

## Zsuzsanna Olach

MTA-SZTE Turcological Research Group  
A South-Western Karaim morning prayer<sup>1</sup>

### Özet

Günümüzde Karaycanın üç ağzından sadece Batı ağızları küçük bir grup tarafından konuşulmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu Kıpçak Türk dili yok olma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyadır. Uzun bir aradan sonra, son on yıllarda Karayca metinler yeniden yayımlanmaya başlamıştır. Bu makalede, Karayca el yazması bir sabah duasının bir nüshasının incelenmesi ve daha önce yayımlanmış olan bir başka Kuzeybatı Karayca nüshasıyla da karşılaştırması yoluyla tehlikedeki Karay dilinin belgelenmesine katkı sağlanması amaçlanmaktadır.

### Anahtar kelimeler

Karayca, Karayca'nın ağızları, sabah duası, el yazmaları, dil dokümantasyonu

### Abstract

Of the three Karaim varieties, only the Western ones are still spoken today, though only by a handful of speakers. This Kipchak Turkic language is therefore in extreme danger. After a long break, Karaim texts have begun to be published again in recent decades. The present article contributes to the documentation of the endangered Karaim language with the edition of a so far unpublished version of a morning prayer. For this purpose, the study also compares this newly studied text with a previously published North-Western Karaim version.

### Keywords

Karaim varieties, morning prayer, manuscripts, language documentation

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (Vilnius) for giving me permission to work on and publish manuscript F103 14–15.

North-Western Karaim offers a rich repository of printed religious literature, while most of the hymns, prayers and translations of biblical texts written in South-Western Karaim remain unpublished manuscripts in public or private collections. In this study, a so far unpublished version of a morning prayer written in the South-Western Karaim variety will be presented.

The linguistic properties of the prayer will be demonstrated through a comparison of the South-Western and the North-Western Karaim versions of the same prayer. The North-Western Karaim version called “A lovely morning prayer” was published by Mykolas Firkovičius (1993).

The text of the unpublished South-Western Karaim version in transcription, an English translation and a photocopy of the manuscript are provided in the Appendices.

## The Karaim varieties

The Karaim language has three varieties, the North-Western, the South-Western and the Eastern Karaim.<sup>2</sup> According to the 2002 census, there were only a few elderly ladies in Halich who could speak the South-Western variety (Csató 2002: 135).<sup>3</sup> The other sub-variety of South-Western Karaim, the language of the Lutsk community has completely vanished (Jankowski 2011: 156).<sup>4</sup> The Eastern Karaim speakers shifted to Crimean Tatar in the nineteenth century and to Russian in the 1920s and 1930s (Jankowski 2003: 123–124; Jankowski 2004: 87). As for the North-Western Karaim variety, in 2006 approximately 50 members of the community could be regarded as fluent speakers (Csató 2006: 395). However, a revitalization process among North-Western Karaim has started lately (Csató 2010: 269). Thus, the language of the Karaim communities is in extreme danger.

## Publications of Karaim religious literature

The majority of the published Karaim prayers, hymns and translations of biblical texts are written in the North-Western Karaim variety.<sup>5</sup> In his monograph, Tadeusz Kowalski edited a large number of religious texts (1929). Ananiasz Zajączkowski published some parts of *Lamentations* translated into the North-Western Karaim variety (1932; 1934). A prayer book was published by Szymon Firkovič in 1935. In the 1990s, Mykolas Firkovičius compiled a prayer book consisting of two volumes and published translations of biblical texts into the North-Western Karaim variety, e.g. Psalms and Proverbs (1994; 1998–1999; 2000). The most recent publication was an edition of Psalm 91 by Éva Csátó (2011).

In the field of Eastern Karaim religious literature, it was Henryk Jankowski who published a critical edition of Bible translations into Eastern Karaim (1997).

The first publications of the religious literature of the South-Western Karaim community appeared at the very beginning of the twentieth century. Jan Grzegorzewski published some

---

<sup>2</sup> The Karaim varieties are also named after the centres of the communities, i.e. the terms Trakai Karaim, Halich Karaim, Lutsk Karaim and Crimean Karaim are still in use in the literature (see, for example, Csátó 2011: 1). The classification based on the geographical positions of the varieties was first described and used by Kowalski (1929: XL–XLI).

<sup>3</sup> The names of the speakers of the Halich sub-variety of South-Western Karaim are provided in Csátó (2002: 135). Since then, a few of the ladies have passed away, for example, Sabina Abrahamowicz.

<sup>4</sup> The South-Western Karaim variety consists of two sub-dialects: Halich Karaim, spoken mainly in the town of Halich (Galicia, Ukraine), and Lutsk Karaim, spoken mainly in the city of Lutsk (Volhynia, Ukraine) (Kowalski 1929: XL–XLI).

<sup>5</sup> The various published and unpublished translations of biblical texts into Karaim were described by Olach (2013: 7–10).

religious poems in Hebrew script without transcription or translation in 1903 and 1917. Karaim hymns were published by Aleksander Mardkowicz in 1930 under the title *Zemerler* ‘Hymns’. Fragmentary prayers for the Day of Atonement written in the South-Western Karaim variety were published by Henryk Jankowski in 2011. Translations of biblical texts into the Halich sub-dialect of South-Western Karaim variety were edited by Olach in 2013.

### The sources of the present study

Two versions of the same morning prayer are at our disposal, of which one, the North-Western Karaim version, has already been published by Mykolas Firkovičius. That version occurs in *Karaj koltchalary* ‘Karaim prayers’ under the title *Čiebiar tan koltchasy* ‘A lovely morning prayer’ (Firkovičius 1993: 25–28). In the Contents (*Baš adlary* ‘Headlines’), the prayer is indicated as *ĖKJ*, i.e. *Ėski Kol Jazyšlary* (Old Manuscripts), but no further information is provided on the original for the text (Firkovičius 1993: 4, 126).

The other version is still unpublished. The manuscript used in this study is kept in the Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences under catalogue number F103 14–15. The text is written in black ink on yellowish paper. The linguistic features of this prayer, as will be demonstrated below, unambiguously represent the South-Western Karaim variety. On the catalogue card, the 19<sup>th</sup> century is given as the date of the manuscript. However, no author is mentioned either in the text or on the catalogue card.

### Orthography in F103 14–15

The manuscript is written by hand with a semi-cursive Hebrew alphabet. The shape of the letters is identical to the corresponding graphemes of the Northern Karaitic type presented by Birnbaum (1954–1957: plate 394).

