide¹²⁹ beresiz¹³⁰ ǰazzanha, ki tefiła¹³¹ etkeǰ kenesada ki
kapałmaheǰ¹³²
- [35] kenesa, bu¹³³ kenesa kapałsa, to kahał artyk sanałmast kahałba. Zatym
kylyjyz¹³⁴
- [36] akylyjyzha¹³⁵ kořa¹³⁶ nećik¹³⁷ jaχšyraz¹³⁸ da mana de ałłatynyz¹³⁹ ne¹⁴⁰ kyłdynyz,
bo meń¹⁴¹
- [37] dostunuz da yšr'l,¹⁴² klajmiń¹⁴³ ki kahał bołheǰ¹⁴⁴ kahałba.
- [38] Bitikli sozłari¹⁴⁵ karandašyjnyn.¹⁴⁶ w'tm šlwm wkl hqhl hqdwš
- [39] šlwm – lmgdwl wđ qtn: dwrš twb lyšr'l, yhwšpř bkr¹⁴⁷
- [40] zkryh hgbyr whdyn zl qplnwowsky¹⁴⁸

¹⁰⁹ M: *men*.

¹¹⁰ M: *sahys*.

¹¹¹ M: *etemen*.

¹¹² M: *necik*.

¹¹³ M: *kiwdi*.

¹¹⁴ M: *jiwłeri*.

¹¹⁵ M: *karajłarnyn*.

¹¹⁶ M: *cyktyłar*.

¹¹⁷ ישובלרנא: Hebr. ישוב 'settlement, inhabited place, inhabited land' in Karaim plural and used with the Karaim dative case suffix. M: *isuwłarha*.

¹¹⁸ M: *kimge*.

¹¹⁹ M: *kełme*.

¹²⁰ M: *kimge*.

¹²¹ M: *teleme*.

¹²² Cf. *tefińła* in Kowalski (1929: 261).

¹²³ M: *yštiryńyp*.

¹²⁴ M: *sahys etiniz*.

¹²⁵ M: *moze*.

¹²⁶ M: *kylarsiz*.

¹²⁷ M: *bulaj*.

¹²⁸ M: *choc*.

¹²⁹ M: *neteklide*.

¹³⁰ M: *berisiz* pro *beresiz*. A misprint. Here, we postulate a clear south-western reading since probably this was the intention of the author.

¹³¹ M: *tefiła*.

¹³² M: *kapałmahaj*.

¹³³ M: *bo*. The word-final *shūrūq* (י-) is clearly visible.

¹³⁴ M: *kylyńyz*.

¹³⁵ M: *akylyńyzha*.

¹³⁶ M: *kere*.

¹³⁷ M: *necik*.

¹³⁸ M: *jachsyraz*.

¹³⁹ M: *anlatynyz*. Cf. our commentary in footnotes 67 and 105.

¹⁴⁰ M: *ne*.

¹⁴¹ M: *men*.

¹⁴² ישראל: Hebr. יִשְׂרָאֵל 'Israel'. M: *Jisrael*.

¹⁴³ M: *klejmen*.

¹⁴⁴ M: *bołhaj*.

¹⁴⁵ M: *sezleri*.

¹⁴⁶ M: *karyndasynynyn*.

¹⁴⁷ בכרר: The abbreviation most probably stands for Hebr. בֶּן כְּבוֹד רַבִּי 'the son of the honourable Rabbi'.

¹⁴⁸ The last two sentences and the signature were translated by Mardkowicz (1933: 8) into south-western Karaim in these words: *Bitikli sezleri karyndasynynyn da sižge bazłyk da bar oł aziz dzymatka bazłyk ul-ludan kicigedejin. Kłewci jachsyny jisraelikke. Jehosafat uwłu ribbi Zacharjanyn oł gewirnin da oł danjannyn Kapłanowski. The translation is faithful to the original.*

5. Translation

We tried to follow the Karaim syntax as strictly as possible. However this was, naturally, not always possible. Therefore, the line numbers in the translation serve merely as guidelines for the reader. Additions in square brackets serve the purpose of facilitating the reading and contain fragments that are not present in the source text. The equals signs in square brackets introduce explanations. Alternate translations are indicated with a tilde, also enclosed in square brackets.

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- [1] With the Lord's help¹⁴⁹
 [2] 17th July 1868, here, in Odessa
 [3] My beloved friend, honourable sir *Icchak* the *gabbai*, the son of the honourable sir and the wise Rabbi *Zarach Bezikowicz* of blessed memory
 [4] and the whole holy community of Lutsk!
 [5] After we had received the first letter of the community with 18 signatures, we collected
 [6] 300 roubles and sent [those] to you. Sir *Jeszua Szemoel* wrote that he received that
 [7] money. The second letter from your community arrived to me with 5 signatures [informing] that those three hundred roubles had been divided
 [8] and [letting me also know] among which persons [had the money been divided], and [informing me] that blessings are given [~ greetings are sent] to the holy community of Odessa
 [9] and thanks [are sent] for the sacred donation, and [informing] that the authorization had been sent. All this is well
 [10] done and written, also since you take care of each affair to be done in time
 [11] and appropriately. So, additionally, from the money collected in our community, from 62 silver roubles, we gave
 [12] 20 roubles to [those] Karaims that came from Lutsk, i.e. to *Hugel, Sułtański*
 [13] and others, for their travel expenditures. There were 7 roubles in expenditures
 [14] and the remaining 35 roubles I send to your hands as the *gabbai*. Additionally
 [15] I send 45 roubles to your hands, which money was sent to me by the chief hakham
 [16] *Nachamo Babowicz*¹⁵⁰ as a sacred donation for the victims of the fire, collected by the holy community of *Akjar*,¹⁵¹ i.e.

¹⁴⁹ בָּה' : An abbreviation of Hebr. בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם 'with the Lord's help' used usually in the collocation בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּׁם נַעֲשֶׂה וְנִצְלִיחַ 'With the Lord's help, we shall achieve and succeed!'.
 [150] Tauride and Odessian hakham in the years 1855–1879. Born 1799, died 1882 (see El'jaševič II 9).
 [151] אַקְיָאָר: The Crimean Karaim name of Sevastopol.

- [17] in Sevastopol. I believe that you will properly take care [of the money] in order that everything be done justly
- [18] in order not to let anyone suffer an injustice when dividing the money. Subsequently, after you have received these
- [19] eighty roubles, write from [= in the name of] your community a letter to the chief hakham *Babowicz* explaining
- [20] that you have received 335 roubles [sent] from Odessa, and 45 roubles [sent] from the holy community of *Akjar*, all via my hands,
- [21] and [in this letter] you will thank the hakham for all the good [he had] done.

