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Southwest (Halich) Karaim

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Southwest (Halich) Karaim

Abstract

This paper presents two texts in the Halich Karaim language, which is today practically extinct. Karaim is the common denomination of the Kipchak Turkic varieties once spoken in the religious communities of Eastern European Karaites in today's Lithuania, Ukraine, and Crimea. Their Mosaic confession is based on reading the Hebrew Bible. The recordings were made in the 1990s in the framework of a research project financed by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft at the University of Cologne. The texts are presented in a Turcological transcription of Johanson (2021) with morphological glosses and English translation. Selected specific features of the variety are briefly described and illustrated with examples from the texts.

Key words: Karaim, endangered language, Kipchak Turkic, language documentation, Karaite confession

Güneybatı (Haliç) Karaycası

Öz

Bu makale, bugün artık konuşuru tükenmiş bir dil olan Haliç Karaycasından iki metin sunmaktadır. Karayca, bugünkü sınırları itibariyle Litvanya, Ukrayna ve Kırım'da bulunan Doğu Avrupa Karaylarının dini topluluklarında (bir zamanlar) konuşulan Kıpçak Türkçesinin ortak adıdır. Museviliğe ait mezhepleri, İbranice Eski Ahit'in okunmasını esas almaktadır. Kayıtlar 1990'lı yıllarda Köln Üniversitesinde Alman Bilimsel Araştırmalar Kurumu tarafından finanse edilen bir araştırma projesi çerçevesinde gerçekleştirilmiştir. Metinler, Johanson (2021)'de önerilen Türkolojik çevriyazı, satırarası morfolojik açıklamalar ve İngilizce çeviri ile birlikte sunulmaktadır. Karaycanın söz konusu değişkesinin belirgin özellikleri kısaca açıklanıp metinlerden örneklerle ortaya konmaktadır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Karayca, yok olma tehlikesi altındaki dil, Kıpçak Türkçesi, dil belgelenmesi, Karay dini

About the language, the speakers, and their community

Karaim is a cover term for West Kipchak Turkic varieties spoken in small communities situated in the territories of present-day Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, and Russia. These communities are followers of the Karaite confession, which, according to the Karaim tradition, originates from a sect in the eighth-century Jewish diaspora in Babylonia. For more about Karaitism, see Polliack (2003).

The ethnonym Karaim refers to the Turkic-speaking groups that historically converted to Karaitism and settled down in Eastern European territories. The circumstances of this conversion are not documented. The main Karaim communities are the Crimean Karaim community, still the most populous, the Galician/Volhynian or Halich/Luck community, and the Lithuanian community, also called the Trakai (Polish *Troki*) community. There are also Karaim communities today in

Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Poland. The Lithuanian community is the only one in which the language is still spoken, or at least remembered. Little is known about the original language of the Crimean Karaim, who have for a long time been speakers of the dominant languages of the area, Crimean Tatar, Crimean Turkish, and Russian.

The three varieties distinguished in Turcological literature are (i) Northwest (Troki/Trakai) Karaim (NWK), (ii) Southwest (Halich) Karaim (SWK), and (iii) East (Crimean) Karaim (EK). This article deals with the documentation of the linguistic features of the spoken Southwest Karaim (SWK) variety.

Southwest Karaim is practically extinct today. See more about the last speakers in Csató (in print).

