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

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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 *Gözleve 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.

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### 1. Introduction

Karaim is classified as a high-copying Turkic language.<sup>1</sup> 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 *Gözleve 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 *Gözleve Bible* (1841) will be given as well.<sup>2</sup>

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 üčün sen olturasen jalgyz özüj*? 'Why do you sit alone?'.

<sup>2</sup> 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 *Gözleve Bible*).

(1)		Biblical Hebrew <sup>3</sup> <i>mē<sup>2</sup>áyin bā<sup>2</sup>tem</i> from where you have come.V.Q.PRF.MASC2PL 'Where have you come from?' <sup>4</sup> Gen. 42:7
		Halich Karaim <i>qaydan kel:di:niz<sup>5</sup></i> from where? come:DI.PST:2PL 'Where did you come from?' Gen. 42:7 (103/10)
(2)		Biblical Hebrew maddû <sup>ac</sup> <sup>2</sup> attā <sup>h</sup> yôšē <u>b</u> why? you.PRN:MASC2SG sit.V:QAL.PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS <i>ləbaddekā</i> in your solitude.PREP.N:MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:MASC2SG 'Why do you sit alone?' Exod. 18:14
	b.	Trakai Karaim (Németh 2014: 119)ne üčün sen oltur:a:sen jalgyz öz:üj töre et:me <sup>6</sup> why? you sit:A.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/-mï* (CrKar).<sup>7</sup> It can be added to nouns, personal pronouns, verbs or copu-

- 3 The transcription and the glossing of Biblical Hebrew examples were done using the software BibleWorks 8.
- 4 For the English translation of Biblical Hebrew examples, the *Revised Standard Version* 19712 was generally used. In cases where this version differs significantly from the Hebrew original, the *English Revised Version* 1885 is given in footnote.
- 5 I employed my own transcription system for the Halich Karaim examples and the instances taken from the *Gözleve Bible*. Otherwise, the transcriptions used by the authors of the quoted articles have been retained for the Trakai Karaim and Crimean Karaim examples. For their transcription systems see Kowalski 1929; Firkovičius 1994; Jankowski 1997; Shapira 2013; Németh 2014.
- 6 The expression *töre etme* 'to judge' is an insertion into the manuscript which is not part of the translation kept in the Sulimowicz Collection (Németh 2014: 119, footnote 72).
- 7 In spoken Trakai Karaim, the particle has a variant, -ma, as well, and in Panevėžys four variants are in use: -mo, -ma, -mö, -mä (Musaev 1964: 328).

las.<sup>8</sup> 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 agactanmo ki zinharladim sana asamasqa, andanmo asadin?* 'From the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?'. In this example, the question particle follows the ablative marker *-tan/-dan: agactanmo?* '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  $h\breve{a}$  is attached only once to the expression *min*- $h\bar{a}$ ' $\bar{e}$ s' from the tree'.

```
(3) a. Biblical Hebrew
                                                  'ăšer
        hămin-
                       hā'ēş
        from?.Q.PREP the tree.DEF.N:MASC.SG.ABS which
        șiwwîțîkā
                                                       ləbiltî
        I commanded you.V:PIEL.PRF1SG.SUFF:MASC2SG to not.PREP.NEG
        'ăkol-
                                   mimménnû
                                                             ?ā<u>k</u>āltā
                                   from it.PREP.SUFF:masc3sg you ate.V:QAL.PRF.MASC2SG
        to eat.V:QAL.INF.CONST
        'Have you eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat?' Gen. 3:11
     b. Halich Karaim
        ol aġac:tan:mo
                         ki
                                zïnharla:dï:m
                                                 sana
                                                             asa:masqa
        thetree:ABL:Q
                          that forbid:DI.PST:1SG you.DAT
                                                             eat:NEG.IMP
        andan:mo asa:dï:n
        it:ABL:O
                   eat:DI.PST:2SG
        'from the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?' Gen. 3:11 (6/14)
     c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)
        ol
              aġač:tan:mï
                             ki
                                   tenvah äd:ti:m
                                                    saŋa
                             that forbid:DI.PST:1SG you.DAT
        the
              tree:ABL:Q
        aša:ma:maq:qa andan
                                  aša:dï:ŋ
        eat:NEG:INF:DAT it:ABL
                                   eat:DI.PST:2SG
        'from the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?' Gen. 3:11 (12/23)
     d. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 49)
              ayač:tan:mo ki
        oł
                                   bujur:du:m
                                                    saja
                                                                aša:masya
        the
              tree:ABL:Q
                             that forbid:DI.PST:1SG you.DAT
                                                                eat:NEG.IMP
        andan aša:dï:į
                 eat:DI.PST:2SG
        it:ABL
        'from the tree I have forbidden you to eat, did you eat?' Gen. 3:11
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8 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).