### Vowels

The text of F103 14–15 is fully vocalised. The vowel *a* is mostly represented by the Hebrew letter *pátaḥ*, e.g. in line (24) *qutqar* ‘save!’ (קוּטְקַר), (35) *atīna* ‘to your name’ (אַטְיִנָּא).<sup>6</sup> In addition, the letter *qāmeš* represents the vowel *a* as well. The letter *qāmeš* usually occurs in initial position or in the first syllable after the consonant *y* as well as in the ablative suffix *-dan*, e.g. (6) *aciq* ‘open’ (אַצִּיק), (6) *yabuq* ‘closed, secret’ (יַבּוּק) and (4) *cirimlardan* ‘from somnolences’ (צִירִימְלָרְדָן).

Both *pátaḥ* and *qāmeš* can be combined with the letter *ālep̄*, e.g. (24) *dzanīmni* ‘my soul (ACC)’ (צָאַנִימְנִי) and (1) *dzan* ‘soul’ (דְּצָאַן). However, in word-final position, due to Hebrew influence, it is mostly the combination *qāmeš* + *ālep̄* that is used, e.g. (3) *yolduzlarba* ‘with stars’ (יוּלְדוּזְלַרְבָּא), whereas *pátaḥ* + *ālep̄* only occurs in a few words, e.g. (28) *quwatīnba* ‘with your strength’ (קוּבַטְיִנְבָּא).

Inconsistencies can also be observed in F103 14–15; for example, the word *yabuq* ‘closed, secret’ is written in a different way in line 6 (יַבּוּק) and line 9 (יַאַבּוּק).

The vowel *e* can be written with either the letter *šerê* or the letter *sāgōl*, e.g. (33) *necik* ‘as’ (נְצִיק) and (14) *tenri* ‘God’ (טְנִרִי). Both Hebrew letters occur in combination with the letter *yōd*

<sup>6</sup> The numbers in brackets are the numbers of the line in which a particular word occurs; for example, (24) *qutqar* ‘save!’ means that *qutqar* can be found in line 24. The transliteration of the names of the Hebrew letters follows Lambdin (1971: XXII–XXVII).

as well, e.g. (12) *kereklerin* ‘the needs of’ (כִּי־קִרְיָן) and (18) *keterdi* ‘he took away’ (כִּי־יָרַדְדִי).<sup>7</sup>

The most often used is the letter combination *səḡōl* + *yōḏ* which occurs in all positions, e.g. (23) (*siltaw*) *etmegin!* ‘do not seek!’ (סִילְטָוּ אֵי־מְגִין), (5) *kereklerin* ‘the needs of (ACC)’ (כִּי־קִרְיָן), (17) *tigelice* ‘completely’ (טִיגֵלִי־צִי). The combination *šērē* + *yōḏ* is employed in all position, too. For example, (16) *ez* ‘own’ (אֵז), (18) *keterdi* ‘he removed’ (כִּי־יָרַדְדִי), (2) *iske* ‘to act’ (אֵי־שְׂכִי). Letters without *yōḏ*, i.e. *šērē* and *səḡōl* are less used. The letter *šērē* occurs only in four words: (14) *yisra’elni* ‘Israel (ACC)’ (יִשְׂרָאֵלְנִי), (29) *ceya* ‘ignominious’ (צֵי־אֵ), (33) *necik* ‘as’ (נֶצִיק), (34) *gehinomnun* ‘of hell’ (גֵּהֵינוֹמְנוֹן). The letter *səḡōl* is more often used than *šērē*. Certain words are preferred to be written with *səḡōl*, such as the word (14) *tenri* ‘God’ (טְנִרִי) and the personal pronouns, e.g. (27) *sen* ‘you (SG)’ (סֶן), (16) *meni* ‘me’ (מֶנִּי).

Both the vowels *i* and *ī* are generally written with the letter combination *hîreq* + *yōḏ*, e.g. (2) *tiziwcige* ‘to the Creator’ (טִיזִיו־צִיגֵי) and (8) *sinama* ‘do not test!’ (סִינָמָא). The letter *hîreq* (without *yōḏ*) occurs in the environment of consonant *y*, e.g. (8) *qiyaslama* ‘do not measure!’ (קִי־אֶסְלָמָא) and (16) *qayirdi* ‘he turned (me)’ (קִי־יָרַדְדִי).<sup>8</sup>

The vowel *o* is represented by *hólem* + *wāw*, e.g. (14) *ol* ‘he’ (אֹל), whereas the vowel *u* is written with *šûreq*, e.g. (4) *gufluq* ‘corporal’ (גֻּוֹרְלִיק).

Certain Hebrew vowel signs, such as *hātēp pātah*, *qibbûš* and *šawā*, represented in other South-Western Karaim manuscripts, for instance in the translation of biblical texts (Olach 2013: 17–18) and in an evening prayer (Olach 2014: 315), do not occur in F103 14–15.

## Consonants

The consonant *d* is marked by *dālet*, e.g. (3) *yolduzlarba* ‘with stars’ (יֹוֹדוּזְלָרְבָא), (15) *dinibe* ‘with his faith’ (דִּי־נִיבֵי). The consonant *z* is written with *zayin*, e.g. (9) *kezlerni* ‘eyes (ACC)’ (כִּזְלֵרְנִי), (12) *tizidi* ‘he arranged’ (טִיזִידִי). The letter *lāmed* is used for writing consonant *l*, e.g. (1) *abayli* ‘esteemed’ (אֶבְיִלִי), (10) *kipleydi* ‘he strengthens’ (כִּי־פֶלֶי־דִי). The consonant *r* is marked by *rēš*, e.g. (1) *tur* ‘arise!’ (טור), (14) *tenri* ‘God’ (טְנִרִי).

A few Hebrew letters (*kaḗ*, *pēh*, *mēm*, *nūn*, and *šādēh*) have allographs in final position, e.g. the form of the letter *nūn* in final position in (5) *islerin* ‘his acts (ACC)’ (אִסְלֵרִין), the allograph of the letter *šādēh* in (13) *kic* ‘strength’ (כִּי־צִי).

The letter *bēt* in F103 14–15 is used to represent the consonant *b*, e.g. (9) *yabuq* ‘closed’ (יָאֲבוֹק), and the consonant *w*, e.g. (11) *suwlar* ‘waters’ (סֻוֹלָר). Double *wāw* indicates the consonant *w* as well, e.g. (7) *maxtawlundur* ‘glorious’ (מַחְטָוֹלְדוּר) and (30) *iwimni* ‘my house (ACC)’ (אִיוִּי־מִנִּי).

