

The animal names in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible (1841). Part II: Bird species

MURAT IŞIK*

Department of Altaic Studies, University of Szeged, H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2. Hungary

Faculty of Philology, Jagiellonian University, ul. Gołębia 24, 31-007 Kraków

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Abstract

This paper is a continuation of a previous study that presented the names of mammal, insect, and reptile species appearing in the *Book of Leviticus* of the so-called Gözleve Bible. The present study aims to survey the rest of the animal names in the corpus, representing bird species. The translation shows a mixed vocabulary and therefore the distribution of the Kipchak, Oghuzic, and non-Turkic elements will be compared with their equivalents in some of the other books of the Gözleve Bible, a recently published critical edition of another Crimean Karaim Bible, and some Ottoman Turkish Bible translations.

KEYWORDS

bird names, Karaim Bible translations, Ottoman Turkish Bible translations, Gözleve Bible, the Book of Leviticus, Crimean Karaim, Oghuzic characteristics, Kipchak characteristics

* Corresponding author. E-mail: murat_i@anadolu.edu.tr, murat.isik@uj.edu.pl

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This article is a continuation of Işık (2020), in which some animal names (denoting mammal, insect, and reptile species) that appear in the Book of Leviticus¹ (hereinafter referred to as Lev) of the Gözleve Bible (hereinafter referred to as Göz. 1841) were presented and compared to the Lev of the recently published critical edition of another Crimean Karaim Bible translation (hereinafter referred to as CrKB). In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there are altogether 58 different animal names referring to mammals (20), insects (4), reptiles (5), birds (23), and the main group names of animals (6). In my previous study, 29 of 58 animal names were investigated. In this paper, 23 words that denote the bird species will be presented and compared to the Lev of CrKB.

As I mentioned in my previous study (Işık 2020: 145–146), the so-called Göz. 1841 is a complete translation of the Tanakh (without the Chronicles) into Karaim, which was printed in four volumes in Gözleve (present-day Eupatoria) in 1841 (Jankowski 2018: 51). The language of this edition was modernised by its editors to adapt it to Turkish and therefore includes mixed characteristics (CrKB I: XX). Recently, the language of this edition was discussed by certain scholars (e.g. Shapira 2003, 2013, Németh 2015, 2016, Olach 2016, Işık 2018). However, it is difficult to reach an unambiguous conclusion based on specific parts of the Göz. 1841, since the language of the whole edition is not homogenous. Nonetheless, it is possible to say that the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Crimean Turkish Karaim features², and therefore shows mixed Kipchak and Oghuzic characteristics³. On the other hand, the principal manuscript for the CrKB translation comprises volume I and volume IV of BSMS 288, which is preserved in the Cambridge University Library in four volumes. Similar to the Göz. 1841, this manuscript contains the complete Tanakh without the Chronicles. Note that the Göz. 1841 (in the CrKB edition) was also used for some unavailable or unclear fragments of BSMS 288 since scholars opined that the general linguistic form of these translations is similar (CrKB I: XX). At the same time, the CrKB includes some other manuscripts, e.g. H 170 (Gaster) and B 282, as well as some short fragments, e.g. JSul.III.02, Baxč. 116, Evr I 143, Evr I 144, Or. Ms. 169⁴. For this article, the related examples of the Lev were taken from CrKB I: 165–217.

The present study will use similar sources to those used in the previous paper to describe the data and demonstrate the existing Oghuzic–Kipchak contrasts⁵, although here, two Ottoman Turkish Bible translations⁶ will also be used to present the significant similarities that occur between Chapter 11 of the Lev translations of the Ottoman Bible translations and the Göz. 1841.⁷

¹ In this paper, some relevant examples from the other Books of the Göz. 1841 are also presented. However, this comparison comprises only the translation of the Pentateuch (Torah) of the Göz. 1841, as was the case with the previous paper.

² For a description regarding the features of these dialects, see Jankowski 2015: 202–205 and for the debates on the existence of Crimean Karaim, see Jankowski 2015: 202–204, Németh 2016: 209–211, Shapira 2003: 661–662.

³ As for the distribution of these characteristics, see Işık 2018: 74.

⁴ The further details on the manuscripts/short fragments that were used for the Lev of the CrKB are present in the Appendix. For descriptions of the aforementioned other manuscripts and short fragments, see CrKB I: XVI–XX.

⁵ It is worth repeating that the examples of English and Russian Bible translations were collected from software called 'Bible Works 9'. In addition, a website (www.biblehub.com) was also very helpful in terms of viewing 29 different English Bible translations for the relevant parts of the Hebrew Bible.

⁶ The transcription of the forms in the Ottoman Turkish Bibles was performed by the author.

⁷ This comparison was not present in the previous study. For the new results from the previous data, see 3.2.



One of these Ottoman Turkish Bible translations was made by Ali Bey (also known as Ali Ufkî and Wojciech Bobowski) between 1662–1664 in Istanbul. The so-called secretarial/fair copy was printed in Leiden in 1665. Although this translation was not the first translation of the Bible into Turkish, it is considered the first translation that contains the entire Bible including the Old Testament (together with Apocrypha) and the New Testament (Pawlina 2006: 34). The draft and the secretarial copies are preserved in Leiden⁸, while another fair copy together with some corrections made by Şahin ibn Kandi is preserved in Amsterdam⁹. Ali Bey's translation (hereinafter referred to as Ali Bey 1665) has been revised many times through the years (see Privratsky 2014: 22–50). One of the first attempts was made by Baron H. F. von Diez, who was assigned to lead a project by the British Bible Society in 1814. After his death in 1817, Jean Daniel Kieffer joined the project. In 1819, the translation of the New Testament was published. Later, Kieffer included the first four books of Ali Bey's Pentateuch, which had been edited by Baron H. F. von Diez, together with a revised version of the 1819 New Testament translation in his 1827 Bible edition¹⁰ (hereinafter referred to as Kieffer 1827) in two volumes¹¹ (Privratsky 2014: 44).

2. BIRD SPECIES

In the Tanakh, the Lev specifically describes which animals are clean or unclean to eat and/or sacrifice¹². In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there are altogether 23 different bird names. However, with the exception of *kumru* 'turtle-dove', and *kögürçin/gögürçün* 'pigeon', all of the words occur only once throughout the book. Besides this, except for *kumru* and *tor* 'turtle-dove' and *kartal* and *karakuş* 'eagle', all the examples are the only words for the relevant bird species. On the other hand, the Lev of the CrKB does not show any synonyms for bird names, and therefore it presents only 21 different words. Another important point is that, except for *aya* 'hawk' (see 2.7.), which occurs in the Lev of the CrKB, the bird names that are identical/similar to the Biblical Hebrew forms¹³ in the Lev of these two Karaim Bible translations were not attested in the most common Karaim

⁸ Ali Bey's rough draft (Cod. Or. 390a-d), his proof sheet which was printed in 1662 (Cod. Or. 390e), the secretarial 'fair copy' (Cod. Or. 1101a-f), and the incomplete secretarial fair copy (Cod. Or. 1117a) are preserved in the Leiden University Library as a part of the Warner Collection (see Privratsky 2014: 19). A website (<https://www.osmanlicakelam.net>) also provides digital photocopies of the original manuscripts together with their transcriptions.

⁹ A fair copy (MS J 69c) and another fair copy (MS VI H 2) lacking the Pentateuch, Apocrypha, and New Testament are preserved in the library of Amsterdam University (see Privratsky 2014: 19).

¹⁰ The exact titles of the volumes are *Kitab ül-ahd el-atik* (the Old Testament) and *Kitab ül-ahd el-cedid elmensub ila Rabbina İsa el-Mesih* (the Book of the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ).

¹¹ This edition can be accessed at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum. In addition, the web site (<https://www.osmanlicakelam.net>) also presents this edition together with its transcription.

¹² Aside from *kögürçin/kögürçün/gögürçin/gögürçün* 'pigeon' and *kumru; tor* 'turtle-dove', all the bird species that were listed in Lev are unclean to eat.

¹³ The transcription of the Lev of the Göz. 1841 was performed by the author based on a system that was presented in CrKB I: XXIV–XXV.



dictionaries. Thus, such unlisted Biblical Hebrew forms will be treated as untranslated words¹⁴, as was the case in the previous study. Below, all the words discussed will be listed according to their occurrence in the Lev.

2.1. kögürčün/kögürčün/gügürčün/gögürčün

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the words כּוֹגֻרְצִין [kögürčün] (Lev 1:14, 12:8, 14:22, 15:29), כּוֹגֻרְצִין [kögürčün] (Lev 14:30), גּוֹגֻרְצִין [gügürčün] (Lev 12:6), and גּוֹגֻרְצִין/גּוֹגֻרְצִין [gögürčün] (Lev 5:7/11, 15:14) appear a total of nine times, and stand for the Biblical Hebrew יֹנָה [yônâ] ‘pigeon; dove (columba)’ (CEDHL: 256, LVTI: 374). According to Clauson (EDPT: 671), the word *kögürčün* means ‘pigeon; dove’ and probably goes back to the word *kök* ‘sky’ with the meaning ‘grey bird’, whereas Róna-Tas (WOT I: 546–547) remarks that the word *kögürčün* is probably a denominal form from *kögär-/kögür-* ‘to turn blue/grey’ (cf. ESTJa 3: 58–59) with the suffix *-čUk* (cf. OTWP I: 357) and *+gAn* (cf. OTWP I: 83), and thus it is **kögürčükgän > kögürčügän > kögürčügän > kögürčän > kögärčän*. However, the word *kögürčün* has been attested since the 7th century with different phonological changes in many Turkic sources, e.g. DLT III: 419 *kökürčün*, CC: 157 *kügürčün* ‘pigeon’, and Turkic languages. In the Lev of the Göz 1841, these slightly contrasting forms also show one of the main phonological differences between the Oghuzic and Kipchak languages, as the voicing of the initial plosive *k->g-* occurs in the Oghuzic languages and also in Crimean Tatar for some words, e.g. Tur.¹⁵ *güvercin*, Az. *göyärčin*, Trk. *gögerčin*, CrTat. *gögerğin* ‘pigeon’, whereas the unvoiced initial plosive *k-* is preserved in the Kipchak languages (TTL: 100), e.g. Kaz. *kögeršin*, Kir. *kögüčkön*, Tat. *kügärčän*, ‘pigeon’ (DTMK: 113, ESTJa 3: 57–59, EDPT: 713, L: 174, KEWTS: 165). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was translated as *kögürčün* throughout the Book. It is worth noting that only the examples that show the Kipchak phonological characteristic (*kögürčin*, *kögürčün*) were listed in the Karaim dictionaries (CKED: 216, KRPS: 336). In conclusion, both of the Karaim translations present the Turkic words for this bird species. Nevertheless, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 demonstrates both Kipchak-Oghuzic counterparts¹⁶ together, unlike the Lev of the CrKB.

¹⁴ Some of the animal names in the Hebrew Bible are still disputed, which therefore has caused certain problems in the Bible translations. First of all, some of the Biblical Hebrew words are not present in modern Hebrew and their definitions have remained uncertain, which might be related to the folk taxonomy of the ancient Hebrews (for further details, see Cansdale 1970, Ferguson 1974). Moreover, certain words are also *hapax legomena*, which causes difficulties in analysing the forms. Thus, some different preferences regarding the uncertain identification of animal names have also been followed in different Bible translations (see, e.g. some possible influence regarding names of certain animals between the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th century and the Turkic [Western Kipchak] Targum of the Torah was discussed in Griščenko 2017a, 2017b).

