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KARAIM LETTERS OF JEHOSZAFAT KAPŁANOWSKI. I. A CRITICAL EDITION*

Abstract

This paper is a critical edition of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*'s (a Trakai-born Karaim-speaking Odessan) two letters written in Hebrew script that were sent in 1868 to Lutsk. The critical apparatus that accompanies the transcription and translation includes commentaries on each linguistic peculiarity or irregularity. The study is augmented by a glossary and facsimile, as well as brief historical comments on some of the persons mentioned in the text.

1. Preliminary remarks

In Németh (2012) we presented a linguistic analysis of a letter written by *Jehoszafat* the son of *Zacharja Kapłanowski*, a citizen of Odessa born in Trakai around 1813. It was sent from Odessa to Lutsk on 17th July 1868 to *Icchak* the son of *Zarach Bezikowicz*, born around 1807. What is particularly noticeable in that letter is that its language contains both northern and southern Karaim morphological features of western Karaim, which, at first sight, suggested that it might be an example of far-reaching dialect mingling. When we went into the details, however, it was determined that the manuscript's language is in fact an example of how ably the author could switch between these two variants of Karaim.

After the publication of this paper two further letters written in a similar manner by *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski* were found in the collection of the late Polish Orientalist Józef Sulimowcz (1913–1973), catalogued as numbers 44^{II} and 55^{II}. What links these three manuscripts, beside the author, is that they were sent to addressees living in Lutsk. Below, we present a critical edition of these two recently discovered letters. A detailed analysis of the grammatical features will be presented in the second part of the present study (Németh 2013).

2. General description of the manuscripts

Letter no 44^{II}

The manuscript is carefully written in partially vocalised semi-cursive Hebrew script used by Karaims, in pencil, on one side of a plain white 218 × 363 mm sheet folded into two halves. Afterwards, the sheet was folded several times to form an envelope. The address was written in Russian on the back of the sheet as follows: *Караиму Моше Мордковичу Турчыну Въ Г. Луцкъ* [= To the Karaim *Mosze Mordkowicz Turczyn*, in the town of Lutsk]. The post office stamps inform us that the letter was sent on the 28th August 1868 and was delivered to Lutsk on 1st September 1868. Originally, there were three post office stamps on the envelope, but the third has been torn off together with the postage stamp.

Letter no 55^{II}

The second manuscript is written on both sides of a plain cream-coloured 175 × 215 mm sheet in semi-cursive Hebrew script in brown ink. It is partly vocalised and clearly legible. The upper-right hand corner of the sheet has been torn off, but the text itself is not very damaged. Some parts of the paper have become darker, but the structure of the ink has remained intact.

3. The date of the letters and the addressees' identities

The letters were written on 4th March 1868 (letter no. 55^{II}) and 27th August 1868 (letter no. 44^{II}) and were sent to *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz* (born around 1806, died around 1870) and *Mosze Abraham Turczyn* (died probably around 1868), respectively. Importantly, both addressees officiated as hazzans in Lutsk, one after the other (see KA 1932: 16).

Fortuitously, the precisely dated letters were sent in the year *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz* succeded *Mosze Abraham Turczyn* as hazzan, which allows us to narrow down the date on which the succession could have happened: in letter no. 44^{II} sent on 27th August 1868, *Mosze Abraham Turczyn* is addressed as *hazzan* (see line 44:3), which means that the succession could not have taken place before that date.

This allows us to supplement what we have previously written about an un-signed open letter addressed to the entire Karaim community in Lutsk. In Németh (2011b: 217, fn. 486), based on extremely limited information, we claimed that the manuscript no. 2 (77) was sent "(probably the first quarter of) 1868". There, we supposed that *Mosze Abraham Turczyn*'s name is missing from the list of 44 in-dividuals attached to that particular open letter "as he had most probably passed away by then". Since what we claimed about the date of that manuscript (i.e. the first quarter of 1868) still seems valid, and since now we have another source from August 1868 addressed to *Turczyn*, the only logical conclusion is that *Turczyn*'s name was missing from the list not because he had passed away, but because it was he in fact who was the author of the open letter, and he simply did not enter his own name on the list. This is all the more likely, as it is usual for a spiritual leader to addresses his community by way of open letters. Consequently, *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz*, addressed as כמהׄר 'abbrev. the honourable sir and rabbi', must have been an auxiliary hazzan at that time, and not the chief hazzan as we previously asserted.

4. Transcription and translation

In the transcription provided below we have attempted to reconstruct the phonetic level of the texts – including the south-western forms which are transcribed as they would have sounded in southern Karaim. The palatality of the consonants in north-western forms is noted only if phonologically relevant.

We use the following symbols in our transcription: *a*, *b*, *b̌*, *c*, *ć*, *č*, *č̌*, *d*, *ď*, *đ*, *ʒ*, *ʒ́*, *ǯ*, *ǯ́*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *ǵ*, *h*, *ȟ*, *χ*, *i*, *j*, *k*, *ǩ*, *l*, *ł*, *ľ*, *m*, *ḿ*, *n*, *ń*, *o*, *ö*, *p*, *ṕ*, *r*, *ŕ*, *s*, *ś*, *š*, *š̌*, *t*, *ť*, *ŧ*, *u*, *ü*, *w*, *ẃ*, *y*, *z*, *ź*, *ž*, *ž́*. The palatality is indicated with ´. The symbols *đ* and *ŧ* are used only in south-western Karaim words to indicate palatal (or dorsal) *d* and *t* as opposed to palato-dental *ď* and *ť*. The letter *j* indicates [i̯]. The letter *ł* indicates dental *l*. The letter *w* stands for what is today noted with *v*; in the 19th century its value varied between a glide [u̯] and a labiodental [v]; we use *w* to unify the transcription of north- and south-western Karaim. In the latter dialect, *w* in the transcription stands for a sound that was pronounced most probably in three ways (depending on various factors): as a glide [u̯], labiodentally [v], and even bilabially [β]. For a detailed argumenta-tion see Németh (2011a: 94–98).

Slavonic insertions are transcribed as they originally sounded in the respective languages. The Hebrew interpolations are transliterated in italic letters. Additionally, the abbreviations are explained in the footnotes when they first occur in the respec-tive manuscripts, but neither the Hebrew interpolations nor the abbreviations are included in the glossary. The translation of the linguistic material, in both Hebrew and Karaim, follows the transcriptions. We have briefly commented on the less well-known grammatical peculiarities in the footnotes.

Letter no. 44[II]

Transcription

[1]   *bh*[1]

[2]   1868. awgust 27. *b'wdsś.*

[3]   *ʾhwby ydydy kmr*[2] *mšh hḥzn whmlmd twrṣyn yṣw*[3]

[4]   Ḃiťik jazyłhan *Łokszyński*[4], *Magas*, *Kaliski* da *Firkowicz*nyn podpisłaryba

[5]   awgust 8. ďa[5] jeťťi kołuma, a biťik ńe jazdyjyz *bḥdš sywn*, baryba korʼmaďim

[6]   da biľmiḿiń[6], haľe ńe jazasyz ḱi ijḿaśḱa aχčany kołuna *r*[7] *Jeszua*nyn, a

[7]   *kmʿ*[8] *Szałom Kaliski*ǵa, ham *kmʿ Szełomo Magas*ga[9]. Ḿeń ajtym[10]
       kawodunuzga[11]

[8]   duhrusun[12], ḱi ḿeń Łuckada haľe ḱiśińide tanymym[13], bo uže 20. jył ńećik[14]
       eďim

[9]   Łuckada. Mana hep ḃir, hepśi iji da duhru adamłar. No biťikłʼarʼďań

[10]   korʼabiź, ḱi kahał ajryłhan eḱiǵa, da ḃir jan eḱińći üčuń jaman jazady, to

[11]   biľḿibiź[15] ḱimǵa inanma. Aχča bardy ńeńi ijḿa, da biľḿibiź ḱimńiń

[12]   kołuna. A zatym *kmʿ Josef hgbyr Mangubi yrw*[16] jazdy kawodunuzga eḱińći

[13]   ḃiťik, *r Jeszua Leonowicz*nyn kołuna, ḱi jazmasanyz[17] ḱimńiń adyna ijḿa.
       To[18] *mtndb*ga[19] artχary ijam

[14]   aχčany, kołtχajyzga korʼa burunhu ḃiťiǵijiźďa kołdujuz ḿeńi jazma
       *mtndb*ga

[15]   koładohon bołušłuχ. Ḿeń kyłdym kołtχajyzny da ḱeľďi aχča kołuna *kmʿ*

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[1]   בֹה: An abbreviation of Hebr. בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵׁם 'with the Lord's help'.
[2]   כמר: An abbreviation standing for Hebr. כְּבוֹד מַעֲלַת רַבִּי 'the honourable sir, rabbi'.
[3]   יצו: An abbreviation of Hebr. יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ וְגוֹאֲלֵנוּ 'May his Rock [= the Lord] and our Redeemer
      preserve him!' or יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ צוּרוֹ וִיחַיֵּהוּ 'May his Rock [= the Lord] preserve him and keep him
      alive!'.
[4]   לוקשינסכי: Unlike in Németh (2011b: 334, 338, 340), where it is always written with *samek* (ס).
      This suggests that in Lutsk Karaim the *š* > *s* dealveolarisation process could have involved,
      albeit sporadically, also the phonetic level of surnames. In J. Sulimowicz's catalogue (complied
      for private purposes) the surname is read as *Luksinski* in the manuscript's incipit.
[5]   דא 8.: The locative suffix attached to KarT. *śeǵiź* '8'.
[6]   בילימין: An abbreviated present tense form of *biľḿijḿiń*.
[7]   ר: An abbreviation of Hebr. רַבִּי 'rabbi' or Kar. *ribbi*. The author refers to *Jeszua Szemoel
      Leonowicz*.
[8]   כמע: The abbreviation very probably stands for Hebr. מַעֲלַת כְּבוֹד 'honourable sir'.
[9]   מגס גא: It is unusual for the dative case suffix to be -*ga* instead of the expected -*ka*. The lack
      of the *g* > *k* assimilation in the suffix after voiceless consonant seems to be a specific feature of
      the orthography employed by the author. See also *Bezikowicz*ǵa (44:26), *Szełomit*ǵa (55:30),
      and בבוויץ גא *Babowicz*ǵa (43:19; transcribed as *Babowicz*ḱa) in Németh (2012: 143).
[10] אייטים: An abbreviated future tense form instead of *ajtyrmyn*.
[11] כבודונוזגא: A south-western-type form. Its north-western equivalent is *kawodujuzga*.
[12] דוגרוסון: Pro: *duhrusyn*. The *waw* in the suffix is clearly legible.
[13] טנימים: A shortened present form instead of *tanymyjmyn*.
[14] ניציק: The use of KarT. *ńećik* 'how' calques Pol. *jak* '1. as; 2. how; 3. (*relative pronoun*) when'.
[15] בילמיביז: An abbreviated verb (present tense), pro *biľḿijbiź*.

