Numerals in Halich Karaim Bible texts

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1. Introduction

In my forthcoming doctoral dissertation, I study the impact of Biblical Hebrew on the language of a Halich Karaim bible translation. There are some previous studies about the Hebrew influence on Karaim; see, for example, Csató's article on the Trakai Karaim translation of Psalm 91 (2011), Jankowski on Crimean Karaim (1997), and Pritsak's comments on relevant issues in his general presentation of the Karaim dialects (1959).

The Hebrew Bible was translated into Karaim rather early (Zajączkowski 1980), and the translations have existed in different versions in the Karaim communities. The first printed translation is known from the 19th century (Walfish 2003: 936). The corpus of my investigation comprises 60 selected pages of a Halich Karaim manuscript written in Hebrew letters. It belongs to the Abrahamovich family, who were speakers of the Halich dialect. The 60 pages with 27 lines per page include 10 pages each from Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and the books of the Prophets.

In the present paper I deal with the non-Turkic characteristics of the numerals in the corpus. It has to be pointed out that the numerals used in the Karaim text exhibit basically Kipchak Turkic features (e.g., *segis* 'eight' and *toguz* 'nine'). Halich Karaim dialectal characteristics are, e.g. the absence of the phonological opposition between *š* and *s*, e.g. *bes* 'five', the use of *c* [ts] instead of *č*, e.g. *ic* 'three'. The vowel system of Halich Karaim does not include any rounded front vowels, thus *iz* 'hundred' vs. Trakai Karaim *yüź*, and *dert* 'four' vs. Trakai Karaim *d'ört'*.

Up to one hundred, the order of the elements (i.e. tens and ones) follows the Turkic decreasing order according to which the higher value precedes the lower one (e.g. Deut. 419/5 *on eki* 'twelve', Gen. 9/11 *yetmis yedi* 'seventy seven').[1]

In addition to these well-known Turkic features, the numeral system of the Halich Karaim Bible texts shows non-Turkic characteristics as well. I shall discuss the following copied non-Turkic features:

> Copied agreement features:
> after 2 the noun is either in the singular or in the plural;
> after the numerals from 3 to 19 the noun is in the plural.

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1 The examples taken from the corpus are quoted in the following way: the abbreviated name of the book is followed by two numbers separated by a forward slash. The first number refers to the page of the original Karaim text while the second number is the number of the line on the respective page. Thus Deut. 419/5 means that the given instance can be found in the book of Deuteronomy, in the 5th line of the 419th page of the corpus. The Hebrew examples, on the other hand, are quoted from the CD-ROM titled *Bible Works* using the traditional method of reference: book, chapter, and verse. The chapter and the verse are separated by a colon. Thus the Hebrew original of the mentioned Karaim example can be found at Deut. 1: 23.

Copied syntactic features:

split attributive higher numerals, i.e. hundreds and tens are syntactically non-adjacent;

the use of the particle *DA* 'and';

the use of the pronoun *ol* 'that'.

Copied semantic feature:

the cardinal numeral *bir* 'one' is used in certain cases instead of the ordinal *birinci* or *burungu* 'first'.

2.   Non-Turkic features of the numeral system

2.1. Copied agreement features

There is no plural agreement in Turkic; i.e. nouns modified by a numeral are in the singular. In the Karaim bible translations, plural agreement can be found in certain cases. I will demonstrate here that the plural agreement marking on the noun follows the rules of Hebrew grammar.

In the corpus, nouns modified by the numeral *eki* 'two' are in the singular if the corresponding Hebrew expression does not contain any numeral for 'two' but instead has a dual form of the noun. For instance, Num. 11:19 *yômā´yim* [days.MASC.DUAL.ABS] 'two days'. As Karaim does not have any corresponding dual category, the translation of this Hebrew expression is a numeral construction, e.g., Num. 329/10 *eki kin* [two day] 'two days'. Observe that the noun *kin* 'day' is in the singular.

On the other hand, in Hebrew expressions containing the attributive numeral 'two' the noun is in the plural, for instance Lev. 5:7 *štê t̲ōrîm* [two.CARD.FEM.DUAL.CONST. turtledove.FEM.PL.ABS] 'two turtledoves' (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 276). Such expressions are translated into Karaim as, for instance, Lev. 234/7 *eki bedene-ler* [two turtledove:PL] 'two turtledoves', i.e. with the numeral 'two' and the plural form of the noun.