Circumstances of the recording. The speaker

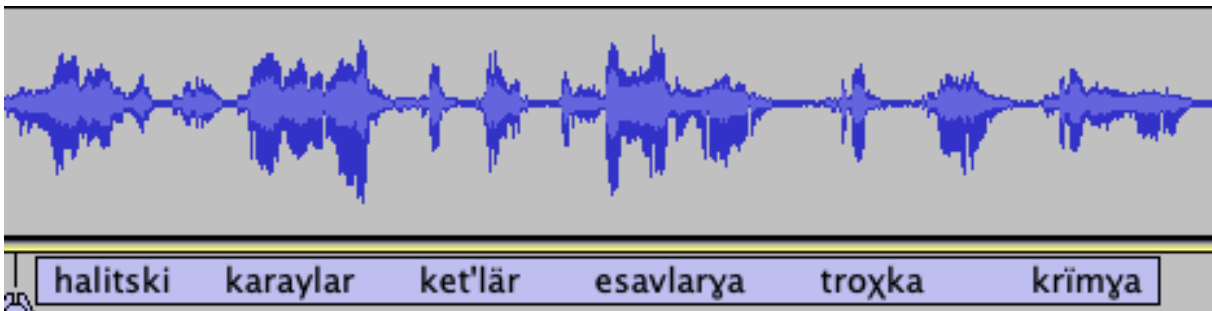


Janina Eszwowicz (1930–2003) in her home in Halich in 2002. Photo Éva Á. Csató

In the 1990s I carried out a documentation project financed by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft at University of Cologne, Germany. The aim of this project was to document the spoken varieties of Northwest and Southwest Karaim. The Southwest Karaim speakers I worked with lived in the town of Halich (Ukrainian *Галич*). At the time when I visited them there were only a few Karaims living in the town.

Halich is a town in Galicia, in western Ukraine, about 150 km south of L'viv (Lwów, Lemberg). The largest town in the vicinity is Ivano-Frankiv's'k, formerly Stanislaw, in Karaim *Tasli sayar* 'Town [built] of Bricks'. At the turn of the last century, Halich belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, then it belonged to Poland, and later it was annexed by the Soviet state.

The speaker is Janina Eszwowicz (1930–2003), who was the last fully competent speaker of the community language in Halich. She could write and read Karaim in Latin script, though not in Hebrew script. The recording was made in 1996 in Halich.



Annotated texts

The first text was written by Aleksander Mardkowicz (1875–1944), a writer and publisher, who was an ardent supporter of Karaim as a modern literary language. He published the tale «Elijahunun ucuru. Jomak» 'Elijah's adventure. A tale' in the first issue of «Karaj jazystar» 'Karaim writings' in Luck, as the first publication in his planned book series (Mardkowicz 1930). Mardkowicz used the Polish-based Latin orthography; see his dictionary (Mardkowicz 1935).

The second text was recorded in Halich in 1998. Janina Eszwowicz tells about the Karaim community in Halich before World War II.

Text 1. Eliyah's adventure

LINK: [Karaim Audio 1](#)

1. ‹Elijahunun ucuru›

Eliya-nun utsur-u

Eliyah-GEN adventure-POSS3

'Elijah's adventure'

2. ‹Jomak›

Yomak

tale

'A tale'

3. ‹Łuck 1930›

Lutsk min toyuz yiz otuz.

Lutsk thousand nine hundred thirty

'Luck 1930.'

4. ‹Karaj jazyslar›

Karay yazıs-lar

Karaim writing-PL

'Karaim writings'

5. ‹Burunhu bitik›

Buruny bicik

first book

'First book'

6. ‹Bas sezi›

Bas sež-i

head word-POSS3

'Foreword'

7. «Karaj ułanyňa»

Karay ułan-ın-a

Karaim child-POSS3-DAT

'For the Karaim child.'

8. «Jigit ta siwer dostum.»

Yigit ta šiv-ār dost-um.

young and love-PN friend-POSS1SG

'My young and dear friend!'

9. «Tutasen kołunda burunhu jomakny, kajsy cykty karaj sezinde.»

Tut-a-sän koł-ın-da burunyu yomak-ni, kaysi

hold-INTRA-2SG hand-POSS2SG-LOC first tale-ACC which

tsik-ti karay sež-ın-dä.

come.out-TERM3SG Karaim language-POSS3-LOC

'You hold in your hand the first tale which has been published in the Karaim language.'

10. «Bu zamanhadein sen uchudun ancak jat tilde jazgan jomaklar.»

Bu dzaman-ya deyin sän uxu-du-n antsak yat

this time-DAT until you read-TERM-2SG only foreign

cił-dä yaz-yan yomak-lar.

language-LOC write-PN tale-PL

'Until now you have only read tales written in foreign languages.'