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# 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  $ze^{h}$  '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  $ze^{h}$  '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  $ze^h$  '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  $ze^h$  'this' is used together with the question word  $l\bar{a}mm\bar{a}^h$  'why?'. This expression is translated into Halich Karaim by a combination of the question word *nege* 'why?' and the demonstrative pronoun bu 'this': *nege bu kildi śarah* 'Why did Sarah laugh?'. In the Crimean Karaim translation only *nüčün* 'why?' occurs.

- (4) a. Biblical Hebrew
  - $l\tilde{a}mm\bar{a}^h$  zze<sup>h</sup> to why.PREP.Q this.ADJ:MASC.SG  $s\bar{a}h\tilde{a}q\bar{a}^h$  s $\bar{a}r\bar{a}^h$ she laughed.V:QAL.PRF.FEM3SG Sarah 'Why did Sarah laugh?' Gen. 18:13
  - b. Halich Karaim
     nege bu kil:di śarah
     why this laugh:DLPST3SG Sarah
     'Why did Sarah laugh?' Gen. 18:13 (33/6)
  - c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible) *nüčün gül:di sarah* why laugh:DLPST3SG Sarah 'Why did Sarah laugh?' Gen. 18:13 (35/6)

Trakai Karaim translations may demonstrate this feature as well. For instance the form *nega-bu* 'why-this' can be observed in example (5): *da nega-bu yečlik była yečlan:a:siź?* 'why then with uselessness have you been deceived?', where *da nega-bu* is the translational equivalent of the Hebrew *wolommāh-zzeh* 'and-why-this?'.<sup>9</sup>

- (5) a. Biblical Hebrew
  - wəlommā<sup>h</sup>-zze<sup>h</sup>and to why.CONJ.PREP.Qthis.ADJ:MASC.SGhébeltehbálûemptyyou have been worthless.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC2PL'why then have you become altogether vain?' Job 27:12
  - b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 23)
     da ńega-bu ýečlik była ýečlań:a:siź?
     and why-this uselessness with be deceived:A.NPST:2PL
     'why then with uselessness have you been deceived?' Job 27:12

The demonstrative pronoun *bu* 'this' can be omitted in the Trakai Karaim translation. See, for instance, example (6) in which the translation of  $l\bar{a}mm\bar{a}^{h}-zze^{h}$  'whythis?' is not *hega-bu* 'why-this?' but *hega* 'why?'.

(6) a. Biblical Hebrew *lāmmā<sup>h</sup>-zze<sup>h</sup> hóbel <sup>2</sup>ígā<sup>c</sup>* to why-this nothingness I exert (myself) 'Why then do I labour in vain?' Job 9:29
b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 9) *heģa yečlik':k'a zaxmet' čeg':a:miń?* why uselessness:DAT exert:A.NPST:1SG '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 2e 'where?', the preposition *min*- 'from' and the demonstrative pronoun  $ze^h$  'this': 2e-mizze<sup>h</sup> 'from where?'. This combination is translated with maximum formal resemblance into Halich Karaim; thus qaydan bundan? 'from where?' occurs in the corpus: hayar, qaravasī śaraynīn, qaydan bundan 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 *min*- 'from', is attached to both the Karaim question word qay- and the demonstrative

<sup>9</sup> The demonstrative pronoun bu 'this' also occurs in interrogative sentences in secular texts, e.g. in a theatre play: keire-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 śāray 'ệ- mizzeh hāgār šiphat Hagar maid of.N:FEM.SG.CONST Sarai where-from-this bā't you have come.V.Q.PRF.FEM2SG 'Hagar, maid of Sarai, where have you come from?' Gen. 16:8 b. Halich Karaim hayar qaravas:ï śaray:nïn 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) hayar qaravaš:ï saray:nïŋ qay:dan gel:ir:sin 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 ' $\hat{e}$ - mizze<sup>h</sup> 'from where?'—composed of ' $\hat{e}$ - 'where', min- 'from' and ze<sup>h</sup> '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'elasiń? '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  $\hat{e}$ - mizze<sup>h</sup> 'from where?' in this verse.