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- [22] You will write another letter to the holy community of *Akjar* expressing your thanks for [their] sacred donation. A third
- [23] letter you will write [informing] me that you have received the 80 roubles and write whether the money [sent]
- [24] from the other communities has arrived, and how much [arrived] from which [= each] community. Pay the scribe from this [amount of] money
- [25] in order to write the letters well to hakham *Babowicz* and to *Akjar*. And give blessings [~ send greetings]
- [26] to them. One must be appreciative of those who do good deeds, then
- [27] another time one may expect good deeds, too. Address [the letter to] *Akjar* to
- [28] the name of the community: *Sevastopolskomu karaimskomu občestvu*¹⁵². And [the letter to be sent to] *Kozliiv*¹⁵³
- [29] write [= address] to hakham *Babowicz*. Now I [will] explain to you why I write
- [30] to you [and] not to the hazzan. I wonder: when [= after] the houses of Karaims [had] burned down
- [31] in Lutsk, the [members of the] community left to [other] settlements,¹⁵⁴ so there will be no one who could come to *kenesa*
- [32] and because of the poverty there will be no one to pay for the hazzan to say a prayer.
- [33] So when [the members of] your community assemble, consider whether you would do it this way: [whether you would] give from these 80 roubles
- [34] at least some amount to the hazzan, in order to let him pray in the *kenesa* [and] not to close
- [35] the *kenesa*; if this *kenesa* closes, then the community will no longer count as a community. Thus act
- [36] according to your reason, as well as possible, and inform me what you did, because I

¹⁵² סײַן־סײַט־פּוֹלֶסְכֹּמֶן־קאַרײַמ־סײַט־פּוֹלֶסְכֹּמֶן־אױב־שײַט־סײַט־פּוֹלֶסְכֹּמֶן: Russ. *Sevastopolskomu karaimskomu občestvu* ‘to the Association of Karaims in Sevastopol’.

¹⁵³ The Crimean Karaim name of Yevpatoria, see KRPS 684.

¹⁵⁴ Perhaps the use of Hebr. יִשׁוּב ‘settlement, inhabited place, inhabited land’ in the sentence suggests that the author of the letter points to non-native Karaim settlements.

- [37] am a friend of yours and of the whole Karaim community,¹⁵⁵ I want the community to be a community.
- [38] [These were] the written words of your brother, and peace to you and to the entire holy community,
- [39] peace to both great and small: the one who seeks [= wishes] good for the whole Karaim community, *Jehoszafat*, son of the honourable Rabbi
- [40] *Zacharja Kaplanowski*, master and judge of blessed memory

6. Commentaries and conclusions

General grammatical and orthographic features

The language of the edited text reflects a rather good command of Karaim. It contains a relatively small number of Slavic loanwords or calques. As an example of the latter see e.g. *bołmasty kimğa tołańa* ‘there will be no one to pay’, cf. Russ. *не будет кому платить* or Pol. *nie będzie komu płacić* id. The Karaim expression follows word for word its Slavonic counterpart, including the use of the dative case in *kimğa*.

The spelling used in the document is quite regular; the few sporadic irregularities are insignificant, cf. e.g. the word *kawodunuzha* ‘to you’ noted as כבודונוזגא, כבודונוזגא and דונוזגא in lines 6, 29, and 30, or the word *bitik* ‘letter’ written three times as ביטיק [7, 22, 23]¹⁵⁶ and once as ביטיב¹⁵⁷ [19]. The main spelling rules do not differ markedly from those seen in Lutsk Karaim texts presented in Németh (2011: 101–105).¹⁵⁸ In fact, we can safely state that there are no considerable differences between the “standard” orthography (i.e. the set of the most commonly used rules) applied in Lutsk in the 19th century and the “standard” orthography used by (at least some of the) authors from Trakai in this period – at least as far as the handwritten texts are concerned.

Case suffixes and, if followed by a case suffix, the plural suffix are occasionally written separately from the stem, e.g. פודפיס בא *podpisba* ‘with signature’ [5], קראי, קראי לרגא *karajlarha* ‘to Karaims’ [12], סיווסטופול דא *Sewastopolda* ‘in Sevastopol’ [17]. This practice is well known from Crimean Karaim texts and also from Lutsk Karaim manuscripts (cf. e.g. Jankowski 1997: 5, 2009: 23; Németh 2011: 125).

Palatal consonants are not denoted with separate diacritics. The only palatal and non-palatal consonant pair which is fairly consistently distinguished is *k* and *k̄*.

¹⁵⁵ ישראל: The use of this word in this context remains not entirely clear to us. The proposed translation (*Israel* referring to the whole Karaim community) seems the most probable.

¹⁵⁶ Numbers in square brackets indicate the line number the respective form is attested in.

¹⁵⁷ The use of the word-initial variant of *kaph* word-finally is a rare but still known phenomenon observed in manuscripts written in Karaim semi-cursive, see Németh (2011: 103, 110).

¹⁵⁸ The only additions to the description in Németh (2011) are, firstly, that the word-initial *ö-* is written using the letters *aleph*, *yodh*, and *waw* (איו), while the letters *aleph* and *waw* (אא) are used to render the word-initial *ü-*, and, secondly, that in the texts edited in our previous work (2011) there is no example of noting *ž* with *daleth*, *zayin* and a diacritic mark similar to the cantillation sign called *geresh* above it, i.e. with אד, see. פודוויציקטא *spożewacetrna* ‘to expect’ [27] and ודוויצני *wżenčny* ‘appreciative’ [26].

The first one is denoted with *koph* (ק) – with the sole exception of כולום *kotum* ‘my hand’ [20]. Its palatal counterpart is denoted with *kaph* (כ), cf. eg. אוּלְשֶׁמֶכ טָא *ūlašmēkta* ‘when dividing’ [18] or כּוּבְדוּ *kuvdu* ‘burned down’ [30].

Worth mentioning are those words which are seemingly exceptions to this rule. First of all, since in the word-final position *k* cannot be palatalized, the notation of this consonant in this position may vary. Thus we find ביטיק ~ ביטיכ *bitik* ‘letter’ [19, 7, respectively], or ניציק ~ ניציכ *nečik* ‘as’ [30, 36, respectively] in the text. This phenomenon is also known from Lutsk Karaim manuscripts. Secondly, the rule described above concerns only native words. In loanwords the notation is not so strict, cf. e.g. *kawodunuzha* ‘to you’ noted as כּוּדוּנוּזָא [6], i.e. according to the Hebrew orthography, or *sewastopol'skomu* and *karaimskomu* written in line 28 as סֵיוּסְטוּפּוֹלְסְכוּמוּ and קאַרימסכומו, respectively. Lastly, we should remember that in consonant clusters, occasionally not all consonants were palatalized as a result of consonant harmony; this depended on one’s idiolect. Seen in this light, the notation לר ביטיק may reflect *bitiklar* (line 25), and not necessarily *bitiklar*, and therefore should not be treated as an exception, either.