¹⁵ It should be noted that the word *gögürčin* had been preserved in Ottoman Turkish (RTD I: 577), while a similar form had also been used in both Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665, Lev 1:14 *گُورَجِين* [gögerjin], Kieffer 1827, Lev 1:14 *گُورَجِين* [gögerjin]. Nevertheless, these Ottoman Turkish forms do not survive in modern Turkish.

¹⁶ The Oghuzic characteristic mentioned predominates slightly over the Kipchak form of this bird name (56%–44%).



2.2. kumru

The Lev of the Göz. 1841 contains the word קומרו [kumru] ‘turtle-dove’ (KRPS: 374) eight times (Lev 1:14, 5:6/7, 12:6/8, 14:22, 15:14/29)¹⁷ to indicate the Biblical Hebrew תור [tôr] ‘turtle-dove’ (*streptopelia turtur*); other species of *columba*’ (CEDHL: 695, LVTL: 1023). The word *kumru*¹⁸ was also attested in Ottoman Turkish as *kumri*¹⁹, which is of Arabic origin (NS: 485). In the modern Turkic languages, this loanword is preserved in the Oghuz branch and Crimean Tatar, e.g. Tur. *kumru*, Az. *qumru*, Trk. *гумры* [gumrı] (TDTLM: 45, KEWTS: 238), CrTat. *кѳумру* [kumru] (KRUS: 301) ‘turtle-dove’, whereas the Kipchak languages have different words for this bird species, e.g. Kaz. *орман кептер* [orman kepter], Kir. *бактек* [baktek], Tat. *урман күгәрчәне* [urman kügärčene] (TDTLM: 45). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was not translated into Karaim and therefore it occurs in the Biblical Hebrew form *tor*. Consequently, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 illustrates a loanword that was mainly used in the Oghuzic area, whereas the Lev of the CrKB displays an untranslated Biblical Hebrew word.

2.3. kartal/ķara ķuš

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the words קרטל [kartal] ‘eagle’ (CKED: 295, KRPS: 364) and קרא קוש [ķara ķuš] ‘eagle’ (CKED: 291, KRPS: 363), which denote the Biblical Hebrew נֶשֶׁר [nešer]²⁰ ‘eagle; vulture’ (CEDHL: 430, LVTL: 640–641), occur next to each other on one occasion (11:13)²¹. Although the word *ķartal* does not exist in the modern Kipchak languages (DTMK: 121–122), it is possible to find the word *ķara ķuš* ‘eagle’ beginning from the early texts, e.g. IrqB: 8 *k(a)rakuš*, KB: 398 *ķarakuš*, DLT I: 331 *karakuš*, CC: 193 *qara-quš* ‘eagle’ to the modern Turkic languages in similar forms e.g. Tur. *karakuš* ‘imperial eagle’ (*aquila heliaca*), Az. *ğarağuş*, ‘eagle’, Trk. *ğarağuş* ‘imperial eagle’ (*aquila heliaca*), Kaz. *qara qus* ‘Egyptian vulture’ (*neophron perenopterus*), Tat. *qaraqoş* ‘eagle’, CrTat. *qara quš* ‘eagle; the bearded vulture’ (*gypaetus barbatus*)’ (DTMK: 122, ESTJa 6: 183, EDPT: 670). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was also translated as *karakuš*. According to Clauson (EDPT: 648–649), the word *ķartal* probably means ‘spotted, striped’²² and ‘eagle, vulture’ (cf. KEWTS: 207). Therefore, he claims that the word initially had denoted a ‘spotted, striped bird’, which later has been attested in Ottoman Turkish as *kartal* ‘Arabian vulture’ (*vultur monachus*) and in modern Oghuz languages in identical/similar forms, e.g. Tur., Az. *kartal*, Trk. *gartal* ‘eagle’ (ESTJa 5: 316–317, L: 169). Therefore, although both of the Karaim Bible translations present a Turkic word in common use for this bird species, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 also presents an Oghuzic counterpart. In fact, this Oghuzic form has also been attested in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 قَرْتَال [kartal], Kieffer 1827 قَرْتَال [kartal] ‘eagle’. Besides this, it should

¹⁷ It must be noted that of the eight occurrences, the word appears as קומ [kum] in Lev 5:11 due to a scribal error.

¹⁸ Some slightly different forms have been listed as *ķümri*; *ķümrii* ‘turtle-dove’ in Crimean Karaim as well (CKED: 188, KRPS: 605).

¹⁹ The same form has also been attested in Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665, Lev 1:14, قُمْرِي [kumri], Kieffer 1827 Lev 1:14, قُمْرِي [kumri]. According to Nişanyan, one of the earliest sources showing the word *kumri* in Ottoman Turkish was *Süheyl ü Nevbahar*, which was a translation by Mesud b. Ahmed in 1354 (see references).

²⁰ It is worth noting that the word *nešer* has also been listed in Crimean Karaim, meaning ‘eagle’ (CKED: 252, KRPS: 423).

²¹ The word *ķara ķuš* appears in parenthesis as a synonym next to the word *ķartal*.

²² This meaning was also attested in DLT I: 483 as *kartal koy* ‘the striped sheep’.



be pointed out that the word נֶשֶׁר [nešer] appeared altogether five times in the entire Torah (Pentateuch). However, apart from the Lev, the same Biblical form was exclusively denoted as *ķaraķuš* in the rest of the Göz. 1841, e.g. Exo 19:4, Deut 14:12, 28:49, 32:11, קְרָקוּשׁ [ķaraķuš] ‘eagle’.

2.4. ironi

The word אִירוֹנִי [ironi]²³ appears once in Lev 11:13 of the Göz. 1841 as another unclean bird of prey, standing for the Biblical Hebrew פֶּרֶס [peres], which has been described as ‘bearded vulture (*gypaetus barbatus*); lämmergeier (lit. lamb’s vulture)’, whereas its literal meaning might also be ‘ossifrage (bone-breaking)’ (CEDHL: 530, LVTL: 779).

In Turkic languages, there are different words that stand for *gypaetus barbatus*, e.g. Tur. *sakallı akbaba*; *kuzu kartalı*; *nuri kuşu*, Az. *guzuğapan*; *toylugötürän*, Trk. *гыргым* [bürgüt], Kaz. *козыкумай* [kozıkumay], Tat. *bäränqaraq*; *бэрэн беркеме* [bärän berkete], CrTat. *καρακγυυ* [ķaraķuš] (DTMK: 235, TDTLM: 72, Turan 1990: 72).

In the Lev of the CrKB, the word occurs as *peres*, which once again goes back to the Biblical Hebrew form. The exceptional example *ironi* in the Göz. 1841 does not occur in the Karaim dictionaries, either in the best-known early Turkic sources or Turkic languages. However, in the Ali Bey 1665, the same Biblical word has been translated as اَرُون [eron/erun], which appears as اَرُون [iron/irun] in the Kieffer 1827. The word ارون [irün] is of Persian origin and denotes ‘eagle’ (CPED: 40). Ergo, the word *ironi* can be traced back to the Kieffer 1827 translation. As will be demonstrated, some words that were copied from the Ottoman Bible translations into the Lev of the Göz. 1841 have an extra ACC marker as a copy error (see 3.3.). In this case, the ending vowel in the word *ironi* can be traced back to the Oghuzic ACC marker that was attached to the main word in the Kieffer 1827.

Finally, it should be noted that apart from Lev 11:13, the same Biblical word appears only in Deut 14:12 in the entire Hebrew Bible. However, in Deut 14:12 of the Göz. 1841, the word has remained untranslated as פֶּרֶס [peres], unlike the example from Lev 11:13 of the Göz. 1841.

2.5. deniz ķartalı

In the whole of the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there is one example (11:13) of the word דִּגְיֵי קְרָטְלִי [deniz ķartalı] (lit. ‘sea eagle²⁴’), which denotes the Biblical Hebrew עֲזְנִיָּה [‘oznîyâ], that probably stands for ‘black vulture’ (*aegypius monachus*) (CEDHL: 468, LVTL: 695). This compound noun was not listed in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it was attested in Ottoman Turkish (TS II: 1080)²⁵, and it is still preserved in Turkish as *deniz kartalı* (*haliaetus albicilla*) (ÖTS 2: 1160). Moreover, the Turkic word was also present in the Ottoman Turkish translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665

²³ Due to the Hebrew writing system, the vowels *i*, *î*, and *o* in the word might also be read with their front/back counterparts.

²⁴ There exist some English Bible translations that translate this unclear word as ‘sea-eagle’ (e.g. BST, DBT), similar to the Lev of the Göz. 1841, whereas ‘black vulture’ (e.g. ESV, NLT), ‘buzzard’ (e.g. NASB, NKJV), ‘osprey’ (e.g. KJB, JB2000), and ‘Egyptian vulture’ (e.g. CSB) can also be attested.

²⁵ According to the dictionary, one of the earliest occurrences of the word in the written sources was from *Ahter-i Kebir*, which was an Arabic-Ottoman Turkish dictionary written by Mustafa Ahteri in 1545 (see references).



דְּנִיז קָרְטָל [deniz kartalı], Kieffer 1827 דְּנִיז קָרְטָל [deniz kartalı] ‘sea-eagle’. As mentioned previously, the word *kartal* seems Oghuzic, while the word *deniz* (CKED: 135, KRPS: 184) ‘sea’ also shows the Oghuzic voicing of the initial *t*->*d*-, e.g. CrTat. *teñiz* ‘sea’ vs Ot. *deniz* ‘id.’ (KW: 141–142). Therefore, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents an Ottoman Turkish and/or Oghuzic word, whereas the Lev of the CrKB displays the identical Biblical Hebrew word as ‘*azniya* for this bird species. Note that the Biblical form also appeared once in Deut 14:12 of the Hebrew Bible. However, in Deut of the Göz. 1841, the word was not translated into Karaim, and thus remains as עֲזִינְיָ [‘*azniya*].

2.6. *aķ baba*

As another unclean bird of prey, אָךְ בָּבָא [aķ baba] appears once in Lev 11:14 of the Göz. 1841. This word stands for the Biblical Hebrew דָּא'א [dā'a], which is defined as ‘a species of eagle and/or vulture; kite; red kite (*milvus milvus*)’ (CEDHL: 112, LVTL: 198). The word *aķ baba* was attested in Ottoman Turkish²⁶ (RTD I: 803) and still exists in Turkish (ÖTS 1: 166), meaning ‘vulture’. This compound noun might seem Turkic; *aķ baba* lit. ‘white father’. However, it is not clear whether the word was a Turkic compound originally or was later created by an analogical reformation²⁷ from Arabic عَقَاب [uqāb] ‘eagle’, which was also present in Ottoman Turkish (OTAL: 1302). On the other hand, there are different words that stand for ‘vulture’ in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. *leşeyän qartal*, Kaz. *күшген* [küšigen], Kir. *тарпчыл* [tarpčıl], Tat. *уләксә ашаучы* [uläksä aşavčı] (TDTLM: 65), CrTat. *леш кьарталы* [leš kartalı] (KRUS: 321).