 (8) a. Biblical Hebrew <sup>2</sup>ê mizze<sup>h</sup> tābō<sup>2</sup>

- Whence have you come?' Job 2:2
- b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 2) kajsy-bu orun:dan k'el:a:siń? 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  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' and the interrogative phrase  $m\hat{j}$ yittēn 'who shall give?' have a special function. Although, grammatically they form a question, clauses containing  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' or  $m\hat{j}$ -yittēn '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  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' is illustrated; see (9).

- (9) a. Biblical Hebrew
  - *mî* ya<sup>2</sup>*ă*<u>k</u>*īlenû* who.Q shall cause to eat us.V:HIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG.SUFF:1PL flesh.N:MASC.SG.ABS 'o that we had meat to eat' Num. 11:4
  - b. Halich Karaim *kim* asattir:si:ydi biz:ge et who.Q cause to eat:HYP:COP.DI.PST3SG we:DAT flesh 'who made us eat meat?' Num. 11:4 (328/2)
  - c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible) *kim ašat:qay e:di biz:gä et* who.Q cause to eat:OPT be:DI.PST3SG 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

mûtếnû mîvittēn shall give.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG who.Q our death.v:QAL.INF.CONST.SUFF:1PL yhwh(<sup>2</sup>ādonāy) bəyadin the hand of .PREP.N:FEM.SG.CONST LORD bə'ereş mişrayim 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 elgen:imiz:ni kim ber:śi:ydi give:HYP:COP.DI.PST3SG death:POSS1PL:ACC who.Q qudrat:ï:nda ha:nïn 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) ölgen:imiz:ni kim ver:sä e:di who.Q give:HYP be:DI.PST3SG death:POSS1PL:ACC

qudart:ibilan ha:ninyer:i:ndämicri:ninpower:POSS3SGwithLORD:GENland:POSS3SG:LOCEgypt: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- vittēn* 

ä.	Diblical	neblew		
	mî-	yittēn		<i>ére<u>b</u></i>
	who.Q	shall give.v	:QAL.IPRF.masc3SG	evening
	'would i	t were evening	ng!' Deut. 28:67	
b.	Halich K	Laraim		
	kim	ber:si:ydi		ingir:ni
	who.Q	give:HYP:CO	DP.DI.PST3SG	evening:ACC
	'who wo	ould have giv	en the evening?' Deut	. 28:67 (457/24)
c.	Crimean	Karaim (Gö	zleve Bible)	
	kim	ver:gäy	e:di	iŋir:ni
	who o	give:OPT	be DIPST3SG	evening ACC

who.Q give:OPT be:DI.PST3SG evening:ACC 'who would have given the evening?' Deut. 28:67 (373/20)

Close translations of  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' and  $m\hat{j}$ -yitt $\bar{e}n$  '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  $m\hat{j}$ -yitt $\bar{e}n$  '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

(

		mĵ-	yittənĒnî				
		who.Q	gives me.v:	QAL.IPRF.masc3	sg.SUFF:1	SG	
		<u>k</u> əyar hê	ê-		qé <u>d</u> e	em	
		as month	ns of.PREP.N:	MASC.PL.CONST	old.	N:MASC.SG.ABS	
		'oh, that	I were as in	the months of o	ld' Job 2	9:2	
	b.	Trakai K	araim (Kow	alski 1929: 24)			
		kim b'e	er:śe:įdir	<i>ḿeni</i>	avałyy	ai:łar:da	kibik
		who give	ve:HYP:COP3	SG me (ACC)	old	month:PL:LOC	like
		'who wo	ould have giv	en me like in th	e old mor	nths?' Job 29:2	
(13)	a.	Biblical	Hebrew				
		mî	yittēn		²ĕlôªh	dabbēr	
		who.Q	gives.V:QAI	IPRF.MASC3SG	God	would speak.v	PIEL.INF.CONST
		'but oh,	that God wor	uld speak' Job 1	1:5		
	b.	Trakai K	araim (Kow	alski 1929: 10)			
		da va	le kim	b́er:ïp	t'eńrï	śoźla:śe:įdyr	
		and bu	ıt who.Q	give:P.CONV	God	speak:HYP:COP	3sg
		'and but	who would l	have given that	God wou	ld speak?' Job 1	1:5

### 3.2. Variations in translations