The diacritical mark *rāpēh* is used above the letter *bēt*, e.g. (6) *buwunlarni* ‘joints (ACC)’ (בוֹוֹנְלָרְנִי), but does not occur with other letters. Thus the fricatives are mostly written with stops; for example, the consonant *f* is represented by the letter *pēh* in (27) *xayifšinyin* ‘do forgive’ (חַיִּי־פֶשִׁי־נִינִין) and the consonant *γ* is written with the letter *gîmel* in (1) *oyanyin* ‘awake!’ (אֹי־נִינִין).<sup>9</sup>

The Hebrew letter *šādēh* represents both the consonants *c* and *dz*, e.g. (2) *yaratuwcuya* ‘to the Creator’ (יָאֶרְטוֹרְבָּצוּיָא) and (14) *tadzlawcu* ‘the one who enthrones’ (טַצְלֹוֹצִי).

<sup>7</sup> The letter combination *səḡōl* + *yōḏ* is also used in the Halich Karaim biblical texts (see a description of writing letter *e* in Olach 2013: 31–37). See also the discussion about *səḡōl* + *yōḏ* in Németh 2010: 83.

<sup>8</sup> The writing form of *-yi-* in *qayirdi* (קִי־יָרַדְדִי) may be read as a single *yōḏ* followed by *hîreq* + *yōḏ* or as a double *yōḏ* followed by a *hîreq*. I have decided to consider the latter case in such positions.

<sup>9</sup> Compare the use of the *rāpēh*, e.g. in the Halich Karaim translation of biblical texts (Olach 2013: 40) and in the Lutsk Karaim private letters (Németh 2011: 104–105).

The letter *sâmek* is used to indicate the consonant *s*, e.g. (1) *siyli* ‘dear’ (סִיילִי). The letter *śîn/šîn* without the superscripted distinctive dot above also occurs in the manuscript, e.g. (2) *iske* ‘to work, to thing’ (אִישְׁכִּי) and (14) *yiśra’elni* ‘Israel (ACC)’ (יִשְׂרָאֵלְנִי).<sup>10</sup>

The consonant *t* is written mostly with the letter *ṭēṭ*, e.g. (5) *tamasa* ‘wonderful’ (טַמְסָא) and (10) *ketiredi* ‘he lifts up’ (כֵּיטִירֵדִי). The letter *tāw*, however, occurs as well in the following words: (22) *toraya* ‘to the Torah’ (תּוֹרָהֲיָא) and (36) *torannin* ‘of your Torah’ (תּוֹרָהֲנִינִי).<sup>11</sup>

The *k* sounds are indicated by *kaṗ* and *qōp*. The letter *kaṗ* usually occurs in front words, whereas the letter *qōp* is generally used in back words, e.g. (4) *kelgensen* ‘you have come’ (כֵּלְגֵנְסֵן) and (12) *qartnīn* ‘of the old’ (קֶרְטְנִין). However, the letter *qōp* is also employed in syllable- and stem-final positions in front words, e.g. (5) *kereklerin* ‘the needs of’ (כֵּרֶקְלֵרִין).<sup>12</sup>

Both the letter *hē* and the letter *ḥēṭ* are used in the manuscript, e.g. (19) *har* ‘every’ (הַר) and (1) *maxtaw* ‘glory’ (מַחְטָא). The letter *hē* also occurs in final position as a silent *h*, e.g. (22) *toraya* ‘to the Torah’ (תּוֹרָהֲיָא).<sup>13</sup>

The consonant *y* is represented by single and double *yōḏ*, e.g. (30) *yaman* ‘evil’ (יַמָּן) and (1) *oyanyin* ‘to wake up’ (אויַיַּנִּין).

The palatalisation of consonants is not marked in the manuscript.

#### Transcription of the South-Western Karaim text

In the transcription, the different allographs of the vowels *a* and *e* are not distinguished; that is, only *a* and *e* are used. On the other hand, even if the orthography does not indicate the quality of the *i* sounds, the front *i* and back *ī* are marked in the transcription. The following labials are used in the transcription: *o*, *u*.

The letter *bēṭ* with *rāpēh* and the double *wāw* are transcribed as *w*, as is the letter *bēṭ* when it represents the phonetic value *w*.

The letter *ṣāḏēh* is transcribed according to the consonant it represents either as *c* or *dz*.

The letter *sâmek* is transcribed as *s*. The transcription of the letter *śîn/šîn* is *ś*.

The letters *ṭēṭ* and *tāw* are not represented by different letters in the transcription; both of them are transcribed as *t*.

The letter *kaṗ* is always transcribed as *k*, whereas the letter *qōp* is only realised as *q* in the transcription when it occurs in back words, i.e. *qōp* in syllable- or stem-final positions in front words is transcribed as *k*.

The letter *hē* is realised as *h* in the transcription except when it occurs as a silent *h* at the end of a lexical item. In the latter case, the letter *hē* is not transcribed. The letter *ḥēṭ* is consequently transcribed as *x*.

Although, the orthography shows no distinction; the different phonetic values marked by the letter *gîmel* are distinguished in the transcription by *g* and *γ*.

Similarly, single and double *yōḏ* is rendered as *y* in the transcription.

Palatalisation in general is not indicated in the transcription.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Consider also the use of *śîn/šîn* in words of Turkic origin in the Halich Karaim translation of biblical texts (Olach 2013: 42) and in the Lutsk Karaim manuscripts (Németh 2011: 104–105). In Crimean Karaim manuscripts, however, they only occur in Hebrew words (Jankowski 1997: 5).

<sup>11</sup> The letter *tāw* occurs in other Karaim manuscripts, mostly in words of Hebrew origin (Jankowski 1997: 5; Németh 2011: 103; Olach 2013: 42–43).

<sup>12</sup> The same feature can be observed in the Halich Karaim translation of biblical texts (Olach 2013: 41–42) and in the Lutsk Karaim materials published by Németh (2011: 110; 2012: 148–149), too.

<sup>13</sup> Silent *h* represented by the letter *hē* occurs rather often in Karaim manuscripts (cf. Jankowski 1997: 5 and Olach 2013: 41).

<sup>14</sup> Palatalisation will only be noted in examples quoted from the KRPS and Firkovičius (1993).