In the Karaim dictionaries, the word *aķ baba* was not listed, whereas the word *акь-баба кьушы* [aķ-baba kuši] ‘kite’ has been listed for Crimean Karaim in KRPS: 377. However, considering that the word דָּא'א [dā'a] is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible and was not described clearly in the Hebrew dictionaries²⁸, it might be difficult to remark on what *aķ baba* denotes exactly in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. On the other hand, the Biblical Hebrew word has been translated with the identical Turkic form in the Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 أَقْ بَابَا [aķ baba], Kieffer 1827 أَقْ بَابَا [aķ baba] ‘vulture’. If the following word, *čaylak*, could be considered an Ottoman Turkish word (see 2.7.) that also stands for ‘kite’, then the word *aķ baba* might also be accepted as a specific Ottoman Turkish word denoting ‘vulture’. Finally, note that the Biblical Hebrew *da'a* remains untranslated in the Lev of the CrKB.

2.7. *čaylak*

In Lev 11:14 of the Göz. 1841, the word צַיִלָק [čaylak] denotes the Biblical Hebrew פֶּלֶא [pēlā] ‘falcon; kite; hawk; black kite (*milvus migrans*)’ (CEDHL: 21; LVTL: 36). The word *čaylak* was not attested in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it is preserved in Turkish in an identical form, (*çaylak*; ÖTS 1: 908), and in Azerbaijani as *çalağan* (ADIL I: 439) ‘kite’. In the Ottoman Bible translations,

²⁶ It must be noted that the words *kerkes*, *kerkez*, and *kerkenes* with the same meaning were also attested in Ottoman Turkish sources (between the 15th and 19th centuries) (TS IV: 2442). On the other hand, one of the earliest appearances of the word *aķ baba* ‘vulture’ is present in TLO I: 326, which was published in 1680 (see references).

²⁷ These two possibilities were pointed out in the Turkish dictionary (ÖTS 1: 166).

²⁸ In addition, this unclear word was also translated as ‘kite’ (e.g. NIV, NHEB), ‘red kite’ (e.g. NASB, NKJV), ‘vulture’ (e.g. KJB, AKJV), and ‘falcon’ (e.g. NLT, ESV) in some English Bible translations.



the same Turkic word is used for the Biblical Hebrew אֵיָא [ʾayâ], e.g. Ali Bey 1665 چَيْلاَق [čaylaq], Kieffer 1827 چَيْلاَق [čaylaq] ‘kite’.

In the modern Kipchak languages, there are different words representing ‘kite’, e.g. Kaz. *кезүкүрүк* [*kezükürük*], Kir. *айры куйрук* [*ayrı kuyruk*], Tat. *тилгән* [*tilgen*] (TDTLM: 53), CrTat. *айя* [*ayya*] (KRUS: 42). According to Nişanyan (NS: 145–146), the word *çaylak* derives from the Old Turkic verb *çarla-/çawla-* ‘to shout’ together with the +*Uk* suffix, and was attested in middle Turkic Kipchak-Oghuz languages as *çarlak/çawlak* (see also KEWTS: 109). Although the word was not listed in Karaim dictionaries and the meaning of the Biblical Hebrew word is debated²⁹, it is possible to consider the word *čaylak* ‘kite’ as an Ottoman Turkish and/or Oghuzic form. In fact, the identical word is also preserved in both Ali Bey 1665 and Kieffer 1827 whereas it is not attested in the modern Kipchak languages. Thus, the meaning of the previous word *aķ baba* can also be considered ‘vulture’, instead of ‘kite’. On the other hand, the Lev of the CrKB once again presents the word untranslated, as *aya*. However, unlike the previous examples, this Biblical Hebrew word was listed in the Karaim dictionaries (for all three dialects of Karaim) as *aūa* [*aya*] (KRPS 50–51) meaning ‘kite; hawk’ (CKED: 58, KRPS: 50–51). Finally, it should be noted that the same Biblical Hebrew word appears once more in Deut 14:13. Nevertheless, it was also translated as אֵיָא [*aya*] in the Deut of the Göz. 1841.

2.8. *kuzğun*

The word קוזגון [*kuzğun*] (CKED: 325, KRPS: 373) occurs once in Lev 11:15 of the Göz. 1841 and stands for the Biblical Hebrew עֹרֵב [ʾôrêb] ‘raven; *corvus*’ (CEDHL: 467, LVTL: 733). The same form *kuzğun* is also preserved in both the CrKB and the Ottoman Bible translations (Ali Bey 1665; قوزغون, Kieffer 1827; قوزغون), as well as in the other Turkic languages starting from the early periods with the meaning of ‘raven; some black birds’, e.g. IrqB: 12 *kuzgun*, KB: 51 *kuzğun*, DLT I: 439 *kuzgun*, Tur. *kuzgun*, Az. *ğuzyun*, Kaz. *quzyin*, Kir. *quzyun*, Tat. *qozyin*, CrTat. *quzyun* (DTMK: 162, ESTJa 6: 106–107, EDPT: 682, KEWTS: 241). Hence, both Karaim Bible translations present the same common Turkic word for this bird species.

2.9. *deve kuşu*

Another unclean bird is present as דֵּבָה קוֹשׁוֹ [*deve kuşu*] (lit. ‘camel bird’³⁰) ‘ostrich’ (KRPS: 183) once in Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, and signifies the Biblical Hebrew יֶעֱנָה [*yaʿănâ*] ‘female ostrich; ostrich (*struthio camelus*)’ (CEDHL: 261, LVTL: 389). The same Turkic word with the meaning ‘ostrich’ was present with slight phonological differences in some Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *deve kuşu* (ÖTS 2: 1185), Az. *dəvəquşu* (ADIL I: 606), Kaz. *мүйеуқс* [*tüyekus*] (KTS: 561), CrTat. *деве кыуу* [*deve kuşu*] (KRUS: 153). Among the forms, the word *deve* ‘camel’ (KRPS: 183) also shows the Oghuzic voicing of the initial *t*->*d*-. It is worth stressing that the word has also been attested

²⁹ In some English Bible translations, the word was translated as ‘kite’ (e.g. KJB, BST), ‘black kite’ (e.g. NIV, NHEB), ‘falcon’ (e.g. CSB, NAS 1977), or ‘buzzard’ (e.g. NETB, GWT).

³⁰ The word might be a calque from the Persian مُرغ شتر [*šütür* ‘camel’ *murg* ‘bird’], which was also attested in Ottoman Turkish (RTD I: 554).



in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 دَوَه قُوْش [deve kuşı], Kieffer 1827 دَوَه قُوْش [deve kuşı] ‘ostrich’.

In the CrKB, the Biblical word was translated as *aṇkīt* ‘ostrich; gryphon; dragon’ (CKED: 42, KRPS: 68). The same word אֲנִקִּיט [aṇkīt] appears instead of *deve kuşı* in Deut 14:15 of the Göz. 1841 as well, where the Biblical Hebrew word occurs for the second/last time in the whole Torah. In CKED: 42, it was remarked that the word *aṇkīt* might be of Arabic origin. However, according to DTMK: 18, the word probably goes back to the Turkic *añit*, which denotes ‘ruddy goose’ (*anas casarca*), and later also stood for other large birds (EDPT: 176). According to Clauson, it has survived in Khakas as *a:t* ‘black diver’ (*anas nigra*) and in Ottoman Turkish as *añit* ‘ruddy goose’ (EDPT: 176). Nevertheless, apart from Karaim *aṇkīt*, which clearly denotes a different animal species, the word still exists in some modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Tur. *angit/angut* (*casarca ferruginea/tadorna ferruginea*) (DTMK: 18, ÖTS 1:253), Az. *anqut* ‘rudy shelduck’ (ADIL I: 119, TDTLM: 58), Trk. *anq*, ‘rudy shelduck’ (*casarca ferruginea/tadorna ferruginea*), Khak. *aat* ‘the common scoter’ (DTMK: 18).

2.10. baya kuşī

In Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, the word בַּי קוּשִׁי [baya kuşī³¹] ‘owl’ (*baykuş*, CKED: 74, KRPS: 98) stands for the Biblical Hebrew תַּחְמָס [taḥmās] ‘a species of an owl (*otus brucei*); goat-sucker (*caprimulgus*)’ (CEDHL: 698, LVTL: 1025). The word *baykuş* was also attested in many Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *baykuş*, Az. *bayğuş*, Trk. *bayğuş*, Kir. *bayquş*, Tat. *bayyış*, CrTat. *bayquş* ‘owl’ (DTMK: 233, ESTJa 2: 32–33, EDPT: 384). According to Nişanyan (NS: 83), the compound noun consists of the Old Turkic *bay* ‘rich’ and *kuş* ‘bird’, which might be related to certain kinds of superstitions (cf. KEWTS: 81–82). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word has been translated as *taḥmas*, which is the identical form of the Biblical Hebrew word. It is worth noting that in the Hebrew Bible, the word appears only in Lev 11:16 and Deut 14:15. However, in Deut 14:15 of the Göz. 1841, the word appears as תַּחְמָס [taḥmas], instead of *baya kuşī*. As for the Ottoman Bible translations, the Turkic word has been used to denote the same Biblical form as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 بَايْقُوْش [baykuş]; Kieffer 1827 بَايْقُوْش [baykuş] ‘owl’.

2.11. kuğu kuşī

The word קוּקוּ קוּשִׁי [kuğu kuşī³²] ‘seagull; mew’ (CKED: 319, KRPS: 374) is present once in Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, denoting the Hebrew שְׂחָף [šəḥaf] ‘seagull’ (CEDHL: 650, LVTL: 961). This compound noun might seem to be a specific Karaim word since it has not been listed in commonly-known Turkic sources and it does not exist in other modern Turkic languages in the meaning of ‘seagull; mew’, e.g. Tur. *martı*, Az. *qağayı*, Kaz. *шағала* [šağala], Kir. *ак чардак* [ak čardak], Tat. *акчарлак* [akčarлак] (TDTLM: 70), CrTat. *балыкчы кыуш* [balıķčı kuş]; *чағала*

³¹ The word *baya* seems to be an unusual form of the word *bay*, which might be a scribal error. Besides this, the ending vowel in the word *kuşī* shows another copy error (see 3.3.).

³² The word might seem similar to the Turkic *kuğu* ‘swan’ (EDPT: 609). However, the word *koğu* ‘swan’ also exists in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (see 2.16).



[čāgala] (KRUS: 687) ‘seagull’. However, quite interestingly the word *kuḳu kuṣī* also denotes the same Biblical Hebrew form in the Kieffer 1827,³³ e.g. فُوْفُو قُش [kuḳu kuṣī]. In Ottoman Turkish, some similar forms have been listed, such as *guḡuk*; *kuḡuk kuṣī*, meaning ‘cuckoo’ (RTD I: 200). In fact, the word is onomatopoeic and was attested in early sources with different meanings, e.g. IrqB: 14 *k(ā)kūk* ‘eagle’, DLT II: 287 *kekūk* ‘Bonelli’s eagle; a bird the bones of which are used in conjurations and sorcery’³⁴ while in modern Turkic languages it denotes ‘cuckoo’, e.g. Tur. *guguk kuṣu*, Az. *ḡuḡḡu*; *ḡuyu*, Kir. *kūkük*, Kaz. *kökek*, Tat. *käkkük*, CrTat. *kükükquš*. Considering that the Biblical Hebrew word has been translated as ‘cuckoo/cuckow’ in at least four different English Bible translations, e.g. KJB, AKJV, WBT, YLT, and the striking similarities between Chapter 11 of the Lev translations of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841, it is highly possible that the word has been copied from the Ottoman Bible translation to the Göz. 1841 and therefore stands for ‘cuckoo’ instead of ‘seagull; mew’. The main source for the Crimean Karaim *kuḳu* ‘seagull; mew’ definition belongs to Shapshal’s³⁵ lexical material, which has mainly been used in the KRPS dictionary. The word in the KRPS dictionary was probably collected from the Lev of the Göz. 1841 or another text (which has used the Lev of the Göz. 1841 as a source) and defined based on some (probably the most common³⁶) equivalents (e.g. seagull; mew) of the Biblical Hebrew word in other Bible translations (see 3.3.).

