Translational methods used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

Zsuzsanna Olach

Olach, Zsuzsanna 2014. Translational methods used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations. Turkic Languages 18, 000–000.

The paper deals with the methods the Karaim translators used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in their translations of Biblical texts. The author has previously dealt with the translation of Hebrew interrogatives in a Halich Karaim Bible translation; see Olach 2013. Investigation of further chapters of the same Halich Karaim translation and other sources, e.g. the so-called Gözele Bible, however, provided with new examples and made it necessary to re-examine the subject. The new data confirm the author’s assumptions about the translation types represented by Karaim Bible translations as described in Olach 2013.

Zsuzsanna Olach, MTA-SZTE Turcological Research Group, Egyetem u. 2, HU-6722 Szeged, Hungary. E-mail: zsuzsanna.olach@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Karaim is classified as a high-copying Turkic language.¹ Long and intensive contact with non-Turkic languages has caused changes in Karaim phonology, morphosyntax and lexicon. Copied non-Turkic features can be attested both in the spoken varieties and in written Karaim, for instance in the language of the Karaim Bible translations.

In the present paper I will deal with the methods the Karaim translators used for rendering special characteristics of Hebrew interrogatives in their Bible translations. I have previously dealt with the translation of Hebrew interrogatives in a Halich Karaim Bible translation; see Olach 2013. In this paper, I will present some additional features found in chapters from the same translation not described in Olach 2013 and in the so-called Gözele Bible. The new data may also strengthen my assumptions about the translation types represented by Karaim Bible translations as described in Olach 2013.

¹ A previous version of the article was presented at the 17th International Conference on Turkish Linguistics held September 3–5, 2014 in Rouan, France. I thank Professor Éva Csató Johanson (Uppsala University, Sweden) for her suggestions relating to Karaim issues and Professor Mats Eskhult (Uppsala University, Sweden) for his help with Biblical Hebrew.
The main corpus used for the present study is a Halich Karaim family bible of the family Abrahamovich, who originally lived in the Ukrainian town of Halich. It is hand-written and contains the five books of Moses (*Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*) and several parts of the books of the prophets. It comprises 512 pages, with 27 lines on each page. 60 pages of the manuscript in transcription were published in Olach 2013.

In addition, translations of biblical texts into Trakai Karaim published by Tadeusz Kowalski (1929), Mykolas Firkovičius (1994) and Michał Németh (2014) were also used. In Kowalski’s publication, the first few chapters of *Genesis* and the *Book of Job* provide us with some additional examples. Examples can also be found in the Trakai Karaim translation of the Book of Psalms published by Firkovičius. Some chapters (18: 1–20: 23, 19: 1–25, 20: 1–23) are taken from the version of *Exodus* available in Németh 2014, which contains a few instances of interrogation as well.

Crimean Karaim examples were taken from the following Bible translations: fragments from the books of *Genesis, Deuteronomy* and *Lamentations* published by Henryk Jankowski in 1997, and Chapter 13 from the version of *Nehemia* published by Dan Shapira in 2013. Examples from the *Gözteve Bible* (1841) will be given as well.²

In describing the characteristics of interrogation occurring in Karaim translations of Biblical texts, the terminology applied by Floor (2007) will be used. According to his classification, two dimensions of Bible translations can be used to outline four different translation types. On the one hand, translations may bear more or less resemblance to the semantics of the source language text. Based on this dimension, translations may be classed as resemblant or interpretative translations. On the other hand, translators may make fewer or more adjustments to the form of the source language; thus translations may be more close or more open.

In the following, I will first give a brief description of the Turkic features of the interrogatives used in the Karaim Bible translations. Then the non-Turkic characteristics will be illustrated.

2. Turkic features of the interrogatives in Karaim translations of biblical texts

In Turkic languages, *wh*-questions are formed by means of interrogative pronouns. The basic interrogative pronouns attested in the corpus are *kim* ‘who?’, *ne* ‘what?’, and pronouns based on *qay* ‘which?’, for instance *qaydan* ‘from where?’. See example (1): *qaydan keldiniz?* ‘Where did you come from?’ and example (2): *ne üçün sen olturasen jalgyz özüj?* ‘Why do you sit alone?’.

² I am grateful to Dr. Mustafa Kılıçarslan (Fatih University, Turkey) and the Crimean Karaim Association for making it possible for me to use a photocopy of the manuscript titled *Ahd-i Atik* (known as the *Gözteve Bible*).
(1) a. Biblical Hebrew
   \[ \text{më'ayin} \quad \text{ba'yem} \]
   from where you have come
   ‘Where have you come from?’ Gen. 42:7

b. Halich Karaim
   \[ qaydan \quad kel:di:niz \]
   from where? come:DI.PST.2PL
   ‘Where did you come from?’ Gen. 42:7 (103/10)

(2) a. Biblical Hebrew
   \[ \text{maDDûª} \quad \text{yôšëb} \]
   why? you sit.
   ‘Why do you sit alone?’ Exod. 18:14

b. Trakai Karaim (Németh 2014: 119)
   \[ ne \quad üçün \quad sen \quad oltur:a:sen \quad jalgyz \quad özüj \quad töre \quad et:me \]
   why? you sit:NPST.2SG alone self:POSS2SG judge:INF
   ‘Why do you alone sit to judge?’ Exod. 18:14 (114 r 14)

On the other hand, in yes/no questions a question particle is used in Turkic. This is either attached to the element whose content is being interrogated or follows the predication. The placement of the question particle, however, “varies across languages, and also language-internally to some degree” (Johanson 2002a: 31, 57–58). In the corpus, the question particle usually takes the form -mo (HKar, TKar) and -mi-/mí (CrKar). It can be added to nouns, personal pronouns, verbs or copu-
las. When the noun has suffixes, e.g. case markers, the particle follows the suffix, as can be seen in the Halich Karaim example (3): ol ağaça:tan:mo ki zinharlādim sana asamasqa, andanmo asadï:n? ‘From the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ In this example, the question particle follows the ablative marker -tan/-dan: ağaça:tan:mo? ‘from the tree?’ and andanmo? ‘from that?’.