Translation

[1]   With the Lord's help [we shall achieve and succeed!]

[2]   1868, 27th August, in Odessa

[3]   My dear friend, the honourable Rabbi *Mosze Turczyn*, the hazzan and the religious teacher, may the Lord and our Redeemer preserve you!

[4]   The letter written with the signatures of *Łokszyński*, *Magas*, *Kaliski*, and *Firkowicz*

[5]   on 8th August reached my hands, but the letter which you wrote in the month of Sivan I did not see at all

[6]   and I know nothing about [the issues] you now write about, [namely] not to send the money to the hands of Rabbi *Jeszua*, but

[7]   to the hands of the honourable sir *Szałom Kaliski* and the honourable sir *Szełomo Magas*. Let me say[20], sir,

[8]   you are right that I do not know anyone in Lutsk, because it is already 20 years since I was [last]

[9]   in Lutsk. There is no difference for me, [as for me] all of them are good and righteous people. But from the letters

[10]   we can see that the community is divided into two, and one side writes badly about the other one, so

[11]   we do not know whom to believe. There is money to be sent and we do not know to whose

[12]   hand to send it. So the honourable sir [and] esteemed master *Josef Mangubi* the Jerusalemite wrote to you, sir, another

[13]   letter, to the hands of Rabbi *Jeszua Leonowicz* [asking] wouldn't you write [to tell us] to whom [we shall] send [the money]. So, I am sending back, to a willing helper,

[14]   the money. According to your wish, in your first letter you asked me to write to a willing helper

[15]   asking for help. I have done as you requested and the money arrived in the hands of the honourable sir [and]

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[16]   ירו׳: An abbreviation of Hebr. ירושלמי 'the Jerusalemite', a title given to those who have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

[17]   יזמסאניז: A south-western-type verbal form, instead of KarT. *jazmasajyz*. The use of the negative verb in conditional mood calques Polish syntax, cf. *czy nie napisalibyście*? 'wouldn't you write?'.

[18]   טו: The *dagesh*-like dot just next to *waw* seems to be a small stain, cf. this and the next word in the facsimile.

[19]   מתנדב גא: Cf. Hebr. מַתְנַדֵּב 'volunteer', used with the Karaim dative suffix.

[20]   אייטים: Literally: 'I will say'. The use of the future tense calques similar Slavonic expressions which introduce statements, cf. e.g. Pol. *powiem Panu*, *że* 'let me say to you; I will say to you', Russ. *я вам скажу*, *что* id.

[16] *Josef hgbyr yrw*nun[21], a haľe turat aχča. Zatym kabuł eťip bu biťikńi

[17] zaraz kahał jazsyn biťik *kḿ Josef hgbyr yrw*ga[22], ńińďi 20. potpisba kiḿǵa

[18] ijḿa aχčany ki duhrułuχba üľaśkej[23], pogoŕeľećľaŕǵa, *'nyym*ľaŕǵa[24],

[19] χazzanga, da ťuǵalľaḿa tuzatma kenesany. To zaraz ńeća już rub. ijaŕbiż aχča,

[20] *kḿ Icchak bkr*[25] *Zarach Bezikowicz*[26] da *kḿ Szałom bn Simcha Icchak Kaliski*ńiń

[21] kołuna jazsejyz ki ijḿa, to zaraz ijaŕbiż. Biťikľi śóźľaŕi dostujuz kľaŵću

[22] jaχšynyzny[27], *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski.*

[23] *šlwm ľhwby ydydy kḿ Icchak bkr Zarach Bezikowicz*! Tabu eťaḿiń ki ałłattyj ki kabuł

[24] ettińiz[28] śekśań rubełńi da artyhyn de, da jaχšy kyłdyjyz, ki ḱenesaga beŕďijiź już rub.

[25] A kiḿľar jaχšy kyłmydłar[29], ałarga jaχšy bołmast. *dšwṭ*[30] *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski.*

[26] Kołamyn bu biťikńi ḱoŕǵuźḿa kahałga, da *kḿ Icchak Bezikowicz*ga[31].

[27] Bołujuz buťuń kahał dostłuχta, to ťeńŕi da jaχšy duńja bołur bołušłuhujuzga.

[28] *r Jeszua hḥzn* jaman kyład, ki ḱoŕǵuźḿiť[32] biťikľaŕńi kahałga.

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[21] ירו׳נון: The -*nun* genitive case suffix is attached to the Hebrew abbreviation ירו׳ (see footnote 16). The labial form of the suffix tells us that the abbreviation might not have been resolved in speech.

[22] ירו׳גא: The -*ga* dative case suffix is attached to the Hebrew abbreviation ירו׳ (see footnote 16 above).

[23] אולשכי: The lack of double *yodh* at the end of the word is unusual – perhaps it is a slip of the pen.

[24] עניים לר גא: Cf. Hebr. עֲנִיִּים 'poor men' a plural form of Hebr. עָנִי 'poor, needy'; written with Karaim suffixes (pl. and dat.). The word is repeated in line 5 of manuscript no 55[II].

[25] בכר׳: The abbreviation most probably means Hebr. בֶּן כְּבוֹד רַבִּי 'the son of the honourable Rabbi'.

[26] בזיקוויץ: An unusual spelling, as in the vast majority of cases the vowel of the first syllable in Lutsk Karaim sources is noted with *yodh* (י), rarely with *ayin* (ע), see Németh (2011b: 331ff.).

[27] יחשניוזני: An eastern Karaim form which, in fact, could have appeared here as well as a result of a blend between KarT. *jaχšyjyzny* and KarL. *jaχsynyzny*.

[28] איטטיניז: A south-western Karaim form. We have not found KarC. **kabul et-* attested.

[29] קילמידלר: An abbreviated negative verb form pro *kyłmyjdyrłar*.

[30] דשוט׳: An abbreviation standing for the Hebrew greeting דּוֹרֵשׁ שְׁלוֹמוֹ וטוֹבָתוֹ 'demanding his peace and success'.

[31] ביזוכיווויץ גא: The surname is incorrectly written (with the letter *waw* in the second syllable). The dative case suffix -*ga* (or, perhaps, -*ǵa*), instead of -*ka* is surprising, too. See also *Magas*ga (44:7), *Szełomit*ga (55:30), and בבוויץ גא *Babowicz*ga (43:19; transcribed as *Babowicz*ka, though) in Németh (2012: 143).

[16] the esteemed master *Josef* the Jerusalemite, and now the money waits [to be sent][33]. So after you have received this letter

[17] may the community immediately write a letter to the honourable sir [and] the esteemed master *Josef* the Jerusalemite, with some[34] 20 signatures [to know] whom

[18] to send money in order to divide it justly between the victims of the fire, the poor,

[19] the *hazzan* and [in order] to carry out [and] to finish the [building of the] *kenesa*. Then we will immediately send several hundred roubles of money

[20] to hands of the honourable sir *Icchak* the son of the honourable Rabbi *Zarach Bezikowicz* and to the honourable sir Szałom the son of *Simcha Icchak Kaliski* –

[21] if you write [to us] to send, we will send [it] immediately. [These were] the written words of your friend the one who wishes

[22] goodness for you, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*.

[23] Greetings to my beloved friend, honourable sir *Icchak* the son of the honourable Rabbi *Zarach Bezikowicz*! Thank you, that you informed me that you received

[24] the 80 roubles and the extra [money][35], too, and you did well giving one hundred roubles to the *kenesa*.

[25] And those who do not act well – they will not be fine. Demanding peace and what is good, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*

[26] Please[36], show this letter to the community and to the honourable sir *Icchak Bezikowicz*

[27] May you, the whole community, be in friendship, and then God and the good people will be of help to you.

[28] Ribbi *Jeszua* the hazzan acts badly by not showing the letters to the community.

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[32] כיורדוזמיט: Erroneously written with *daleth* (ד) instead of *gimel* (ג). An abbreviated verbal form of *ḱoŕǵuźḿijďir*. J. Sulimowicz transcribed the word as "ḱorďuźmeť", suggesting a *-mejt* > *-met* abbreviation process. The latter interpretation, however, does not explain the well-documented *e* > *i* change (see our argumentation in Németh 2013).

[33] טורט: Literally: 'stands'.

[34] נינדי: The meaning of KarT. *ńińďi* 'some kind of' is influenced by Pol. *jakiś* '1. some kind of; 2. approximately, some, about'.

[35] אַרְטיהִין: The north- and south-western Karaim *artyk* and *artyχ*, respectively, are not attested in this meaning, cf. KarLT. '1. the best; 2. more; 3. yet; 4. again; 5. (*with negative verb*) any more, no longer' (Kowalski 1929: 158; Mardkowicz 1935: 10; KRPS 75, 76; Németh 2011b: 267). The meaning of the word is affected here by KarC. *artyq* '1. additional, superfluous; 2. surfeit; 3. more' (KRPS 76).

[36] קולמין: Literally: 'I ask'.