Finally, the Lev of the CrKB does not provide a Karaim translation and therefore the Biblical Hebrew *śaḥaf* has remained untranslated. Another important point is that the Biblical word is present only in Lev 11:16 and Deut 14:15 in the Tanakh. Although in Deut 14:15 of the Göz. 1841, the word was translated as שָׂרַף [śaraf], this was probably a scribal error and goes back to the Biblical Hebrew form שָׂחַף [śaḥaf].

2.12. duḡan

In Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, the word דִּוְגָן [duḡan] ‘hawk’ (*yaduḡan/yeduḡa*, CKED: 440/458, KRPS 216/269) appears once and stands for the Biblical Hebrew נָץ [nêṣ] ‘hawk; falcon’ (*falco peregrinus pelegrinoides*) (CEDHL: 423, LVTL: 628). According to Clauson (EDPT: 470–471), the word was attested as *toḡan* in the early sources, e.g. IrqB: 12 *tog(a)n kuṣ*, KB: 182 *toḡan* ‘falcon’, and probably survived only in Ottoman Turkish as a generic term for ‘falcon’ and forms part of the names of seven or eight other related birds. In the Ottoman Bible translations, the same Turkic word also renders the Biblical Hebrew נָץ [nêṣ], e.g. Ali Bey 1665 طُوْغَان [doḡan/toḡan]; Kieffer 1827 طُوْغَان [doḡan/toḡan] ‘hawk; falcon’. Nevertheless, in addition to the Turkish *doḡan* (ÖTS 2:

³³ In the Ali Bey 1665, the same Biblical form has been translated as أَنْغِد [anḡīd]. Considering the Biblical Hebrew שָׂחַף [śaḥaf] ‘seagull’, the word *anḡīd* is most probably a loanword, which differs from the Turkic word *anḡit/anḡut* ‘ruddy shelduck’.

³⁴ According to EDPT 710, the identity of the word is uncertain. However, Hauenschild claims that Kashgari’s translation *al-zummaḡ* stands for ‘cuckoo’, whereas it is often mistakenly considered to be ‘sparrow-hawk’ or ‘merlin’ (see DTMK: 101).

³⁵ Seraya Shapsal (1873–1961) was an orientalist scholar and the last *hakham* (the highest spiritual authority in the Karaim community) of the East European Karaims who played a important role in the Turkicization of Karaim ethnic identity and the language. He is one of the co-authors of the KRPS dictionary and made a large number of studies on Crimean Karaim (For further details, see e.g. Shapira 2005, Kizilov 2009: 235–277).

³⁶ In at least 19 English Bible translations, the Hebrew word has been translated as ‘sea-gull’, ‘gull’, or ‘sea-mew’, e.g. NKJV, CSB, ISV, NAS 1977, etc.



1257), it is still preserved in other modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Gag. *doan*, *dyjan*, Nog., Kaz. *tujyyun*, HKar. *tuyan*, Uyg. *toyan*, Yak. *tojon* (ESTJa 3: 247, L: 169, KEWTS: 130). Note that the word *duğan* in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows the Oghuzic feature of the voicing of the initial *t*->*d*- as well.

In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was translated as *kirgüy* (CKED: 304, KRPS: 381), meaning ‘hawk’. In the entire Torah, the Biblical Hebrew word was also attested in Gen 40:10 and Deut 14:15. In Gen 40:10 it denotes ‘blossom’, whereas in Deut 14:15 it indicates the bird species which appears as קִרְגֵּי [kīrgīy] in the Göz. 1841, similar to the Lev of the CrKB example. According to Clauson (EDPT: 654–655), the word *kirguy* ‘sparrow-hawk’ (*accipiter nisus*) was not attested in Ottoman Turkish, whereas it exists in the early sources, e.g. DLT II: 95 *kirguy*, CC: 207 *qyryyj* ‘sparrow-hawk’ and some other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. *giryi*, Trk. *giryi*, Kaz., Kir., Tat. *qiryiy*, CrTat. *giryiy* ‘sparrow; Eurasian sparrow-hawk’ (DTMK: 132, ESTJa 6: 234). Thus, it is possible to say that the Lev of the Göz. 1841 once again presents a specific word that was common in Ottoman Turkish, whereas the Lev of the CrKB employs a word that is used in many Turkic languages except for Ottoman Turkish.

2.13. ügi kũšu

The word אוּגִי קוּשׁוּ [ügi³⁷ kũšu] ‘eagle owl’ (*uğiy*, CKED: 424, KRPS: 573) occurs once in Lev 11:17 of the Göz. 1841, and stands for the Biblical Hebrew כּוֹס [kôš] ‘little owl; owlet’ (*athene noctua saharae*) (CEDHL: 273, LVTL: 428). The word *ügi* ‘owl’ was attested in many early texts, e.g. KB: 246, DLT I: 9 *ügi*, CC: 269 *ügü* ‘owl’, and Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *puhu*, Trk. *χüvi*, Kaz. *üki*, Kir. *ükü*, CrTat. *puyü* ‘owl; eagle owl’ (DTMK: 232, TMEN II: 612, L: 170, EDPT: 101). Nevertheless, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word has remained as *kos*. In the whole Torah, the Biblical Hebrew word appeared altogether 6 other times, e.g. Gen 40:11/13/21, Deut 14:16. In Gen, the word denotes ‘cup’, whereas in Deut 14:16 it also stands for the bird species. However, Deut 14:16 of the Göz. 1841 presents the word as כּוֹס [kos], unlike *ügi kũšu* in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. Finally, it must be pointed out that similar Turkic forms were preserved in Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 אוּכִי קוּשׁ [ügi kũši], Kieffer 1827 أوکب قوش [ügi kũši] ‘a kind of owl’.

2.14. kara bataķ

Another unclean bird appears as קָרָא בַּטָּךְ [kara bataķ] in Lev 11:17 of the Göz. 1841, and stands for the Biblical Hebrew שָׁלָךְ [šālāk], denoting a bird of uncertain meaning³⁸ that is rendered by most scholars as ‘cormorant’, or also as ‘fish owl’ (*ketupa ceylonensis*) (CEDHL: 662, LVTL: 978). The word *kara-bataķ* exists in the best-known Karaim dictionaries (for Crimean Karaim) as ‘tern’ (CKED 290, KRPS: 363), whereas it was also referred to as ‘cormorant’ (TDTLM: 39)³⁹. The exact word has been attested in Ottoman Turkish (RTD I: 180) in the written sources since the 16th

³⁷ Due to the Hebrew script form, it is also possible to read the word as *uğī*.

³⁸ In some English translations it has been translated as ‘cormorant’ (e.g. ESV, KJB, etc.), whereas ‘fisher owl’ (e.g. NKJV) and ‘gannet’ (e.g. DBT) can also be found.

³⁹ The source does not make distinction between Eastern and Western Karaim.



century⁴⁰, and is still preserved in Turkish as *karabatak* (ÖTS 3: 2413), and in Azerbaijani as *qara-batdaq* (ADIL Vol.3: 47) ‘cormorant’. In fact, the word *karabatak* is also present in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 قَرَه بَتَاق [qara bataq], Kieffer 1827 قَرَه بَتَاق [qara bataq] ‘cormorant’. Nonetheless, there exist different words for this bird species in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Trk. *жунтун* [žüptün], Kaz. *баклан* [baklan], Kir. *кара каз; каракаш* [kara kaz; karakaš], Tat. *дингез козгыны* [dingäč kozgini] (TDTLM: 39), CrTat. *далгъыч къуш* [dalğič quš] (KRUS: 150). The word *qara bataq* consists of two Turkic elements: *qara* ‘black’ and *bataq* ‘bog’. Although *batak* stands for ‘bog’ in Turkish, the form most probably goes back to *batığ/batu* ‘act of sinking’ (EDPT: 301, ESTJa 2: 80), which might refer to the cormorant diving for its prey. In fact, the Kipchak counterpart *batuq* has also been attested in KI: 16 as ‘cormorant’. However, the form *qara bataq* does not occur in the other modern Turkic languages and well-known early sources. Thus, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents an Oghuzic/Ottoman Turkish lexical form for this bird species, unlike the Lev of the CrKB, which shows the untranslated Biblical Hebrew form *šalaḥ*. It is important to note that the Biblical Hebrew word also appears once in Deut 14:17, which appears as שָׁלַח [šalaḥ] in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, identical to the Biblical Hebrew form.

2.15. toyi

The word טוֹי [toyī] ‘ibis’ (CKED: 410, KRPS: 535) occurs once in Lev 11:17 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew יָנֵשׁוּף [yanšūf] ‘long-eared owl’ (*asio otus*); bee-eater (*merops apia-ster*)’ (CEDHL: 260, LVTL: 386). The word *toyī* seems to be a unique word, which has not been attested in the other Turkic sources with the meaning of ‘ibis’. However, a phonetically similar form might be the Ottoman Turkish *toy* ‘bustard’ (RTD I: 103, TS V: 3833), which also survives in modern Turkish, e.g. *toy*; *toy kuşu* ‘great bustard’ (*otis tarda*) (ÖTS 5: 4882). According to Clauson (EDPT: 449), the earlier form of *toy* ‘bustard’ goes back to *tod* and probably only survived in Ottoman Turkish; it was also attested in KB: 534, DLT III: 142, *toy* ‘bustard’. Nevertheless, the word *toyī* in the corpus clearly denotes a different bird species, since in Crimean Karaim ‘bustard’ has been denoted by *duvadaq*⁴¹ (CKED: 143, KRPS: 180), which is a different variant of the word *toy* and similar ‘bustard’ translations do not appear for this Biblical Hebrew word in Bible translations. However, with the help of the Ottoman Bible translations, light can be shed on the mystery of this Karaim word. In both Ali Bey 1665 and Kieffer 1827, the same Biblical Hebrew word has been translated as *to/tu*⁴², meaning ‘a species of owl’.⁴³ At the same time, the Oghuzic ACC marker +(y)I has been attached to both of the words, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 توئي [to/tu+yī]; Kieffer 1827 طوي [to/tu+yī]. Thus, Karaim *toyī* ‘ibis’ seems another copy mistake which occurred in Lev 11 of the

⁴⁰ According to Nişanyan (NS: 413), the word has been attested in *Regola del Parlare Turco*, which was written by Filippo Argenti in 1533 (see references).

⁴¹ Similar forms exist in the other modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Az. *doydağ*, Trk. *toydari*, Kaz. *duwadaq*, Kir. *toodaq*, Tat. *düädäk* (DTMK: 224, TMEN II: 519–527, L: 174), CrTat. *дывадакы* [duvadaq] (KRUS: 168) ‘great bustard’.

⁴² Due to the Arabic script, the word can be read in two different ways.

⁴³ The forms can be traced back to the word ضوع [duwa‘/du‘] which was listed in an Ottoman dictionary from the 17th century in the meaning of ‘male owl’ (*bubo mas*); black bird (*avis nigra*)’ (TLO II: 3055). Similar meanings were also listed in both Arabic and Persian dictionaries as well, e.g. ضوع, ‘a species of owl; an owl’ (WAED: 372, CPED: 804).