Consider that the question particle occurs twice in the sentence. In the Trakai Karaim and the Crimean Karaim versions, the particle is attached only to the noun ‘tree’. As can be seen in the Hebrew example, the question particle hā is attached only once to the expression min-hāʾēṣ ‘from the tree’.

(3) a. Biblical Hebrew

hāmin- hāʾēṣ ʾāšer
from? Q PREP the tree, DEF: N MASC: ABS which
siwwiʾīkā lōbīlī
I commanded you, V: PIEL: PRF 1 SG: SUFF 2 SG: ABS
ʾākol- mimmēnū ʾāḵālū
to eat, V: QAL: INF: CONST from it, PREP: SUFF 3 SG: DAT you ate, V: QAL: PRF MASC: 2 SG
‘Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?’ Gen. 3:11

b. Halich Karaim

ol ağaça:tan:mo ki zinharla:dī:m sana asa:masqa
the tree:ABL: Q that forbid: DLP: PST: 1 SG you, DAT eat:NEG: IMP
andan:mo asa:dī:n
it:ABL: Q eat: DLP: PST: 2 SG
‘From the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ Gen. 3:11 (6/14)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

ol ağaça:tan:mi ki tenvah ā:dī:m saqa
the tree:ABL: Q that forbid: DLP: PST: 1 SG you, DAT
eaša:ma:mq: qa andan aša:dī:η
‘From the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ Gen. 3:11 (12/23)

d. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 49)

the tree:ABL: Q that forbid: DLP: PST: 1 SG you, DAT eat:NEG: IMP
andan aša:dī: j
it:ABL: Q eat: DLP: PST: 2 SG
‘From the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?’ Gen. 3:11

In spoken Karaim, the question particle may occur in non-typical positions as well, e.g. after the first word of a clause in which the whole clause is questioned; see Csató’s description (in print). For further examples, see Csató (1999).
3. Non-Turkic features of the interrogatives in Karaim translations of biblical texts

There are certain similarities between Karaim and Biblical Hebrew. Both languages employ question particles in yes/no questions, while question words are used in wh-questions. The question words are of pronominal origin in both languages (cf. Waltke & O’Connor 1990: 316–329). But Hebrew interrogatives exhibit features not characteristic of Turkic.

Since the Karaim translators aimed to faithfully render the sacred language of the Hebrew Bible, several linguistic features of Biblical Hebrew have been copied onto the Karaim language of the translations. These include certain characteristics of interrogation. In the following, these features of Biblical Hebrew will be illustrated.

3.1. Conventional translations

3.1.1. Translation of Hebrew interrogatives containing a demonstrative pronoun

In Biblical Hebrew, true demonstratives, i.e. demonstratives with a z or l element such as ze⁰ ‘this’, may be used as attributive adjectives or as predicative adjectives. In certain expressions, they may have deictic force (Waltke & O’Connor 1990: 310–312). Sometimes true demonstratives occur in interrogations. The demonstrative ze⁰ ‘this’, for instance, has an emphatic function in Biblical Hebrew in exclamatory questions or presentatives (Waltke & O’Connor 1990: 312–313).

In the Karaim texts studied here, the usual translational equivalent of the Hebrew demonstrative pronoun ze⁰ ‘this’ is the Turkic demonstrative pronoun bu ‘this’. The pronoun bu ‘this’ also occurs in translating the Hebrew pronoun in questions, though it is not used with this function in Karaim. In example (4), the Hebrew demonstrative ze⁰ ‘this’ is used together with the question word łāmmāb⁰ ‘why?’.

In example (4), the expression is translated into Halich Karaim by a combination of the question word nege ‘why?’ and the demonstrative pronoun bu ‘this’: nege bu kil:di śarah ‘Why did Sarah laugh?’. In the Crimean Karaim translation only nüčün ‘why?’ occurs.

(4) a. Biblical Hebrew

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>łāmmāb⁰</th>
<th>ze⁰</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to why.</td>
<td>PREP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śāḥaqāb⁰</td>
<td>sāra⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she laughed.</td>
<td>V:QAL.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Why did Sarah laugh?’ Gen. 18:13

b. Halich Karaim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nege</th>
<th>bu</th>
<th>kil:di</th>
<th>śarah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>laugh.</td>
<td>DL.PST3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Why did Sarah laugh?’ Gen. 18:13 (33/6)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nüčün</th>
<th>gūl:di</th>
<th>sarah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>why</td>
<td>laugh.</td>
<td>DL.PST3SG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Why did Sarah laugh?’ Gen. 18:13 (35/6)
Trakai Karaim translations may demonstrate this feature as well. For instance the form \( \text{ńe\-ga-bu} \) ‘why-this’ can be observed in example (5): \( \text{da \ ńe\-ga-bu \ ńe\-c\-lik \ byla \ ńe\-c\-län:a:siź?} \) ‘why then with uselessness have you been deceived?’, where \( \text{da \ ńe\-ga-bu} \) is the translational equivalent of the Hebrew \( \text{wülommâ\-zzè} \) ‘and-why-this?’.

(5) a. Biblical Hebrew
\[
\text{wülommâ\-zzè}
\]
\( \text{heºbel \ 'empty'} \)
\( \text{you have been worthless. V:QAL/IPRF/MASC2PL} \)
\( \text{why then have you become altogether vain?'} \) Job 27:12

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 23)
\( \text{da \ ńe\-ga-bu \ ńe\-c\-lik \ byla \ ńe\-c\-län:a:siź?} \)
\( \text{why then with uselessness have you been deceived?'} \) Job 27:12

The demonstrative pronoun \( \text{bu} \) ‘this’ can be omitted in the Trakai Karaim translation. See, for instance, example (6) in which the translation of \( \text{lämмâ\-zzè} \) ‘why-this?’ is not \( \text{ńe\-ga-bu} \) ‘why-this?’ but \( \text{ńe\-ga} \) ‘why?’.