Letter no 55[II]

Transcription

Page 1

[1]   *bh*[37]

[2]   *'hwby 'ḥy ydydy wr'y kmr*[38] *yšw'h šmw'l hmškyl hmkyn l'wnwwy*[ṣ][39]

[3]   Ḃiťiǵij kawodujnun jazyłhan ḟewŕaľ 15. jeťťi kołuma, ńe ićin[40] tabu eťańiń.

[4]   Ḿeńde kawoduna[41] jazdym ḟewŕaľ 29., mart 1. *km'*[42] *Josef hzqn yrw*[43] *Mangubi*dan

[5]   da ijďik 80. rub. macałyχ Łuckanyn *'nyym*ľaŕińa[44], da eźiḿďań[45] 6. rub.

[6]   *Sara* totaha, da ḱi *ṣdqh*dan[46] ḃeŕḿa anar 3. rub. Išanamyn ḱi kyłars

[7]   kołtχamny. Kołamyn kawodunu[47] kołma *Sara* totany ḿeńďań, ḱi jamanłamasyn

[8]   ḱi az ijďim aχča, ťeńŕi ḱoŕǵej ḿeńim ḃeŕǵańiḿńi[48]. Ḿeń azaryde

[9]   ḃeŕśam ḿeńďań kop čyhat, bo ḱop adamłar bart ḱiḿǵa ḃeŕḿa.

[10] Sorunuz *km'*[49]*Abraham Hugel*ǵa, oł jomaχłar kawodunuzga, ḱi

[11] ḃiťiḱľar osubny jazmym[50], takož jamanłamasynłar, *hywm qṣr whmlkh*[51]

[12] *mrwbh*. Ḿeń har ḱuń jazam[52] ḃiťiḱľar, ťuwuľ ḃir Łucka duńjada,

[13] bołsejt ńe fajdały to jazhejdym, boš ḃiťiḱľar ḃiľḿim[53] jazma, da

[14] śiwḿim[54] ḱim boš da uzun ḃiťiḱľar jazat. Oł iś boš adamłarha

[15] ťijišľi. *Szełomit* totaha da kołamyn kawodunu šałom ḃeŕḿa. –

[16] Jamanłamasyn ḱi osubne ḃiťiḱ jazmyjmyn bo[39] joχt waχtym da joχ ńeńi jazma[.]

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[37] בׂה: An abbreviation of Hebr. בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּם 'with the Lord's help'.

[38] כמר': An abbreviation standing for Hebr. כְּבוֹד מַעֲלַת רַבִּי 'the honourable sir, rabbi'.

[39] The upper left-hand corner of the sheet has been torn off; the final *tzade* is missing.

[40] איצין: A south-western Karaim form. The north-western form is *üčuń*.

[41] כבודונא: A south-western-type form. Its north-western equivalent is *kawoduja*.

[42] כמע': The abbreviation stands very probably for Hebr. מַעֲלַת כְּבוֹד 'honourable sir'.

[43] ירו': The abbreviation stands for Hebr. ירושלמי 'the Jerusalemite (a title given to those who have made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem)'.

[44] עניים לרינא: Cf. Hebr. עֲנִיִים 'poor men' a plural form of Hebr. עָנִי 'poor, needy'; written with Karaim suffixes (pl., poss. 3rd sg., dat.). The word could have entered Karaim via Yiddish, cf. Yidd. עָנִי (pl. עניים) id. (Strack 1916: 130; Harkavy 1925: 350).

[45] אֵיזִימְדַן: A clear example of a blend between KarT. *öźuḿďań* 'from myself' and KarL. *eźimden* id.

[46] צדקה דן: Cf. PBHebr. צְדָקָה 'alms, charity' (Klein 1987: 541). The word entered Karaim from Yidd. צְדָקָה 'act of benevolence' (Strack 1916: 158–159; Harkavy 1925: 350).

[47] כבודונו: A corruptly declined south-western possessive form – instead of *kawodunnu*. Its north-western equivalent is *kawodujnu*. See the same form in line 15.

[48] בֵירְגֵנִים נִי: The word *beŕǵań* was attested thus far only in the meaning 'data'. Here it means 'donation'.

[49] כמע': The abbreviation stands for Hebr. מַעֲלַת כְּבוֹד 'honourable sir'.

[50] יַזְמִים: An abbreviated negative present tense form of *jazmyjmyn*.

[51] והמלכה: Pro והמלאכה, the silent *aleph* in this Hebrew word is erroneously dropped.

[52] יזם: An abbreviated present tense form instead of *jazamyn*.

[53] בילמים: A shortened negative present tense form pro *biľḿijḿiń*.

[54] סִיוׂמִים: A shortened negative present tense form instead of *śiwḿijḿiń*.

Translation

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[1]   With the Lord's help [we shall achieve and succeed!][56]

[2]   My beloved kinsman, friend and companion, the honourable sir, rabbi *Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz*, the respected, the knowledgeable!

[3]   The letter of yours written on 15th February reached my hands for which I thank you.

[4]   In turn, I wrote to you on 29th February and on 1st March we sent from the honourable sir *Josef Mangubi*, the Jerusalemite [and] the scholar [~ the aged]

[5]   80 roubles for *matza*[57] for the poor people of Łuck, and 6 roubles from myself

[6]   to lady Sara, and [we wrote to you] to give her [an additional] 3 roubles as charity. I believe you will do

[7]   my request. I ask you to ask lady Sara not to be angry with me

[8]   for sending so little money, God sees my donation. Giving a little each time,

[9]   I give much,[58] because there are many people to whom to donate.[59]

[10] Ask the honourable sir *Abraham Hugel* about the stories [to be told] to you, not to

[11] make me write separate letters – may they be not angry with me, the day is short, and the work

[12] is great[60]. [If there is a need] I will write letters every day, even more than one, to the people of Łuck –

[13] if there was something useful, I would have written it; I cannot write idle letters, and

[14] I do not like those who write idle and long letters. That [kind of] acting is characteristic of idle people.

[15] I ask you to convey my greetings also to lady *Szełomit*.

[16] May she be not angry that I am not writing a separate letter, because I have no time and there is nothing to write [about]

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55 בו: The word is written with a *shūrūq*, which should be treated as an error; the pronoun *bu* does not fit in the context. It is inprobable that the difference between *bo* 'because' and *bu* 'this' has been effaced in north-western Karaim. The fact that *bo* is used with the meaning of *bu* in south-western Karaim (see KRPS 126) cannot be a proof in this case.

56 בֹה: The abbreviated Hebr. בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּם 'with the Lord's help' is a shortened version of the widely used collocation בְּעֶזְרַת הַשֵּם נַעֲשֶׂה וְנַצְלִיחַ 'With the Lord's help, we shall achieve and succeed!'.

57 מצה ליק: Hebr. מַצָּה 'unleavened bread' used with the -*łyχ* derivative suffix. 'Money for *matza*' is an uncertain, but probable, translation of *macałyχ* especially in the light of the approaching holidays the author is writing about in line 29; as a parallel cf. הוצאה ליק *hocaałyχ* 'money for expenditures' < Hebr. הוֹצָאָה 'expenditures, expenses', used by the same author in a similar letter (Németh 2012: 143). For the semantic field of the derivative suffix in question see Zajączkowski (1932: 29–31). We treat the word as a loanword (and not as a Hebrew interpolation) because of the derivative suffix attached to it (being aware of the weakness of this criterion).

58 מֵין אַזְרִידֵי בֵּירְסַס מִינדן כוף צִיֹּ֫ט: The literary meaning of this fragment is 'If I give a little each time, much goes out from me'.

59 בו כיוף אדמלר ברט כימגא בירמא: The second half of the sentence seems somewhat corrupted; one would expect grammatical constructions expressing 'to whom we can donate', 'to whom we shall donate', or the like.

60 היום קצר והמלאכה מרובה: The sentence ends in a Hebrew saying that appears in the Mishnaic tractate of Pirkei (Mishna, Avot 2:15).

[17] Ḃiźďa Aďeśťa bu jył ńeurožaj, ułłu bahałyχ, *mš' wmtn*[61] joχ. Azatem

[18] kibiťľarďa joχ orun ułańłaryna, bo aďeśliľaŕ da boš ołturadłar.

[19] Zatym bu jyłny kałsynłar orunłarynda. Mana inanmasłar, sorsunłar

[20] Aďeś üćuń *km' Abraham Hugel*ǵa. Ḿeń ijaḿiń kołu ašyra

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[21] [*km' A*]*braham Hugel*ńiń[62] baχur *Nisan*ha da baχur *Szemoel*ǵa[63]
   *Twierdochlebow*łar

[22] [i]jiłǵań upraχ kastor burnos 1., kara ćeḱḿań surdut 1., kara ćeḱḿań

[23] majtkałar 2., daha triko majtykałar[64] 1., da 1. par majtkałar parusynowy

[24] kamizełkałar 3. kartuzłar 2. Bary janhy ťiwił[65] a kijiłǵań. Kabuł eťip

[25] üľašińśińľar ńećik biľaďľar. Bu waχtta artyχ bołałmym[66] bołušma.

[26] *w'tm šlwm dšwṭ*[67] *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*.

[27] *Rut* jołdašymdan, *r Josef* uwłumdan, *Zacharia* uwłumdan, da *Chana* –

[28] kyzymdan kawoduna, da totałarha šałom, kołłarynyzy öbaďľar, ałej[68]

[29] też šałom karandašłarha da tuwduχłarha, tynč moeďłar tanry ḃeŕśiń.

[30] Kołamyn kawodunu oχuma bu biťiḱńi *Sara* totama da *Szełomit*ǵa[69]

[31] *'lmnt 'dwdw*[70] *km Szałom zl*[71], inansynłar, ki bir biťik jazhynča

[32] on iš turat, bunun üćuń osubne jazmym, da ałar ńe jazadłar

[33] uzun biťiḱľar, anyde ałłamym[72]. *Jehoszafat*

[34] *nḥtm*[73] *ph b'wdss'* 1868. mart 4.