### 3.2.1. Translation of Biblical Hebrew rhetorical questions composed with halo?

In Biblical Hebrew, negative rhetorical questions are introduced with halo?, i.e. a combination of the question particle  $h\ddot{a}$  and the negative particle  $l\bar{o}^{2}$  (Gibson 1997: 167). In Karaim Bible translations, two strategies for the translation of hălo<sup>2</sup> 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 halo? the precise translational equivalent of the elements of halo' occurs; i.e. both a question particle and negation are used. For example, the translation of the Hebrew hălo<sup>2</sup> tikkālēm 'if she is not humiliated?' in example (14) (containing the negation -me and imen:me:giy:di:mo? the question particle -mo) is [be ashamed:NEG:OPT:DI.PST3sg:Q] 'shouldn't she be ashamed?'. Consider the open and interpretative translation found in the Gözleve Bible.

(14)	a.	Biblical Hebrew <u>hǎlō²</u> <u>tikkālēm</u> <u>šibʿat</u> yāmîm if not she is humiliated.V:NIPH.IPRF.fem3sg seven days.N:MASC.PL.ABS 'should she not be ashamed seven days?' Num. 12:14
	b.	Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 166)imen:me:giy:di:moyedikin:leraln:ï:ndananïnbe ashamed:NEG:OPT:COP.DI.PST3SG:Qseven day:PLfront:POSS3SG:ABL he:GEN'shouldn't she be ashamed for seven days in front of him?' Num. 12:14 (331/26)
	c.	Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible) <i>muna uyal:ïr e:di yedi gün:lär</i> behold! be ashamed:R.NPST be: DI.PST3SG seven day:PL '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  $h\bar{a}l\bar{o}^2$ —i.e. a question particle and negation—are not reflected, but instead adjustments are made and an interpretation introduced with *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 *muna* 'behold!' is used in a declarative sentence: *muna bar ol yer aldïndadï senin / muna jumla ol yer aldïndadï* 'behold, the whole land is before you!'

(15)	a.	Biblical	Hebrew	
		hălō'	<u>k</u> ol-	hā <sup>s</sup> ā́reṣ
		if not	whole	the land.DEF.N:FEM.SG.ABS

		of you.pri			onst.suff:masc2sg ou?' Gen. 13:9	
b.	Halich K	araim				
	behold!	whole	that	land	ald:ïn:da:dï front:POSS2SG:LOC:COP3SG pre you!' Gen. 13:9 (24/17)	<i>senin</i> you:GEN
c.	behold!	<i>jumla</i> whole	<i>ol</i> that	<i>yer</i> land	le) <i>ald:ïŋ:a:dïr</i> front:POSS2SG:DAT:COP3SG pre you!' Gen. 13:9 (28/13)	

Adjustments and interpretation can be found in example (16) as well. Jacob wanted to marry Rachel, and therefore he served Rachel's father Laban for seven years. Afterwards, Laban allowed him to marry Rachel, and the couple had their wedding ceremony. The next morning, however, Jacob discovered that he had been deceived by Laban and it was Leah, Laban's elder daughter whom he married. He confronted Laban, saying: "What is this you have done to me? Did I not serve with you for Rachel? Why then have you deceived me?".

The Hebrew original for *Did I not serve with you for Rachel?* contains *hălō<sup>2</sup>*, but the Karaim translations again employ *muna* 'behold!' with a declarative sentence: *muna raxel icin qulluq ettim birgene senin* 'Behold, I served with you for Rachel!' and *muna raxel ücün qulluq ettim birgene* 'Behold, I served with you for Rachel!'.