(6) a. Biblical Hebrew
\[
\text{lämмâ\-zzè\-heºbel \ ńe\-c\-gâ}\c
\]
\( \text{to why-this \ 'nothingness'} \)
\( \text{I exert (myself)} \)
\( \text{‘Why then do I labour in vain?’} \) Job 9:29

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 9)
\( \text{ńe\-ga \ ńe\-c\-lik\-k\-a \ ńe\-c\-gâ\-miän?} \)
\( \text{why uselessness:DAT \ exert:A\-NPST\-1SG} \)
\( \text{‘Why do I exert [effort] for uselessness?’} \) Job 9:29

Example (7) also demonstrates the use of a demonstrative pronoun in interrogation, but with the question word ‘from where?’. In Biblical Hebrew, we find a combination of the interrogative particle \( \text{zê} \) ‘where?’, the preposition \( \text{min-} \) ‘from’ and the demonstrative pronoun \( \text{ze\-b} \) ‘this’: \( \text{zê-\text{mizzè}} \) ‘from where?’. This combination is translated with maximum formal resemblance into Halich Karaim; thus \( \text{qaydan bun\-dan} \) ‘from where?’ occurs in the corpus: \( \text{hagar, qaravas\-s\-arayn, qaydan bun\-dan kelesen} \) ‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’. As can be seen, the ablative case suffix, the translational equivalent of the Hebrew preposition \( \text{min\-} \) ‘from’, is attached to both the Karaim question word \( \text{qay\-} \) and the demonstrative

---

9 The demonstrative pronoun \( \text{bu} \) ‘this’ also occurs in interrogative sentences in secular texts, e.g. in a theatre play: \( \text{kei\-re\-bu \ ol \ kačty?} \) ‘Where did (s)he flee to?’ (Kowalski 1929: 137).
pronoun bu. The Crimean Karaim translator does not use the demonstrative pronoun bu ‘this’ in his translation.

(7) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[\text{hāqār šípḥat sāray 'ẓe-} \text{mizze}^b\]

Hagar maid of: FEM:SG.CONST Sarai where-from-this

‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’ Gen. 16:8

b. Halich Karaim

\[haγar qaravas:i šaray:n qay:dan bu:ndan kel:e:sen\]

Hagar maid:POSS3SG Sarai:GEN where:ABL this:ABL come:A,NPST:2SG

‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’ Gen 16:8 (29/17)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

\[haγar qaravaš:i saray:nŋ qay:dan gel:ir:siń\]

Hagar maid:POSS3SG Sarai:GEN where:ABL come:R,NPST:2SG

‘Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?’ Gen. 16:8 (32/8)

The Trakai Karaim translation of the Hebrew ‘\(\text{'ẓe-} \text{mizze}^b\) ‘from where?’—composed of ‘\(\text{'ẓe-} \text{where}, \text{min-} \text{‘from} \text{and} \text{ze-}^b \text{‘this}’\)—also contains the demonstrative pronoun bu ‘this’, however the ablative marker is not attached to the pronoun, as occurs in the Halich Karaim translation (consider qaydan bundan? ‘from where?’). Instead the word orun ‘place’ is inserted and takes the ablative marker. Thus the Trakai Karaim translation reads as follows: kaisy-bu orundan k’elasin? ‘Which place do you come from?’. See example (8). Consider also that the question word is not qaydan? ‘from where?’ but kaisy? ‘which?’. It seems that the translator used an open translation of \(\text{'ẓe-} \text{mizze}^b\) ‘from where?’ in this verse.

(8) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[\text{‘ẓe-} \text{mizze}^b tāḥō?\]

where-from-this you come

‘Whence have you come?’ Job 2:2

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 2)

\[kaisy-bu orun:dan k’el:as:in?\]

which-this place:ABL come:A,NPST:2SG

‘Which place do you come from?’ Job 2:2

3.1.2. Hebrew wishes introduced with interrogatives

In Biblical Hebrew, the question word mi ‘who?’ and the interrogative phrase mį-\(\text{yittēn} \text{‘who shall give?’} \) have a special function. Although, grammatically they form a question, clauses containing mi ‘who?’ or mį-\(\text{yittēn} \text{‘who shall give?’} \) express wishes (Gibson 1994: 186). Wishes in Karaim do not employ any question words or
interrogative phrases; thus this feature of Biblical Hebrew is completely alien to Karaim. Nonetheless, every Karaim Bible translator gives a close translation of such clauses; no adjustments can be observed. Thus, the question word kim ‘who?’ and its combination with the verb ber-/ver- ‘to give’ (i.e. kim ber-/kim ver- ‘who give?’) occur in the Karaim corpus. First the translation of a wish expressed with mî ‘who?’ is illustrated; see (9).

(9) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[
\text{mî ya'}\ddot{a}\ddot{k}\ddot{i}l\ddot{e}\nu \quad \text{b\ddot{a}s\ddot{a}r}
\]

who.Q shall cause to eat us:V:Hiph.IPREF:MASC3SG.SUFF:1PL flesh:n:MASC.SG.ABS

‘o that we had meat to eat’ Num. 11:4

b. Halich Karaim

\[
\text{kim asattir:si:ydi biz:ge et}
\]

who.Q cause to eat:HYP:COP:DLPST3SG we:DAT flesh

‘who made us eat meat?’ Num. 11:4 (328/2)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

\[
\text{kim ašat:qay e:di biz:gä et}
\]

who.Q cause to eat:OPT be:DLPST3SG we:DAT flesh

‘who made us eat meat?’ Num. 11:4 (265/21)

Examples (10) and (11) illustrate the use of kim ber-/kim ver- in Halich Karaim and Crimean Karaim Bible translations.