Dialectal affiliation of the linguistic data by means of orthographic analysis

We claim that the letter was written in north-western Karaim not only because the author had his roots in the community of Trakai, but also because even though a number of words could be read in up to three different ways, i.e. as though they had been written in the north-western, south-western, or even in the eastern dialect of Karaim, the clear and regularly applied orthographic rules presented below ultimately disambiguate the transcription and allow us to postulate a north-western reading in every seemingly ambiguous instance.

First of all, *a* is always noted in the word-final position with *aleph*, while word-medially it is never written *plene*¹⁵⁹ – with the sole exception of words of Hebrew origin in which the author follows the original spelling. Secondly, this, juxtaposed with the notation of *e*, which is always noted in these positions with *yodh* or with *yodh* preceded by *tzere*, allows us to postulate KarT. ‘*a* in every position where there would be a corresponding *e* in the south-western (and eastern) dialect – except for the first syllable, where **e* remains *e* in north-western Karaim.¹⁶⁰ Thirdly, the letters *shin* and *samekh* are used regularly to distinguish between *š* and *s*, respectively, which allows us to reject the south-western reading of those words in which etymologically KarL. *s* = KarT. *š*.

As a consequence, the regularity of the spelling allows us to draw reliable conclusions regarding the phonetic level of the text and to make a thorough comparison of

¹⁵⁹ There is no trace of any distinction between writing *-a-* with *aleph* and *-’a-* (i.e. an *-a-* after palatalized consonants) with vowel signs only, which is the case in J. Lobanos’s translation of the Book of Lamentations prepared in 1929 (Zajączkowski 1934: 187).

¹⁶⁰ We encountered one instance of an irregular notation of *e*, and that is in the word-initial position: the word *efkej* is written as אַיטכיי and אַטכיי in lines 32 and 34, respectively. This, however, has no impact on the dialectal affiliation of the text, since, as we mentioned, **e* remains *e* in all three dialects in the first syllable.

the linguistic material, in order to dispel any doubt as to the dialectal affiliation of the author's native tongue. Below, the phonetic, morphophonemic and morphologic features of the letter's language are grouped into six categories:

The largest group comprises words the writing of which allows for three possible ways of transcription, i.e. theoretically we are unable to assign them to dialectal subgroups. Without giving multiple examples unnecessarily, let us refer here only to מינים [20] which may cover KarT. *meńim*, KarL. *meńim* and KarC. *menim* 'my' and יזדי [6] which simply stands for Kar. [= KarTLC.] *jazydy* 'he wrote'.

The second largest group features exclusively north-western-type words. It seems important to mention that items assigned to this group are only slightly outnumbered by the group of words listed first (see table 1). This shows that north-western elements clearly predominate in the manuscript. We can safely say that based on the following sifting criteria reflected distinctly by the writing:

- 1) the *e > 'a change in the front-vowel environment (except the first syllable):
 - a. in the present tense marker, e.g. in איימין *ijamiń* 'I send' [14, 15], סגיש איטמין *sahyš etamiń* 'I wonder' [30];
 - b. in personal endings, e.g. אולשטילר *ūlašřilar* 'they divided' [7], טבו איטדלר *tabu etadlar* 'they thank' [9];
 - c. in case suffixes, e.g. כימלרגא *kimlarğa* 'to whom (pl.)' [8]; אולשטמכ טא *ūlaš-
makta* 'when dividing' [18];
 - d. in the plural suffix, e.g. כימלרגא *kimlarğa* 'to whom (pl.)' [8]; איוזגרינא *özgalarińa*¹⁶¹ 'to others' [13];
 - e. in the deverbial nominal suffix *-ma*, e.g. כילמא *kelma* [31];
 - f. in the *-e converb marker, e.g. איטא טבו *tabu eta* 'expressing thanks' [22]; see also argument no. 11) below;
- 2) the *aj > ej change:
 - a. in the optative mood marker in קפּלמגיי *kapalmahej* 'may not be closed' [34], which is the only fully vocalised optative mood form; see 14b) below;
 - b. in בוליי *bulej* 'this way, in this manner' [33];
- 3) the *η > j change:
 - a. in the 2nd pl. imperative mood marker, e.g. זייז *jazyjyz* 'write' [27], טיולייז *tolajiz* 'pay' [24];
 - b. in the 2nd pl. possessive suffix, e.g. קהלייזדן *kahalyjyzdan* 'from your community' [7], אקילייז גא *akylyjyzha* 'to your reason' [36];
 - c. in the 2nd sg. possessive suffix, e.g. כולוייא *koluja* 'to your hands' [14], כבודיי *kawoduj* 'you, sir' [17];
- 4) the *-adohon*¹⁶² present participle ending used in the converbial meaning in אלתטדוגון *allatadohon* 'explaining' [19]; cf. KarL. *-adohac* converb marker and

¹⁶¹ The initial *ö-*, as such, testifies against a south-western reading. In light of the *-a-* in the subsequent syllables, however, the form cannot be read in an eastern Karaim manner, either.

¹⁶² We have not referred here to all possible suffix variants if it was not necessary; these can easily be checked in the grammars.

-*adohan* present participle marker (see e.g. Zajączkowski 1931: 29); eastern Karaim lacks this suffix (see e.g. Prik 1976: 121–124);

- 5) the *-mín* personal ending, e.g. in אַיַמִּין *ijamín* ‘I send’ [14, 15], סגיש איטמין *sahyš eřamín* ‘I wonder’ [30]; for further details see 14a) below;
- 6) word forms characteristic of western Karaim that also include northern features, e.g. יחשירק *jaχšyraq* ‘better’ [36] – the comparative suffix *-raq* is not used in eastern Karaim (Prik 1976: 84) and both *-χ-* and *-š-* point to north-western phonetics, cf. KarL. *jaksy* id.; *kuv-* ‘to burn’, e.g. in כּוּבְדוּ *kuvđu* ‘burned down’ [30], cf. KarL. *kiv-* ‘to burn’, KarC. *küj-* id. (Aqtay I 642); נרסאני *neřsa* ‘affair, thing’ [10], cf. KarL. *nerse* id., Crimean Karaim lacks this word; *tabu eř-* ‘to thank’, e.g. in תבו איטא *tabu eřa* ‘expressing thanks’ [22], cf. KarL. *tabu eře* id.; אוצונצו *üčünčü* ‘third’ [22], cf. KarL. *ičínči* id. and KarC. *üčünžü* id., see also argument no. 14d); *yštyr-* ‘to collect’ attested e.g. in אישטירדיק *yštyrdyk* ‘we collected’ [5], cf. KarL. *ystyrdyk* id.