11. «Anynicin bołaldyn sahyśłama, ki bizin tilimiz andij miskin ta tigełdiwił, ki jetmejd' anyn chały jomakka da.»

Anin itsin boł-ał-di-n sayisla-ma, ki biž-ın

it-GEN for be(come)-POT-TERM-2SG think-INF that we-GEN

cił-ımız anjy miskin ta ciğel divił ki

language-POSS1PL such poor and perfect not that

yet-me-y-đ an-ın χał-i yomak-ka da.

suffice-NEG-INTRA-3SG it-GEN condition-POSS3 tale-DAT also

'Therefore you may have thought that our language is so poor and imperfect that its condition is not even sufficient for tales.'

12. «Ałaj diwild', siwer dostum!»

Ałay jivıl-đ, šiv-är dost-um.
 so not-COP3SG love-PN friend-POSS1SG
 'It is not so, my dear friend.'

13. «Dunja arasyn tabuład kiebisi tiłler miškinrek bizinkiden.»

Dunya ara-sın tabuł-a-d kėb-i-ši cił-lär
 world in-POSS3.ACC be.found-INTRA-3SG many-POSS3-POSS3 language-PL
miškij-räk biž-iń-kı-dän.
 poor-COMP we-GEN-REL-ABL
 'There are many languages in the world that are poorer than ours.'

14. «Ta oł tiłlerde jazgan kiep jazyslar – diwił ancak jomaklar, wałe uchumak ta jiwretiw jazyslar.»

Ta oł kıl-lär-dä yaz-yan kėp yazıs-lar jivıl
 and that language-PL-LOC write-PN many writing-PL not
antsak yomak-lar vała uχumak ta yivrä-t-iv yazıs-lar.
 only tale-PL but reading and teach-CAUS-DER writing-PL
 'And there are many writings written in those languages – not only tales but pieces of reading and textbooks.'

15. «Karaj kilinin chały jeted' osołajze andij jazyslarha.»

Karay kıl-i-nin χał-i yet-ä-đ osołay-zä
 Karaim language-POSS3-GEN condition-POSS3 suffice-INTRA-3SG in.such.way
anjiy yazıs-lar-ya.
 such writing-PL-DAT
 'The condition of the Karaim language suffices just as well for such writings.'

16. «Ino biz, karajlar azbiz da jocht bizde kimhe jazma bizin sezimizbe.»

Ino biz karay-lar az-biz da yoχ-t biz-dä
 only we Karaim-PL few-COP1PL and non.existing-3SG we-LOC
kim-gä yaz-ma biž-in sež-iñiz-bä.
 who-DAT write-INF we-GEN language-POSS1PL-WITH.POSTP
 'It is only that we Karaim are few, and there is nobody among us to write in the Karaim language.'

17. «Bołałhaj bu jazyscyk, kajsyn men kojamen senin kołuna, bołma oł burunhu cypcyk, kajsy anłatad juwukłuhun jazbasnyn ta kieltired’ ezibe bałkuwun kujasnyn, jesillihin tizlernin ta ciecieklerin bachcałarnyn.»

Bołal-ğay bu yazis-tsjk, kay-sjn män koy-a-män
 can-OPT3 this writing-DIM which-POSS3.ACC I put-INTRA-1SG
šej-in kol-un-a, bol-ma ol burunyu tsiptsik,
 you-GEN hand/arm-POSS2SG-DAT become-INF that first bird
kay-sj anla-t-a-d yuvuk-luy-un yaz-bas-njn ta
 which-POSS3 tell-CAUS-INTRA-3SG near-DER-POSS3.ACC spring-GEN and
keftir-ä-d’ ež-i-bä bałkuv-un kuyas-njn,
 bring-INTRA-3SG self-POSS3-WITH.POSTP shine-POSS3.ACC sun-GEN
yešil-lij-in ciz-lär-njn ta tsetsek-lär-in baχtsa-lär-njn.
 green-DER-POSS3.ACC field-PL-GEN and flower-PL-POSS3.ACC garden-PL-GEN

‘May this little writing, which I put into your hands, become the first bird that tells of the nearness of spring, and that brings the sunshine, the greenness of the fields and the flowers of the gardens.’