(16)	a.			<i>cimmāk</i> ; with you.PREP.SUFF:fem 1. 29:25	2sg
	b.	behold! Rachel	1 1	<i>birgene</i> together:POSS2SG:DAT en. 29:25 (66/25)	<i>senin</i> you (GEN)
	c.	behold! Rachel	(Gözleve Bible) <i>üčün qulluq et:ti:m</i> for serve:DI.PST:1SG with you for Rachel!' Go	•	

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  $h \breve{a} l \bar{o}^2$ . 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	Hebre	W			
		hălō'-	hû'	kāmūs		<i>ʿimmādî</i>	
		if not	it	stored up.V:QAL.P	ASS.PTCP.MASC.SG.ABS	with me.PREP.SUFF:1SG	
		<u> ḥāṯūm</u>					
		sealed u	p.V:QA	L.pass.PTCP.MASC.	SG.ABS		
		bə <sup>2</sup> ôṣrō <u>i</u>	ţāy				
		in my tr	easurie	S.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.	Crimear	n Karai	im (Jankowski 199	7: 47)		
		типа	-	saqlanyan:dïr		möhörlängän:dir	
		behold	the	· ·	together:POSS1SG:DAT	sealed:COP3SG	
		χazna:la		-	c		
		treasure	PL:POS	SS1SG:LOC			
		'look, it	is pres	served with me; it i	s sealed in my treasures'	244a (21)	
(18)	a.	Biblical	Hebre	W			
		hălô' <u>k</u>	ōh ʻā	Śû	<sup>3</sup> ă <u>b</u> ōṯê <u>k</u> ém		
		if not here they did.V.QAL.PRF3PL your fathers.N:MASC.PL.CONST.SUFF:MASC2PL					
		'Did not	your	fathers act in this w	vay?' Neh. 13:18		
	b.	Crimear	n Karai	im (Shapira 2013: 1	184)		
				qiyli:di:lar <sup>10</sup>			
				vay do:DI.PST:3pl			

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

The studied Trakai Karaim translations provide only a few examples of rendering *hălō*<sup>2</sup>. As can be seen in (19), *muna* 'behold!' is again used with a declarative clause: *muna śuť:ńu kibik kujuštur:du:j meni* 'Behold! You caused me to be curdled like milk' (Kowalski 1929a: 9).

(19) a. Biblical Hebrew

hǎlō<sup>2</sup> keḥālāb
if not like the milk.PREP.DEF.N:MASC.SG.ABS
tattîkēnî
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 i is probably written with hîreq + yog, and under the first letter lâmed there is a šowā marking the sequences of consonants; i.e. no vowel is denoted there. Since šowā and hîreq differ by only one dot, it is sometimes difficult to decide if the quality of a manuscript is not good enough.

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b. Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929: 9) *muna śuť:ńu kibik kujuštur:du:j meni,* behold milk:ACC like cause to curdle:DI.PST:2SG I:ACC 'behold, you caused me to curdle like milk' Job 10:10

### 3.2.2. Translation of Hebrew ha -<sup>2</sup>im constructions

Alongside its basic hypothetical function, the Hebrew hypothetical particle 2im 'if' can also be used in interrogation. In double, triple and alternative questions in Hebrew, the question particle  $h\breve{a}$  is employed in the first clause, whereas the particle 2im 'if' (or w = 2im 'and if') is used in the second and third clauses (Gibson 1997: 184; Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 510, 684–685).

In Karaim, the hypothetical marker -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 *'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: *soyulsalar* 'if they are slaughtered' and *istirinsa* 'if it is gathered'. The Crimean Karaim translation contains *–sA* as well: *soyulsa* 'if it is slaughtered' and *toplansa* '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
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hăşō' ûbāqār yiššāhēt lāhem flock? and cattle is slaughtered.V:NIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL ûmāṣā' lāhem and is enough.V:QAL.W.CONS.PRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL ٦īm '<u>ęt</u>kolif DIR.OBJ all.N:MASC.SG.CONST dəğê hayyām fishes.N:MASC.PL.CONST the sea.DEF.N:MASC.SG.ABS vē'āsēp lāhem to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL he assembles.V:NIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG ûmāsā' lāhem and is enough.V:QAL.W.CONS.PRF.MASC3SG to them.PREP.SUFF:3PL '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?' Num. 11:22 b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 169)

qoy:mo	da	sigir:mo soyul:ur	alar:ġa ki	yet:key
flock:Q	and	cattle:Q be slaughtered:R.NPST3SG	they:DAT that	suffice:OPT3SG

alar:ġa soyul:sa:lar alar:ġa da alar:ġa yet:er:mo they:DAT be slaughtered:HYP:3PL they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q they:DAT yemese osol bar balïq:lar:ï oltengiz:nin ïstïrïn:sa that all fish:PL:POSS3SG be gathered:HYP3SG or the sea:GEN yet:er:mo alar:ġa da alar:ġa and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q they:DAT they:DAT '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) yet:är:mi qoy da sigir soyul:sa alar:ġa da flock and cattle be slaughtered:hyp3sg they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q alar:ġa yaxut jumla balïq:lar:ï oldeniz:nin they:DAT that fish:PL:POSS3SG the or sea:GEN toplan:sa alar:ġa da yet:är:mi alar:ġa be gathered:HYP3SG they:DAT and suffice:R.NPST3SG:Q they:DAT '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 (267/2)

An open translation is illustrated by example (21), where the semantics of the  $h\ddot{a}$  -<sup>2</sup>*im* construction, however, is maintained and represented by the use of the question particle *-mo* in every clause: *bardïmo/varmïdïr* 'is there?' and *yoxtumo/yoq-mï* 'is there not?'.