(10) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[
\text{mî- yit\ddot{e}n mûj\ddot{e}nû}
\]

who.Q shall give:V:Qal.IPREF:MASC3SG our death:V:Qal.INF.CONST.SUFF:1PL

byad- yhwh(´ädönäy) in the hand of .PREP:N:FEM.SG.CONST LORD

bo\ddot{e}z\ddot{e}res mîsrâyim in the land of .PREP:N:FEM.SG.CONST Egypt

‘Would that we had died by the hand of the LORD in the land of Egypt’. Exod. 16:3

b. Halich Karaim

\[
\text{kim ber:si:ydi elgen:imiz:ni}
\]

who.Q give:HYP:COP:DLPST3SG death:POSS1PL:ACC

quadat:i nda \h\ddot{a}:n\ddot{i}n yer:i nde micri:nin power:POSS3SG:LOC LORD:GEN land:POSS3SG:LOC Egypt:GEN

‘who had given our death by the power of the LORD in the land of Egypt’ Exod. 16:3 (161/3)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

\[
\text{kim ver:sä e:di \ddot{a}lgen:imiz:ni}
\]

who.Q give:HYP be:DLPST3SG death:POSS1PL:ACC
Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

qudart:nî bilan ha:nîng yer:î:ndâ micri:nîng
power:poss3sg with LORD:gen land:poss3sg:loc Egypt:gen
‘who had given our death by the power of the LORD in the land of Egypt’
Exod. 16:3 (132/2)

(11) a. Biblical Hebrew
mî|yiTTën
who.Q shall give,v:qal,iprf,masc3sg evening
‘would it were evening!’ Deut. 28:67

b. Halich Karaim
kim ber:si:yi di
who.Q give:hp,co:p,dl,pst3sg evening:acc
‘who would have given the evening?’ Deut. 28:67 (457/24)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
ki m ver:gäy e:di
who.Q give:opt be:dl,pst3sg evening:acc
‘who would have given the evening?’ Deut. 28:67 (373/20)

Close translations of mî ‘who?’ and mî|yiTTën ‘who will give?’ in Hebrew wishes can be found in Trakai Karaim translations as well; see for instance (12) and (13). As for the translation of mî|yiTTën ‘who will give?’, not only finite, but also non-finite verb forms, here converb in -(y)Ip, can be used; see (13).

(12) a. Biblical Hebrew
mî|yiTTünëºnî
who.Q gives me,v:qal,iprf,masc3sg,suff:1sg
küyar Hê- qeºdem
as months of:prep,n:masc.pl,const old.n:masc.sg.abs
ʻoh, that I were as in the months of old’ Job 29:2

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 24)
kim ber:si:ji dir ni eni a vały aj:lar:da kibik
who give:hp,co:p,3sg me (acc) old month:pl,loc like
‘and but who would have given me like in the old months?’ Job 29:2

(13) a. Biblical Hebrew
mî yiTTên ⁷lôªh dabbér
who.Q gives,v:qal,iprf,masc3sg God would speak,v:piel,inf,const
‘but oh, that God would speak’ Job 11:5

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 10)
da vale kim ber:îp tënîrî šožla:še:jdyr
and but who.Q give:p,conv God speak:hp,co:p,3sg
‘and but who would have given that God would speak?’ Job 11:5
3.2. Variations in translations

3.2.1. Translation of Biblical Hebrew rhetorical questions composed with \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3}}

In Biblical Hebrew, negative rhetorical questions are introduced with \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3}}, i.e. a combination of the question particle \textit{hà} and the negative particle \textit{lö\textsuperscript{3}} (Gibson 1997: 167). In Karaim Bible translations, two strategies for the translation of \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3}} can be observed. The translator either gives a close and resemblant translation or provides an open and interpretative translation. In close and resemblant translations of \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3}}, the precise translational equivalent of the elements of \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3}} occurs; i.e. both a question particle and negation are used. For example, the translation of the Hebrew \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3} tiKKälëm ‘if she is not humiliated?’ in example (14) (containing the negation –me and the question particle –mo) is \textit{imen:me:giy:di:mo?} [be ashamed:NEG:OPT:DL.PST3sg:Q] ‘shouldn’t she be ashamed?’.

Consider the open and interpretative translation found in the Gözleve Bible.

(14) a. Biblical Hebrew
\[\textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3} tiKKälëm} \textit{šib`at yämîm}\]
\[\text{"should she not be ashamed seven days?" Num. 12:14}\]

b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 166)
\[\textit{imen:me:giy:di:mo} \textit{yedi kin:ler aln:ï:ndan anïn}\]
\[\text{"shouldn’t she be ashamed for seven days in front of him?" Num. 12:14 (331/26)}\]

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
\[\textit{muna uyal:ïr e:di yedi gün:lär}\]
\[\text{"shouldn’t she be ashamed for seven days in front of him?" Num. 12:14 (268/24)}\]

In most of the cases, however, the elements of \textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3}}—i.e. a question particle and negation—are not reflected, but instead adjustments are made and an interpretation introduced with \textit{muna! ‘behold!’} occurs. See for instance example (15). When a conflict has arisen between the herdsmen of Abram’s cattle and the herdsmen of Lot’s cattle, Abram suggests to Lot that they separate, saying: “Is not the whole land before you? Separate yourself from me.” As can be seen, this time both the Halich Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translation of Abram’s rhetorical question contain no traces of any interrogation, but \textit{muna ‘behold!’} is used in a declarative sentence: \textit{muna bar ol yer aldïndadï senin / muna jumla ol yer aldïndadïr ‘behold, the whole land is before you!’}

(15) a. Biblical Hebrew
\[\textit{hàlò\textsuperscript{3} kol- ha\textsuperscript{3}äreš}\]
\[\text{"if not whole the land. DEF:N:FEM:SG:ABS"}]