18. «Ajtadlar, jocht nemede awurrak oł baslyktan.»

Ayt-a-d-lar, yoχ-t nämä-dä avur-rak ol bas-lik-tan.
 say-INTRA-3-PL non.existing-3SG nothing difficult-COMP that beginning-ABL
 ‘They say, nothing is more difficult than the beginning!’

19. «Uchusan bu jazysny, jazarsen mana kici biticik (anłanadyr, karaj sezinde) ta men berim sana engie jazys, kajda tabarsen hanuz kierklirek jomaklar.»

Uχu-sa-n bu yaz-iš-nj, yaz-ar-sän mana kitši bicitšik
 read-HYP-2SG this write-DER-ACC write-AOR-2SG I.DAT little letter.DIM
anla-n-a-dir, karay šež-in-dä ta män ber-i-m
 understand-PASS-INTRA-3SG Karaim language-POSS3-LOC and I give-AOR-1SG
sana enge yaz-iš, kay-da tab-ar-sän yanuz
 you.DAT other writing-DER which-LOC find-AOR-2SG yet
kerkli-räk yomak-lar.
 beautiful-COMP tale-PL

‘When you have read this piece of writing, you will write me a short letter (in Karaim, of course) and I will give you another writing, in which you will find even more beautiful tales.’

20. «Saw boł, jigít dostum, ta unutmá ki sen Karaj tuwdun.»

Saw boł jigít dost-um, ta unut-ma ki
 healthy be(come)-IMP young friend-POSS1SG and forget-NEG.IMP that
sän Karay tuv-dü-n.
 you Karaim be.borne-TERM-2SG

‘Good bye, my young friend, and do not forget that you were born Karaim.’

21. «Tut ez diñiññi ta šiv ez sezinni.»

Tut ez diñ-ijn-ñi ta šiv ez sez-ijn-ñi.
 hold.IMP own religion-POSS2SG-ACC and love.IMP own language-POSS2SG-ACC

‘Hold to your own religion and love your own language.’

22. «Tenri sana bołusur!»

Tänri sana bołus-ur!
 God you-DAT help-AOR3SG

‘God will help you!’

Text 2. Halich



Halich Karaims in the cemetery in 1998. Photo: Éva Á. Csató

LINK: [Karaim Audio 2](#)

23.

Yalits-tä katsanes e-đi kibiši dunya.
 Halich-LOC in.the.old.days COP-TERM3SG many people
 'In the old days, there were many Karaims in Halich.'

24.

E-đi kibiši er kiši-lär, katın kiši-lär e-đi kibiši, ulan-lar,
 COP-TERM3SG many man-PL woman-PL COP-TERM3SG many child-PL
vigit elän.
 young people
 'Many men, many women, children and young people.'

25.

A tserv-dän son Yalits-ki karay-lar keť-lär
 but war-ABL after Halich-REL Karaim-PL leave.TERM-3PL
Esavlar-ya, Trox-ka, Krım-ya.
 Poland-DAT Trakai-DAT Crimea-DAT
 'After the war, the Halich Karaims emigrated to Poland, to Trakai, and to Crimea.'

26.

I kal-đi antsak on adam Yalits-tä,
 and remain-TERM3SG only ten person Halich-LOC
ekki adam Stanislav-da.
 two person Stanislav-LOC
 'And only ten people remained in Halich, and two in Stanislav [Ivano-Frankivs'k].'

27.

Karay-tsa ayt-ır e-đ-lär Tas-ļi sayar-da.
 Karaim-EQUA say-AOR COP-TERM-3PL brick-DER town-LOC
 'The Karaim used to say Tasli sayar 'Town [built] in Bricks'.

28.

[Yalits-tä] oltur-a-đi on adam, bir er kiši i
 Halich-LOC live-INTRA-COP3SG ten person one man and

toyuz katın kiši.

nine woman

'Ten people live in Halich, one man and nine women.'