21)	a.	Biblical Hebrew				
		hăyēš	yhwh	bəqirbḗnû		
		being?.Q.PTCL:AD	V LORD	in midst of us.F	PREP.N:MASC	.SG.CONST.SUFF:1PL
		'im- 'ā́yin				
		if nothing				
		'is the LORD amo	ong us or no	ot?' Exod. 17:7		
	b.	Halich Karaim (O	lach 2013:	170)		
		bar:dï:mo	hašgaxa:si	Ţ	ha:nïn	orta:mïz:da
		exist:COP3SG:Q	divine pres	sence:POSS3SG	LORD:GEN	midst:POSS1PL:LOC
		biz:nin yemese	yox:tu:mo			
		we:GEN or	not exist:C	OP3SG:Q		
		'is the divine pres	ence of LO	RD in the midst o	of us or not?'	Exod. 17:7 (164/19)
	c.	Crimean Karaim (	Gözleve Bi	ble)		
		var:mï:dïr	ha o	rta:mïz:da	yaxut	yoq-mï
		exist:Q:COP3SG	LORD n	nidst:POSS1PL:LOG	c or	not exist-Q
		'is the divine pres	ence of LOI	RD in the midst o	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

(2

verb *yiri-/yürü-* 'to walk' and not to *yoq* 'there is no'. Consider that the Hebrew hypothetical particle '*im* is attached to the negative particle  $l\bar{o}$ '.

(22) a. Biblical Hebrew

hăyēlēk bətôrātî he walks?.Q.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG with my law.PREP.N:FEM.SG.CONST.SUFF:1SG 'im- lō' if not 'whether they will walk in my law or not' Exod. 16:4 b. Halich Karaim (Olach 2013: 171) yiri:r:mo tora:m hïla yemeśe yoq walk:R.NPST3SG:Q law:poss1sg with or not 'whether he walks with my law or not' Exod. 16:4 (161/10) c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible) yürü:r:mi tora:m bïlan yaxut voq walk:R.NPST3SG:Q law:POSS1SG 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): *muvreimudur* 'does (s)he/it bray?', *cuvleimudur* 'does (s)he/it low?'.

(23) a. Biblical Hebrew

/	hăyinhaq-	pére'
	brays?.Q.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG	a wild donkey.N:MASC.SG.ABS
	<sup>c</sup> ălê- <u>d</u> éše <sup>2</sup>	<sup>2</sup> īm yig <sup>c</sup> e <sup>h_</sup>
	on.PREP grass. N:MASC.SG.ABS	s if lows.v:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG
	ššôr <sup>c</sup> al-	bəlîlô
	OX.N:MASC.SG.ABS ON.PREP	his fodder.N:MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:MASC3SG
	'does the wild ass bray when h	he has grass, or the ox low over his fodder?' Job 6:5
b.	Trakai Karaim (Kowalski 1929	9: 6)
	muvre:i:mu:dur kijik at	kogot üśt:u:ńa,
	bray: A.NPST: Q:3SG wild ho	
	ýem čuvłe:į:mu:dur öģuź	jem:i üśť:u:ńa,
	or low:A.NPST:Q:3SG ox	fodder:POSS3SG top:POSS3SG:DAT
	'does the wild horse bray over	grass, or does the ox low over his fodder?' Job 6:5
	'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  $h\breve{a}$ - in order to express emphasis. For instance, the particle  $\bar{g}am$  'also, moreover' can be combined with  $h\breve{a}$ - (Gibson 1994: 167). In Karaim Bible translations, different translational

methods can be observed for rendering emphatic questions containing *hāğam*. In the Halich Karaim translation, the translational equivalent is *daģin:mo* 'really?'; i.e. no adjustments are made.<sup>11</sup> 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 *daģin* '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  $\bar{g}am$  'moreover' are reflected by the use of *dagin* 'again, over, also', but the question particle *-mo* is not used.