...
Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

1 Is the whole land before you? Gen. 13:9

b. Halich Karaim

muna bar ol yer ald:ín:da:di senin
behold! whole that land front:POSS2SG:LOC:COP3SG you:GEN
‘Behold, the whole land is before you!’ Gen. 13:9 (24/17)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

muna jumla ol yer ald:iy:a:dir
behold! whole that land front:POSS2SG:DAT:COP3SG
‘Behold, the whole land is before you!’ Gen. 13:9 (28/13)

(16) a. Biblical Hebrew

hálö´ büräHël `äbaºdTî `immäk
if not for Rachel I worked. V:QAL:PREF.1sg with you:PREP:SUFF:fem2sg
‘Did I not serve with you for Rachel?’ Gen. 29:25

b. Halich Karaim

muna raxel icin qulluq ettim birgene senin
behold! Rachel for serve:DIPST:1SG together:POSS2SG:DAT you (GEN)
‘Behold, I served with you for Rachel!’ Gen. 29:25 (66/25)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

muna raxel iicün qulluq ettim birge
behold! Rachel for serve:DIPST:1SG together:POSS2SG:DAT
‘Behold, I served with you for Rachel!’ Gen. 29:25 (59/7)

As was illustrated above, the Halich Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translators decided to employ an open and interpretative translation instead of semantically and morphologically mapping the Hebrew original form hálö´. For a further Crimean Karaim example, taken from the translation whose original is kept in Manchester, see example (17). An interpretative translation containing muna ‘behold!’ can be seen in example (18) as well, which is quoted from the Book of Nehemia.
(17) a. Biblical Hebrew

ḥālṑ hāšā́ kāmūs ṣīmmāḏli
if not it stored up:V:QAL.PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS with me:PREP.SUFF:1SG

ḥāšā́m
sealed up:V:QAL.pass:PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS

bašā`ūgréj̄ y
in my treasuries:PREP.N:MASC.PL.CONST.SUFF:1SG

‘is not this laid up in store with me, sealed up in my treasuries?’ Deut. 32:34

b. Crimean Karaim (Jankowski 1997: 47)
muna ol saqlanγan:d ìr birgā:m:ä mö ḥörlängän:dir
behold the preserved:COP3SG together:POSS1SG:DAT sealed:COP3SG
gazna:lar:im:da
treasure:PL:POSS1SG:LOC

‘look, it is preserved with me; it is sealed in my treasures’ 244a (21)

(18) a. Biblical Hebrew

ḥālṑ kā́ ṣāsū ṣābō`ężêk̄̄m
if not here they did.V:QAL.PRF3PL your fathers:N:MASC.PL.CONST.SUFF:MASC2PL

‘Did not your fathers act in this way?’ Neh. 13:18

b. Crimean Karaim (Shapira 2013: 184)
Muna bulay qiyl:di:lar:igiz
behold! this way do:DI.PST:3pl father:PL:poss2pl

‘Behold, your fathers acted this way!’ Neh. 13:18

The studied Trakai Karaim translations provide only a few examples of rendering hālṑ. As can be seen in (19), muna ‘behold!’ is again used with a declarative clause: muna śuči:nu kibik kujusṭur:du:j meni ‘Behold! You caused me to be curdled like milk’ (Kowalski 1929a: 9).

(19) a. Biblical Hebrew

ḥālṑ keḥalāb
if not like the milk:PREP.DEF:N:MASC.SG.ABS
tattikēn
you poured me:V:HIPH.IPRF.masc2sg.SUFF:1SG

‘didst thou not pour me out like milk […]?’ Job 10:10

10 Shapira’s footnote: “A misprint for *qilaydilar” (Shapira 2013: 188). No photocopy of the manuscript is appended to the article by which to judge, but I assume that the original form of the word is qil:di:lar ‘they did’. Thus the vowel ů is probably written with hīreq + yōḏ, and under the first letter lāmed there is a šwā marking the sequences of consonants; i.e. no vowel is denoted there. Since šwā and hīreq differ by only one dot, it is sometimes difficult to decide if the quality of a manuscript is not good enough.
3.2.2. Translation of Hebrew \( \text{há-} \text{´im} \) constructions

Alongside its basic hypothetical function, the Hebrew hypothetical particle \( \text{´im} \) ‘if’ can also be used in interrogation. In double, triple and alternative questions in Hebrew, the question particle \( \text{há} \) is employed in the first clause, whereas the particle \( \text{´im} \) ‘if’ (or \( \text{wá} \text{´im} \) ‘and if’) is used in the second and third clauses (Gibson 1997: 184; Waltke & O’Connor 1990: 510–685).

In Karaim, the hypothetical marker –\( \text{sA} \) occurs in hypothetical sentences; it cannot be used for forming questions (Musaev 1964: 290–294; Firkovičius 1996: 120–121; Musaev 2003: 327–331). This important difference between Biblical Hebrew and Karaim results in different translational methods. On the one hand, close translation, i.e. rendering the original function of \( \text{´im} \) ‘if’ in the second, third, etc. clauses, may be given. On the other hand, the translator may prefer an open translation, in which case these questions are translated by Karaim interrogative forms without the use of the hypothetical marker. For a close translation see example (20), where the hypothetical particle is represented by the hypothetical form of the verbs in the Halich Karaim example: \( \text{soyulsalar} \) ‘if they are slaughtered’ and \( \text{üstemsa} \) ‘if it is gathered’.

The interrogation is represented only with the verb yet- ‘to suffice’ but does not occur in the first clause.