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[61] משא ומתן: Yidd. tān מַשָּׂא־וּמַתָּן 'business' (Strack 1916: 112; Harkavy 1925: 31).

[62] A small fragment of the sheet was torn off, but the reconstruction of the missing fragment, here and in the next line, causes no difficulties.

[63] שמואל גא: The shape of the dative case suffix is unusual: we would expect -*ka* here. Cf. *Magas*ga (44:7), *Bezikowicz*ǵa (44:26), *Szełomit*ǵa (55:30), and also בבוייץ גא *Babowicz*ǵa (43:19; transcribed as *Babowicz*ka) in Németh (2012: 143).

[64] מַיְטְכַלָּר: Pro *majtkałar*. The -*y*- is most probably an error or, perhaps, epenthetic. The word is written twice as *majtkałar* in the same line.

[65] טיוול: A south-western-type form. Its north-western equivalent is *ťuwuľ*.

[66] בּוֹלְלְמִין: An abbreviated form pro *bołałmyjmyn*.

[67] דשוט': An abbreviation standing for the Hebrew greeting דּוֹרֵשׁ שְׁלוֹמוֹ וטוֹבָתוֹ 'demanding his peace and success'.

[68] אֲלֵיי: The use of KarT. *ałej* 'in a such way' in the collocation *ałej też* 'as well as' calques Slavonic patterns, cf. Pol. *jak również* 'as well as'.

[69] שלומית גא: The shape of the dative case suffix is unusual: we would expect -*ka* here. Cf. *Magas*ga (44:7), *Bezikowicz*ǵa (44:26), *Szemoel*ǵa (55:21), and also בבוייץ גא *Babowicz*ǵa (43:19; transcribed as *Babowicz*ka) in Németh (2012: 143).

[70] אדונו': An unusual Hebrew abbreviation. Perhaps it is the Hebr. word אֲדוֹנֵנוּ 'our master' written erroneously?

[71] זל: An abbreviation for Hebr. זִכְרוֹנוֹ לִבְרָכָה 'may his memory be blessed; of blessed memory'.

[72] אַלְלָמִים: A shortened negative present tense verbal form pro *ałłamyjmyn*. The use of *shewa* under *mem* is a clerical error; *shewa* in Karaim native words was always *shewa quiescens*. We think, therefore, that the reading in J. Sulimowicz's catalogue as *allamem* is not applicable here.

[73] The second letter is hardly legible, it resembles כ, but, considering the context, it is probably Hebr. נחתם 'signed, completed' written here.

[17] There is a crop failure in Odessa this year, the prices are very high, there is no business. So

[18] in the shops there is no place for her children [~ sons], because even the Odessans sit doing nothing.

[19] Thus this year may they stay in their places. If they do not believe me

[20] may they ask the honourable sir *Abraham Hugel* about Odessa. I am sending via the hand

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[21] of [the honourable sir *A*]*braham Hugel* to the bachelors *Nisan* and *Szemoel Twierdochlebow*

[22] the clothing sent: 1 castor[74] burnous[75], 1 black broadcloth frock coat, 2 [pairs of] black broadcloth

[23] trousers[76] and also 1 [pair of] tricot[77] trousers, and 1 pair of trousers, 3 sailcloth

[24] waistcoats, 2 caps. All of these are not new, but worn. After they receive [this clothing]

[25] they may share it as they can. For the time being I will not be able to help more.

[26] And peace be with them, greetings, *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*

[27] Greetings from my wife *Rut*, from my son, sir *Josef*, from my son *Zacharia* and from *Chana*,

[28] my daughter, to you sir, and to the ladies, they kiss your hands, as well as

[29] greetings to [our] brothers and sisters, may God grant a peaceful holiday.

[30] I ask you sir, may you read this letter to my aunt Sara[78] and to *Szełomit*

[31] the widow of our master [?] the honourable sir *Szałom* of blessed memory, may they believe that until a letter is written

[32] ten [other] issues appear[79] [and] that is why I do not write separate [letters], and I do not understand those who write

[33] long letters, either. *Jehoszafat*,

[34] signed here, in Odessa, 1868, 4th March

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[74] בַּסטוֹר: Cf. Pol. *kastor*, Russ. *кастор* 'castor (heavy woollen fabric)'.

[75] בּוּרנוֹס: Cf. Pol. *burnus*, Russ. *бурнус* 'bournous (a long cloak with a hood)'.

[76] מַייטכַלַר: Cf. Pol. *majtki* *arch.* man's trousers' (SWil I 628). It is difficult to determine the word's exact meaning – the one proposed seems the most probable. Besides 'men's trousers', Pol. *majtki* also used to mean 'sailor's garment', 'lower part of women's underwear' (this meaning is less probable here in the light of the material the *majtkałar* mentioned were made of), and 'short boy's trousers' (Boryś 2005: 311).

[77] טרִיקוֹ: Cf. Russ. *трико* 'heavy woollen warp knit type of fabric' (Černych II 262–263).

[78] טוֹטאמא: The 1st sg. poss. suffix suggests that this person was the author's relative.

[79] טוּרט: The meaning 'come into existence, appear' (attested already in KRPS) of KarT. *tur-* 'to stand' appeared under the influence of Pol. *powstawać* '1. to stand up; 2. to come into existence; appear, emerge'.

5. Remarks on two persons mentioned in letter no. 55[II]

Jehoszafat mentions two bachelors from the *Twierdochlebow* (vel *Twierdochleb*) family: *Nisan* and *Szemoel* (line 21). From the documents we found in AGKŁ (especieally those based on the census record lists from 1834 and 1858) it transpires, however, that at the time the letter was written the only representatives of this family that could have been bachelors were *Nisan* (1840–1900) and his brother *Simcha* (1847–1909). The author most probably confused *Simcha* with the brothers' father *Szałom* or simply miswrote his name. "Lady *Szełomit*", mentioned in line 15 is most probably *Szałom*'s wife, i.e. the mother of the two unmarried brothers – in the census records she is referred to as *Sonia Szimonowa* the wife od *Szałom*, born around 1816, died in 1874. Since the family was mentioned almost at the bottom of both census record lists, they were very probably poor. This is why *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski* begs for pardon as he cannot be of help in finding employment for the two boys in Odessa. Their poverty (and perhaps also because they probably suffered the most during the fire) is the reason why clothing is sent only to them.

Another issue that should be discussed is the identity of *Sara*, mentioned in line 30. The author addresses her as *totam*, i.e. he uses KarC. *tota* '1. older sister; 2. aunt; 3. *word used for addressing older women*' (KRPS 539; for the meaning 'aunt' see Levi 1996: 104, s.v. *mëmя*) with the 1st sg. possessive suffix. The latter suggests that *Sara* was *Jehoszafat*'s aunt (he had no sister). But in the census records we find no women with the name *Sara* mentioned among the members of the two *Kapłanowski* (vel *Kapłunowski*) families living in Lutsk, so the answer must be found elsewhere. In fact, there are three other families in Lutsk who could trace their roots back to the community of Trakai: the *Szpakowski*, *Pilecki*, and *Nowicki* families, but only in the first do we find a woman called *Sara*: *Sara* the daughter of *Simcha*, born around 1792, died before 1871[80]. Her husband, *Icchak* the son of *Mordechaj Szpakowski* died in 1842 and had no children. Her age fits in well with *Jehoszafat*'s age (born 1813): a person approximately 21 years older could have easily been *Jehoszafat*'s aunt. Moreover, she was also among the last persons listed in the census records with the addnotation that she is supported by her family. This, in turn, means that she could have required financial help from an Odessan relative.

Based on such biograhpical data we have reconstructed the word *tota* in line 30 as meaning 'aunt'.

6. Glossary

The glossary contains all the Karaim linguistic material together with a brief morphological description and the spelling. Words written as one word with forms used enclitically are assigned to the relevant grammatical category as if they were noted without the enclitics. The latter are provided in brackets for the sake of transparency.

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[80] Her name is missing from the document that lists all the deaths from 1871 onwards.

The nominal and verbal grammatical categories are organized as follows: nom., acc., gen., dat., loc., abl., instr. and inf., praes., fut., praet., imperat., opt., opt.praet, cond., cond.praet., part.praet. and conv. If attested, we indicate the government of a verb or postposition (in brackets). In the case of loanwords, we indicate the source language with a respective qualifier (in brackets). Appellatives and personal names along with geographcal names are listed separately.

a, b, b́, c, ć, č, č̣, d, d́, đ, ʒ, ʒ́, ž, ǯ, e, f, g, ǵ, h, h̬, χ, i, j, k, ḱ, l, ł, ľ,
m, ḿ, n, ń, o, ö, p, ṕ, r, ŕ, s, ś, š, ṣ̌, t, t́, ṭ, u, ü, w, ẃ, y, z, ź, ž, ź̌

6.1. Appellatives

aᴵ 'but' (Slav.) ◆ א [44:5, 16] ◆ אַ [55:24] ◆ אָה [44:6]

aᴵᴵ '(particle introducing statement) and' (Slav.) ◆ א [44:12, 25] ◆ אַ- [55:17]

adam 'man' (Hebr.) ◆ PL, NOM: אדם לר [44:9] ◆ אַדַמלַר [55:9] ◆ PL, DAT: אדם לַרגַא [55:14]

ađeśĺi 'Odessan (citizen)' ◆ PL, NOM: אַדֶ־סלילַר [55:18] ◆ See also **Ađeś**.