(24)	a.	Biblical Hebrew					
		hăğam hălōm rā²íṯî					
		also?.Q.CONJ here.ADV I have seen.V:QAL.PRF.1SG					
		²aḥărê rō²î					
		after them.N:MASC.PL.CONST seeing me.V:QAL.ptcpl.MASC.SG.CONST.SUFF:1SG					
		'Have I really seen God and remained alive after seeing him?' <sup>12</sup> Gen 16:13					
	b.	Halich Karaim					
		dağïn:mo bu:nda da ker:di:m mal'ak:ni					
		also:Q this:LOC and see:DI.PST:1SG angel:ACC					
		ker:gen:im:den sortun iv:i:nde biy:im:nin					
		see:GAN:POSS1SG:ABL after house:POSS3SG:LOC Lord:POSS1SG:GEN					
		'Did I really see the angel after seeing (him) in the house of the Lord?'					
		Gen. 16:13 (29/27)					
	c.	Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible)					
		dağın mu:nda gör:di:m gör:gän:im:dän soŋra					
		also this:LOC see:DLPST:1SG see:GAN:POSS1SG:ABL after					
		'I also saw (him) here after seeing (him)' Gen. 16:13 (32/15)					

The combination  $h\bar{a}gam$  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).

(25)	a.	Biblical Hebrew						
		hăgam- leḥem		yû <u>k</u> al	tē <u>t</u>			
		also?.Q.CONJ	bread	he is able.V:QAL.IPRF.MASC3SG	to give.V:QAL.INF.CONST			

<sup>11</sup> The lexical item *dağī* and *dağīn* means 'also, again', but the expression *dağīn mī*?, i.e. *dağīn* with a question particle, has the meaning 'really?' (KRPS 168).

<sup>12</sup> The ERV translation is 'Have I even here looked after him that seeth me?'.

Hebrew interrogatives in Karaim Bible translations

'im- yākîn šə'ēr lə'ammô if he prepares.V:HIPH.IPRF.MASC3SG meat to his people.PREP.N:MASC.SG.CONST 'Can he also give bread, or provide meat for his people?' Psa. 78:20 b. Trakai Karaim (Firkovičius 1994: 88) dahy öt'miak bolal:yr-mo bier:mia jemiesia tiuziu:r-mo also bread able to do:R.NPST3SG-Q give:INF or provide:R.NPST3sg-Q ėť' ulus:u:na meat people:POSS3SG:DAT 'Can he also give bread, or provide meat for his people?' Psa. 78:20

The combination of the Hebrew question particle *hă*- and *'umnām* 'indeed' 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 ha'umnām lō' 'ûkal indeed?.Q.CONJ not I am able.V:QAL.IPRF1SG kabbədékā to honour you.V:PIEL.INF.CONST.SUFF:MASC2SG 'Am I not able to honor you?'13 Num. 22:37 b. Halich Karaim kertiden:mo bolal:ma:men sïyla: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) gerčäk bol:a al:mas:mï e:di:m sïyla:ma:ġa seni real be:A.CONV take:NEG.R.NPST:Q be:DI.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 *hą<sup>2</sup>umnām* 'indeed?' can be found. Although the translation of the Hebrew verse of Psalm 58:2 differs from the original (*bir orunha ištyrylyp* 'gathering in one place' stands for '*ēlem* 'silence of'), the Karaim expression *kiertidiań-mo* 'really?' is an accurate translational equivalent of *hą<sup>2</sup>umnām* 'indeed?'.

(27)	a.	Biblical Hebrew		
		ha'umnām	Pélem	ședeq
		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?'