## Characteristics of the language of F103 14–15

### Phonetic features

The manuscript clearly represents a text written in the South-Western Karaim variety. Thus, the typical phonetic features of South-Western Karaim can be observed, such as the changes  $*\ddot{o} > e$  and  $*\ddot{u} > i$  in words where the lack of the letter *wāw* suggests an illabial vowel (Pritsak 1959: 327; Musaev 1964: 55–57), e.g. (16) *ez* ‘own’ (עִצ) <  $*\ddot{o}z$  ‘own’; (18) *kezlerimden* ‘from my eyes’ (קֵזְלֵרִימְדֵן) <  $*k\ddot{o}z$  ‘eye’; (12) *tizidi* ‘he arranged’ (טִיזִידִי) <  $*t\ddot{u}z\ddot{u}$ - ‘to arrange’; (17) *tigelice* ‘entirely’ (טִיגֵלִיכֵי) <  $*t\ddot{u}geli\ddot{c}e$  ‘entirely’. The North-Western Karaim version shows the labial forms, e.g. (16) *ōz* ‘own’, (18) *kiožliarimdiañ* ‘from my eyes’, (12) *tiuziujdir* ‘he arranges’ and (17) *tiugialičia* ‘entirely’.<sup>15</sup>

As for the consonants, the  $*\check{s} > s$  change can be seen in words written with the letter *sāmek* (Pritsak 1959: 329; Musaev 1964: 69), e.g. (5) *tamasa* ‘wonderful’ (טַמַסאַ) <  $*tama\check{s}a$  ‘wonderful’; (9) *cesedi* ‘he ties’ (צֵסֵדִי) <  $*\check{c}e\check{s}$ - ‘to tie’; (25) *sayišin* ‘its thought (ACC)’ (סַגִישִין) <  $*sayi\check{s}$  ‘thought’. In the North-Western Karaim version, however, consonant  $\check{s}$  can be observed: (5) *tamaša* ‘wonderful’, (9) *čiešiadir* ‘he ties’ and (25) *sahyšyn* ‘its thought (ACC)’.

### Morphological features

The consonant *n* can be attested in the second person possessive suffix in the singular, as it is typical of South-Western Karaim (Pritsak 1959: 331; Musaev 1964: 132–133), e.g. (26) *qarsī:n:a* [against:POSS2SG:DAT] ‘against you’ (קַרְסִינַא) and (28) *kleg:in:be* [will:POSS2SG:INST] ‘with your will’ (כְּלֵגִינְבֵי). In North-Western Karaim, the second person possessive suffix contains no consonant *n* but consonant *y* (Pritsak 1959: 331; Musaev 1964: 132–133). This feature can be illustrated with the following examples taken from the North-Western Karaim version of the morning prayer: (26) *karšy:j:a* [against:POSS2SG:DAT] ‘against you’ and (28) *kliag:ij:bia* [will:POSS2SG:INST] ‘with your will’.

The dative form of the first person personal pronoun also shows the same opposition of consonant *n* : *y* (Pritsak 1959: 333; Musaev 1964: 215). Thus, consonant *n* can be found in F103 14–15, whereas consonant *y* is represented in the North-Western Karaim version; e.g. (26) *mana* ‘to me’ (מַנַא) in F103 14–15 vs. the North-Western Karaim form (26) *maja* ‘to me’.

Due to the phonetic change  $*ay > ey$  in North-Western Karaim, there are verbal forms which are different in the North-Western and the South-Western Karaim varieties (Musaev 1964: 279–280). For example, the third person plural form of the verb *sarna-* ‘to sing, praise’ (KRPS 466) in the present tense is (3) *sarna:y:dilar* ‘they praise’ (סַרְנִיִדִילַר) in F103 14–15, whereas *sarne:j:dylrar* ‘they praise’ can be found in the North-Western Karaim prayer.

The  $*ay > ey$  shift is also represented in North-Western Karaim in the optative marker. The optative marker is thus *-gay* in South-Western Karaim, whereas *-gey* occurs in North-Western Karaim (Pritsak 1959: 328, 337; Musaev 1964: 286–288). For instance, in (21) *bolgay qabulluq* ‘there may be acceptance’ (בּוֹלְגַי קַבּוּלְלוּק) appears in F103 14–15, but (21) *bolhej kabulluch* ‘there may be acceptance’ can be found in the North-Western Karaim version.<sup>16</sup>

The second person singular marker written with the vowel *e* (*-sen*) reflects the South-Western Karaim personal marker, e.g. (4) *kelgensen* ‘you have come’ (קֵלְגֵנְסֵן). The North-

<sup>15</sup> The transcription of the examples quoted from Firkovičius (1993) preserves the Lithuanian orthography used by him.

<sup>16</sup> In line (26), another example of the optative form can be observed in the North-Western Karaim version (*sun:hej* [grant:OPT3SG] ‘may he grant’), while the imperative is used in F103 14–15 (*sun:γun* [grant:IMP3SG] ‘he shall grant’).

Western Karaim form is *-sin/-sîn* (Pritsak 1959: 334), c.f. (4) *kieleġiañsin* ‘you have come’ (Firkovičius 2000: 25).

### Syntactic features

Karaim is a high copying language, thus many syntactic features of the surrounding non-Turkic languages have also been copied into the spoken varieties of Karaim. For instance, the word order properties have changed and relatively free word order can be observed, see Csató 2012 (41). The word order properties of translations of religious texts from Hebrew into Karaim, due to the almost word for word translation method, also differ from typical Turkic SOV order and follows mostly the word order properties of Hebrew.

Syntactic copies in Karaim religious literature have been discussed previously by Csató (2011) and Olach (2013). Although, it is not the aim of the present study to compare the Karaim texts with the Hebrew original of the prayer – therefore no Hebrew version is submitted in the Appendix -, some non-Turkic characteristics will be illustrated.

The typical Turkic SOV order is represented in some of the lines, e.g. (9) KSw *Yabuq kez:ler:ni ac:a:di / baylayan:lar:ni ces:e:di.* and KNw *Jabuch kioź:liar:ni ač:a:dyr / bajlanhan:lar:ny čieš:ia:dir.* [closed eye:PL:ACC open:PRES:3SG / bound:GAN:PL:ACC release:PRES:3SG] ‘He opens the closed eyes, he releases the bound ones.’. In other lines, however, the non-Turkic SVO order occurs, e.g. (28) KSw *Qutqar meni ez kleg:in:be / har bir kin:de quwat:in:ba.* and KNw *Kutchar mieni öž kliagijbia / har bir kiuñdia kuvatyjba.* [save I:ACC own will:POSS2SG:INST / every one day:LOC strength:POSS2SG:INST] ‘Save me with your will, everyday, with your strength.’.