As for the numerals from three to nineteen, the Hebrew enumerated noun is usually in the plural (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 278–279). The Karaim translation follows this pattern; see Table 1.[2]

In higher numeral expressions, tens and higher cardinals can be followed by either the singular or the plural of the noun (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 280–283).[3] However, the parts of the Hebrew bible texts corresponding to our Karaim corpus only contain examples of the former case.

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2 There are two exceptional instances in the corpus in which the enumerated nouns are in the singular, although the preceding numerals are two and three, therefore we would expect plural agreement (164/17 *bu eki seznin* [this two word:GEN] 'of these two words', 417/7 *ic kinge* [three day:DAT] 'for three days'). These two expressions are not part of the original Hebrew Bible and the lack of the Hebrew constructions most likely indicates the use of Turkic numeral constructions (with the enumerated noun in the singular) in these examples.

3 In lists the enumerated noun in the plural may precede the tens (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 280). However, there is no example of this feature in the corpus.

Table 1.

		Halich Karaim	Biblical Hebrew
Numerals from 3 to 19 + noun in the plural	'seven daughters'	*yedi kiz-lar* seven daughter:PL (Exod. 129/13)	*šébaʿ bānôṯ* seven daughter.FEM.ABS.PL (Exod. 2:16)
	'ten homers'	*on kupa-lar* ten homer-PL (Num. 330/17)	*ăśārāʰ ḥŏmārîm* ten homer. MASC.ABS.PL (Num. 11:32)
	'twelve men'	*on eki eren-ler* twelve man:PL (Deut. 419/5)	*šənêm ʿāśār ʾănāšîm* two.MASC.DUAL.ABS. ten.MASC.SG.ABS men.MASC.PL.ABS (Deut. 1:23)
Numerals above 19 + noun in the singular	'sixty cities'	*altimis sahar* sixty city (Deut. 424/1)	*šiššîm îr* sixty city.FEM.ABS.SG (Deut. 3:4)
	'seventy men'	*yetmis kisi* seventy person (Num. 329/22)	*šibʿîm îš* seventy man.MASC.ABS.SG (Num. 11:24)
	'eight hundred years'	*segiz iz yil* eight hundred year (Gen. 9/23)	*šəmōneʰ mēʾōṯ šānāʰ* eight hundreds year.FEM.ABS.SG (Gen. 5:4)

The examples in Table 1 illustrate that those Karaim nouns following a numeral from three to nineteen take the plural suffix, while those following a numeral higher than nineteen are in the singular, exactly like the nouns in the Hebrew original.

3.   Copied syntactic features

3.1. Split numerals and the use of DA 'and'

As mentioned above, the sequence of tens and ones always follows the Turkic order. Even if the Hebrew text manifests the reverse order (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 279), the Karaim translation does not copy this feature. See, for instance, the Hebrew expression for 65 in (5) *ḥāmēš wəšiššîm šānāʰ* [five.FEM.CARD.ABS.SG and-sixty.CARD.ABS.PL] 'sixty-five' and its Karaim translation *altimis bes yil* [sixty five year].

Numerals above a hundred, on the other hand, show either a decreasing order or an increasing order of hundreds and tens. Furthermore, numerical expressions containing higher numerals represent some other interesting non-Turkic syntactic features. I call this pattern the split numeral.

Only a small number of higher numerals are found in the corpus and all of them occur in Genesis in the same type of expression meaning 'someone lived x years'. Therefore

all of our examples exhibit the split construction: 'x100 year and x10 year' or alternatively 'x10 year and x100 year'. The coordinator is the particle *DA* 'and'.

I here give examples of decreasing or increasing order of the hundreds and tens. The choice is determined by the order applied in the Hebrew original. Example (1) illustrates the decreasing order, whereas (2) and (3) represent the increasing order of the elements.