29.

Γar bir uže kart-rak.

each one already old-COMP

'They are now all old(er).'

30.

Biž-dä bar-d kart-rak kart katın kiši kaysi-lar uže

we-LOC existing-COP3SG old-COMP old woman who-PL Already

seksen yıl artik bol-ur. Zayantskovska Sabina.

eighty year more be(come)-AOR Zajanczkowska Sabina

'We have an old woman here, Sabina Zajanczkowska; she is more than eighty years old.'

31.

Anin er-i e-đi karindas-ı

she-GEN husband-POSS3SG COP-TERM3SG brother-POSS3SG

professor Zayantskovski.

professor Zajanczkowski

'Her husband was Prof. Zajanczkowski's brother.'

32. Eva:

I niđi ırlık Ƴalits-tä?

and how life Halich-LOC

'How is life in Halich?'

33.

Usonđi yaz bicin Ukraina. Sonđi usol ež-i Γalits-tä. Avur.

such as whole Ukraine such so self-POSS3SG Halich-LOC difficult

'The same as in the whole of Ukraine. It is also so in Halich. Difficult.'

Some specific characteristics of Halich Karaim, illustrated mainly by examples from the text

Sound system

Vowel types

Southwest Karaim lacks the front round vowels *ü* and *ö*, that are characteristic of Turkic. The *ü* sounds of cognate Turkic varieties are represented by *i*, and the *ö*-sounds by *e*, e.g. S3: *yiz* ‘hundred’, and S6: *bas sež-i* ‘foreword’. Thus, these two front rounded vowels are delabialized as, for instance, in several Turkic languages in Iran.

The vowel inventory consists of the following main types: *i*, *e*, *ä*, *ï*, *u*, *o*, *a*. Near-high lax vowels, marked with a dot under, are typical in suffixes. Two *e* sounds are distinguished, a closed *e* and an open *ä*, e.g. in S15: *yet-ä-d* ‘it suffices’, S17: *keḷtir-ä-d* ‘it brings’. The *e* sound is more frequent in the first syllable of primary stems than in non-first syllables, as is also typical of other Turkic languages.

While *e* can trigger the palatalization of consonants in their environment, this is not true of *ä*, which does not cause such a phonetic effect, e.g. S11: *ciğel* ‘perfect’, but S15: *yet-ä-d* ‘it suffices’.

Consonant types

In the consonant system the palato-alveolar affricates and fricatives are dentalized.

š > *s*, e.g. S4: *yazīs* ‘writing’

č > *ts*, e.g. S17: *tsetsek* ‘flower’

ǰ > *dz* e.g. S10: *dzaman* ‘time’

An *i* sound, or in many cases also the *e*-sound, palatalizes the consonants *l*, *s*, *n*, *t*, *d*, *z*, *ts*, *k*, *g*. This can result in palatalized, palatoalveolar or palatal consonants. The following changes occur: *l* > *ḷ*, *s* > *ṣ* or *š*, *n* > *ṇ* or *ɲ*, *t* > *ṭ* or *c* (palatal voiceless plosive), or *k*, *d* > *ḍ* or *ɟ* (palatal voiced plosive) or *g*, *z* > *ẓ* or *ž*, and *ɣ* > *ɣ̣*. Some examples: S19: *karay sež-ïn-dä* ‘in the Karaim language’, S10: *yat cił-dä* ‘in a foreign language’ or S15: *kił* written as <til> or <kil> ‘language’; S14: *jivił* ‘not’. Corresponding *ṭ* > *ḳ* sound change is also documented in Tatar and Mishar Tatar (Arman Eleusin p.c.).

In some environments, the *l* sound is a velarized alveolar approximant *l̥*. The velarization is most perceptible in word- and syllable-final position, e.g. S14: *jivił* ‘not’. A palatalized *ḷ* is pronounced in the environment of an *i* or *e*, e.g. *Karay kił-i-ɲin* ‘of the Karaim language’, or a palatal consonant, e.g. S12: *jivił-d* ‘is not’. Similar effects of palatalization can also be observed, among others, in-Azeri and some Black Sea dialects (Brendemoen 2006).