Göz. 1841. Similar to the previous example (see 2.11), it might be possible to consider that the meaning of this problematic word has been giving according to an equivalent of the original Biblical Hebrew word in other Bible translations⁴⁴. On the other hand, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word appears in a form identical to the Biblical Hebrew word, *yanšuf*. Additionally, the word has also remained untranslated in Deut 14:17 of the Göz. 1841 as יָנֹשֹׁף [yanšuf], where the Biblical Hebrew word occurs for the second/last time in the entire Torah.

2.16. *koğu*

The word קוּגוּ [koğu] ‘swan’ (CKED: 310, KRPS: 318) is present once in Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew תִּנְשֶׁמֶת [tinšemet], which stands for two different animals. The first one is a kind of owl, probably ‘white owl’ (*tyto alba*), whereas the other one is ‘chameleon’ (CEDHL: 709, LVTL: 1035). However, the word *koğu* clearly denotes a different animal⁴⁵, which appears in many Turkic sources, e.g. IrqB: 16 *kugu kuş*, KB: 24 *kuğu*, DLT III: 225 *kugu*, and Turkic languages with some phonological changes, e.g. Tur. *kuğu*, Az. *ğu*, Trk. *ğuv*, Kaz. *aqqu*, Kir. *quu*, Tat. *aqqoş*, CrTat. *aqqu* (DTMK: 148, EDPT: 609, TDTLM: 55, KRUS: 45). The Kieffer 1827⁴⁶ also presents the word قُوْغُو [kuğu] for this translation, whereas the Biblical form has remained untranslated as *tinšemet* in the Lev of the CrKB. It must be noted that the Biblical Hebrew word is present altogether 3 times in the whole Tanakh. Although it has been translated as *göz töbä* in Lev 11:30, and clearly denotes ‘mole’ (see 3.2.), it has remained untranslated as תִּנְשֶׁמֶת [tinšemet] in Deut 14:16 of the Göz. 1841, just as with the Lev of the CrKB example.

2.17. *kaşıkcı kuş*

Another unclean bird appears as קִשִּׁיכְּצִי קוּשִׁי [kaşıkcı kuş] ‘pelican’ (*kaşıkcı*, CKED: 295, KRPS: 368) once in Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, denoting the Biblical Hebrew קֶאֱאֵל [qâ’al], which indicates ‘pelican’, although some scholars believe that it might also mean ‘little owl’ (*athene noctus liliith*) or ‘jackdaw’ (CEDHL: 559, LVTL: 819). The word *kaşık* ‘spoon’ (CKED: 295, KRPS: 368) most probably refers to the pelican’s characteristic beak. Slightly different forms were also attested in Ottoman Turkish as *kaşık burun* (lit. ‘spoon nose’) (TS IV: 2329) and in Crimean Tatar as *кашыйкы куш* [kaşık kuş] (KRUS: 306) ‘pelican’, while the identical form is preserved in Turkish as *kaşıkçı kuşu* ‘pelican’ (ÖTS 3: 2464). Similar to the previous examples, the Ottoman Bible translations and the Göz. 1841 show parallels in Chapter 11 of the Lev, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 قَاشِقْجِي قُوْش ; Kieffer 1827 قَاشِقْجِي قُوْش [kaşıkcı kuş] ‘pelican’. However, there are different words for ‘pelican’ in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. *qutan*; *balıqudan*, Trk. *gotan* [gotan], Kaz. *бірқазан* [birqazan], Kir. *биргазан* [birgazan], Tat. *баба кош* [baba koş] (TDTLM: 59). As for the Lev of the

⁴⁴ It should be pointed out that in at least 20 different English Bible translations the word was translated as ‘a species of owl’, (e.g. NIV, KJB, NASB, etc.) whereas it appears as ‘ibis’ only in a few of them (e.g. ISV, DRB, DBT).

⁴⁵ This Biblical Hebrew word has denoted different animal species in some English Bible translations as well, e.g. ‘swan’ (e.g. AKJV, BST, etc.), ‘white owl’ (e.g. BSB, NASB, etc.) ‘barn owl’ (e.g. NLT, ESV, etc.), ‘water-hen’ (e.g. ISV), ‘horned-owl’ (e.g. ASV, ERV, etc.), ‘red-bill’ (e.g. BST, etc.).

⁴⁶ In the Ali Bey 1665, the word سَقْسَاغان [saşsağan] ‘magpie’ (RTD I: 495) has been used.



CrKB, the word has remained untranslated and therefore appears as *ka'at*. In the whole Torah, the same word also appeared in Deut 14:17. However, in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, the word appears as קָהַת [kahat], similar to the Biblical Hebrew form.

2.18. raḥamī

Another unclean bird appears as רַחְמִי [raḥamī] in Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, and goes back to the Biblical Hebrew רַחֵם [rāḥām]; רַחֲמָה [rāḥāmā] ‘carriage vulture (*vultur percnopterus*)’ (CEDHL: 613, LVTL: 886). The word has remained untranslated in the Lev of the CrKB as well, e.g. *raḥama*. Furthermore, this uncertain word⁴⁷ appeared as رَحْم [rah(a)m] in the Kieffer 1827⁴⁸ as well, which might explain why it has also remained untranslated in the Göz. 1841, which is not usual for Chapter 11 of its Lev translation. In addition, it seems that the word *raḥamī* shows another copy mistake, which includes one of the Oghuzic ACC markers +(y)I (see 3.3.). It is also worth noting that the word appears as רַחֲמָה [raḥama] in Deut 14:17 of the Göz. 1841 as well, where the Biblical Hebrew word occurs for the second/last time in the whole Hebrew Bible.

2.19. leglāg

The word לֵגְלָג [leglāg] ‘stork’ (*leglek*, CKED: 229; *leklek*, KRPS: 400) in Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841 stands for the Biblical Hebrew חֲסִידָה [ḥāsīdā], which indicates ‘stork; heron’ (CEDHL: 225, LVTL: 319). The similar forms were attested in the Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 لَيْلَك [leyleg/leylek], Kieffer 1827 لَكْلَك [legleg/leklek]. The word *leglāg* is of Arabic origin (NS: 506), and is preserved in many modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Tur. *leylek*, Az. *leyläk*, Kaz. *ләйлек* [läylek], Kir. *илегилек* [ilegileg], Tat. *ләкләк* [läkläk] (TDTLM: 39), CrTat. *лөйлек* [leylek] (KRUS: 320). However, in the Lev of the CrKB, it appears as *hasida*, which is identical to the Biblical Hebrew word. In the rest of the Torah, the same word also appears once in Deut. 14:17. Similar to the previous examples, in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, the word has remained untranslated, e.g. חֲסִידָה [ḥasida], unlike the Lev of the Göz. 1841.

2.20. balikčîn

In Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841, the word בְּלִיקְצִין [balikčîn] appears once and indicates the Biblical Hebrew אֲנַפָּה [ʾānāfā] ‘heron; egret’ (CEDHL: 41, LVTL: 70). In Karaim, the word *balikčîn* has not been listed, whereas the word *turna* (CKED: 414, KRPS: 548) means ‘heron; crane’ in Crimean and Halitch Karaim. On the other hand, the Biblical Hebrew אֲנַפָּה [ʾānāfā] has been denoted using similar Turkic forms in the Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 بَلِيقْچِل [balikčîl], Kieffer 1827 بِالِقِچِين [balikčîn] ‘heron’. According to Clauson (EDPT: 337), the word *balikčîn* ‘heron’;

⁴⁷ The word was translated in some English Bible translations as ‘osprey’ (e.g. NIV, BSB, etc.), ‘Egyptian vulture’ (e.g. NLT), ‘carriage vulture’ (e.g. ESV, NKJV, etc.), ‘gier-eagle’ (e.g. KJB, JB2000, etc.), ‘vulture’ (e.g. ASV, ERV), ‘swan’ (e.g. BST), and ‘porphyron’ (e.g. DRB).

⁴⁸ In the Ali Bey 1665, the word has been translated as قُوْغُو [kuḡu] ‘swan’.



fish-eating bird', which also appeared in DLT I: 512, probably only survived in Ottoman Turkish (TS I: 390). However, apart from Turkish *balıkçıl* (ÖTS 1: 452) and Crimean Tatar *балыкчылы* [*balıkçıl*] (KRUS: 95) 'heron; egret', the word was attested with slight phonological differences in some modern Turkic languages referring to different bird species, e.g. Uzb. *balıqçı* 'seagull', Khak. *palıqçı* 'cormorant' (DTMK: 55); in contrast, there are different words for 'heron' in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. *balıqdan*; *vağ*, Trk. *хокгар*; *сүвгүшү* [*hokgar*; *suvğuşı*], Kaz. *кеккутан* [*kekcutan*], Kir. *кытан* [*kitan*], Tat. *челән* [*čelän*] (TDTLM: 69). On the other hand, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word *anafa* has remained untranslated as per the Biblical Hebrew form. In the Hebrew Bible, the same word also appeared for a second/last time in Deut 14:18. However, once again the word has remained untranslated in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, e.g. אָנאַפּה [*anafa*].

2.21. hüd hüdi

Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841, presents the word הוּד הוּדִי [*hüd hüdī*⁴⁹] to render the Biblical Hebrew דּוּכִיפָּת [*dūkīfat*] 'hoopoe' (CEDHL: 117, LVTL: 205). The word has not been listed in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it was attested in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 هُذْ هُذْ [*hüdhüd*], Kieffer 1827 هُذْ هُذْ [*hüdhüd*], as an Arabic loanword (NS: 348). In modern Turkic languages, this word exists in the Oghuz branch, Tur. *hüthüt*, Az. *hüdhüd* 'hoopoe', whereas Kipchak languages have different words that stand for 'hoopoe', e.g. Kaz. *ұдұғ*; *сасык кекек* [*üdü*; *sasik kekek*], Kir. *үпүп*; *сасык үпүп* [*üpüp*; *sasik üpüp*]⁵⁰, Tat. *ведъэд кошы* [*bedyed koši*] (TDTLM: 68). However, in the Lev of the CrKB, the Biblical Hebrew has remained untranslated, e.g. *duxifat*, which is also present in Deut 14:18 of the Göz. 1841 as דּוּחִיפָּת [*duxifat*], where the Biblical Hebrew word appears for the second/last time in the entire Hebrew Bible. Thus, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents another Arabic loanword that existed in the Oghuzic area, unlike the Deut of the Göz. 1841 and the Lev of the CrKB.

2.22. tor

In the whole of the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there exist nine instances that denote the Biblical Hebrew תּוֹר [*tôr*] 'turtle-dove (*streptopelia turtur*); other species of *columba*' (CEDHL: 695, LVTL: 1023). As was noted above (see 2.2), eight out of these nine times it was written as *kumru*, whereas one example in Lev 14:30 of the Göz. 1841 displays the Biblical Hebrew form תּוֹר [*tor*]. Conversely, it was always translated as *tor* in the Lev of the CrKB. The word also appears once in the Gen and the Num of the Torah. However, in the rest of the Göz. 1841, the word *tor* never appears, and the forms similar to that used in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 can be found, e.g. Gen 15:9 כּוּמְרִי [*χümri/kümri*], Num 6:10 קוּמְרוֹ [*kumru*]. Thus, Lev 14:30 contains an exceptional example in the Göz. 1841, showing more than one lexical item (that is not given in parenthesis) for the same bird species throughout the Lev.

⁴⁹ The word can also be read as *hudhudi*.