Besides the genitive constructions with Turkic order (i.e. NGEN + NPOSS order), e.g. (5) KSw *guf:nun kerek:ler:i:n* [body:GEN need:PL:POSS3SG:ACC] ‘needs (ACC) of the body’ and KNw *tien:niñ kieriak:liar:i:n* [body:GEN need:PL:POSS3SG:ACC] ‘needs (ACC) of the body’, inverse order of the genitive construction (i.e. NPOSS + NGEN order) appears as well. For example, (12) KSw *is:ler:i:n yas:nin* [act:PL:POSS3SG:ACC young:GEN] ‘the acts (ACC) of the young’ and KNw *iš:liar:iñ yaš:nyn* [act:PL:POSS3SG:ACC young:GEN] ‘the acts (ACC) of the young’, (29) KSw *qawya:sin:dan awancı:nin* [quarrel:POSS3SG:ABL miscreant:GEN] ‘from the quarrel of the miscreant’ and KNw *kavha:syn:dan avančy:nyn* [quarrel:POSS3SG:ABL miscreant:GEN] ‘from the quarrel of the miscreant’.

### Final remarks

The two Karaim prayers seem to be largely identical; they are only characterised by dialectal phonetic and morphological differences. Sometimes, however, minor differences can be observed. It is a noteworthy tendency that words of Hebrew origin occurring in the South-Western Karaim text are replaced by words of non-Hebrew origin, e.g. (5) KSw *guf* ‘body’ (KRPS 162) < Heb. *gûf* (גוף) ‘PBH body’ (Klein 94) vs. KNw *tieñ* ‘body’ (KRPS 520) < Per. *tan* (تن) ‘body, stature, person’ (Steingass 326); (4) KSw *gufluq* ‘physical’ vs. KNw *tieñlik* ‘physical’ (KRPS 162); (16) KSw *γoy* ‘gentile’ < Heb. *gôy* (גוי) ‘1. nation, people. 2. PBH gentile’ (Klein 94) vs. KNw *jat* ‘gentile’ (KRPS 239).

A shortened form of the third person singular and plural marker can be observed as a tendency in the South-Western Karaim text (e.g. (3) *sarna:y:dilar* [sing:PRES:3PL] ‘they sing’, (9) *ac:a:di* [open:PRES:3SG] ‘he opens’, (9) *ces:e:di* [release:PRES:3SG] ‘he releases’, (10) *ketir:e:di* [straighten:PRES:3SG] ‘he straightens’, (10) *kiple:y:di* [give strength:PRES:3SG] ‘he gives strength’, etc.), while the full form is used in the North-Western Karaim prayer (e.g. (3)

*sarne:j:dyrlar* [sing:PRES:3PL] ‘they sing’, (9) *ač:a:dyr* [open:PRES:3SG] ‘he opens’, (9) *čieš:ia:dir* [release:PRES:3SG] ‘he releases’, (10) *kiotiur:ia:dir* [straighten:PRES:3SG] ‘he straightens’, (10) *kiplie:j:dir* [give strength:PRES:3SG] ‘he gives strength’, etc.).

In line (7), genitive construction containing both the genitive marker and possessive suffix occurs in the South-Western Karaim prayer (*us:u:n anin* [mind:POSS3SG:ACC it:GEN] ‘its mind’), whereas the possessive suffix is missing in the North-Western Karaim version (*us anyn* [mind it:GEN] ‘its mind’).

There is one occurrence of the second person singular suffix in the imperative (-*GIn*) in the South-Western Karaim text, whereas the verbal stem without the suffix is used in the North-Western Karaim prayer, e.g. (30) KSw *keter:gin!* [take:IMP2SG] ‘take away!’ vs. KNw *kietiar!* [take] ‘take away!’.

In line (35), there is a difference in the tense used in F103 14–15 and that used in the North-Western Karaim version. In F103 14–15, the present tense form occurs (*simarlan:a:di* [to submit oneself:PRES:3SG] ‘he submits himself’), while the past tense is employed in the North-Western Karaim version (*symarlan:dy* [to submit oneself:PST3SG] ‘he submitted himself’).

Sometimes, differences in the lexicon can be seen in certain expressions. For instance, in the South-Western Karaim manuscript, the word (14) *yisra’elni* ‘Israel (ACC)’ is used, while *siuviarliarni* ‘the beloved ones (ACC)’ is employed in the North-Western Karaim text. Further lexical differences include: (19) KSw *har tan bila* ‘every morning’ vs. KNw *tan bylada* ‘in the morning’, (25) KSw *yaman isin yecerimnin* ‘the evil act of my character’ vs. KNw *jaman išin chor kliagimniñ* ‘the evil act of my bad desire’, (27) KSw *qulunnu sen xayıfsınyñ* ‘forgive your servant (ACC)’ vs. KNw *ulusujnu chajyfsunhun* ‘forgive your people (ACC)’, (36) KSw *bilmegin qodeš atinnin* ‘the knowledge of your holy name’ vs. KNw *anlavun adyjnyñ* ‘the meaning of your name’, (37) KSw *eksitmegin (...) dzanimızdan* ‘do not remove (...) from our soul’ vs. KNw *eksit’miagiñ (...) uruvlarymyzdan* ‘do not remove (...) from our families’.

The South-Western Karaim text contains an insertion which is not part of the North-Western Karaim prayer: (26) *Vale yaxsı fikirimni cıyar yariqqa isimni!* ‘But bring my good thought and my act to the light!’.

As the analysis above illustrates, only minor differences can be found between the two Karaim versions. However, the use of the Karaim lexicon in the two texts is mostly identical, and the word order properties are completely alike. A study of the Hebrew original of the morning prayer under discussion may shed light on some of the differences observed in the different versions written in different Karaim varieties.



## Abbreviations

Heb.	Hebrew
KNw	North-Western Karaim variety
KSw	South-Western Karaim variety
PBH	Post Biblical Hebrew
Per.	Persian

ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
GAN	-GAn participle
GEN	genitive
IMP2SG	imperative second person singular
IMP3SG	imperative third person singular
INST	instrumental
LOC	locative
N	noun
OPT3SG	optative third person singular
POSS	possessive
POSS2SG	possessive suffix second person singular
POSS3SG	possessive suffix third person singular
PRES	present tense
PST	past tense
PL	plural
SG	singular
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb order
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object order
3SG	third person singular
3PL	third person plural

- KRPS Baskakov, Nikolaj A. & Zajączkowski, Ananiasz & Szapszal, Seraja M. (1974) *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*, Moskva.  
KSB Mardkowicz, Aleksander (1935) *Karaj sez-bitigi*. Łuck.