(1)

Hebrew original

təšaʿ	*mēʾôṯ*	*šānāʰ*	*ûšəlōšîm*	*šānāʰ*
nine.FEM.CARD.CONST.SG	hundred.FEM.CARD.ABS.PL	year	and-thirty.ABS.PL	year

'930 years'

Gen. 5:5

Karaim translation

toguz	*iz*	*yil*	*da*	*otuz*	*yil*
nine	hundred	year	and	thirty	year

'930 years'

Gen. 9/24

(2)

Hebrew original

ḥāmēš	*wəšiššîm*	*šānāʰ*	*ûšəlōš*	*mēʾôṯ*	*šānāʰ*
five.FEM.CARD. ABS.SG	and-sixty.CARD.ABS. PL	year	and-three.FEM.CARD.CONST.SG	hundred.FEM. CARD.ABS.PL	year

'365 years'

Gen. 5:23

Karaim translation

altimis	*bes*	*yil*	*da*	*ic*	*iz*	*yil*
sixty	five	year	and	three	hundred	year

'365 years'

Gen. 10/21

(3)

Hebrew original

štáyim	*ûšəmônîm*	*šānāʰ*	*ûšəḇaʿ*	*mēʾôṯ*	*šānāʰ*
two.FEM.CARD. ABS.DUAL	and-eighty.ABS.PL	year	and-seven.FEM.CARD. CONST.SG	hundred.FEM.CARD.ABS. PL	year

'782 years'

Gen. 5:26

Karaim translation

seksen	*eki*	*yil*	*da*	*yedi*	*iz*	*yil*
eighty	two	year	and	seven	hundred	year

'782 years'

Gen. 10/26

A comparison of the Hebrew originals and the Karaim translations clearly demonstrates that the order of the hundreds and tens in the translation always follows the order in the Hebrew original. The comparison also reveals that the use of the noun *yil* 'year' after both the hundreds and the tens, and the use of the particle *da* 'and' in the Karaim translations also imitate the Hebrew syntactic pattern.

3.2. Agreement in split numerals

The plural agreement marking with lower numerals can also be observed in split constructions like 'seven years and eight hundred year' meaning '807 years' in the Karaim translation of (4). The plural marking of the first noun 'year' is determined by the number 7. The second noun is in the singular after 800.

(4)

Hebrew original

šéḇaʿ	*šānîm*	*ûšəmōne^h*	*mēʾôṯ*	*šānā^h*
seven.FEM.CARD. ABS.SG	years.FEM. ABS.PL	and eight.FEM.CARD. ABS.SG	hundreds.FEM.CARD. ABS.PL	year.FEM.ABS. SG

'eight hundred and seven years'

Gen. 5:7

Karaim translation

yedi	*yil-lar*	*da*	*segiz*	*iz*	*yil*
seven	year:PL	and	eight	hundred	year

'807 years'

Gen. 9/27

3.3. The use of the pronoun ol 'that'

The demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that' is the Karaim translational equivalent of the Hebrew definite article *ha-* (see, e.g., Pritsak 1959: 331). In the Karaim translation, the definiteness of a cardinal numeric expression is indicated by the use of the pronoun *ol* 'that', which can intervene between the attributive numeral and the noun; i.e., the word order is numeral + *ol* + enumerated noun, see (5).[4]

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4 The demonstrative pronoun *ol* 'that' may precede the cardinal *bir* 'one' in which case it has ordinal meaning. This phenomenon will be discussed in the section on Semantic copies.

(5)

Hebrew original

ʿāʿsāʰ	yhwh	ʾĕlōhêḵem	lišnê	hamməlāḵîm	hāʾēʹlleʰ
did.MASC.Q.PERF.	Lord	God.MASC.SUFF.	to two.MASC.CARD.	the king.MASC.	the
3SG		2PL	DUAL.CONST	ABS.PL	these.ADJ

'the LORD your God has done to these two kings'

<div align="right">Deut. 3:21</div>

Karaim translation

kil-di	ha	tenri-niz	siz-nin	eki	ol	melek-ler-geol	uspu-lar-ga
do:DI.PAST3SG	Lord	God:POSS2PL	you:GEN (PL)	two	that	king:PL.DAT	that very this:PL.DAT

'the Lord, your God did to both these kings'

<div align="right">Deut. 425/12</div>

The pronoun *ol* 'that' occurs in ordinal expressions as well. As the examples below illustrate, in such expressions the pronoun *ol* always precedes the ordinal numeral. In the Hebrew originals of these two examples, the numeral follows the noun in both cases. This order is not followed in the Karaim translation of (6), which applies the normal Turkic structure. This example also demonstrates that the combined form of the Hebrew definite article (i.e. a prefix attached to the definite article) is not translated by *ol* in the corpus. Although *ol* precedes the numerical expression in the translation of (6), it probably corresponds to the Hebrew definite article in the ordinal. Whereas in the translation of *ba-* 'in the' (< prefix *bə-* 'in' + *ha-* 'the') *ol* is omitted, only the locative is marked on the noun *kin* 'day'.