⁵⁰ The form *üpüp* goes back to the Old Turkic onomatopoeic word *üpgük*, which has been attested in many early written Turkic sources, e.g. IrqB: 14 *üpgük*, DLT I: 78 *übgük* 'hoopoe' and Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *ibibik*, Az. *hop-hop*, Trk. *xüpyüpyik*, CrTat. *öpöpö* 'hoopoe' (DTMK: 234, KEWTS: 181).



3. CONCLUSION

3.1. The distribution of the bird names in the corpus

In this study, the bird names appearing in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 have been presented together with their equivalents in the Lev of the CrKB, the Ali Bey 1665, and the Kieffer 1827. Although the languages of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB were assumed to be similar, their lexicons for the bird names in the Lev show quite many differences, since out of 21 different bird names, only five words (24%) occur in similar forms in these two Bible translations.

Table 1. The common bird names in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB

Lev	Biblical Hebrew Forms	Göz. 1841	CrKB
1:14, 14:30, 12:6, 5:7	יוֹנָה [yōnâ] 'pigeon; dove (<i>columba</i>)'	kögürčün/kögürčün/gügürčün/gögürčün 'pigeon'	kögürčgün 'pigeon'
11:13	נֶשֶׁר [nešer] 'eagle; vulture'	ķara ķuš 'eagle'	ķara ķuš 'eagle'
11:15	עֹרֵב [ʿôrêb] 'raven'	ķuzğun 'raven'	ķuzğun 'raven'
11:18	רָחָם [râḥâm] 'carrion vulture'	raḥamî (untranslated Biblical form)	raḥama (untranslated Biblical form)
14:30	תּוֹר [tôr] 'turtle-dove'	tor (untranslated Biblical form)	tor (untranslated Biblical form)

Among these examples, the words *tor* and *raḥamî/raḥama* go back to the Biblical Hebrew forms, whereas the other three words are of Turkic origin. It is remarkable that the bird names in the Lev of the CrKB consist of a high predominance of Biblical Hebrew words. As has been discussed, the main reason for this might be related to the uncertainty of some Biblical Hebrew words for animal names in the Hebrew Bible. The Lev of the CrKB presents altogether 21 different bird names, and 16 of these words (76%) are from the Biblical Hebrew forms, e.g. *tor* 'turtle-dove', *peres* 'bearded vulture', *ʿazniya* 'black vulture', *daʿa* 'eagle; vulture; kite; red kite', *aya* 'falcon; kite; hawk; black kite', *taḥmas* 'a kind of owl', *šaḥaf* 'seagull', *kos* 'a kind of owl', *šalaḥ* 'cormorant', *yanšuf* 'long-eared owl; bee-eater', *tinšemet* 'white owl; chameleon', *ķaʿat* 'pelican; little owl; jackdaw', *raḥama* 'carrion vulture', *ḥasida* 'stork', *anaḥa* 'heron; egret', *duḥifāt* 'hoopoe', and 5 of them (24%) are of Turkic origin, e.g. *kögürčün* 'pigeon', *ķara ķuš* 'eagle', *ķuzğun* 'raven', *ķirğiy* 'hawk', *aṇķit* 'ostrich'. Among these Turkic items, the Lev of the CrKB only shows two common Turkic forms (14%) that were also attested in similar forms in Ottoman Turkish, e.g. *kögürčgün* 'pigeon', *ķarakuş* 'eagle'. Thus, it should be noted that the CrKB edition does not present any specific Oghuzic and/or Ottoman Turkish forms for the bird names throughout the Lev.

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, only two items (9%) out of 23 different bird names come from the Biblical Hebrew forms, e.g. *raḥamî* 'carrion vulture', *tor* 'turtle-dove'. In the other cases, there are 15 Turkic words (65%), e.g. *kögürčün/kögürčün/gügürčün/gögürčün* 'pigeon', *ķartal*; *ķara ķuš* 'eagle', *deniz ķartalı* 'sea-eagle', *aķ baba* 'vulture', *čaylak* 'kite', *ķuzğun* 'raven', *deve ķuşu* 'ostrich', *baya ķuşı* 'owl', *duğan* 'hawk; falcon', *ügi ķuşu* 'a species of owl', *ķara bataķ* 'cormorant', *ķoğu* 'swan', *ķaşikçi ķuşı* 'pelican', *balıķçın* 'heron', three words (13%) are of Arabic origin that were common in Otto-



man Turkish, e.g. *kumru* ‘turtle-dove’, *leglāg* ‘stork’, *hüd hūdi* ‘hoopoe’, and one lexical item (4%) is of Persian origin, e.g. *ironi* ‘bearded vulture’ (*gypaetus barbatus*). Although the rest of the examples (9%) were listed in the Karaim dictionaries, e.g. *toyī* ‘ibis’, *kuku kuši* ‘seagull’, it seems they were copied from the Kieffer 1827 with some morphological mistakes. Nevertheless, it is possible to claim that 15 bird names were directly/indirectly influenced by the specific Ottoman Turkish lexicon (65%, see Table 2). Therefore, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB demonstrate a clear difference regarding the use of specific Ottoman Turkish words for the bird names (65% vs 0%).

Table 2. The specific Ottoman Turkish words in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

Lev	Biblical Hebrew Forms	Göz. 1841	Kieffer 1827	Ali Bey 1665
5:7/12:6	יונה [yōnā] ‘pigeon; dove’	<i>gügürčün/gögürčün</i> ‘pigeon’	<i>gögerjin</i> ‘pigeon’	<i>gögerjin</i> ‘pigeon’
5:7	תור [tôr] ‘turtle-dove’	<i>kumru</i> ‘turtle-dove’	<i>kumru</i> ‘turtle-dove’	<i>kumru</i> ‘turtle-dove’
11:13	נֶשֶׁר [nešer] ‘eagle; vulture’	<i>ḳartal</i> ‘eagle’	<i>ḳartal</i> ‘eagle’	<i>ḳartal</i> ‘eagle’
11:13	עֲזְנִיָּה [‘ozniyā] ‘black vulture’	<i>deyiz ḳartalī</i> prob. ‘sea-eagle’	<i>deyiz ḳartalī</i> ‘sea-eagle’	<i>deyiz ḳartalī</i> ‘sea-eagle’
11:13	פֶּרֶס [peres] ‘bearded vulture’	<i>ironi</i> prob. ‘a kind of eagle’	<i>iron/irun</i> ‘a kind of eagle’	<i>eron</i> ‘a kind of eagle’
11:14	דָּאָה [dā’ā] ‘eagle and/or vulture; kite; red kite’	<i>aḳ baba</i> prob. ‘vulture’	<i>aḳ baba</i> ‘vulture’	<i>aḳ baba</i> ‘vulture’
11:14	אֵיָּה [‘ayā] ‘falcon; kite; hawk; black kite’	<i>čaylak</i> prob. ‘kite’	<i>čaylak</i> ‘kite’	<i>čaylak</i> ‘kite’
11:16	יַעֲנָה [ya’ānā] ‘female ostrich; ostrich’	<i>deve kušu</i> ‘ostrich’	<i>deve kuši</i> ‘ostrich’	<i>deve kuši</i> ‘ostrich’
11:16	שָׂחַף [šahaf] ‘seagull’	<i>kuku kuši</i> ‘seagull?’	<i>kuku kuši</i> ‘cuckoo’	<i>aṅğit</i> (undefined word)
11:16	נֶזֶן [nêts] ‘hawk; falcon’	<i>duğan</i> ‘hawk; falcon’	<i>doğan</i> ‘hawk; falcon’	<i>doğan</i> ‘hawk; falcon’
11:17	שָׁלָאֵךְ [šālāk] ‘cormorant; fish owl’	<i>ḳara bataḳ</i> ‘tern?’	<i>ḳara bataḳ</i> ‘cormorant’	<i>ḳara bataḳ</i> ‘cormorant’
11:17	יָנִישׁוּף [yanšûf] ‘long-eared owl; bee-eater’	<i>toyī</i> ‘ibis?’	<i>to/tu</i> ‘a species of owl’	<i>to/tu</i> ‘a species of owl’
11: 18	תִּנְשֵׁמֶת [tinšemet] ‘white owl; chameleon’	<i>koğu</i> ‘swan’	<i>kuğu</i> ‘swan’	<i>saksağan</i> ‘magpie’
11:18	קָאֵת [qā’at] ‘pelican; little owl; jackdaw’	<i>ḳašikçi kuši</i> ‘pelican’	<i>ḳašıkji kuši</i> ‘pelican’	<i>ḳašıkji kuši</i> ‘pelican’
11:19	אַנָּפָה [‘ānāfā] ‘heron; egret’	<i>balikčün</i> prob. ‘heron’	<i>balikčün</i> ‘heron’	<i>balikčil</i> ‘heron’
11:19	דּוּכִיפָּת [dūkifāt] ‘hoopoe’	<i>hüd hūdi</i> prob. ‘hoopoe’	<i>hüdhüd</i> ‘hoopoe’	<i>hüdhüd</i> ‘hoopoe’



In conclusion, except for the untranslated Biblical Hebrew forms, (e.g. *tor* ‘turtle-dove’, *raḥamī* ‘carriion vulture’), the remaining words of the lexicon for the bird names (91%) in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 are predominantly similar to the words in Ottoman Turkish and/or the Oghuzic languages. Based on the comparison, it is quite clear that the main source for the bird names in Lev 11 of the Göz. 1841 was the Kieffer 1827, since all the words that stand for the bird species in Lev 11 of these translations are identical or extremely similar.⁵¹ Another finding also supports this claim, since 16 of the 23 bird names (70%) were attested in the other books (Pentateuch) of the Göz. 1841 in different forms, and are almost identical to the Lev of the CrKB examples. However, these parallel forms are mostly based on untranslated Biblical Hebrew forms.

Table 3. The comparison of the other Books of the Göz. 1841

Biblical Hebrew Forms	Lev of the CrKB	Other Books of the Göz. 1841	Lev of the Göz. 1841
נֶשֶׁר [nešer] ‘eagle; vulture’	11:13, <i>karakuş</i>	Exo 19:4, Deut 14:12, 28:49, 32:11, <i>karakuş</i>	11:13, <i>kartal/kara kuş</i>
פֶּרֶס [peres] ‘bearded vulture’	11:13, <i>peres</i>	Deut 14:12, <i>peres</i>	11:13, <i>ironi</i>
עֲזְנִיָּא [‘oznîyâ] ‘black vulture’	11:13, ‘ <i>azniya</i>	Deut 14:12, ‘ <i>azniya</i>	11:13, <i>deniz kartalı</i>
אֵיָּא [‘ayâ] ‘falcon; kite; hawk; black kite’	11:14, <i>aya</i>	Deut 14:13, <i>aya</i>	11:14, <i>çaylak</i>
יֵעֲנָה [ya‘ânâ] ‘female ostrich; ostrich’	11:16, <i>aḥkît</i>	Deut 14:15, <i>aḥkît</i>	11:16, <i>deve kuşı</i>
תַּחֲמָס [taḥmâs] ‘a species of an owl’	11:16, <i>taḥmas</i>	Deut 14:15, <i>taḥmas</i>	11:16, <i>baya kuşı</i>
שָׂחַף [šahaf] ‘seagull’	11:16, <i>šahaf</i>	Deut 14:15, <i>šaraf</i>	11:16, <i>kuku kuşı</i>
נֶץ [nêts] ‘hawk; falcon’	11:16, <i>kirgîy</i>	Deut 14:15, <i>kirgîy</i>	11:16, <i>duğan</i>
כּוֹס [kôs] ‘a kind of owl’	11:17, <i>kos</i>	Deut 14:16, <i>kos</i>	11:17, <i>ügi kuşu</i>
שָׁלָךְ [šâlâk] ‘cormorant’	11:17, <i>šalaḥ</i>	Deut 14:17, <i>šalaḥ</i>	11:17, <i>kara bataḥ</i>
יָנֹשׁוּף [yanšûf] ‘long-eared owl; bee-eater’	11:17, <i>yanšuf</i>	Deut 14:17, <i>yanšuf</i>	11:17, <i>toyî</i>
תִּנְשֵׁמֶת [tinšemet] ‘white owl’	11:18, <i>tinšemet</i>	Deut 14:16, <i>tinšemet</i>	11:18, <i>koğu</i>
קָאֵת [qâ’at] ‘pelican; little owl; jackdaw’	11:18, <i>ka’at</i>	Deut. 14:17, <i>kahat</i>	11:18, <i>kaşıkçı kuşu</i>
חֲסִידָה [ḥāsîdâ] ‘stork’	11:19, <i>ḥasida</i>	Deut 14:17, <i>ḥasida</i>	11: 19, <i>leglâg</i>
אַנְפָּא [‘ânâfâ] ‘heron; egret’	11:19, <i>anafâ</i>	Deut 14:18, <i>anafâ</i>	11:19, <i>balıkçîn</i>
דּוּכִיפָּת [dûkîfat] ‘hoopoe’	11:19, <i>duḫîfat</i>	Deut 14:18, <i>duḫîfat</i>	11:19, <i>hüd hüdi</i>

⁵¹ Moreover, a large number of Oghuzic features of Lev 11 of the Göz. 1841 translation (see Işık 2018: 69–75) might go back to the Kieffer 1827.