aχča 'money' ◆ NOM: אחצא [44:11, 15, 16, 19; 55:8] ◆ ACC: אחצא ני [44:6, 14] אחצאני [44:18]

ajryl- (dat.) 'to be divided (into)' ◆ PART. PRAET: איירילגֿ [44:10]

ajt- 'to say' ◆ FUT.1.SG: אייטים [44:7]

ałar 'they' ◆ NOM: אַלָר [55:32] ◆ DAT: אלרגא [44:25]

ałej 'in a such way' ◆ אַליי [55:28]

ałła- 'to understand' ◆ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: אַלְלַמִים [55:33]

ałłat- 'to inform' ◆ PRAET.2.SG: אללטטיי [44:23]

artχary 'back' ◆ ארטחרי [44:13]

artyχᴵ 'surfeit, something extra' ◆ POSS. 3.SG, ACC: אַרְטִיהִין [44:24]

artyχᴵᴵ 'more' ◆ ארטיק [55:25]

ašyra 'via, through' ◆ אַשִירָה [55:20]

at 'name' ◆ POSS.3.SG, DAT: אדינא [44:13]

awgust 'August' (Russ.) ◆ NOM: אווגוסט [44:2, 5]

az 'little, not much' ◆ NOM: אַז [55:8] ◆ DIS-TRIB: אַזַרִידֶי (-de) [55:8]

azatem see **a**, **zatem**

bahałyχ 'high prices' ◆ NOM: בַהַלִיק [55:17]

baχur 'bachelor; young man (used as a title)' (Hebr.) ◆ NOM: בחור [55:21]

bar 'existing, in existence' ◆ COPULA.3.SG: בַרְט [44:11] ◆ ברדי [55:9]

bary 'everything' ◆ NOM: בַרִי [55:24]

baryba (used with negation) '(not) at all' ◆ בריבא [44:5]

bo 'because' (Slav.) בֹ [44:8] ◆ בֹ [55:9, 18] ◆ בו [55:16!]

boł- 'to be' ◆ NEG, FUT.3.SG: בולמסט [44:25] ◆ FUT.3.SG: בולור [44:27] ◆ IMPERAT.2.PL: בוליייוו [44:27] ◆ COND.PRAET.3.SG: בול־סיט [55:13]

bołał- 'to be able' ◆ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: בֹ־לַלְמִין [55:25]

bołuš- 'to help' ◆ INF: בֹולּושמָא [55:25]

bołušłuχ 'help' ◆ NOM: בולושלוק [44:15] ◆ POSS.2.PL, DAT: בולושלוגוייוזגא [44:27]

boš 'idle' ◆ NOM: בוש [55:13, 14, 18] ◆ ~ ołtur- 'to sit in vain; to do nothing' [55:18]

bu 'this' ◆ NOM: בו [44:16, 26; 55:30] ◆ בֹ [55:17, 19, 25] ◆ GEN: בונון [55:32] ◆ ~nun üčúń 'therefore, that is why' [55:32]

burnos 'bornous (a long cloak with a hood)' (Slav.) ◆ NOM: בורנוס [55:22]

burunhu 'first' ◆ NOM: בורונגו [44:14]

b́er- 'to give' ◆ INF: בירמא [55:15] ◆ בֶירְ־מָא [55:6] ◆ בֶירְמָא [55:9] ◆ PRAET.2.PL: בירדייז [44:24] ◆ IMPERAT.3.SG: בירסין [55:29] ◆ COND.1.SG: בֶירְסַם [55:9]

beŕǵań 'donation' ◆ POSS.1.SG, ACC: בֵּירְגֶנִים [55:8] נִי

biľ- 'to know' ◆ PRAES.3.PL: בִּילְדְלָר [55:25] ◆ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: בילמים [55:13] ◆ [44:6] מִימִין ◆ NEG, PRAES.1.PL: בילמיביז [44:11]

bir 'one' ◆ NOM: ביר [44:10, 12; 55:31] [44:9] ◆ **hep** ~ 'doesn't matter; makes no difference' [44:9]

biťik 'letter (*epistola*)' ◆ NOM: ביטיכ [44:4; 55:16] ◆ ביטיק [44:5, 13, 17; 55:31] ◆ PL, NOM: ביטיכלר [55:11, 12, 33] ◆ ביטיכלר [55:13, 14] ◆ POSS.2.SG: ביטיגיי [55:3] ◆ ACC: ביטיכ ני [44:16] ◆ ביטיכני [55:30] ◆ ביטיכלר־ [44:26] ◆ PL, ACC: ני [44:28] ◆ POSS.2.PL, LOC: ביטיגייזדא [44:14] ◆ PL, ABL: ביטיכלרדן [44:9] ◆ See also **biťikľi**.

biź 'we' ◆ LOC: ביזדא [55:17]

biťikľi 'written' ◆ NOM: ביטיקלי [44:21] ◆ ~ľi śoźlar 'written words' [44:21]. ◆ See also **biťik**.

buťuń 'whole' ◆ NOM: ביוטון [44:27]

čyχ- 'to leave' ◆ PRAES.3.SG: צִיגֶט [55:9]

čekmań 'broadcloth' ◆ NOM: צֶיכְמָן [55:22] ◆ צֵיכְמֶן [55:22]

da 'and, too' ◆ דא [44:4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 19, 24, 26, 27; 55:5, 16, 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30] ◆ דֵא [55:6, 14, 32] ◆ דָא [55:13, 15, 18]

daha 'as well, additionally' ◆ דָּגָא [55:23]

de (*used enclitically*) '1. (*intensifying particle*) even; 2. (*used with negation; particle introducing negation*) even a; at all' ◆ דִי [44:8] ◆ דֵי [44:24] ◆ דֵי- [55:4, 8, 33]

-de see **de**

dost 'friend' ◆ POSS.2.PL, NOM: דוסטוייוז [44:21]

dostłuχ 'friendship' ◆ LOC: דוסטלוקטא [44:27]

duhru '1. right, correct; 2. righteous' ◆ NOM: דוגרו [44:9] ◆ COPULA.2.SG: דו־ גרוסון [44:8]

duhrułuχ 'justice' ◆ INSTR: דוגרולוקבא [44:18]

duńja 'people' (Ar.) ◆ NOM: דוניא [44:27] ◆ LOC: דוניא דא [55:12]

e- 'to be' ◆ PRAET.1.SG: אֶדִים [44:8]

eki 'two' ◆ DAT: איכי גא [44:10]

ekińči 'other; another' ◆ NOM: איכינצי [44:10, 12]

et- (*auxiliary verb*) (KarL.) 'to do' ◆ PRAET.2.PL: איטיניז [44:24]

eť- (*auxiliary verb*) 'to do' ◆ PRAES.1.SG: איטמין [44:23] ◆ CONV: איטיפ [44:16]

ez 'self' ◆ POSS.1.SG, ABL: אֵיזִימְדָן (KarL. ↔ KarT.) [55:5!]

fajdały 'useful' (Ar.) ◆ NOM: פָיידְלִי [55:13]

fewŕaľ 'February' (Russ.) ◆ NOM: פֶוְרֶל [55:3, 4]

haľe 'now' (Ar.) ◆ הלי [44:6, 8, 16]

ham 'and' (Pers.) ◆ הלי [44:7]

har 'every' ◆ הר [55:12]

hep 'all' ◆ הֶפ [44:9] ◆ ~ **bir** 'doesn't matter; makes no difference' [44:9]

hepśi 'all (of them)' ◆ NOM: היפסי [44:9]

χazzan 'Karaim clergyman, hazzan' (Hebr.) ◆ DAT: חזן גא [44:19]

ićin (KarL.) 'for' ◆ איצין [55:3] ◆ See also **üčuń**.

ij- 'to send' ◆ INF: איימא [44:11, 13, 18, 21] ◆ NEG, INF: איימסכא [44:6] ◆ PRAES.1.SG: אַיים [44:13] ◆ אַיְימֶין [55:20] ◆ PRAET.1.SG: אַיְידִים [55:8] ◆ PRAET.1.PL: אַיְידִיק [55:5] ◆ FUT.1.PL: איירביז [44:19, 21] ◆ See also **ijiľ-**.

iji 'good' ◆ NOM: איי [44:9]

ijiľ- 'to be sent' ◆ PART.PRAET: אַיְילְגֶן [55:22!] ◆ See also **ij-**.

inan- 'to believe' ◆ INF: איננמא [44:11] ◆ IMPERAT.3.PL: אִינַנְסִינְלָר [55:31] ◆ NEG, COND.3.PL: איננמסלר [55:19]

išan- 'to believe, to hope' ◆ PRAES.1.SG: אִישַנְמִין [55:6]

iš '1. act, acting; 2. issue' ◆ NOM: איש [55:14, 32]

jaχšy '1. good; 2. goodness' ◆ NOM: יחשי [44:27] ◆ ACC: יחשיניזני [44:22] ◆ ADV: יחשי [44:24, 25]

jaman 'badly' ◆ NOM: ימן [44:28] ◆ יַמָן [44:10]

jamanła- 'to be angry' ◆ NEG, IMPERAT.3.SG: ימנלמסין [55:16] ◆ יַמַנְלַמְסִין [55:7] ◆ NEG, IMPERAT.3.PL: ימנלמסינלר [55:11]

jan '(conflicting) side, party' ◆ NOM: יאן [44:10]

janhy 'new' ◆ NOM: יַנְגִי [55:24]

jaz- 'to write' ◆ INF: ייזמא [55:13] ◆ ייזמא [44:14] ◆ יָזְמָא [55:16] ◆ PRAES.1.SG: יזם [55:12] ◆ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: יזמיימין [55:16] ◆ יָזְמִים [55:11, 32] ◆ PRAES.3.SG: יַזְדִי [44:10] ◆ יזט [55:14] ◆ PRAES.2.PL: יזסיז [44:6] ◆ PRAES.3.PL: יַזְדְלָר [55:32] ◆ PRAET.1.SG: יזדים [55:4] ◆ PRAET.3.SG: יזדי [44:12] ◆ PRAET.2.PL: יזדיי [44:5] ◆ IMPERAT.3.SG: יזסין [44:17] ◆ OPT. PRAET.1.SG: יזגיידים [55:13] ◆ COND.2.PL: יזסייז [44:21] ◆ NEG, COND.2.PL: יזמסאניז [44:13] ◆ CONV: יַזְגִינְצֶא [55:31] ◆ See also **jazył-**.