Thirdly, the manuscript contains numerous elements which bear phonetic and morphologic features that suggest a non-eastern Karaim origin, i.e. they point to a western Karaim form overall. Additionally, this group includes a couple of lexical items alien to eastern Karaim and shared by western dialects. Here we should mention:

- 7) the present optative mood marker (KarT. *-hej* and KarL. *-haj* with alternating variants), e.g. תפילה איטכיי *teřilla eřkej* ‘may he pray’ [32]; this suffix does not exist in eastern Karaim (see e.g. Prik 1976: 145; Aqtay I 42);
- 8) the *-dlar* abbreviated 3rd pl. personal ending (< *-dylar* < *-dyrlar*) in the present tense forms, e.g. קילדלר *kyladlar* ‘(lit.) they act’ [26], טבו איטדלר *tabu eřadlar* ‘they thank’ [9]; this type of verb-shortening is alien to eastern Karaim as the 3rd singular and plural personal endings lack the *-dyr* component (see e.g. Prik 1976: 128–129; Aqtay I 38);
- 9) the *-t* and *-ty* abbreviated 3rd sg. personal endings (< *-tyr*) in the negated future tense forms, e.g. בולמסט *bolmast* ‘it will not be’ [31]; such abbreviated forms do not exist in eastern Karaim for the same reason mentioned in 8) above (see e.g. Prik 1976: 138–139; Aqtay I 40); see also 22) below;
- 10) the *-ba* instrumental case suffix, e.g. קהל בא *kahalba* ‘(lit.) with the Karaim community’ [35, 37], פּוֹדְפִּיס בא *podpisba* ‘with signature’ [5]; eastern Karaim lacks this suffix, cf. KarC. *bilen* ~ *ilen* ~ *blen* ~ *bilan* ‘postp. with; together with’ (see e.g. Prik 1976: 151–152; Aqtay I 36) and the KarC. comitative and instrumental case suffix (or clitic) *-lan* ~ *-len* (Aqtay I 36);
- 11) the *-a* converb marker, e.g. תבו איטא *tabu eřa* ‘expressing thanks’ [22]; this form of converb is rarely found in eastern Karaim, and when used, it usually appears in double constructions (see Prik 1976: 122);
- 12) the enclitically used *mo* interrogative particle attested in כילדימו *kelđimo* ‘whether it arrived’ [23]; it is not characteristic of eastern Karaim, cf. KarC. *my* ~ *mi* used in this role (see e.g. Prik 1976: 157; KRPS 408; Aqtay I 467–468);
- 13) the genitive form of the 1st pl. personal pronoun: ביזנין *bižnin* ‘us’ [11], cf. KarL. *bižin* ~ *bižnin* id. and KarC. *bizim* id. (Prik 1976: 107; Aqtay I 550);

- 14) the reading is ambiguous but suggests a non-eastern Karaim form in the following cases:
- מִי-: if not vocalised, the 1st sg. personal ending written in this way might reflect all possible western-Karaim variants, i.e. KarT. *-mín* ~ *-myn* and KarL. *-men*; see, however, argument no. 5) above for a vocalised example; in eastern Karaim the personal ending *-m* is used in this meaning;
 - גִּי- and יִי-: written this way, the optative marker with a zero suffix indicating a 3rd sg. personal ending can stand for all suffix variants that can be attached to voiced word-ending in the western dialects, namely KarT. *-hej* (~ *-haj*) ~ *-gej* and KarL. *-haj* ~ *-gaj* ~ *-hyj* ~ *-gej* ~ *-hej*; see, however, 2a) above for a vocalised example; this suffix is absent from eastern Karaim;
 - וּבְצִי-: the derivative suffix building *nomina actoris* written thus can be read both as KarT. *-uwču* and KarL. *-uwcu* in יַזוּבְצִיחָא *jazuwčuha* ‘to the scribe’ [24]; in the eastern dialect this suffix has, however, high non-labial vowels, i.e. the word in question sounds *jazywčy* in Crimean Karaim (see KRPS 217);
 - נְצִי-: this kind of notation of the ordinal number suffix can be read both as KarT. *-ńci* and KarL. *-ńci* in *ekińci* ‘second’ [7, 22], but definitely not as KarC. *-nži*, since the letter *tzade* would be an unusual notation of *ž* in that dialect (see Sulimowicz 1972: 43–44; Jankowski 1997: 4), cf. KarC. *ekinži* id. (KRPS 657; Prik 1976: 89);
- 15) words absent from the eastern Karaim lexicon or highly untypical of it:
- native words: ביטיק *bitik* ‘letter’ [7, 22, 23], *ol* ‘1. he; 2. that’, cf. KarC. *o* id. (KRPS 423; Prik 1976: 96, 99);
 - Polish or Ukrainian loanwords: חוץ *χοץ* ‘at least’ [34] < Pol. *choć* id., מוֹזֵי *može* ‘perhaps’ [33] < Pol. *može* id., Ukr. *може* id., סְפוּדִי וְיִוָּצִיטָמָא *spożewacéńma* ‘to expect’ [27] < Pol. *spodziewać się* id. (used with karT. *ef-* ‘here: auxiliary verb’ with the deverbal nominal suffix *-ma*), וְדִינְצִי *wżenčny* ‘appreciative’ [26] < Pol. *wdzięczny* id.;
 - other loanwords: *for* ‘times (expressing multiplication)’ < Pers. *بَار* *bār* ‘time, turn’; *kabul ef-* ‘to receive’ < Ar. *قبول* *qabūl* ‘acceptance, approval’ (used with karT. *ef-* ‘here: auxiliary verb’), e.g. in *קבול איטטי* *kabul effi* ‘he received’ [6], *קהל* *kahal* ‘Karaim community’ [31, 33, 35, 37] < Hebr. *קהל* ‘congregation, community’, *כבוד* *kawod* ‘(with possessive suffixes) sir, sire; you (expressing esteem)’ [6, 14, 15, 17, 39, 30] < Hebr. *כבוד* ‘honour, splendour, glory’;
- 16) the inversed order in *izafets* characteristic of western Karaim, cf. *ביטיגין קהל נין* *bitiǰin kahalnyn* ‘the letter of the Karaim community (acc.)’ [5].