The effects of palatalization have radically changed the phonetic form of many lexical items. Some examples are as follows: S11: *ciğel* ‘perfect’, *šiv-är* ‘dear’.

Special signs in the transcription

In addition to the usual sound types a few special signs have to be used in the transcription of Southwest Karaim. Palatalization is marked by a combining acute accent (Unicode U+0301), e.g. *kił̣*, *ḷ*, *ɲ̣*. Palatal consonants are rendered by *ɲ* (Unicode n with left hook U+0272), *c*, *ɟ* (Unicode dotless j with stroke U+025F) as in S21: *dij-ɲ-ɲi* ‘your religion’, S11: *cił-ɲiɲiz* ‘our language’, S12: *jivił-d* ‘is not’.

Morphology

The plural suffix is as in most Turkic languages {+LAR}, e.g. S14: *o! ki!-lär-dä* ‘in those languages’, S14: *yomak-lar* ‘tales’. The suffixinitial L varies between a palatalized front and a non-palatalized back variety. The distribution of these is governed by specific rules; see above.

Observe the use of plural as a polite form, e.g. S30 *kaysi-lar* ‘who’ referring to an old lady.

Possessive and case suffixes show the expected Kipchak features, e.g. S7: *Karay ulan-in-a* ‘for the Karaim child’, S8: *dost-um* ‘my friend’, S9: *ko!-un-da* ‘in your hand’, S9: *karay sež-in-dä* ‘in the Karaim language’, S10: *bu dzaman-ya deyin* ‘until now’, S11: *biž-in ci!-imiz* ‘our language’, S11: *an-in xal-i* ‘its condition’, S13: *biž-in-ki-dän* ‘than ours’, S16: *biž-in sež-imiz-bä* ‘with our language’, S18: *bas-lik-tan* ‘from the beginning’, S19: *bu yaz-ış-ni* ‘this writing’.

The suffix-initial consonant in the dative varies between *k, g, γ*, e.g. S11 *yomak-ka*, S16 *kim-gä*, S25 *Esavlar-ya*, *Troχ-ka*.

Examples of the personal pronouns are S17: *män* ‘I’, S20: *sän* ‘you’, S17: *sep-in* ‘yours’, S19: *sana* ‘to you’. The reflexive pronoun is *ez*, e.g. S17: *ež-i-bä* ‘with itself’. It is also used in the text in the meaning ‘own’, e.g. S21: *ez diη-in-ni* ‘your own religion’.

Finite verb forms include the intraterminal forms built with the suffix {-A/y}, i.e. *-a* or *-ä* after consonants and *-y* after vowels. In the singular, the marker of the first person is *-m* and of the second person is *-s*. In the plural, the personal endings of the first and second persons, *-biž* and *-ši*, are non-harmonic. Observe that the full forms of the first and second person singular endings, *-män* and *-sän*, are also non-harmonic. The markers of the third person singular and plural go back to variants of {-dIr} ← the aorist of the auxiliary *dur-* ‘to stand’. The non-harmonic personal endings may reflect old non-harmonic stages of these suffixes. Examples are S15: *yet-ä-d* ‘it suffices’, S9: *tut-a-sän* ‘you hold’, S11: *yet-me-y-d* ‘it does not suffice’, S13: *tabu!-a-d* ‘it is found’, S17: *män koy-a-män* ‘I put’, S18: *ayt-a-d-lar* ‘they say’.

The other finite verb forms are terminal, aorist with prospective non-modal function, and postterminal in {-GAN}, for instance, terminal forms are S9: *tsik-ti* ‘it came out’, S10: *uxu-du-n* ‘you have read/read’, *bol-a!-di-n* ‘you could’. An aorist form S19: *yaz-ar-sän* ‘you will write’, S22: *bolus-ur* ‘will help’, S19: *tab-ar-sän* ‘you will find’.

The modal forms include the imperative, which is the bare stem in the second person singular, e.g. S21: *Tut!* ‘Hold!’, *Šiv!* ‘Love!’, S20: *Saw bol!* ‘Be healthy!/ Good bye!’.