jazył- 'to be written' ◆ PART.PRAET: יזילגן [44:4, 55:3] ◆ See also **jaz-**.

jeť- 'to reach' ◆ PRAET.3.SG: יטטי [44:5] ◆ ייטטי [55:3]

joχ 'nonexistent, not existing' ◆ יוק [55:16, 17, 18] ◆ COPULA.3.SG: יוחט [55:16]

jołdaš 'wife' ◆ POSS.1.SG, ABL: יולדשימדן [55:27]

jomaχ 'story' ◆ PL: יומחלר [55:10]

już 'hundred' ◆ NOM: יוז [44:19, 24]

jył 'year' ◆ NOM: ייל [44:8] ◆ יִיל [55:17] ◆ ACC: יְלְנִי [55:19]

kabuł (Ar.) see **kabuł eť-**

kabuł et- (KarL.) 'to receive' (Ar.) ◆ PRAET. 2.PL: קבול איטטיניז [44:23–24]

kabuł eť- 'to receive' (Ar.) ◆ CONV: קבול איטיפ [55:24] ◆ קַבּוּל אֵיטִיפ [44:16]

kahał 'community; Karaim (religious) community' (Hebr.) ◆ NOM: קהל [44:10, 17, 27] ◆ DAT: קהלגא [44:26, 28]

kał- 'to stay' ◆ IMPERAT.3.PL: קלסינלר [55:19]

kamizelka 'waistcoat' (Pol.) ◆ PL, NOM: כַּמִיזֶלְכַלָר [55:24]

kara 'black' ◆ NOM: קַרָא [55:22] [55:22]

karandaš 'brother' ◆ PL, DAT: קרנדשלרגא [55:29]

kartuz 'cap' (Slav.) ◆ PL, NOM: כַּרְטוּזְלָר [55:24]

kastor 'castor (heavy woollen fabric)' (Slav.) ◆ NOM: כַּסְטוֹר [55:22]

kawod (with possessive suffix) 'sir' (Hebr.) ◆ POSS.2.SG, ACC: כבודונו (KarL.) [55:30!] ◆ כבודונו (KarL.) [55:7, 15!] ◆ POSS.2.SG, GEN: כבודויינון [55:3] ◆ POSS.2.SG, DAT: כבודונא (KarL.) [55:4, 28] ◆ POSS.2.PL, DAT: כבודונוזגא (KarL.) [44:7] ◆ כבודונוˉ [44:12] ◆ כבודונוז גא (KarL.) [44:12] זגא [55:10]

koł 'hand' ◆ POSS.3.SG, NOM: קולו [55:20] ◆ POSS.1.SG, DAT: קולומא [44:5] ◆ POSS. 3.SG, DAT: קולונא [44:6, 12, 13, 21] ◆ קוˉ [44:15] ◆ POSS.2.PL, ACC: קוללריניזי [55:28]

koł- 'to ask, to request' ◆ INF: קולמא [55:7] ◆ PRAES.1.SG: כּולמין [55:7] ◆ קוֹלמִין [55:15] ◆ PRAET. 2.PL: קולדוייוז [44:14] ◆ CONV: קולדוגון [44:15]

kołtχa 'request' ◆ POSS.1.SG, ACC: קוֹלְטְחַם נִי [55:7] ◆ POSS.2.PL, ACC: קולטחייזני [44:15] ◆ POSS.2.PL, DAT: קולטחייזגא [44:14]

kył- 'to do, to act' ◆ PRAES.3.SG: קילד [44:28] ◆ NEG, PRAES.2.PL: קילמידלר [44:25] ◆ FUT.2.SG: קִּילַרְס [55:6] ◆ PRAET. 1.SG: קילדים [44:15] ◆ PRAET.2.PL: קילˉ דייז [44:24]

kyz 'daughter' ◆ POSS.1.SG, ABL: קיזימדן [55:28]

keľ- 'to come, to arrive' ◆ PRAET.3.SG: כיˉ לדי [44:8]

kenesa 'kenesa, Karaim temple' (Hebr.) ◆ ACC: כנסה ני [44:19] ◆ DAT: כנסה גא [44:24]

ki (a conjunction introducing dependent clauses) '1. (used with infinitive) to, in order to; 2. that' (Pers.) ◆ כי [44:6, 8,

10, 13, 18, 21, 23, 24, 28; 55:16, 31] ◆ כִי
[55:6, 7, 8, 10]

kibiť 'shop' ◆ PL, LOC: כִיבִיטְלַרְדַא [55:18]

kijiľ- 'to be worn' ◆ PART.PRAET: כְיִילְגֶ'ן [55:24]

kim 'who' ◆ NOM: כִם [55:14] ◆ PL, NOM: כימלר [44:25] ◆ DAT: כימגא [44:11, 17] ◆ כִימְגֶא [55:9] ◆ GEN: כימנין [44:11, 13]

kiši 'person' ◆ ACC: כישינידי (-*de*) [44:8]

kľawču 'the one who wishes' ◆ NOM: כלווצו [44:21]

kop 'much, a lot' ◆ NOM: כיֹוף [55:9] ◆ כוֹף [55:9]

kor- 'to see' ◆ PRAES.1.PL: כיורביז [44:10] ◆ NEG, PRAET.1.SG: כיורמדים [44:5] ◆ OPT. 3.SG: כיורְגֶיי [55:8]

koŕa (dat.) 'according to' ◆ כיורא [44:14]

koŕǵuź- 'to show' ◆ INF: כיורגוז מא [44:26] ◆ NEG, PRAES.3.SG: כיורדוזמיט [44:28!]

kuń 'day' ◆ NOM: כיון [55:12]

macałyχ 'money for *matza*' (Hebr.) ◆ NOM: מצה ליק [55:5]

majtka 'man's trousers' (Pol.) ◆ PL, NOM: מַיְיטְכַלָר [55:23!] ◆ מַיְיטְכַלָר [55:23]

mart 'March' (Russ.) ◆ NOM: מַרְט [55:4] ◆ מרט [55:34]

moeď 'holiday' (Hebr.) ◆ PL: מועדלר [55:29]

méń 'I' (Hebr.) ◆ NOM: מין [44:7, 8, 15; 55:12] ◆ מֶן [55:8, 20] ◆ מֵינְדִי (-*de*) [55:4] ◆ ACC: מיני [44:14] ◆ GEN: מינים [55:8] ◆ DAT: מנא [44:9; 55:19] ◆ ABL: מנדן [55:7] ◆ מינדן [55:9]

no 'but' (Russ.) ◆ נוֹ [44:9]

ńe 'what; which' ◆ NOM: ני [44:5, 6] ◆ נֶי [55:3, 13, 32] ◆ ACC: ניני [44:11] ◆ נֶינִי [55:16]

ńeča 'several' ◆ ניצא [44:19]

ńečik '(*relative pronoun*) when' ◆ ניציק [44:8; 55:25]

ńeurožaj 'crop failure' (Russ.) ◆ NOM: נַיאורוֹזֶיי [55:17]

ńińďi 'some, about' ◆ NOM: נינדי [44:17]

oχu- 'to read' ◆ INF: אוחומא [55:30]

oł '1. he, she, it; 2. that, those' ◆ NOM: אול [55: 10, 14] ◆ ACC: אַנִיךִי (-*de*) ◆ DAT: אַנַר [55:6]

ołtur- 'to sit' ◆ PRAES.3PL: אוֹלְטוּרְדִלָר [55:18]

on 'ten' ◆ NOM: אוֹן [55:32]

orun 'place' ◆ NOM: אוֹרוּן [55:18] ◆ POSS.3.PL, LOC: אורונלרינדא [55:19]

osubne 'separate' (Slav.) ◆ אוֹסוּבְנֶי [55:16] ◆ אוֹסוּבְנֶי [55:32] ◆ See also **osubny**.

osubny 'separate' (Slav.) ◆ אוֹסוּבְנִי [55:11] ◆ See also **osubne**.

öp- 'to kiss' ◆ PRAES.3.PL: אוֹבְּדִלָר [55:28]

par 'pair' (Slav.) ◆ NOM: פַּר [55:23]

parusynowy 'of sailcloth' (Russ.) ◆ NOM: פַּרוּסִינוֹווִי [55:23]

podpis 'signature' (Slav.) ◆ POSS.3.PL, INSTR: פּוֹדְפִּיסְלַרִיבַּא [44:4] ◆ See also **potpis**.

pogoŕeľec 'victim of fire' (Russ.) ◆ PL, DAT: פּוֹגוֹרֵילִיץ לר גא [44:18]

potpis 'signature' (Slav.) ◆ INSTR: פּוֹטְפִּיס־ בַּא [44:17] ◆ See also **podpis**.

rub. *abbrev.* 'rouble' (Slav.) ◆ NOM: רוּבּ׳ [44:19, 24; 55:5, 6] ◆ See also **rubeł**.

rubeł 'rouble' (Slav.) ◆ ACC: רובּיל ני [44:24] ◆ See also **rub**.

sor- 'to ask' ◆ IMPERAT.2.PL: סוֹרוּנוּז [55:10] ◆ IMPERAT.3.PL: סוֹרסוֹנְלָר [55:19]

surdut 'frock coat' (Slav.) ◆ NOM: סוּרְדוּט [55:22]

šałom *'greeting'* (Hebr.) ◆ NOM: שלום [55:15, 28, 29] ◆ ~ **ber**- 'to greet, to send greetings' [55:15]

šekśań 'eighty' ◆ NOM: סיכסן [44:24]

šiw- 'to like' ◆ NEG, PRAES.1.SG: סיוֹומִים [55:14]

šoź 'word' ◆ PL, NOM: סוֹזלרי [44:21]

tabu see **tabu eť**-

tabu eť- 'to thank' ◆ PRAES.1.SG: טבו איטמין [44:23] ◆ טבו איטמין [55:3]

takož 'also, too' (Ukr.) ◆ טַכוֹז [55:11]

tanry (KarC.) 'God' ◆ NOM: טנרי [55:29] ◆ See also **ťeńŕi**.

tany- 'to know, to recognise' ◆ NEG, PRAES. 1.SG: טנימים [44:8]

też 'also' (Slav.) ◆ טֶיז [55:29]

to '1. then; in that case; 2. so, thus' (Slav.) ◆ טו [44:13, 19, 21, 27] ◆ טוֹ [44:10; 55:13]

tota (KarC.) '1. aunt; 2. *word used for addressing older women*' ◆ ACC: טוֹטָא ני

טוֹטָא [55:7] ◆ DAT: טוֹטָא גָא [55:6] ◆
גָא [55:15] ◆ PL, DAT: טוֹטלרגא [55:28] ◆
POSS.1.SG, DAT: טוטאמא [55:30]

triko 'tricot' (Russ.) ◆ NOM: טְרִיכוֹ [55:23]

tur- 'to stand' ◆ PRAES.3.SG: טורט [44:16]
◆ טוּרט [55:32]

tuwduχ 'sister' ◆ PL, DAT: טובדוקלרגא
[55:29]

tuzat- 'to carry out' ◆ INF: טוזטמא [44:19]

tynč 'peaceful' ◆ NOM: טינץ [55:29]

ťeńri 'God' ◆ NOM: טינרי [44:27; 55:8] ◆ See
also **tanry**.