Fourthly, there is a group of words whose spelling allows us to assign them, based solely on phonetic arguments, to both north-western and eastern Karaim. South-western Karaim reading can be easily refuted in the following cases:

- 17) reflexes of **ü* noted with the letter *waw*, which may stand for *ü* or *u*, e.g. *אוצון* *üčün* ‘(postp.) 1. for; 2. about’ [9, 10, 16, 21, 22, 29], *יוז* *juž* ‘hundred’ [8]; in south-western Karaim we should expect *i* in this position (always noted with *yodh*), as a result of the **ü* > *i* change; cf. KarC. *učun* ~ *üčün* id. (KRPS 587;

Levi 1996: 27, s.v. *длѧ*; Aqtay I 724) and KarC. *jüz* ~ *juz* id. (Levi 1996: 100, s.v. *cmo*; Aqtay I 752);

- 18) reflexes of *š noted with *shin*, e.g. *אַשִׁירָא* *ašyra* '(postp.) via, through' [21], *יחשי* *jaχšy* 'good' [25]; in south-Western Karaim we should expect *s* in this position, which is usually, but not exclusively, noted with *samekh*; still, as we mentioned above, the distinction between *s* and *š* is highly regular in this manuscript; cf. KarC. *ašyra* id. (KRPS 93), KarC. *jaχšy* id. (KRPS 241);
- 19) the word written as *סִיקְסָן* in line 19, which can theoretically be deciphered both as KarT. *šekšan* 'eighty' and KarC. *seksan* id. However, a Crimean reading is less possible in light of the letter *kaph*, which is very regularly used in our letter for palatal *k* (cf., however, *kołum* 'my hand' in line 20 noted as *כולום*).

All of the four groups mentioned thus far do not provide evidence against a north-western Karaim reading. Even if in a number of cases a south-western or eastern reading could theoretically also be possible, the great preponderance of Trakai Karaim features and the biography of the author make a north-western reading in these cases the natural and logical choice.

There are, however, certain words that deserve particular attention since they include evident non-north-western features. Among these elements there are two forms which are undoubtedly of south-western-type, three words which are more characteristic of the south-western than the eastern Karaim lexicon, and some morphologic features that are unquestionably non-north-western. This group is based on an observation of the following features:

- 20) the *-ŋ- > -n- change (as opposed to *-ŋ- > -j- in Trakai Karaim):
- in the 2nd pl. imperative mood marker: *אללטיניז* *allatynyz* 'inform (*imperat. 2.pl.*)' [36]; *זייניז* *jazyрыз* 'write' [23, 29];
 - in the 2nd pl. possessive suffix in the following forms: *דוסטונוז* *dostunuz* 'your friend' [37]; *כבודונזגא* ~ *כבודונז גא* ~ *כבודונזגא* *kawodunuzha* 'to you' [6, 29, 30, respectively];
 - in the dative form of the 1st singular personal pronoun *מנא* *mana* 'to me' [7, 15, 23, 36];
 - in the 2nd plural personal ending in a past tense form: *קילדיניז* *kyłdynyz* 'you did' [36];
- 21) the *-e- > -e- change in the present tense marker: in the word *ביריסיז* *beresiz* 'you give' [34]; *yodh* cannot stand for -a- which would be expected in north-western Karaim;¹⁶³
- 22) the -ty abbreviated 3rd sg. personal ending (< -tyr) in the negated future tense form *בוֹר־למסטי* *bołmasty* 'it will not be' [32] and *סנלמסט* *sanalmast* 'it will not count (as)' [35]; this process of abbreviation does not exist in eastern Karaim for the same reason

¹⁶³ It is also possible that the letter *yodh* in this position is used in the role of a diacritic mark noting palatality in KarT. *beřařiz* id. This role of *yodh* has been described by (Zajączkowski 1934: 184ff.) and Németh (2011: 124). However, this would be the only case in this manuscript for such an orthographic role of this letter, which would be surprising in light of the great number of palatalized consonants not noted this way.

- as mentioned in 9) above (see e.g. Prik 1976: 138–139; Aqtay I 40); additionally, in north-western Karaim the variant *-t* (\ll *-tyr*) tended to be used in this role;
- 23) the lack of *shin* for *-š-* in the word איסנמיין *isanamen* ‘I believe’ [17];
 - 24) two words of Hebrew origin more characteristic of the south-western dialect of Karaim: ברכה *beraḥa* ‘blessing’ [8, 25] < Hebr. בְּרָכָה ‘blessing, benediction; greeting’; הוצאה *hocaa* ‘expenditure’ ~ ליק הוצאה *hocaalyḥ* ‘expenditures’ (with the *-lyḥ* derivational suffix forming *nomina abstracta*, see Zajączkowski 1932: 29–31) [13] < PBHebr. הוצָאָה ‘expenditure, expenses’; these words have thus far been attested for south-western Karaim only; cf. KarL. *beraḥa* id. (Grzegorzewski 1916–1919: 289; KRPS 151), KarT. *beṛakaf* id.¹⁶⁴ (Kowalski 1929: 167; KRPS 113), KarC. *bereket* id. (Levi 1996: 12, s.v. *благословение*) and KarL. *hocaa* id. (KSB 26; KRPS 125), respectively; KarT. *beṛakaf* id. and KarC. *bereket* id. seems to be of Arabic origin, cf. Ar. بركة *baraka* ‘blessing, benediction’ (pl. *-āt*);
 - 25) the word טיוויל *tiwil* ‘not’ attested in line 30, which is typically south-western in type (see KSB 64; KRPS 524), cf. KarC. *digil* ~ *dugul* ~ *dügül* id. (KRPS 181, 182; Levi 1996: 55; Aqtay 576), KarT. *tuwul* id. (KRPS 568);
 - 26) the word דַּהּ דַּהּ *daha* ‘additionally’ [14] is known to us only from eastern and, to lesser degree, also from south-western Karaim sources (see Aqtay I 567; Németh 2011: 275).

We did not encounter any linguistic data that would point exclusively to eastern Karaim. Hence, the latter group tends to suggest a south-western influence.

The approximate size of the abovementioned groups is as follows:

	KarC.	KarCT.	KarT.	Kar.	KarTL.	KarL.	KarLC.
% of total word forms	0%	4.5%	22%	54.5%	13%	3%	3%
% of total word forms as an argument in favour of one particular dialect	KarC. 0%			KarT. 94%			KarL. 6%

Table 1.

The issue of dialect mingling

The question of dialect mingling in Karaim has been mentioned by several authors up till now (see e.g. Kowalski 1929: x, XI, XIX, XL; Dubiński 1968: 215), and is still awaiting its own separate detailed study. We know that contact between members

¹⁶⁴ In Józefowicz (2008: 46, s.v. *благославиеństwo*) we find KarT. *beraḥa* id., but without noting the source of this data.

of most Karaim communities was constant during at least the last three centuries, but we know little about the intensity of the discussed phenomenon. Manuscripts reflecting the spoken language serve as our only source of knowledge in this case. One must, however, be careful when editing them, since not every manuscript that contains linguistic material referring to more than one Karaim dialect is to be treated as proof of dialect mingling.