(20) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[
\text{hácö́ Nûbäqär yiššäHë} \text{lähem} \\
\text{ûmäcä́ lähem} \\
\text{flock? and cattle is slaughtered.\text{V:NIPH._IPRF.MASC3SG} to them.\text{PREP.SUFF:3PL}} \\
\text{and is enough.\text{V:QAL.W.CONS.PREF.MASC3SG} to them.\text{PREP.SUFF:3PL}} \\
\text{if} \text{DIR.OBJ all.\text{N:MASC.SG,CONST}} \\
\text{doğé hayyám fishes.N:MASC.PL,CONST the sea.\text{DEF.N:MASC.SG,ABS}} \\
\text{yë́äšép lähem he assembles.\text{V:NIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG} to them.\text{PREP.SUFF:3PL}} \\
\text{and is enough.\text{V:QAL.W.CONS.PREF.MASC3SG} to them.\text{PREP.SUFF:3PL}} \\
\text{shall flocks and herds be slaughtered for them, to suffice them? or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them, to suffice them?} \text{Num. 11:22}
\]

b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 169)

\[
\text{qoy:mo da sigir:mo soyul:ar alar:ga ki yet:key} \\
\text{flock:Q and cattle:Q be slaughtered:R.NPST3SG they:DAT that suffice:OPT3SG}
\]
flock or cattle will be slaughtered for them, that it shall suffice for them? or if all the fishes of the sea be gathered together for them, shall it suffice for them?’
Num. 11:22 (329/17)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

An open translation is illustrated by example (21), where the semantics of the hâ-’im construction, however, is maintained and represented by the use of the question particle –mo in every clause: bardïmo/varmïdïr ‘is there?’ and yoxtumo/yog-mi ‘is there not?’.

(21) a. Biblical Hebrew

hâyêš yhwh baqirbênô
hê-âyin
if nothing
‘is the LORD among us or not?’ Exod. 17:7

b. Halich Karaim (Olaçh 2013: 170)

exist:3SG divine presence:3SG LORD:GEN midst:1PL:LOC
bî:nîn yemese yoxtumo
we:GEN or not exist:3SG
‘is the divine presence of LORD in the midst of us or not?’ Exod. 17:7 (164/19)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

var:mi:dir ha orta:mî:da yaxut yog-mî
exist:3SG:LORD midst:1PL:LOC or not exist-Q
‘is the divine presence of LORD in the midst of us or not?’ Exod. 17:7 (134/24)

The use of the question particle in the second or third clause, however, seems to be optional; see example (22) where the question particle -mo is attached only to the
verb *yirî-* *yûrû*—‘to walk’ and not to *yoq* ‘there is no’. Consider that the Hebrew hypothetical particle *`îm* is attached to the negative particle *lô*.

(22) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[
\text{hâyêlêk bôjôrâjì}
\]

he walks? Q: V: QAL, IMPF, MASC, SG with my law, PREP, FEM, SG, CONST, SUFF: 1SG

*`îm* lô

‘whether they will walk in my law or not’ Exod. 16:4

b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 171)

\[
yiri:r:mo tornà:m bîlâ yemeśe yoq
\]

walk:R, NPST: 3SG, Q: law: POSS: 1SG with or not

‘whether he walks with my law or not’ Exod. 16:4 (161/10)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

\[
yûrû:r:mi tornà:m bîlan yaxut yoq
\]

walk:R, NPST: 3SG, Q: law: POSS: 1SG with or not

‘whether he walks with my law or not’ Exod. 16:4 (132/6)

In the studied Trakai Karaim corpus, only open translations of Hebrew double or triple questions can be found; i.e., no hypothetical marker *–sA* is used and instead the Karaim question particle occurs in double or triple questions; see example (23): *mû vårejmat`ur* ‘does (s)he/it bray?’, *çuveljam`adur* ‘does (s)he/it low?’.

(23) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[
hâyinhaq- pére
\]

brays? Q: V: QAL, IMPF, MASC, ABS a wild donkey, N: MASC, SG, ABS

*`îm* yi`ê`ehk

on. PREP, grass, N: MASC, SG, ABS if lows, V: QAL, IMPF, MASC, SG

ššôr `al- balîlô

OX, N: MASC, SG, ABS on. PREP, his fodder, N: MASC, SG, CONST, SUFF: MASC, SG

‘does the wild ass bray when he has grass, or the ox low over his fodder?’ Job 6:5

b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 6)

\[
mû vårej:mu:du:r kijik at kôgoi ûsi:u:na,
\]

bray: A, NPST: 3SG wild horse grass top: POSS: 3SG, DAT


or low: A, NPST: 3SG ox fodder: POSS: 3SG top: POSS: 3SG, DAT

‘does the wild horse bray over grass, or does the ox low over his fodder?’ Job 6:5

3.2.3. Translation of the combination of the Hebrew question particle and other particles

In Biblical Hebrew, particles can be attached to the question particle *hâ* in order to express emphasis. For instance, the particle *`îm* ‘also, moreover’ can be combined with *hâ* (Gibson 1994: 167). In Karaim Bible translations, different translational
methods can be observed for rendering emphatic questions containing hágam. In the Halich Karaim translation, the translational equivalent is dağin:mo ‘really?’; i.e. no adjustments are made.\textsuperscript{11} The aim of the translator to render the Hebrew original text as closely as possible resulted in the unexpected occurrence of the question particle on dağin ‘again, over, also’ instead of the element whose content is asked for (kerdim ‘I saw’).