ťijišľi 'characteristic of' ◆ NOM: טִיְישְׁלִי [55:15]

ťuǵaľ- 'to finish' ◆ INF: טוּגְלְלְמָא [44:19]

ťuwuľ 'not' ◆ טיווּל [55:12] ◆ See also **tiwił**.

tiwił (KarL.) 'not' ◆ טִיווֹל [55:24] ◆ See also
ťuwuľ.

ułan '1. child; 2. son' ◆ PL, POSS.3.SG, DAT:
אוּלַנְלַרִינָא [55:18]

ułłu 'great, huge' ◆ NOM: אוללוּ [55:17]

upraχ 'clothing' ◆ NOM: אוּפְּרַק [55:22]

uwuł 'son' ◆ POSS.1.SG, ABL: אובלומדן [55:27]

uzun 'long' ◆ NOM: אוזון [55:14] אוּזוּן [55:33]

uže 'already' (Russ.) ◆ אוזי [44:8]

üčuń 'about' ◆ אוצון [44:10; 55:32] אוצון
[55:20] ◆ **bunun ~** 'therefore, that is
why' [55:32] ◆ See also **ićin**.

üľaš- 'to divide (between)' ◆ OPT.3.SG: אול־
שכי [44:18]

üľašin- 'to be divided (between)' ◆ IMPERAT.
3.PL: איוּלַשִינְסִינְלַר [55:25]

waχt 'time' (Ar.) ◆ POSS.1.SG, NOM: וַחְטִים
[55:16] ◆ LOC: וַחְטְטָא [55:25]

zaraz 'immediately' (Slav.) ◆ זרז [44:17, 19, 21]

zatem 'subsequently, so' (Pol.) ◆ אַזַטִים (a-)
[55:17] ◆ See also **zatym**.

zatym 'subsequently, so' (Ukr.) ◆ זטים
[44:12, 16] ◆ זטְים [55:19] ◆ See also **zatem**.

6.2. Personal and geographical names

Abraham Hugel ◆ GEN: אברהם גוגֵיל נין
[55:21!] ◆ DAT: אברהם גוגֵיל גא [55:10, 20]

Aďeś 'Odessa' ◆ NOM: אַדֶס [55:20] ◆ LOC:
אדסטא [55:17] ◆ See also **aďeśľi**.

Firkowicz ◆ GEN: פירכוויץ נין [44:4]

Chana [the daughter of *Jehoszafat Kapła-
nowski*] ◆ NOM: חנה [55:27]

Icchak ◆ NOM: יצחק [44:20, 23] ◆ See also
Icchak Bezikowicz.

Icchak Bezikowicz ◆ DAT: יצחק ביזכיווויץ
גא [44:26] ◆ See also **Icchak**.

Jehoszafat ◆ NOM: יהושפט [55:33] ◆ See
also **Jehoszafat Kapłanowski**.

Jehoszafat Kapłanowski ◆ NOM: יהושפט
קפלנווסכי [44:22, 25; 55:26] ◆ See also
Jehoszafat.

Jeszua ◆ NOM: ישועה [44:28] ◆ GEN: ישועה
נין [44:6] ◆ See also **Jeszua Leonowicz**,
Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz

Jeszua Leonowicz ◆ GEN: ישועה לאונווויץ
נין [44:12] ◆ See also **Jeszua**, **Jeszua
Szemoel Leonowicz**

Jeszua Szemoel Leonowicz ◆ NOM: ישועה
שמואל לאונווויץ [55:2!] ◆ See also **Jeszua**,
Jeszua Leonowicz

Josef [the son of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*]
◆ NOM: יוסף [55:27]

Josef ◆ NOM: יוסף [44:16, 17] ◆ See also **Jo-
sef Mangubi**.

Josef Mangubi ◆ NOM: יוסף מנגובי [44:12] ◆
ABL: יוסף מנגובי דן [55:4] ◆ See also **Josef**.

Kaliski ◆ NOM: קליסכי [44:4] ◆ See also
Szałom Kaliski.

Łokszyński ◆ NOM: לוקשינסכי [44:4]

Łucka 'Lutsk' ◆ GEN: לוצקא נין [55:5] ◆ LOC:
לוצקא דא [44:8, 9; 55:12]

Magas ◆ NOM: מגס [44:4] ◆ See also **Sze-
łomo Magas**.

Mosze Turczyn ◆ NOM: משה טורצין [44:3]

Nisan [Twierdochlebow] ◆ DAT: ניסן גא
[55:21] ◆ See **Twierdochlebow**.

Rut [the wife of *Jehoszafat Kapłanowski*]
◆ NOM: רות [55:27]

Sara ◆ DAT: שרה [55:6, 7, 30]

Simcha Icchak Kaliski ◆ GEN: שמחה יצחק
קליסכינין [44:20]

Szałom[I] ◆ NOM: שלום [44:20]

Szałom[II] ◆ NOM: שלום [55:31]

Szałom Kaliski ◆ DAT: שלום קליסכי גא [44:7]
◆ See also **Kaliski**.

Szełomit ◆ NOM: שלומית [55:15] ◆ DAT: שלומית
גא [55:30]

Szełomo Magas ◆ DAT: שלמה מגס גא [44:7]
◆ See also **Magas**.

Szemoel [**Twierdochlebow**] ◆ DAT: שמואל גא
[55:21] ◆ See **Twierdochlebow**.

Twierdochlebow ◆ PL: טְוֶוירְדוֹכְלֶיבוֹולֶר [55:21]

Zacharia [Kapłanowski] ◆ NOM: זכריה [55:27]

Zarach Bezikowicz ◆ NOM: זרח בזיקוויץ
[44:20, 23]

Abbreviations

abbrev. = abbreviated; abbreviation; **abl.** = ablative; **acc.** = accusative; **adv.** = adverb; **arch.** = archaic; **cond.** = conditional; **conv.** = converb; **dat.** = dative; **distrib.** = distributive numeral; **fut.** = future tense; **gen.** = genitive; **Hebr.** = Hebrew; **imperat.** = imperative mood; **inf.** = infinitive; **KarC.** = eastern (Crimean) Karaim; **KarL.** = south-western (Lutsk) Karaim; **KarT.** = north-western (Trakai) Karaim; **loc.** = locative; **neg.** = negative; **nom.** = nominative; **opt.** = optative; **opt.praet.** = past optative; **part.praet.** = past participle; **PBHebr.** = Post Biblical Hebrew; **pl.** = plural; **Pol.** = Polish; **poss.** = possessive; **praes.** = present tense; **praet.** = past tense; **Russ.** = Russian; **sg.** = singular; **Slav.** = Slavonic; **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **Yidd.** = Yiddish.

References

AGKŁ = *Archiwum Gminy Karaimskiej w Łucku* [= The archives of the Karaim Community of Lutsk; in private collection].

KA 1932 = [Editorial note]. Ribbiłer kajsyłar hazzanłyk ettiłer Łuckada basłap burunhu jarymyndan XIX izjiłnyn. – *Karaj Awazy* 3/5: 16.