This is the case, for instance, with the manuscript edited in Németh (2011: 249–261), which is preserved in the same private collection under the catalogue number 51^{II}. Though written by a south-western Karaim speaker, it contains a number of eastern Karaim elements. The reason for this, however, is that the author conveyed the content of another letter sent from the Crimea and quoted it extensively. He tended to alter the phonetic shape of the words to make them sound south-western Karaim. However, many Crimean lexemes that are not characteristic of that dialect remained in the text unchanged. Putting these facts together, we can hardly claim that the language of that letter is a sample of a dialectally mixed text.

When we take a closer look at the south-western elements in the edited manuscript we can see that most of them appear in those fragments in which the author addresses his words directly to the recipient of the letter. This is especially conspicuous in lines 22–23, 29–30, 36–37. It seems, then, that the author wrote his letter in north-western Karaim but wanted, at the same time, to make it sound somewhat more south-western Karaim and for this purpose used, somewhat inconsistently, a few Lutsk Karaim interpolations. As a result of this inconsistent practice we can find such pairs of north- and south-western elements as e.g. *jazyjyz* [27] vs. *jazyynyž* [23, 29] or *kawoduj* [14, 15, 17] vs. *kawodunuz* [6, 29, 30].

Such a scenario seems all the more possible as we know that the author left Trakai at the age of 21 at the earliest, settled down in Odessa, and thus must have known the addressee's sons or even the addressee himself. It is hard to imagine that a small group of Karaims in such a town as Odessa would not have known each other in person. This also means that the author was familiar with the sound differences between his own and the south-western dialect.

Consequently, we believe that the language of the letter cannot be treated as a relevant example of dialect mingling.

7. Glossary

a, b, b̄, c, c̄, č, č̄, d, d̄, đ, z, ž, ž̄, ž̄̄, e, f, g, ḡ, h, h̄, χ, i, j, k, k̄, l, l̄, l̄̄, m, m̄, n, n̄, o, ö, p, p̄, r, r̄, s, s̄, š, š̄, t, t̄, u, ü, v, v̄, y, z, ž, ž̄, ž̄̄

a) Appellatives

a 'and, and besides' (Slav.) ♦ **ⲁ** [14, 28, 33]

ad 'name' ♦ POSS.3.SG, DAT: **ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲏ** [28]

adres 'address' (Slav.) ♦ ACC: **ⲁⲛⲓⲧⲏ** [27]

aχča 'money' ♦ NOM: **ⲁⲪⲤⲁ** [5, 23] ♦ ACC:

ⲁⲪⲤⲁ [7, 15]; **ⲁⲪⲤⲁ** [18] ♦ ABL:

ⲁⲪⲤⲁ [11, 24]

- akyl** ‘reason, sense; mind’ ♦ POSS.2.PL, DAT: אקילייז גא [36]
- alar** ‘they’ ♦ DAT: אלרגא [26]
- alej** ‘so, in a such way’ ♦ אליי [14]
- alhat-** ‘to explain’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG: אללטמין [29] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: אללטיניז [36] ♦ CONV: אללטדוגון [19]
- artyk** (*with negative verb*) ‘any more’ ♦ ארטיק [35]
- ašyra** ‘via, through’ ♦ אשירא [21]
- baχ-** ‘to take care’ ♦ PRAES.2.PL: בקסיו [10] ♦ FUT.2.SG: בגרסין [17]
- bary** ‘everything, all’ ♦ NOM: ברי [9, 17, 20]
- ber-** ‘to give’ ♦ PRAES.2.PL: בריסיו [34] ♦ See **ber-**.
- beraxa** ‘blessing’ (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: ברכה [8, 25]
- bo** ‘because’ ♦ בו [36]
- bol-** ‘to be’ ♦ INF: בולמא [16] ♦ PRAET.3.SG: בולדו [13] ♦ IMPERAT.3.SG: בולמסט [31]; בולמסטי [32] ♦ OPT.3.SG: בולגיי [37] ♦ NEG, OPT.3.SG: בולמגיי [18]
- bu** ‘this’ ♦ NOM: בו [9, 18, 24]; בו [33, 35]
- bulej** ‘this way, in this manner’ ♦ בוליי [33]
- burunhu** ‘first’ ♦ NOM: בורונגו [5]
- ber-** ‘to give’ ♦ PRAET.1.PL: בירדיק [12] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: ביריז [25] ♦ See **ber-**.
- beril-** ‘to be given’ ♦ PRAET.3.SG: בירילדי [8]
- bir** ‘a’ ♦ ביר [19]
- biřik** ‘letter’ ♦ NOM: ביתיב [19]; ביטיק [7, 22, 23; 38 (-li)] ♦ PL, NOM: ביטיק לר [25] ♦ POSS.3.SG, ACC: ביטיגין [5] ♦ ~li **sořlar** ‘written words’ [38]
- biř** ‘we’ ♦ GEN: ביונין [11]
- čyχ-** ‘to leave’ ♦ PRAET.3.PL: ציקטילר [31]
- da** ‘and’ ♦ דא [6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 23, 24, 25, 32, 36, 37]
- daha** ‘additionally’ ♦ דגא [15]
- de enclit.** ‘as well, too’ ♦ די [27, 36]
- dohruřux** ‘justice’ ♦ INSTR: דוגרולוק- בא [17] ♦ ~ba ‘justly’ [17]
- dost** ‘friend’ ♦ POSS.2.PL, NOM: דוסטנוז [37]
- dowerennost** ‘authorization’ (Russ.) ♦ NOM: דווירינוסט [9]
- de** 1. *particle introducing negation used enclitically*; 2. *generalising particle* ♦ די [34]; די [18]
- ekińci** ‘second’ ♦ NOM: איכינצי [7, 22, 27]
- eř-** *auxiliary verb (in compound verbs)* ♦ PRAES.1.SG: איטמין [30] ♦ PRAES.3.PL: איטדלר [9] ♦ CONV: איטא [22] ♦ CONV: איטיב [5, 18] ♦ PRAET.2.PL: איטטיז [20, 23] ♦ FUT.2.PL: איטרסיו [21] ♦ OPT.3.SG: איטכיי [32, 34] ♦ See **kabuř eř-**, **sahyř eř-**, **tabu eř-**, **teřilla eř-**.
- for** (*expressing multiplication*) ‘times’ (Pers.) ♦ פֹּור [27]
- gabbaj** ‘*gabbai*, treasurer in a Karaim community’ (Hebr.) ♦ GEN: גבאי נין [14]
- hali** ‘now’ ♦ הלי [29, 31]
- hanuz** ‘additionally’ ♦ הנוז [11]
- har** ‘every’ ♦ הר [11]
- hocaa** ‘expenditures’ (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: הו- צאה [13]
- hocaalyχ** ‘money for expenditures’ (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: הוצאה ליק [13]
- χaxam** ‘Karaim spiritual leader’ (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: חכס [25] ♦ DAT: חכס גא [21] ♦ DAT^{RUSS.}: חכמו [29]
- χazzan** ‘Karaim clergyman, hazzan’ (Hebr.) ♦ DAT: חזן גא [30, 32, 34]
- χoć** ‘at least’ (Pol.) ♦ חוץ [34]
- ij-** ‘to send’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG: איימין [14, 15] ♦ PRAET.3.SG: איידי [15] ♦ PRAET.1.PL: איידיק [6]
- ijil-** ‘to be sent’ ♦ PRAET.3.SG: איילדי [9]
- isan-** ‘to believe’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG: איסנמין [17]
- jaxšy** ‘well’ ♦ יחשי [9, 25]
- jaxšyřax** ‘better’ ♦ יחשירק [36]
- jaxšyřyχ** ‘good, good things’ ♦ NOM: יח- שיליק [26] ♦ PL, POSS.3.SG, NOM: יח- יחשיליק לרי [21] ♦ DAT: יחשיליק בא [27]
- jaz-** ‘to write’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG: יזמין [29] ♦ PRAET.3.SG: יודי [6] ♦ FUT.2.PL: יזר סיו [23]; יזרסיו [19, 22] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: יזיז [27]; יזיניז [23, 29] ♦ OPT.3.SG: יזגיי [25]