## Bibliography

- Baskakov, Nikolaj A. & Zajączkowski, Ananiasz & Szapszal, Seraja M. (1974) *Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'*, Moskva.  
Birnbaum, Salomon A. 1954–1957. *The Hebrew script 2: The plates*. Leiden.  
Csató, Éva (2002) The Karaim language in Halych. In: Novochat'ko, Leonid & Fedoruk, Oleksandr & Beregovskij, O. (eds.) *Halych Karaims: History and culture*. (Materials of International Conference, Halych, 6–9 September 2002). Lviv-Halych. 135–139.  
Csató, Éva (2006) The smallest group of Turkic-speaking people. In: Çagatay, Ergun (ed.) *The Turkic speaking world. 2000 years of art and culture from Inner Asia to the Balkans*. Munich. 384–403.

- Csató, Éva (2010) Report on an Uppsala workshop on Karaim studies. *Turkic Languages* 14, 261–282.
- Csató, Éva (2011) A typological coincidence: Word order properties in North-Western Karaim biblical translations. In: Rona, Bengisu & Erguvanlı-Taylan, Eser (eds.) *Puzzles of language. Essays in honour of Karl Zimmer*. Turcologica. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 1–18.
- Csató, Éva (2012) Lithuanian Karaim. *Tehlikedeki Diller Dergisi* 1, 33–45.
- Firkovičius, Mykolas (1993) *Karaj koltchalary*. Vilnius.
- Firkovičius, Mykolas (1994) *David' bijniñ machtav čozmachlary. Psalmės*. Vilnius.
- Firkovičius, Mykolas (1998–1999) *Karaj diñliliarniñ jalbarmach jergialiari 1–2*. Vilnius.
- Firkovičius, Mykolas (2000) *Şelomonun maşallary*. (Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları: 771) Ankara.
- Firkowicz, Szymon (1935) *Koltchatar. Krótkie modlitwy karaimskie*. Vilnius.
- Grzegorzewski, Jan (1903) Ein türk-tatarischer Dialekt in Galizien: Vokalharmonie in den entlehnten Wörtern der karaitischen Sprache in Halicz, *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 146, 1–80.
- Grzegorzewski, Jan (1917) Caraimica: Język Łach-Karaitów: Narzecze południowe (łucko-haliczkie). *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 1–2, 252–296.
- Jankowski, Henryk (1997) A Bible translation into the Northern Crimean dialect of Karaim. *Studia Orientalia* 28, 1–84.
- Jankowski, Henryk (2003) On the language varieties of Karaims in the Crimea. *Studia Orientalia* 95, 109–130.
- Jankowski, Henryk (2004) Karaims of the Crimea and Eastern Europe: some questions of ethnicity and identification. *Studia Orientalia* 99, 83–92.
- Jankowski, Henryk (2011) Two prayers for the Day of Atonement in translation into the Luck-Halicz dialect of Karaim. In: Shapira, Dan D. Y. & Lasker, Daniel J. (eds.) *Eastern European Karaites in the last generations*. Jerusalem. 156–170.
- Klein, Ernest (1987) *A comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Hebrew language for readers of English*. New York.
- Kowalski, Tadeusz (1929) *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*. Kraków.
- Lambdin, Thomas O. (1971) *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. New York.
- Mardkowicz, Aleksander (1930) *Zemerler. Karaj sezinde*. Łuck.
- Musaev, Kenesbaj M. (1964). *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka. Fonetika i morfologija*. Moskva.
- Németh, Michał (2010) North-Western and Eastern Karaim features in a manuscript found in Łuck. In: Mańczak-Wohlfeld, E. & Podolak, B. (eds.) *Studies on the Turkic world*. Kraków. 75–94.
- Németh, Michał (2011) *Unknown Lutsk Karaim letters in Hebrew script (19th–20th centuries). A critical edition*. (Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia 12). Kraków.
- Németh, Michał (2012) A North-Western Karaim manuscript found in Lutsk – a case of dialect mingling? *Studia Linguistica Universitatis Jagellonicae Cracoviensis* 129, 139–162.
- Olach, Zsuzsanna (2013) *A Halich Karaim translation of Hebrew biblical texts*. Turcologica 98. Wiesbaden.
- Olach, Zsuzsanna (2014) A comparative study of two evening prayers written in Karaim. In: Demir, Nurettin & Karakoç, Birsal & Menz, Astrid (eds.) *Turcology and linguistics. Éva Ágnes Csató festschrift*. Ankara. 313–326.
- Pritsak, Omeljan (1959) Das Karaimische. In: Denny, Jean & Grønbech, Kaare & Scheel, Helmuth & Togan, Zeki Velidi (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta 1*. Wiesbaden.
- Steingass, Francis Joseph (1892) *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary, including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*. London

- Zajączkowski, Ananiasz (1932) Przekłady Trenów Jeremjasza w narzeczu trocko-karaimskim. *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 8, 181–192.
- Zajączkowski, Ananiasz (1934) Przekłady Trenów Jeremjasza w narzeczu trocko-karaimskim (tekst i słowniczek). *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 10, 158–177.

## Appendix 1.

### Transliteration of vowels

Hebrew letter	Transliteration
<i>pátaḥ</i> ◌	<i>a</i>
<i>qámeṣ</i> ◌	<i>a</i>
<i>səḡōl</i> ◌	<i>e</i>
<i>šērē</i> ◌	<i>e</i>
<i>hīreq</i> ◌	<i>i</i>
Combinations with 'álep̄ א	
<i>pátaḥ</i> followed by an 'álep̄ א ◌	<i>a</i>
combination of <i>qámeṣ</i> with 'álep̄ א ◌	<i>a</i>
Combinations with <i>yōḏ</i> י	
<i>səḡōl</i> combined with a <i>yōḏ</i> י ◌	<i>e</i>
<i>šērē</i> + <i>yōḏ</i> י ◌	<i>e</i>
<i>hīreq</i> combined with <i>yōḏ</i> י ◌	<i>i</i>
Combinations with <i>wāw</i> ו	
<i>ḥólem</i> + <i>wāw</i> ו	<i>o</i>
<i>šūreq</i> ו	<i>u</i>