Finally, together with the previous paper, 52 different words that stand for different animal species in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 were presented. Among these words, 32 of them show Oghuzic and/or Ottoman Turkish characteristics (62%), and do not appear in the Lev of the CrKB translation. Moreover, 28 of these Oghuzic words only appear in Chapter 11 (87%). Thus, Chapter 11 of the Lev in the Göz. 1841 represents an exceptional case when compared to the other chapters, since all the animal names were copied from the same parts of the Kieffer 1827. Due to this, these results once again show that it might be misleading to make far-reaching conclusions regarding the whole edition of the Göz. 1841 based on only one book, since even chapters from the same book present contrasting characteristics. Further analysis of the other Books of the Göz. 1841 might demonstrate whether these characteristics occur systematically in certain chapters or not.

3.2. An addendum to the previous study

In my previous study, the Ottoman Turkish Bible data were not compared to the Lev of the Göz. 1841. The direct connection between the Lev 11 translations of the Göz. 1841 and the Kieffer 1827 edition can also be noticed in the previous paper. However, first, I would like to make some corrections regarding the previous data. In Lev 11:29 of the Göz. 1841, I have noted the word *göz tökä* and claimed that it must be a type of gecko since the Biblical Hebrew form has also been translated as some type of gecko species in other Bible translations and the word *tökä* might refer ‘tokay’ gecko. However, in both Ottoman Turkish Bible editions, the word has been translated as *köstebek/göstebek* ‘mole’⁵² e.g. Ali Bey 1665 *كُوسْتَبَك*; Kieffer 1827 *كُوسْتَبَك*, which is present in modern Oghuz languages as well, e.g. Tur. *köstebek*, Az. *köstäbäk* (KTLS 1: 509–510). Thus, the word should be read as *göz töbä*⁵³. Another possible reading mistake appears in Lev 11:22 of the Göz. 1841 in relation to the word *jurjuri/jürjüri* ‘cricket’. Considering that there exists a word in Turkish, *cırcır* [jırjır], which stands for ‘cricket’, it might seem logical to read the word as *jurjuri* or *jürjüri*. However, based on the Kieffer 1827 example, e.g. *جُودُ*, the word probably is *judjud* or *jüdjüd*,⁵⁴ and denotes ‘cicada’.⁵⁵

Finally, below the other animal names for species from Chapter 11 have also been presented and compared to the Ottoman Turkish Bible translations.

⁵² The word has also been denoted as ‘mole; mole rat’ in at least eight different English Bible translations, e.g. NLT, NASB, NKJV, DBT, etc.

⁵³ Another reason for this misreading was due to the difficulty of making a distinction between the Hebrew letters *ב* [bet] and *כ* [kaf] in some parts of the Göz. 1841. Interestingly, the words *göz* and *töbä* are also written separately, lacking the final *-k*, e.g. *גוז* *טובא*.

⁵⁴ It should be noted that the letters *ד* [dalet] and *ר* [resh] sometimes look identical in the Göz. 1841, which can cause such reading interpretation mistakes. However, it is clear that the word appears in the Hebrew script as *יוד יוד*.

⁵⁵ The Ottoman Turkish word was described as *orak kuşu* in Turkish (Efe 2017: 384), and therefore stands for ‘cicada’ (ÖTS 4: 3626). It is worth noting that the word *jırjır* was also described as ‘cicada’ in another Ottoman dictionary (Toven 1927: 254) and therefore it is probably a variant of the form *judjud*.



Table 4. The comparison of the previous data to the Ottoman Bible translations

Lev	Other Biblical Animal Names	Göz. 1841	Kieffer 1827	Ali Bey 1665
11:4	גָּמָל [gāmāl] ‘camel’	<i>deve</i> ‘camel’	<i>deve</i> ‘camel’	<i>deve</i> ‘camel’
11:5	שָׁפָן [šāfān] ‘rock badger; cony rabbit’	<i>ada tavušan</i> prob. ‘hare; European rabbit’	<i>ada tavšan</i> ‘hare; European rabbit’	<i>ada tavšan</i> ‘hare; European rabbit’
11:6	אַרְנֶבֶת [ʾarnebet] ‘hare; rabbit’	<i>tavušan</i> ‘rabbit; hare’	<i>tavšan</i> ‘rabbit; hare’	<i>tavšan</i> ‘rabbit; hare’
11:7	חֲזִיר [ḥāzīr] ‘pig; swine’	<i>ḫīnzīr</i> ‘pig; swine’	<i>ḫīnzīr</i> ‘pig; swine’	<i>ḫīnzīr</i> ‘pig; swine’
11:19	בַּטָּל [ʾāṭallēf] ‘bat’	<i>šepere</i> prob. ‘bat’	<i>šepere</i> ‘bat’	<i>yarasa</i> ‘bat’
11:22	סָלָם [sol‘ām] ‘a kind of locust’	<i>jūdjud/jūdjud</i> prob. ‘cicada’	<i>jūdjud/jūdjud</i> ‘cicada’	<i>sula</i> ‘am (untranslated Biblical form)
11:22	חָרְגוֹל [ḥārgōl] ‘a kind of locust’	<i>ḫargol</i> (untranslated Biblical form)	<i>ḥargol</i> (untranslated Biblical form)	<i>ḥar‘ol</i> (untranslated Biblical form)
11:22	חָגָב [ḥāgāb] ‘locust; grasshopper’	<i>ḫagav</i> (untranslated Biblical form)	<i>ḥagab</i> (untranslated Biblical form)	<i>ḥagab</i> (untranslated Biblical form)
11:29	חֹדֶד [ḥōled] ‘mole-rat, mole weasel’	<i>gelinčik</i> ‘mole?’	<i>gelinjik</i> ‘weasel’	<i>gelinjik</i> ‘weasel’
11:29	עֶכְבָּר [ʾakbār] ‘mouse’	<i>sīčan</i> ‘rat; mouse’	<i>sīčan</i> ‘rat; mouse’	<i>sīčan</i> ‘rat; mouse’
11:29	צָב [tsāb] ‘turtle; turtoise; a kind of lizard’	<i>kaplı bağa</i> ‘turtle; turtoise’	<i>kaplubuğa</i> ‘turtle; turtoise’	<i>kaplubuğa</i> ‘turtle; turtoise’
11:30	אַנְקָא [ʾānāqā] ‘gecko; a kind of lizard’	<i>sivri sīčan</i> prob. ‘shrew mouse’	<i>sivri sīčan</i> ‘shrew mouse’	<i>sivri sīčan</i> ‘shrew mouse’
11:30	כֹּהֶל [kōah] ‘a kind of lizard’	<i>güneş kelerisi</i> lit. ‘sun lizard’	<i>güneş keleri</i> lit. ‘sun lizard’	<i>güneş keleri</i> lit. ‘sun lizard’
11:30	לֵטָא [leṭā‘ā] ‘a kind of lizard’	<i>yıldız kelerisi</i> lit. ‘star lizard’	<i>yıldız keleri</i> lit. ‘star lizard’	<i>yıldız keleri</i> lit. ‘star lizard’
11:30	חֹמֶט [ḥōmet] ‘lizard’	<i>kerten kelesi</i> prob. ‘lizard’	<i>kertenkele</i> ‘lizard’	<i>kertenkele</i> ‘lizard’
11:30	תְּנִשְׁמֶת [tinšemet] ‘white owl; chameleon’	<i>göz töbä</i> prob. ‘mole’	<i>köstebek</i> ‘mole’	<i>köstebek</i> ‘mole’



3.3. Copy errors in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

In both the Göz. 1841 and the Kieffer 1827, the nouns that stand for the unclean animals between Lev 11:4 and Lev 11:29 require an ACC marker due to the Turkic case-marking system of the verbs that have been used in these verses.

Table 5. The commandments regarding unclean animals in Lev 11 of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841

Lev	English Standard Version 2007	Kieffer 1827	Göz. 1841
11:4	you shall not eat these	<i>bunlar+ı</i> these+ACC <i>ye-me-(y)esiz</i> to eat-NEG-2PL.JUSS	<i>bular+ı</i> these+ACC <i>ye-me-(y)esiz</i> to eat-NEG-2PL.JUSS
11:13	these you shall detest	<i>bunlar+ı</i> these+ACC <i>mekruh tut-asız</i> to regard as abominable-2PL.JUSS	<i>bular+ı</i> these+ACC <i>ıkraḥ id-iḥiz</i> to disgust-2PL.IMP
11:22	of them you may eat	<i>onlar+dan bunlar+ı</i> those+ABL these+ACC <i>ye-(y)esiz</i> to eat-2PL.JUSS	<i>bular+nı olar+dan</i> these+ACC those+ABL <i>aşa-ḡiz</i> to eat-2PL.IMP

In Crimean Karaim texts, it is natural to see the Oghuzic ACC marker $+(y)I$ (Çulha 2019: 87). However, it should be noted that throughout the Lev of the Göz. 1841, such Oghuzic ACC markers appear only in Chapter 11. Below, the animal names that contain Oghuzic ACC markers in the Book are shown.

Table 6. The Oghuzic accusative case markers in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

The Lev	Kieffer 1827	Göz. 1841
11:6	<i>tavšan+ı</i> rabbit; hare+ACC	<i>tavuşan+ı</i> rabbit; hare+ACC
11:7	<i>ḥinzir+ı</i> pig; swine+ACC	<i>ḥinzir+ı</i> pig; swine+ACC
11:14	<i>kuzgun+ı</i> raven+ACC	<i>kuzgun+ı</i> raven+ACC
11:16	<i>doğan+ı</i> hawk; falcon+ACC	<i>duğan+ı</i> hawk; falcon+ACC
11:19	<i>balıḳčın+ı</i> heron; egret+ACC	<i>balıḳčın+ı</i> heron; egret+ACC

Although the above instances cannot be regarded as copy errors, it is possible to claim that the Kieffer 1827 has influenced the Göz. 1841 regarding such usages as well. The other examples below clearly illustrate some interesting copy mistakes, since the lexical items in the Kieffer 1827 were copied into the Göz. 1841 together with their Oghuzic ACC markers, and later the Kipchak ACC markers were also attached to these forms.