- jazuwču** ‘scribe’ ♦ DAT: יזובצונגא [24]
jazył- ‘to be written’ ♦ PERF.PART: יזילגן [8, 10]
joł ‘journey’ ♦ POSS.3.PL, DAT: יוללרינא [13]
juv ‘home’ ♦ PL, POSS.3.PL, NOM: יובלרי [30]
już ‘hundred’ ♦ NOM: יוז [8]
kabuł (Ar.) see **kabuł et-**
kabuł et- ‘to receive’ (Ar.) ♦ PRAET.3.SG: קבול איטטי [6] ♦ PRAET.2.PL: קבול איטטי [23]; קבול איטטיי [20] ♦ CONV: קבול איטיפ [18]; קבול איטיפ [5]
kahał ‘community; Karaim (religious) community’ (Hebr.) ♦ NOM: קהל [31, 33, 35, 37] ♦ GEN: קהל ניז [5, 28] ♦ LOC: קהל דא [11] ♦ ABL: קהלדן [19, 24] ♦ PL, ABL: קהל לר דן [24] ♦ POSS.2.PL, ABL: קהלייזדן [7] ♦ INSTR: קהל באָ [35, 37]
kajsy ‘which’ ♦ NOM: קייסי [15]; קייסי [24]
kał- ‘to remain’ ♦ PERF.PART: קלגן [14]
kapał- ‘to be closed’ ♦ NEG, OPT.3.SG: קפּלמגיי [34] ♦ COND.3.SG: קפּלסא [35]
karaj ‘Karaim (person)’ (Hebr.) ♦ PL, DAT: קראי לרגא [12] ♦ See **karaim**.
karaim (*used in plural*) ‘Karaim (person)’ (Hebr.) ♦ PL, GEN: קראימלרניז [30] ♦ See **karaj**.
karandaš ‘brother’ ♦ POSS.2.PL, GEN: קר-נדשייזניז [38]
kawod (*with possessive suffix*) ‘sir’ (Hebr.) ♦ POSS.2.SG, NOM: כבודוי [17] ♦ POSS.2.SG, GEN: כבודוינון [15]; כבוד- [14] ♦ POSS.2.PL, DAT: כבודונוז [14] ♦ POSS.2.PL, DAT: כבודונוז גא [29]; כבודונוז גא [6]; כבודונוז גא [30]
koł ‘hand’ ♦ POSS.1.SG, NOM: כולום [20] ♦ POSS.2.SG, DAT: כולוייא [15]; כולוייא [14]
kołajły ‘appropriately’ ♦ קוליילי [11]
krywda ‘injustice’ (Ukr.) ♦ NOM: קרייודא [18]
kył- ‘to do, to act’ ♦ INF: קילמא [10] ♦ PRAES.3.PL: קילדלר [26] ♦ PRAET.2.PL: קילדיני [36] ♦ FUT.2.PL: קילרסיז [33] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: קילייז [35] ♦ PERF.PART: קילגן [21]
kylyn- ‘to be done’ ♦ OPT.3.SG: קילינגיי [17] ♦ PERF.PART: קילינגן [10]
kef- ‘to come; to arrive’ ♦ INF: כילמא [31] ♦ PRAET.3.SG: כילדי [7, 23] ♦ PERF.PART: כילגן [12]
kenesa ‘kenesa, Karaim temple’ (Ar.) ♦ NOM: כנסה [35] ♦ DAT: כנסה גא [31] ♦ LOC: כנסה דא [34]
keřak ‘necessary’ ♦ כירד [26]
keř- ‘to travel’ ♦ INF: כיטמא [13]
ki 1. ‘that’; 2. ‘to, in order to’ (Pers.) ♦ כי [6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 32, 33, 34, 37] ♦ כי [34]
kim ‘who’ ♦ PL, NOM: כימלר [26] ♦ DAT: כימלר גא [31, 32] ♦ PL, DAT: כימלרגא [8]
kiři ‘someone’ ♦ DAT: כישיגא [18]
kla- ‘to want’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG: כליימין [37]
kořa ‘according to’ ♦ כורא [36]
kuv- ‘to burn’ ♦ PRAET.3.SG: כובדו [30]
mo *interrogative particle* ♦ מו [23]
može ‘perhaps’ (Slav.) ♦ מוזי [33]
možna ‘one can, one may’ (Slav.) ♦ מוזנו [27]
meń ‘I’ ♦ NOM: מין [36]; מין [30] ♦ DAT: מנא [7, 15, 23, 36] ♦ GEN: מינים [20]
miřkińlik ‘poverty’ (Ar.) ♦ NOM: מיסכיני-ליכ [32]
ne ‘what’ ♦ ני [29, 36]; ~ **učuń** ‘why’ [29]
nećik ‘as’ ♦ ניציכ [30]; ניציק [14, 36]
neřsa ‘affair, thing’ ♦ ACC: נרסאני [10]
neřekli ‘how many, how much’ ♦ ניטיקלי [24, 34]
oł 1. ‘he’; 2. ‘that’ ♦ NOM: אול [6, 8, 32] ♦ GEN: אנין [10]
özga ‘other’ ♦ NOM: איוזגא [24] ♦ PL, POSS.3.SG, DAT: איוזגלרינא [13]
podpis ‘signature’ (Slav.) ♦ INSTR: פודפיס בא [7]; פודפיס בא [5]
pogorelec ‘victim of fire’ (Russ.) ♦ PL, NOM: פוגוריליץ לר [16]
rast ‘rightly’ (Pers.) ♦ רסט [17]