### Transliteration of consonants

Hebrew letter	Transliteration
'álep̄ א	'
<i>bēṭ</i> ב	<i>b</i>
<i>bēṭ</i> ב representing the phonetic value <i>w</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>bēṭ</i> with a diacritic marker ם	<i>w</i>
<i>šādēḥ</i> צ, ץ representing <i>c</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>šādēḥ</i> צ, ץ representing <i>dz</i>	<i>dz</i>
<i>dāleṭ</i> ד	<i>d</i>
<i>gīmel</i> ג	<i>g</i>
<i>gīmel</i> ג representing <i>γ</i>	<i>γ</i>
<i>hē</i> ה	<i>h</i>
<i>hē</i> ה in final position (silent <i>h</i> )	-
<i>ḥēṭ</i> ח	<i>x</i>
single <i>yōḏ</i> י	<i>y</i>
double <i>yōḏ</i> יי	<i>y</i>
<i>kap̄</i> כ	<i>k</i>
<i>qōp</i> ק	<i>q</i>
<i>qōp</i> ק in syllable- or stem-final position in front words	<i>k</i>
<i>lāmed</i> ל	<i>l</i>
<i>mēm</i> מ, ם	<i>m</i>
<i>nūn</i> נ, ן	<i>n</i>
<i>pēh</i> פ, ף	<i>p</i>
<i>pēh</i> פ, ף representing <i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>rēš</i> ר	<i>r</i>

Hebrew letter	Transliteration
<i>sámeḵ</i> ס	<i>s</i>
<i>śîn</i> ש, <i>śîn</i> שׁ	<i>ś</i>
<i>ṭēṭ</i> ט	<i>t</i>
<i>tāw</i> ת	<i>t</i>
double <i>wāw</i> װ	<i>w</i>
<i>záyin</i> ז	<i>z</i>

Appendix 2.

The morning prayer

	South-Western Karaim	North-Wester Karaim <i>Čiebiar tan koltchasy</i> (Firkovičius 1993: 25–28)
1.	<i>Oyanıñ dzan, oyan sıylı tur, tizi maxtav abaylı.</i> ‘Awake, soul, awake, highly esteemed, stand up, give praise dear.’	<i>Ojanhyn džan, ojan syjly tur, tiuziu machtav abajly.</i> ‘Awake, soul, awake, highly esteemed, stand up, give praise dear.’
2.	<i>Tenrige yaratuwcuya aruw işke tiziwcige.</i> ‘To God, to the Creator, to him who provides for honest acts.’	<i>Tieñrigia jaratuvčuja aruv işkia tiuziuvčuja.</i> ‘To God, to the Creator, to him who provides for honest acts.’
3.	<i>Malakları yolduzlarba sarnaydılar yı’yınlarba.</i> ‘His angels with the stars sing in choir.’	<i>Malachlary julduzlarba sarnejdyrlar ijynlarba.</i> ‘His angels with the stars sing in choir.’
4.	<i>Sen-de kelgensen alardan oyan gufluq cürimlardan.</i> ‘You have also come from them awake from the sleepiness of your body!’	<i>Sieñ-die kiel'giañsiñ alardan ojan tieñlik čirimliardiañ.</i> ‘You have also come from them awake from the sleepiness of your body!’
5.	<i>Anla tamasa islerin berdi gufnun kereklerin.</i> ‘Understand his wonderful acts, he has provided the needs of the body.’	<i>Anla tamaşa işliariñ bierdi tienniñ kieriakliariñ.</i> ‘Understand his wonderful acts, he has provided the needs of the body.’
6.	<i>Acıq yabuq buwunlarnı yarattı usba alarnı.</i> ‘He formed the openings and cavities of the body in wisdom.’	<i>Ačych jabuch buwunlarny jaratty usba alarny.</i> ‘He formed the openings and cavities of the body in wisdom.’
7.	<i>Maxtawludur atı anıñ berdi yirekke usun anıñ.</i> ‘Praised is his name, he has given the heart understanding.’	<i>Machtavludur aty Anyn bierdi üriakkia us anyn.</i> ‘Praised is his name, he has given the heart understanding.’
8.	<i>Sinama kinbe kecenı qiyaslama bar islernı.</i> ‘To discern between day and night, to measure all acts.’	<i>Synama kiuñbia kiečiani kyjaslama bar işliarnı.</i> ‘To discern between day and night, to measure all acts.’
9.	<i>Yabuq kezlernı acadı baylaganlarnı cesedi.</i> ‘He opens the closed eyes, he releases the bound ones.’	<i>Jabuch kiozliarnı ačadyr bajlanhanlarny čiešiadir.</i> ‘He opens the closed eyes, he releases the bound ones.’
10.	<i>Ketiredi bikreygenni ham kiplejdi ol tayyannı.</i> ‘He straightens the bowed and gives strength to the weary.’	<i>Kiotiuriadir biukriajgianni hiem kipliejdir ol tajhanny.</i> ‘He straightens the bowed and gives strength to the weary.’