Table 7. The double accusative case markers in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

Lev	Kieffer 1827	Göz. 1841
11:13	<i>iron+i</i> eagle+ACC (ogh.)	<i>iron+i+ni</i> eagle+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.)
11:16	<i>baykuš+i</i> owl+ACC (ogh.)	<i>baya kuš+i+ni</i> owl+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.)
11:17	<i>tu+yī</i> owl+ACC (ogh.)	<i>to+yī+ni</i> owl?+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.)
11:18	<i>rah(a)m+i</i> carrion vulture+ACC (ogh.)	<i>raham+i+ni</i> carrion vulture+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.)
11:19	<i>hūdūd+i</i> hoopoe+ACC (ogh.)	<i>hūdūd+i+ni</i> hoopoe+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (Kip.)
11:20	<i>jūdjud+i</i> cicada+ACC (ogh.)	<i>jūdjud+i+ni</i> cicada+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (Kip.)

In Lev 11:29, the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841 show different translation strategies. Based on the structures, animal names require an ACC marker in the Kieffer 1827, unlike the Göz. 1841.

Table 8. The different translation strategies in the Lev of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841

Lev	English Standard Version	Kieffer 1827	Göz. 1841
11:29	these are unclean to you	<i>bunlar+i</i> these+ACC <i>napak tut-asiz</i> to regard as unclean-2PL.JUSS	<i>bu+dur siz+e</i> this+COP you (2PL)+DAT <i>o haram</i> the ⁵⁶ illicit

In the aforementioned verse, a different copy error is also present in three words. In Turkic languages, the structure of compound nouns usually appears as ‘noun+noun+3SG.POSS’ or ‘noun+noun’. However, it seems that the words *güneş kelerisi* and *yıldız kelerisi* were copied from the Kieffer 1827 into the Göz. 1841 together with their 3SG.POSS suffixes and another 3SG.POSS marker was also attached to these forms. Besides this, a 3SG.POSS marker was also attached to the Turkish word *kertenkele* in an unusual way, as the form is already a compound noun.

Table 9. The unusual usage of 3SG.POSS suffixes in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

Lev	Kieffer 1827	Göz. 1841
11:29	<i>güneş keler+i+ni</i> sun lizard+3SG.POSS+ACC	<i>güneş keler+i+si</i> sun lizard+3SG.POSS+3SG.POSS
11:29	<i>yıldız keler+i+ni</i> star lizard+3SG.POSS+ACC	<i>yıldız keler+i+si</i> star lizard+3SG.POSS+3SG.POSS
11:29	<i>kertenkele+yi</i> lizard+ACC	<i>kerten kele+si</i> lizard+3SG.POSS

⁵⁶ It is vastly known that the Turkic languages do not have definite article. However, one of the most common features of the Karaim Bible translations is rendering the Hebrew definite article הַ [ha-] by some Turkic demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *ol*, *o*, *şol* etc.



Finally, the results of the present study show that five words that were listed in the Karaim dictionaries for Crimean Karaim might be incorrect according to their descriptions. Note that all these problematic words originally belong to Shapsal's lexical material⁵⁷, and therefore to the KRPS dictionary. In the dictionary, the Karaim words have been listed together with Russian and Polish descriptions. The following is a comparison of the Russian descriptions of these problematic words to the relevant parts of a Russian Bible translation from the 19th century (RSO 1876) in order to present a possible explanation for these disputed descriptions.

First of all, as was demonstrated, the word *toyï* (Lev 11:17, Göz. 1841) can be traced back to the word *'tu+yi'*, which appears in the Kieffer 1827 and stands for 'a kind of owl+ACC', whereas it was defined as 'ibis' (Rus. *у́бис*) in the Karaim dictionaries (CKED: 410, KRPS: 535). The same Russian equivalent is also present in RSO 1876, e.g. Lev 11:17, *у́бис* 'ibis'. The second word *kuḳu kuṣi* (Lev 11:16, Göz. 1841) denotes 'seagull; mew' (Rus. *чайка*) (CKED: 319, KRPS: 374) in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it stands for 'cuckoo' in the Kieffer 1827. Similar to the previous example, the meaning in the KRPS matches with the Russian Bible translation, e.g. Lev 11:16, RSO 1876; *чайку* 'seagulls'. The next word *ḱarabataḱ* has been listed as 'fisher (bird); tern' (Rus. *рыболова* lit. 'fisher (bird)', Pol. *rybitwa* 'tern') in the Karaim dictionaries (CKED 290, KRPS: 363,) whereas it represents 'cormorant' in Oghuzic languages and the Kieffer 1827. The Russian Bible translation presents the identical form in Lev 11:17 as well, e.g. RSO 1876, *рыболова* lit. 'fisher'. Another word has been listed as *aḱ-baba kuṣi* 'kite; hawk' in the KRPS: 377⁵⁸ (Rus. *коршун* 'kite', Pol. *jastrząb* 'hawk'), whereas it denotes 'vulture' in Turkish and the Kieffer 1827. Once again, the Russian description in the KRPS has been attested in the RSO 1876 as well, e.g. Lev 11:17 *коршун* 'kite'. Hereby, I consider that the words *toyï*, *kuḳu*, *ḱarabataḱ*, and *aḱ baba kuṣi* have most probably been collected from the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (or other texts that also have used the Göz. 1841 as their source) and the meanings of these erroneous/unclear forms might have been compared to their controversial equivalents in some other Bible translations. For instance, the Russian descriptions of the aforementioned words in the KRPS also appear in the Russian Bible translation from the 19th century mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether Shapsal himself had analyzed the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and compared these problematic forms with other Bible translations. This is especially true considering that there are at least eight bird names that appeared in the same part of the Göz. 1841, but were not listed in the KRPS, e.g. *gügürčün/gögürčün*, *ironi*, *deñiz kartalı*, *çaylak*, *deve kuṣu*, *ügi kuṣu*, *balıḱčün*, *hüd hüdi*.

The final debated word is *geliṇčik*, which was presented in the previous study (Işık 2020: 152). As was mentioned, the word *geliṇjik* appears in the Oghuz branch and Crimean Tatar with the meaning of 'weasel', e.g. Tur. *gelincik* (ÖTS 2: 1675), Az. *gälincik* (ADIL II: 230), CrTat. *келинчек* [kelinček] (KRUS: 223) whereas there exist some common forms that stand for 'weasel' among the Kipchak languages, e.g. Kaz. *küzen*, Kir. *küzön*, Tat. *közän*, CrTat. *küzen* (DTMK: 119, EDPT: 761, L:163). However, according to KRPS: 166 and CKED: 164, the word *geliṇčik* denotes 'mole'⁵⁹ in Crimean Karaim. Considering the strong link between the Lev translations of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841 for animal names, the interpretation of the word as 'mole' might be incorrect. In

⁵⁷ Shapsal's data are generally considered to be reliable when compared with some other materials. Nevertheless, some problematic cases have briefly been mentioned in the CKED: 9–10 as well.

⁵⁸ This word was not listed in the CKED.

⁵⁹ Interestingly, the Biblical Hebrew word חֹלֵד [ḥôled] (Lev 11:29) has been translated in some English Bible translations (at least eight) as 'mole; mole rat', e.g. ESV, NKJV, NAS 1977, etc., whereas in most of the English Bible translations (at least 16) the word was denoted by 'weasel', e.g. NIV, KJB, ASV, etc.



fact, the Russian word *кром* ‘mole’ in the KRPS dictionary is present in the RSO 1876 as well, e.g. Lev 11:29, *кром*. Besides this, the corrected reading of the word *göz töbü* (see 3.2.) clearly shows that there is another word that also stands for ‘mole’ only a verse later. However, it should be noted that the word *kelincek/kelincik* has also been listed as meaning ‘mole’ in Halitch Karaim⁶⁰ (ESTJa 3: 18, KRPS: 302⁶¹). Stachowski (KEWTS: 155) claims that the two animals have some common features which might cause such semantic developments. Ergo, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the word *gelinčik* in Crimean Karaim, whereas in the Göz. 1841 it clearly denotes ‘weasel’. Perhaps some analysis of the Karaim texts might shed light on the issue of this word. Furthermore, possible attestations of the aforementioned erroneous forms in Karaim texts might also be significant in explaining the link between such sources.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bible Translations: AKJV = American King James Version; ASV = American Standard Version; BSB = Berean Study Bible; BST = Brenton Septuagint Translation; CrKB = Critical edition of a Crimean Karaim Bible Edition (2019); CSB = Christian Standard Bible; DBT = Darby Bible Translation; DRB = Douay-Rheims Bible; ERV = English Revised Version; ESV = English Standard Version; Göz. 1841 = Gözleve Bible (1841); GWT = GOD'S WORD® Translation; ISV = International Standard Version; JB2000 = Jubilee Bible 2000; KJB = King James Bible; NAS 1977 = New American Standard 1977; NASB = New American; NETB = NET Bible; NHEB = New Heart English Bible; NIV = New International Version; NKJV = New King James Version; NLT = New Living Translation; RSO (1876) = Russian Synodal Orthodox Version 1876; WBT = Webster's Bible Translation; YLT = Young's Literal Translation

Biblical Books: Deut = Deuteronomy; Exo = Exodus; Gen = Genesis; Lev = Leviticus; Num = Number;

Languages: Az. = Azerbaijani; CrTat. = Crimean Tatar; Gag. = Gagauz; HKar. = Halitch Karaim; Kaz. = Kazakh; Khak. = Khakas; Kir. = Kirghiz; Nog. = Nogai; Ot. = Ottoman Turkish; Pol. = Polish; Rus. = Russian; Tat. = Tatar; Trk. = Turkmen; Tur. = Turkish; Uyg. = Uyghur; Uzb. = Uzbek; Yak. = Yakut (Sakha);

Other Abbreviations: 2PL = second person plural; 3SG = third person singular; ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; Cop = copula; GEN = genitive; IMP = imperative; JUSS = jussive; kip. = Kipchak; lit. = literally; NEG = negation; ogh. = Oghuzic; PART = participle
POSS = possessive marker; prob. = probably

⁶⁰ On the other hand, in Trakai Karaim, ‘mole’ was denoted by the Russian word *krot* (KRPS: 341).

⁶¹ This lexical item was originally listed in Markowicz 1933: 42.



Manuscripts and Fragments of the Lev of the CrKB

Baxč. 116 = This is preserved in the Russian National Library, and was copied in the 18th century. It contains fragments of the Pentateuch (Exodus 26–40, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), three books of the Five Scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations), and some parts of Psalms (1–19, 22–37, 55–57, 69–89). Only a few available leaves were employed in the Lev of the CrKB: Lev 3:10–4:7, 5:23–6:7, 8:36–10:4, 15:30–16:8. BSMS 288 = This is in the Cambridge University Library (among the holdings of the British and Foreign Bible Society) in four volumes; volume I - 203 text leaves (Pentateuch and Five Scrolls), volume II - 144 text leaves (Former Prophets), volume III - 155 text leaves (Latter Prophets), and volume IV - 118 text leaves (Writings). The manuscript contains the whole Tanakh without the Chronicles. In the CrKB, only the volumes I and IV have been included as the basic manuscript.

Evr I 143 = The available fragments consist of Lev 1:1–15 and Lev 16:4–5.

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