The optative suffix is {-GAy}, e.g. S17: *bolal-γay* ‘may it be’, and the hypothetical suffix is {-sA}, e.g. S19: *uxu-sa-n* ‘if you read’.

Modal auxiliaries include *bol-al-* ‘can’ used with the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *bol-a!-di-n sayis!a-ma* ‘you could think’.

Non-finite verb forms are the postterminal verbal nominal in {-GAN}, e.g. S10: *yaz-yan* ‘written’, and the infinitive in {-mA}, e.g. S11: *sayis!a-ma* ‘to think’, S17: *bol-ma* ‘to be(come)’.

Syntactic features

The basic order of major sentence constituents is SVO, e.g. S9: *Tut-a-sän ko!-un-da burun-γu yomak-ni* ‘You hold in your hands the first tale’. Karaim has adopted the word order noun + genitive attribute (NG) as a free variant of the original genitive attribute + noun (GN) order, e.g. S11: *biž-in ci!-imiz* ‘our language’, but S17: *yuvuk-luy-un yaz-bas-nin* ‘the nearness of the spring’, S17: *tsetsek-lär-in baxtsa-lar-nin* ‘the flowers of the gardens’.

Turkic postpositions are used, e.g. *bu dzaman-ya deyin* ‘until this time’, S11: *anin itsin* ‘therefore’, S13: *dunya ara-si-n* ‘in the world’, S25 *teriv-dän son* ‘after the war’.

In comparison of inequality, the typical Turkic construction is used in which the standard of comparison is in the ablative and the comparee is marked with the comparative suffix {+rAk}, e.g. S13: *miškiŋ-räk biž-iŋ-kı-dän* ‘poorer than ours’.

Clauses with nominal predicate are, e.g. S16: *biz karay-lar az-biz* ‘we Karaim are few’, or the negated form *jivił-đ* ‘is not’, e.g. S12: *ałay jivił-đ* ‘it is not so’.

Existential clauses include *bar* ‘existing’ or the negated form *yoχ-t*, e.g. S18: *yoχ-t nämä-dä avur-rak* ‘nothing is more difficult’.

Karaim has adopted the clause-combining strategies of the dominant languages of the area. The typical Turkic patterns of left-branching non-finite clauses have been abandoned. Free subordinators and conjunctors of the standard European type have been introduced, partly by assigning new functions to indigenous elements.

Relative clauses are right-branching and are introduced by relative pronouns, often interrogative pronouns, e.g. S9: *yomak-ni, kaysi tsik-ti* ‘the tale, which was published’, S17: *bu yazis-tsik, kay-sin män koy-a-män* ‘this little writing, which I put into your hands’, S19: *yaz-iš, kay-da* ‘writing, in which’, S30 *kart katin kiši, kaysi-lar uže seksen yıl artık bol-ur* ‘an old woman, who is more than eighty years old’.

Interrogative pronouns are employed as complementizers in adverbial clauses.

Complement clauses are built with finite verb forms and are introduced with a free junctor, e.g. S11: *sayışla-ma, ki biž-iŋ cıł-ımiž* ‘to think that our language...’

For coordination the Turkic conjunction *ta* is used, e.g. S8: *yigit ta šiv-är dost-um* ‘my young and dear friend’, S11: *miškin ta ciğel divil!* ‘is poor and not perfect’. *Ta* can introduce sentences, e.g. S14: *Ta oł kił-lär-dä* ‘And in those languages ...’

Lexicon

Southwest Karaim lexicon contains old Persian and Arabic lexical copies, such as S11: *xał* ‘condition’, S12: *dost* ‘friend’, S13: *dunya* ‘world’, S13: *miškiŋ* ‘poor’, S17: *baχtsa* ‘garden’. Hebrew copies are frequent in religious terminology. Spoken language employs many items more recently copied from contact languages, but the writer of this text has consciously avoided them. A special word used in Southwest Karaim is S16: *ino* in the meaning ‘only’.

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