As the example below shows, interrogation is not marked in the Crimean Karaim translation where the semantics of the Hebrew particle ġam ‘moreover’ are reflected by the use of dağin ‘again, over, also’, but the question particle –mo is not used.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{24} a. Biblical Hebrew
\begin{verbatim}
bāḡam hālōm ráḇīṭi
also Q.CONJ here ADV I have seen V:QAL.PRF.1SG
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
‘hāhārē rōʾī
after them N:MASC.PL.CONST seeing me V:QAL.ptcl.MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:1SG
‘Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?’ Gen 16:13
\end{verbatim}

b. Halich Karaim
\begin{verbatim}
dağin:mo bu:nda da ker:di:m malʾak:ni
also Q this LOC and see:DL.PST:1SG angel:ACC
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
‘Did I really see the angel after seeing (him) in the house of the Lord?’ Gen. 16:13 (29/27)
\end{verbatim}

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
\begin{verbatim}
dağin mu:nda gor:di:m gōr:ɡān:im:dān sonrā
also this:LOC see:DL.PST:1SG see:G:POSS:1SG:ABL after
\end{verbatim}
\begin{verbatim}
‘I also saw (him) here after seeing (him)’ Gen. 16:13 (32/15)
\end{verbatim}
\end{itemize}

The combination hāḡam is translated in a different way into Trakai Karaim. Although the question particle element –mo occurs, it is not attached to dahy ‘also, again’, but to the verbal element of the clause (bolalyr-mo biermia ‘is he able to give?’). This is understandable if we consider that the question particle in Turkic is attached to the element whose content is questioned (see above).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{25} a. Biblical Hebrew
\begin{verbatim}
hāḡam- leḥem yāḵal tēṭ
also Q:CONJ bread he is able V:QAL.PRF.MASC:3SG to give V:QAL.INF.CONST
\end{verbatim}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{11} The lexical item dağē and dağin means ‘also, again’, but the expression dağin mi?’, i.e. dağin with a question particle, has the meaning ‘really?’ (KRPS 168).

\textsuperscript{12} The ERV translation is ‘Have I even here looked after him that seeth me?’.
Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

The combination of the Hebrew question particle ʼ̄im- ʾyākîn ʿindeed' occurs a few times in the Hebrew Bible. When it occurs, it is translated into Halich Karaim in a closer way; see (26) below. This time the Crimean Karaim translator renders the Hebrew interrogation with a question, but he attaches the question particle to the verbal element of the Karaim clause (bola almas-mï edim? ‘Am I not able to?’).

(26) a. Biblical Hebrew

ḥa|ʿumnäm ̄l o ̽l ̄ûkal
indeed?;Q,CONJ not I am able;V:QAL;IPRF;1SG
kabboxēkā
to honour you;V:PIEL;INF;CONST;SUFF;MASC;2SG
‘Am I not able to honour you?’ Num. 22:37

b. Halich Karaim

keritiden:mo bolal:ma:men sîyla:ma seni
really;Q able to do;NEG;R;NPST;1SG honour;INF you (ACC)
‘Am I really not able to honour you?’ Num. 22:37 (359/4)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

real be;A,CONV take;NEG;R;NPST;Q be;D;PST;1SG honour;INF;DAT you (ACC)
‘Am I really not able to honour you?’ Num. 22:37 (291/19)

In the published Trakai Karaim sources, only one instance of the rendering of the Hebrew ḥa|ʿumnäm ‘indeed?’ can be found. Although the translation of the Hebrew verse of Psalm 58:2 differs from the original (bir oruna ištyrylyp ‘gathering in one place’ stands for ʾëºlem ‘silence of’), the Karaim expression kiertidiań-mo ‘really?’ is an accurate translational equivalent of ḥa|ʿumnäm ‘indeed?’.

(27) a. Biblical Hebrew

ḥa|ʿumnäm ʾëºlem šegeq
indeed?;Q,CONJ silence of;N;MASC;SG;CONST rightness;N;MASC;SG;ABS

13 The ERV translation is ‘am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour?’
3.3. Rare occurrences

3.3.1. Translation of Hebrew question words used in special expressions

Sometimes, the question words *mî* ‘who?’ and *mà* ‘what?’ can be found in clauses in which their usage is not typical. Thus, *mî* ‘who?’ may be used “of things when the idea of a person is involved”, whereas *mà* ‘what?’ may be employed “of persons if their circumstances or relations be inquired of” (Gibson 1994: 7). For instance, we find *mî* ‘who?’ in example (28), since the question refers to the people of Jacob when he meets Esau. Seeing so many people there with Jacob, Esau asks: ‘What do you mean by all this company?’. The Karaim translators map the original Hebrew question in the most accurate manner and use *kimdi?/kimdir?* ‘who?’ in their translations.

(28) a. Biblical Hebrew

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mî} & \quad \text{lekâ} \\
\text{to you,PREP,} & \quad \text{SUFF,} & \quad \text{MASC2SG,} & \quad \text{all the camp,DEF,N,BOTH,SG,ABS,} \\
\text{hammahâne}^h & \quad \text{hazze}^h \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘What do you mean by all this company?’ Gen. 33:8

b. Halich Karaim

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kim:di} & \quad \text{sana} & \quad \text{bar ol} & \quad \text{avul ol} & \quad \text{uspu} \\
\text{who,} & \quad \text{you,} & \quad \text{DAT,} & \quad \text{all that camp that very that} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Who is all that camp to you?’ Gen. 33:8 (80/10)

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kim:dir} & \quad \text{sâniŋ} & \quad \text{junla ušbu} & \quad \text{avul} \\
\text{who,} & \quad \text{you,} & \quad \text{(GEN),} & \quad \text{all very that camp} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Who is all that camp to you?’ Gen. 33:8 (80/10)

3.3.2. Translation of Hebrew interrogatives with repeated question words

To express emphasis, not only the true demonstratives can be used, but in exceptional cases repetition of the Hebrew question word *mî* ‘who?’ can occur (Gibson 1994: 14). The ERV translation is ‘Do ye indeed in silence speak righteousness?’.
Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

7). See the Hebrew expression \textit{mî wâmi} ‘who and who?’ in example (29) when Aaron and Moses were taken to Pharaoh and Pharaoh said: “Go, serve the LORD, your God, but who exactly are to go?” Since the Karaim translators make an effort to create translations that are as close to the Hebrew original as possible, in such cases, the Karaim translational equivalent \textit{kim} ‘who?’ is repeated as well: \textit{kim da kim} ‘who and who?’ Similarly, the question word \textit{kim} ‘who?’ occurs twice in the Crimean Karaim translation, although the copula is attached to the second question word; i.e. \textit{kim da kimdir} ‘who and who?’ can be observed.\textsuperscript{15}