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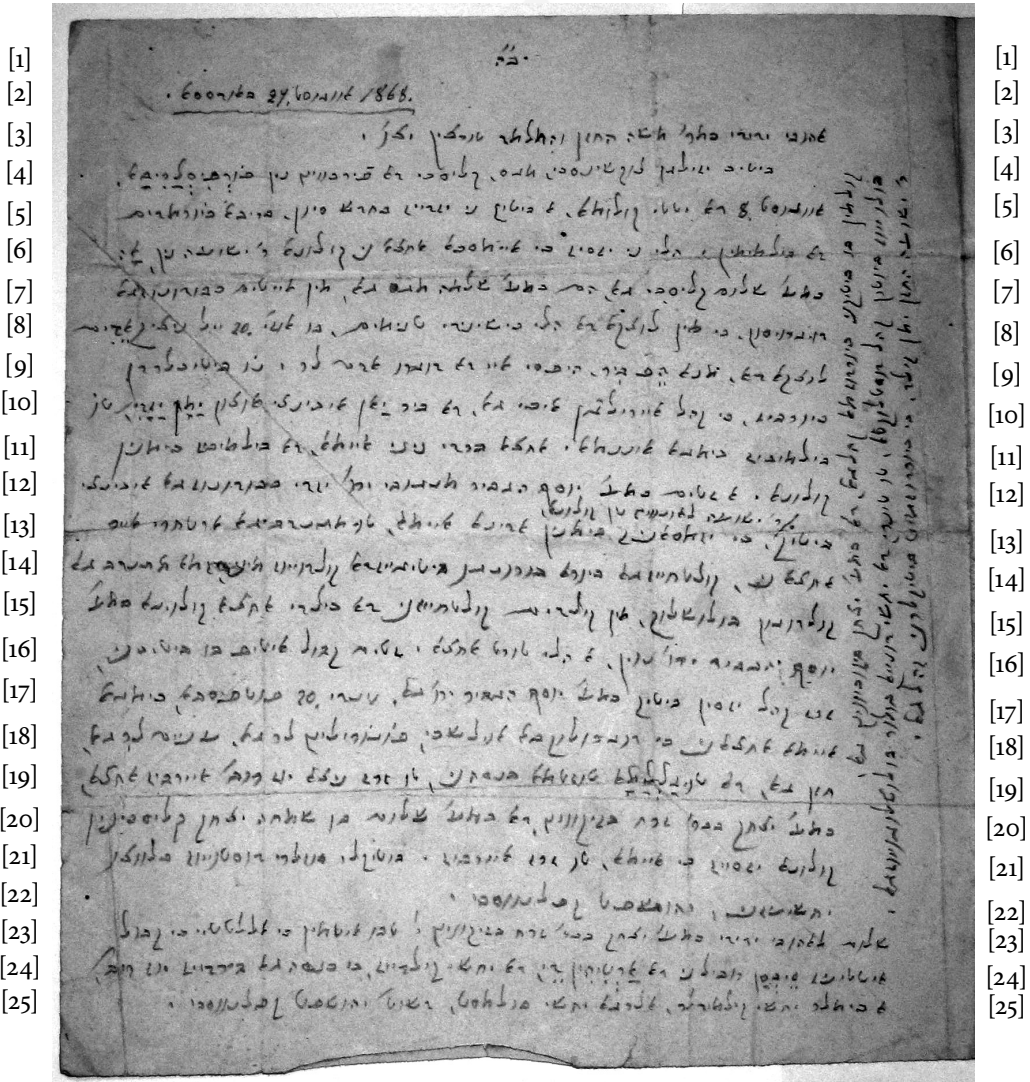
Figure 1. Catalogue number: 44[II]. Page 1/1

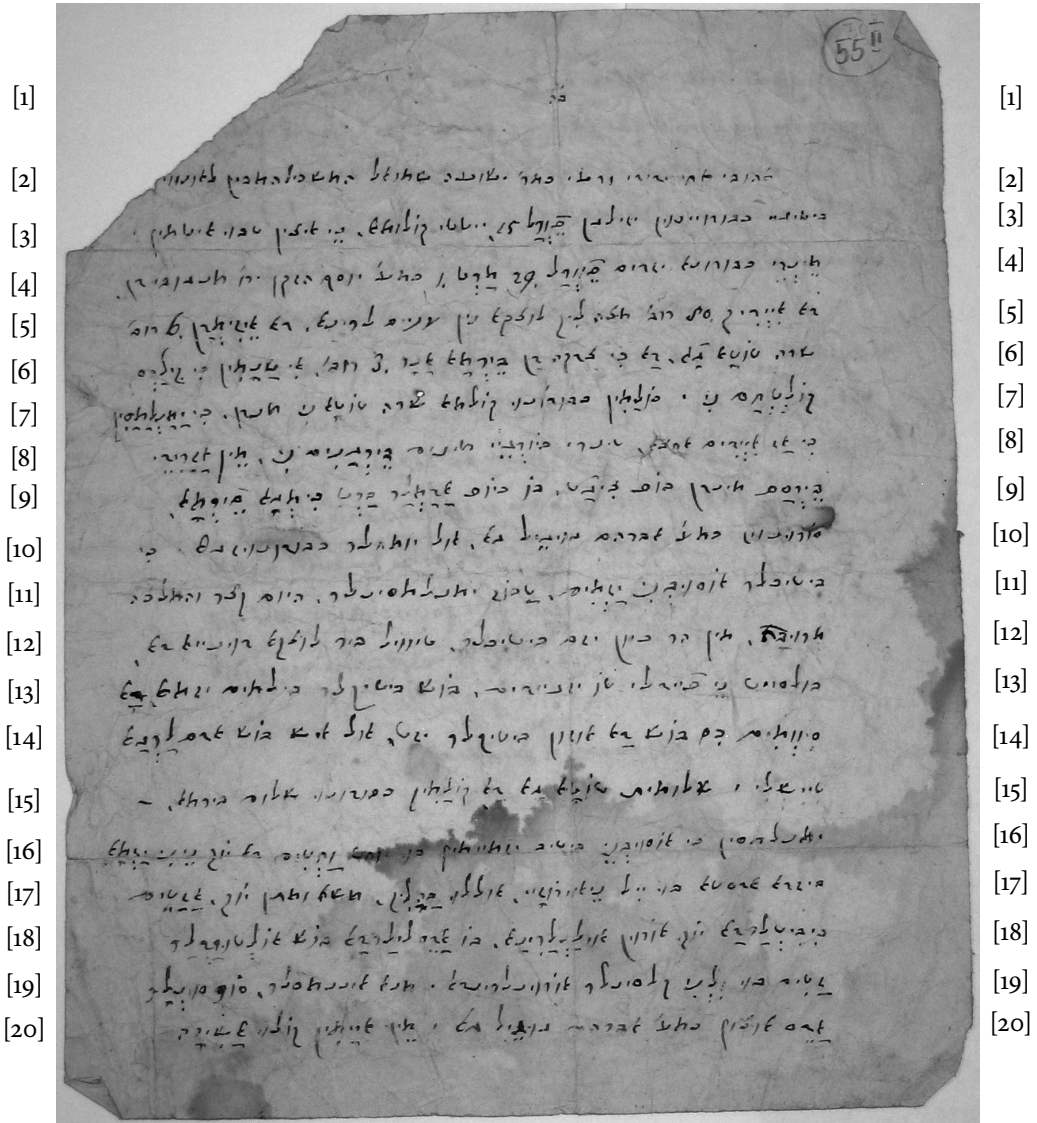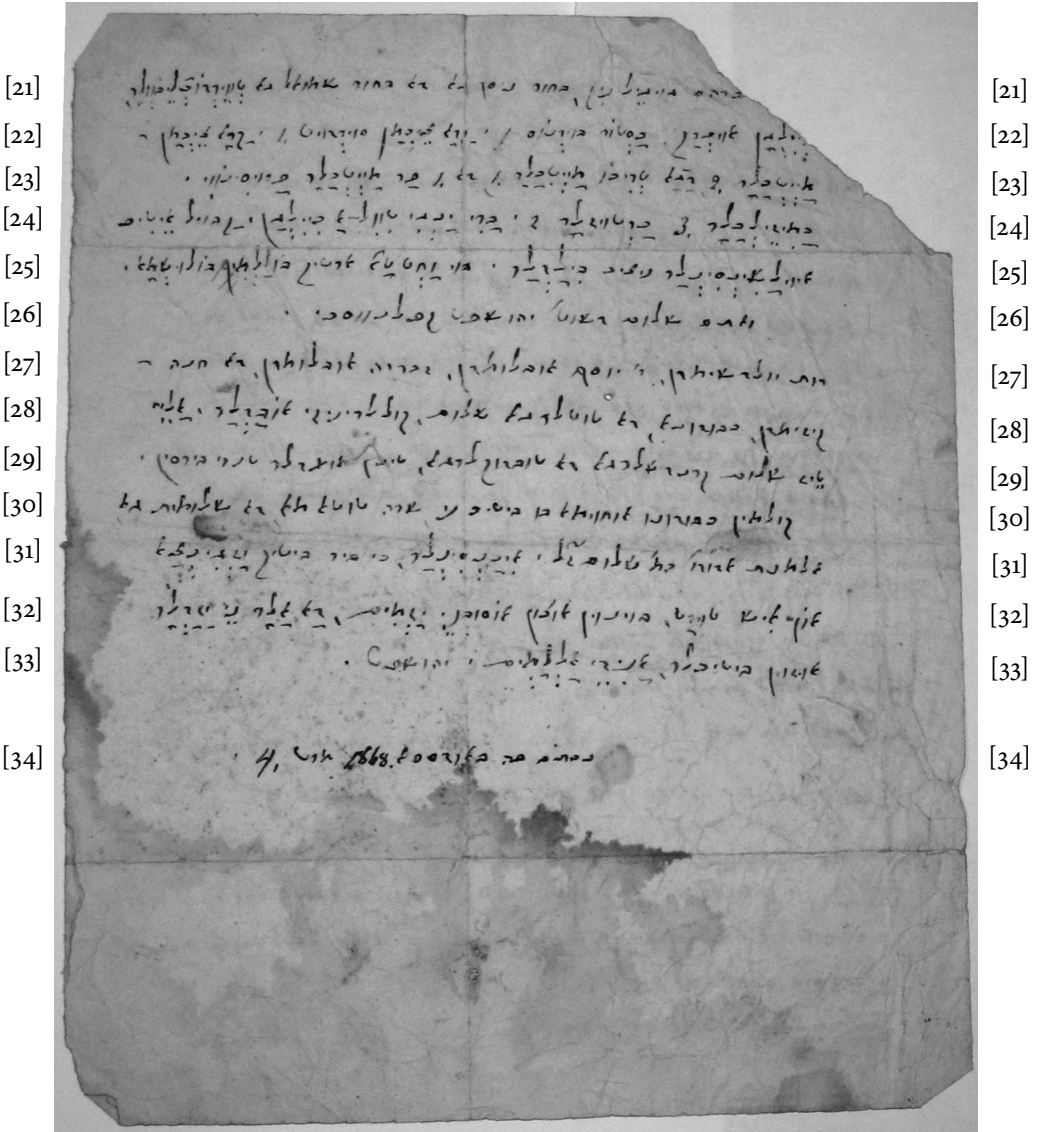Figure 2. Catalogue number: 55[II]. Page 1/2

Figure 3. Catalogue number: 55[II]. Page 2/2

Acknowledgement