11.	<i>Bunyat etti yerni suwlar ištine kembe qoyanlar.</i> 'He has established earth above the waters, they are spread piece by piece.'	<i>Bunjat ètti jerni suwlar üštiunia kiembia kojhanlar.</i> 'He has established earth above the waters, they are spread piece by piece.'
12.	<i>Anda tizidi islerin yasnin qartnin kereklerin.</i> 'He determines the acts of the young, the needs of the old.'	<i>Anda tiuziujdir išliariñ jašnyn kartnyn kieriakliariñ.</i> 'He determines the acts of the young, the needs of the old.'
13.	<i>Kic beredi ariyanya tiñc etedi yadayanya.</i> 'He gives strength to the emaciated, he calms down the tired.'	<i>Kiuč bieriadir aryhanha tynč ètiadir jadahanha.</i> 'He gives strength to the emaciated, he calms down the tired.'
14.	<i>Tenri kip isancli elni ol tadzlawcu yišra'elni.</i> 'God crowns people with strong faith, Israel.'	<i>Tieñri kip išančly èl'ni ol tadžlavču siuviarliarni.</i> 'God crowns people with strong faith, the beloved ones.'
15.	<i>Oldu tenrim yaratuwcum aziz dinibe tadzlawcum.</i> 'He is my God, my Creator, who crowns me with his holy faith.'	<i>Oldur Tieñrim yaratuvčum aziž dinibia tadžlavčum.</i> 'He is my God, my Creator, who crowns me with his holy faith.'
16.	<i>Meni yoylardan ayirdi ez qulluyuna qayirdi.</i> 'He has discerned me from the gentiles, he made me to his slave.'	<i>Mieni jatlardan ajyrdy öz kulluhuna kajyrdy.</i> 'He has discerned me from the gentiles, he made me to his slave.'
17.	<i>Yaratti meni klegice şikir etme tigelice.</i> 'He created me according to his will to thank completely.'	<i>Jaratty mieni kliagičia šiukiur èt'mia tiugialičia.</i> 'He created me according to his will to thank completely.'
18.	<i>Ki keterdi bebeyimden cürimlarni kezlerimden.</i> 'He has removed the somnia of my pupils from my eyes.'	<i>Ki kietiardi biebiajimdiañ čirimliarni kiožliarimdiañ.</i> 'He has removed the somnia of my pupils from my eyes.'
19.	<i>Yangirtadi sawyatın har tan bila ez quwatın.</i> 'He renews his grace every morning his strength.'	<i>Janhyrtadyr ševahatyn tan bylada öz kuvatyn.</i> 'He renews his grace in the morning his strength.'
20.	<i>Yuqlawcunu turuzadi gerden kibik turgizedi.</i> 'He wakes up the sleeping, he revives (him) like from the grave.'	<i>Juklavčunu turhuzadyr giordiañ kibik turgiziadir.</i> 'He wakes up the sleeping, he revives (him) like from the grave.'
21.	<i>Bolyay qabulluq alnından raxmetlewcinin keklerinden.</i> 'May there be acceptance in front of the Merciful from the heavens.'	<i>Bolhej kabulluch alnyndan rachmiet'liavčiuñ kiokliardiañ.</i> 'May there be acceptance in front of the Merciful from the heavens.'
22.	<i>Yuwutma meni toraya qunusturma micvalarya.</i> 'To bring me to the Torah, to take me to the commandments.'	<i>Juvutma mieni toraha kunušturma saruvlarha.</i> 'To bring me to the Torah, to take me to the commandments.'

23.	<i>Siltaw etmegin yazıqnı qoluma hec awanlıqnı</i> ‘Do not let sin to my hand, any meanness.’	<i>Syltav étmiagiń jazychny koluma hieč avanlychny.</i> ‘Do not let sin to my hand, any meanness.’
24.	<i>Sınawya bermegin meni qutqar xorluqtan dzanımnı.</i> ‘Do not tempt me, save my soul from evil.’	<i>Synavha biermiagiń mieni kutchar chorluchtan džanyzny.</i> ‘Do not tempt me, save my soul from evil.’
25.	<i>Tergemegin yaman işin yecerimnin da sayışın.</i> ‘Do not investigate the evil act and the memory of my character.’	<i>Tiergiamiagiń jaman işin chor kligimniń da sahyşyn.</i> ‘Do not investigate the evil act, the memory of my bad desire.’
26.	<i>Vale yaxsı fikirimni cıyar yarıqqa işimni.</i> <i>Sawayatın sunyun mana tapma şirinlik qarsına.</i> ‘But bring my good thought and my act to the light! Have mercy on me to find forgiveness in front of you.’	<i>Şevahatyn sunhej maja tapma şirinlik karşyja.</i> ‘Have mercy on me to find forgiveness in front of you.’
27.	<i>Raxmetlerin ayamayın qulunnu sen xayıfşının.</i> ‘Do not begrudge your grace, forgive your slave.’	<i>Rachmiet'liarij ajamahyn ulusujnu chajyfsunhun.</i> ‘Do not begrudge your grace, forgive your people.’
28.	<i>Qutqar meni ez kleginbe har bir kinde quwatınba.</i> ‘Save me with your will, every day, with your strength.’	<i>Kutchar mieni öz kligijbia har bir kiuńdia kuvatyjba.</i> ‘Save me with your will, every day, with your strength.’
29.	<i>Talasından ceya elnin qawyasından awancinın.</i> ‘From the dispute of the ignominious people, from the quarrel of the miscreant.’	<i>Talaşyndan çeja el'niń kavhasyndan avančynyn.</i> ‘From the dispute of the ignominious people, from the quarrel of the miscreant.’
30.	<i>Yaman ortaqliqtan meni yıraq ketergin iwimni.</i> ‘Divert me and my house far away from evil companions.’	<i>Jaman ortachlychtan mieni jyrach kietiar da üviumniu.</i> ‘Divert me and my house far away from evil companions.’
31.	<i>Yaman qonsudan abrayın xastaliqtan qalqanlayın.</i> ‘Protect me from bad neighbours, shield me from sickness.’	<i>Jaman konşudan abrahyn chastalychtan kalkanlahyn.</i> ‘Protect me from bad neighbours, shield me from sickness.’
32.	<i>Dayi yaman kezlilerden ham ki qammazlawculardan.</i> ‘And from those with evil eyes, and also from slanderers.’	<i>Dahy jaman kiozliuliardian hiem ki kammazlavčularadan.</i> ‘And from those with evil eyes, and also from slanderers.’
33.	<i>Necik aziz dinlilerden alayoq yoy dusmanlardan.</i> ‘Both among believers of the holy religion as well as among gentile enemies.’	<i>Niečik aziž dińliliardian alajoch jat duşmanlardan.</i> ‘Both among believers of the holy religion as well as among gentile enemies.’



34.	<i>Yaryusundan gehinomnun saqlayin dzanin qulunnun.</i> ‘From the verdict of hell save the soul of your slave.’	<i>Jarhusundan dzhinnemnyyn kutcharhyn kulujnun džanyyn.</i> ‘From the verdict of hell save the soul of your slave.’
35.	<i>Ki isanadi atina simarlanadi saruwuna.</i> ‘Who believes in your name submits himself to your commandment.’	<i>Ki išanadyr adyja symarlandy saruvuja.</i> ‘Who believes in your name has submitted himself to your commandment.’
36.	<i>Aziz sezlerin torannin bilmegin qodeš atinnin.</i> ‘The holy words of your Torah and the knowledge of your holy name.’	<i>Aziž siožliariñ torejnyyn dahy anlavun adyjnyyn.</i> ‘The holy words of your Torah and the meaning of your name.’
37.	<i>Ekşi(t)megin awzumuzdan dayin artiq dzanimizdan.</i> ‘Do not remove from our mouth and from our souls.’	<i>Ėksit'miagiñ avzumuzdan dahy uruvlarymyzdan.</i> ‘Do not remove from our mouth and from our families.’