```
tədabbērûn
you speak.V:PIEL.IPRF.MASC2PL
'Do you indeed decree what is right?'<sup>14</sup> Psa. 58:2
b. Trakai Karaim (Firkovičius 1994: 62)
```

*kiertidiań-mo bir orun:ha ištyryl:yp rastlych:ny sioźlie:j:siź* really-Q one place:DAT gather:P.CONV rightness:ACC speak:A.NPST:2SG 'Do you indeed, gathering in one place speak rightness?' Psa. 58:2

### 3.3. Rare occurrences

### 3.3.1. Translation of Hebrew question words used in special expressions

Sometimes, the question words  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' and  $ma^h$  'what?' can be found in clauses in which their usage is not typical. Thus,  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' may be used "of things when the idea of a person is involved", whereas  $ma^h$  'what?' may be employed "of persons if their circumstances or relations be inquired of" (Gibson 1994: 7). For instance, we find  $m\hat{i}$  '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

')	u.	Dioneur	10010	**						
		mî	<i>lə<u>k</u>ā</i>			ko	<i>l-</i>	hammaḥa	ăne <sup>h</sup>	
		who.Q	to you	u.PREP.SUFF:	MASC2	sg all	1	the camp.	DEF.N:	BOTH.SG.ABS
		hazze <sup>h</sup>								
		the this.	DEF.AD	J:MASC.SG						
		'What do	) you i	nean by all	this cor	npanyʻ	?' G	en. 33:8		
	b.	Halich K	araim							
		kim:di		sana	bar	ol	awı	ıl ol	usp	и
		who:COP	3sg	you (DAT)	all	that	can	np tha	t very	y that
		'who is a	ll that	camp to yo	u?' Ger	n. 33:8	(80)	/10)		
	c.	Crimean	Karai	m (Gözleve	Bible)					
		kim:dir		sänin	jumla	ušl	bu	aw	ul	
		who:COP	3sg	you (GEN)	5		ry th	at car	np	
		'who is a	ll that	camp to yo	u?' Ger	n. 33:8	(80)	/10)		
								<i>,</i>		

### 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  $m\hat{i}$  '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  $m\hat{i} w\bar{a}m\hat{i}$  '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 *kim* 'who?' is repeated as well: *kim da kim* 'who and who?' Similarly, the question word *kim* 'who?' occurs twice in the Crimean Karaim translation, although the copula is attached to the second question word; i.e. *kim da kimdir* 'who and who?' can be observed.<sup>15</sup>

(29) a. Biblical Hebrew mî wāmî hahōlkîm and who? the ones going.DEF.V:QAL.PCPL.MASC.PL.ABS who? 'Who exactly are to go?' Exod. 10:8 b. Halich Karaim kim da kim ol baruwcu:lar who? and who? that going:PL 'Who exactly are to go?' Exod. 10:8 (147/3) c. Crimean Karaim (Gözleve Bible) kim da kim:dir olwarajaq:lar who? and who?:COP3SG that going:PL 'Who exactly are to go?' Exod. 10:8 (120/18)

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

#### 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 *kim* 'who?' the question particle is attached to the verbs: *ešittimo* 'did (s)he hear?', *kerdimo* 'did (s)he see?'; see (30): *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, *mî* 'who?'.

15 Repetition of a question word is also possible in Turkish. Consider *kim* [...] *ama kim* 'who [...] but who' in the poem Dedikodu 'Gossip' written by Orhan Veli:

'Who says
I've fallen for Suheyla?
Who saw me, who
Kissing Eleni
On the sidewalk in the middle of the day?'

(30)	a.	Biblical	Hebrew		
		mĵ-	šāma¢		kāzō² <u>t</u>
			heard.V:QAL.PRF.M rā <sup>2</sup> ā <sup>h</sup>	IASC3SG	like this.prep.ADJ:FEM.SG kā <sup>2</sup> ḗlle <sup>h</sup>
		mî	14 4		nu ene
		who.Q	saw.V:QAL.PRF.MA	.sc3sg	like these.PREP.ADJ:BOTH.PL
		'who has	s heard such a thing	? who ha	s seen such things?' Isa. 66:8
	b.	Halich K	araim		
		kim	ešit:ti:mo	bu:nun	kibik
	who.Q hear:DI.P		hear:DI.PST3SG:Q	this:GEN	like
		kim	ker:di:mo	bu:lar	kibik
		who.Q	see:DI.PST3SG:Q	this:PL	like
		'who did	hear such a thing?	who did	see such things?' Isa. 66:8 (476/9)

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  $m\hat{i}$  'who?' or  $m\hat{i}$ -yittēn '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  $h\tilde{a}$ - and other particles, e.g. with the hypothetical particle 'im 'if',  $\bar{g}am$  'also, moreover' and 'umn $\bar{a}m$  'indeed'.

My previous analysis of 60 pages of the manuscript of the Abrahamowicz 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.

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# Abbreviations for languages and sources

CrKar	Crimean Karaim		
HKar	Halich Karaim		
TKar	Trakai Karaim		
KRPS	Baskakov, Nikolaj A. & Zajączkowski, Ananiasz & Szapszal, Seraja M. 1974.		
	Karaimsko-russko-pol'skij slovar'. Moskva: Russkij Jazyk.		

# Abbreviations for glosses of Hebrew examples

1	First person	Ν	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 <i>hiphil</i>	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)Ip
COP	Copula	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative	POSS	Possessive
DI.PST	Past in –DI	Q	Interrogative particle
GAN	Participle in -GAn	R.NPST	Non-past in -(V)r
GEN	Genitive	SG	Singular

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