(29) a. Biblical Hebrew
\begin{align*}
\text{mî wâmi hahölîm} \\
\text{who? and who? the ones going.} \\
\text{DEF.V:QAL.PCPL.MASC.PL.ABS} \\
\text{‘Who exactly are to go?’ Exod. 10:8}
\end{align*}

b. Halich Karaim
\begin{align*}
\text{kim da kim ol baruwcu:lar} \\
\text{who? and who? going:PL} \\
\text{‘Who exactly are to go?’ Exod. 10:8 (147/3)}
\end{align*}

c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
\begin{align*}
\text{kim da kim:dir ol warajaq:lar} \\
\text{who? and who?:COP3SG going:PL} \\
\text{‘Who exactly are to go?’ Exod. 10:8 (120/18)}
\end{align*}

The studied Trakai Karaim material provides no example of this feature.

\textbf{3.3.3. Combined interrogative forms}

The Halich Karaim translation contains an exceptional example where the two techniques of forming a question are combined; i.e. both a question word and a question particle are employed in the translation of the questions ‘Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things?’.

In the book of Isaiah, in addition to the question word \textit{kim} ‘who?’ the question particle is attached to the verbs: \textit{ešittimo} ‘did (s)he hear?’, \textit{kerdimo} ‘did (s)he see?’; see (30): \textit{kim ešittimo bunun kibik kim kerdimo bular kibik} ‘who did hear such a thing? who did see such things?’.

In the Hebrew original, there is only a question word, \textit{mî} ‘who?’.

\textsuperscript{15} Repetition of a question word is also possible in Turkish. Consider \textit{kim […] ama kim} ‘who […] but who’ in the poem Dedikodu ‘Gossip’ written by Orhan Veli:
\begin{align*}
\text{Kim söylemiş beni} & \quad \text{‘Who says} \\
\text{Sûheylâ’ya vurulmuşum diye?} & \quad \text{I’ve fallen for Suheyla?} \\
\text{Kim görmüş, ama kim,} & \quad \text{Who saw me, who} \\
\text{Eleni’yi öptüğümü,} & \quad \text{Kissing Eleni} \\
\text{Yüksekkaldırmada, güpegündüz?} & \quad \text{On the sidewalk in the middle of the day?’}
\end{align*}
From the context, it is clear that the combined interrogative form does not represent an echo question, since no repetition of a previous utterance occurs in the discussed biblical verse, which reads as follows: “Before she was in labor she gave birth; before her pain came upon her she was delivered of a son. Who has heard such a thing? Who has seen such things? Shall a land be born in one day? Shall a nation be brought forth in one moment? For as soon as Zion was in labor she brought forth her sons.”

4. Final remarks

To sum up, the translation of Hebrew interrogative forms basically causes no problem to the Karaim translators. Sometimes, however, Biblical Hebrew uses special constructions, pronouns or particles for special types of interrogative sentences. In these cases, Karaim translators may copy the combinational properties of the original Hebrew construction, as happens when translating Hebrew wishes introduced with *mî ‘who?’ or *mî-yittên ‘who will give?’ and often in questions containing demonstrative pronouns. In other cases, the translators copy only the semantics of the Hebrew original, especially in cases when the Hebrew clauses contain a combination of the question particle *hâ- and other particles, e.g. with the hypothetical particle *‘im ‘if’, gam ‘also, moreover’ and *‘ummâm ‘indeed’.

My previous analysis of 60 pages of the manuscript of the Abrahambowicz Bible translation and comparison of its language with other Karaim Bible translations has led me to suppose that the Halich Karaim translation can “be classified as a close resemblant translation, and the Trakai Karaim and Crimean Karaim translations as representing the open resemblant translation type” (Olach 2013: 228). The examples presented in this study support my assumption that the Halich Karaim corpus represents the closest translation, whereas the Crimean Karaim materials seem to be the most open translations in relation to the Hebrew original. In terms of correspondence to the Hebrew Bible, the Trakai Karaim translations occupy a position between the Halich Karaim and the Crimean Karaim translations.
Abbreviations for languages and sources

CrKar Crimean Karaim
HKar Halich Karaim
TKar Trakai Karaim

Abbreviations for glosses of Hebrew examples

1 First person N Noun
2 Second person NEG Negation
3 Third person NIPH Verb form niphal
ABS Absolute state PIEL Verb form piel
ADJ Adjective PRF Perfect
ADV Adverb PRN Pronoun
BOTH Common gender PL Plural
CONJ Conjunction PREP Preposition
CONST Construct state PTCL Particle
DEF Definite article PTCP Participle
DIR.OBJ Direct object marker Q Interrogative particle
FEM Feminine QAL Verb form qal.
HIPH Verb form hiphil SG Singular
INF Infinitive SUFF Suffix
IPRF Imperfect V Verb
MASC Masculine W.CONS Wāw consecutive

Abbreviations for glosses of Karaim examples

1 First person HYP Hypothetical
2 Second person IMP Imperative
3 Third person INF Infinitive
ABL Ablative LOC Locative
ACC Accusative NEG Negation
A.CONV Converb in -(y)A OPT Optative
A.NPST Non-past in -A/y P.CONV Converb in -(y)lp
COP Copula PL Plural
DAT Dative POSS Possessive
DL.PST Past in -DI Q Interrogative particle
GAN Participle in -GAN R.NPST Non-past in -(V)r
GEN Genitive SG Singular
References


Shapira, Dan 2013. The Karaim translation of the Book of Nehemia copied in the 17th century’s Crimea and printed in 1840/1841 at Gözleve, on the copyist of the manuscript, and some related issues. Karaita Archives 1, 133–198.