- rub.** *abbrev.* ‘rouble’ (Slav.) ♦ NOM: רוב [11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 20] ♦ See **rubel**.
- rubel** ‘rouble’ (Slav.) ♦ NOM: רוביל [6] ♦ ACC: רובילני [8, 19, 23] ♦ ABL: רובילדן [33] ♦ See **rub**.
- sahyš ef-** ‘to wonder’ ♦ PRAES.1.SG: סגיש [30] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: סגישטייז [33]
- sahyšet-** see **sahyš ef-**
- sanal-** ‘to be counted’ ♦ NEG, FUT.3.SG: סגלמקט [35]
- sartyŋ** ‘because of’ ♦ סרטין [32]
- spożewacef-** ‘to expect’ (Slav.) ♦ INF: ספודאָיִנצִיטמא [27]
- śekśań** ‘eighty’ ♦ NOM: סיקסן [19]
- śóz** ‘word’ ♦ PL, POSS.3.SG: סיוזלרי [38]
- tabu ef-** ‘to thank’ ♦ PRAES.3.PL: טבו איט [9] ♦ FUT.2.PL: טבו איטרסיו [21] ♦ CONV: טבו איטא [22]
- to** 1. ‘so, thus’; 2. ‘then; in that case’ ♦ טו [31, 35] ♦ טו [11, 26]
- tefiġla ef-** ‘to pray’ (Hebr.) ♦ OPT.3.SG: תפלה איטביי [32]; תפלה איטביי [34]
- toġla-** ‘to pay’ ♦ INF: טיולמא [32] ♦ IMPERAT.2.PL: טיולייז [24]
- tiwiġ** ‘not’ ♦ טיוויל [30]
- üć** ‘three’ ♦ NOM: אוץ [8]
- üćuń** ‘for’ ♦ אוצון [10, 16, 21, 22, 29]; אוצון [9] ♦ **anyn ~ ki** ‘since’ [10]; **ńe ~** ‘why’ [29]
- üćuńću** ‘third’ ♦ NOM: אוצונצו [22]
- ülaš-** ‘to divide (between)’ ♦ PRAET.3.PL: אולשטילר [7]
- ülašmak** ‘dividing’ ♦ LOC: אולשמכ טא [18]
- waxt** ‘time’ (Ar.) ♦ POSS.3.SG, LOC: וחטינ [10] ♦ **~ynda** ‘in time’ [10]
- wżenčny** ‘appreciative’ (Pol.) ♦ NOM: ודאָיִנצִיגני [26]
- yštyr-** ‘to collect’ ♦ PRAET.1.PL: אישטיר [5]
- yštyryġ-** ‘to be collected’ ♦ PERF.PART: אישטירילגן [11, 16]
- yštyryn-** ‘to assemble’ ♦ CONV: אישטיי [33]
- zatyŋ** ‘subsequently’ (Ukr.) ♦ זטים [18, 35]; זטים [33]

b) Geographical names

- Adeš** ‘Odessa’ ♦ GEN: אדסנין [8] ♦ ABL: אדסטן [20]
- Akjar** ‘Sevastopol’ ♦ GEN: אקיאַר גין [22]; אקיאַר גין [20]; אקיאַר גין [16] ♦ DAT: אקיאַר גא [25, 27]
- Goźłaŋa** ‘Yevpatoria’ ♦ DAT: גוזלוואגא [28]
- Łucka** ‘Lutsk’ ♦ NOM: לוצקא [4] ♦ LOC: לוצקא דא [31] ♦ ABL: לוצקא דן [12]
- Sewastopol** ‘Sevastopol’ ♦ LOC: סיווסטוֹ- פול דא [17]

Abbreviations

abl. = ablative | **acc.** = accusative | **Ar.** = Arabic | **conv.** = converb | **dat.** = dative | **enclit.** = enclitics | **fut.** = future tense | **gen.** = genitive | **Hebr.** = Hebrew | **imperat.** = imperative mood | **inf.** = infinitive | **instr.** = instrumental | **Kar.** = Karaim (no dialectal affiliation possible) | **KarC.** = eastern (Crimean) Karaim | **KarT.** = north-western (Trakai) Karaim | **KarL.** = south-western (Lutsk) Karaim | **lit.** = literally | **loc.** = locative | **neg.** = negation | **nom.** = nominative | **opt.** = optative mood | **PBHebr.** = Post Biblical Hebrew | **perf.part.** = perfect participle | **Pers.** = Persian | **pl.** = plural | **Pol.** = Polish | **poss.** = possessive | **praes.** = present tense | **praet.** = past tense | **Russ.** = Russian | **sg.** = singular | **Slav.** = Slavonic | **Ukr.** = Ukrainian

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ביה

1868 יולי 17 ביה בארסטא .

אחרי כן יתיר. כאלו יאמר תבאלין בן באהדי זרח תבאדין באיקוויין ולי
 וכל תורה תורה הי לנאקא !

ביומנו בויאדין תלה טן 18 פוק פיס בא קבול אטיס. אשטורין אלא
 200 רובל דא איירוק בבורנושא. ליאנדה אהאל יאנו כי קבול אטיס. דא
 אלא ט. אי. ט. בייק סולא האט יתליין. פורסום בא, בוי אשטורין
 אלא אק יא נובלען. דא יולאן פולאקא, דא בוי דרבה בויולדין קק ארסטא
 דא טאוי אשטורין טרו ליבוי ארסטא, דא בוי אוננוטוסט אשטורין, בוי דרבי יאנו
 קיליין דא יתליין, דא אקן ארסטא בוי פיסום דא נוסלע קילא וקילא
 דא קיליין, אז הינו בייטן קילא דא אשטורין אלא טן, 22 רובל פוק
 22 רובל בייטן אלא טן בייטן קילא אלא טן דא הינו דא פולאקא פיסום
 דא אשטורין, קילא יאן פולאקא יתליין. קילא בייטן אשטורין
 א קילא 22 רובל אשטורין בייטן פולאקא אשטורין אשטורין אשטורין. היי
 אשטורין 22 רובל בייטן פולאקא אשטורין. קילא אשטורין אשטורין אשטורין
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