(6)

Hebrew original

ûḇayyôm	haššəḇîʿî
and in the day.MASC.ABS.SG	the seventh.MASC.ORD.ABS.SG

'on the seventh day'

<div align="right">Exod. 16:26</div>

Karaim translation

da	ol	yedinci	kin-de
and	that	seventh	day:LOC

'on the seventh day'

<div align="right">Exod. 163/6</div>

(7)

Hebrew original

wəšēm	hannāhār	haššəlîšî
and name.MASC.CONST.SG	the river.MASC.ABS.SG	the third

'and the name of the third river'

<div align="right">Gen. 2: 14</div>

Karaim translation

da	*at-i*		*ol*	*ezen-nin*	*ol*	*icinci*
and	name:POSS3SG		that	river:GEN	that	third

'and (the name of) the third river'

<div align="right">Gen. 4/25</div>

In the translation of (7), the numeral follows the noun and *ol* modifies both the noun and the postposited numeral, as in the Hebrew original. The fact that the Hebrew enumerated noun in the original text of (7) is not a simple noun but the possessor of a genitive construction, is probably significant for the copying of the Hebrew word order and for the translation of *ha-* by *ol*, both on the enumerated noun and on the numeral.

4. Semantic copies

The corpus contains two examples in which the cardinal numeral *bir* 'one' occurs instead of the expected ordinal numeral *birinci* or *burungu* 'first'. Both examples appear in Genesis (Gen. 1/9 *bir kin* 'the first day' and Gen. 4/20 *ati ol birnin* 'the name of the first (river out of four rivers)'), see Table 2.

Table 2.

	Biblical Hebrew	Halich Karaim	Trakai Karaim	Crimean Karaim	Turkish
1.	*yôm eḥāḏ* day one.MASC.CARD.ABS.SG 'the first day' Gen. 1:5	*bir kin* one day	*buruŋyu k'uń* first day	*kün bir* day one	*ilk gün* first day
2.	*šēm hā'eḥāḏ pîšôn* name the one.MASC.CARD.ABS.SG Pishon 'the name of the first (river) is Pishon' Gen. 2:11	*ati ol birnin* name:POSS3SG that one:GEN	*šemi oł birniń* name:POSS3SG that one:GEN	---	*ilk ırmağın* *adı* first river:GEN name:POSS3SG

The use of the cardinal instead of the ordinal numeral is not typical for Turkic languages, e.g. the Turkish translation provides the word *ilk* in the meaning of 'first' in both cases: Gen. 1:5 *ilk gün* 'the first day', Gen. 2:11 *ilk ırmağın adı* 'the name of the first river'.[5]

As for the other Karaim dialects, in the Crimean Karaim bible translations, the ex-

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5 Compare the Turkish translation used by *Bible Works* with the following Turkish translation: Gen. 1:5 *bir gün* 'first day', Gen. 2:11 *birinin adı* 'the name of the first' (Kitabı Mukaddes 1997: 5, 6). The examples using cardinals from *Kitabı Mukaddes* are translated from Biblical Hebrew; therefore they show similarity in this respect with the Halich Karaim translations.

pression 'the first day' like the Halich Karaim Bible has a cardinal numeral. Moreover, the order of the noun and the numeral follows the Hebrew order as well (Cr. Kar. 1a/11 *kün bir* 'the first day', Jankowski 1997: 29). The ordinal numeral appears in the Trakai Karaim Bible (T. Kar. *burunyu k'uń* 'the first day', Kowalski 1929: 46).

The Trakai Karaim Bible, like the Halich Karaim translation, contains the cardinal numeral in the expression 'the name of the first (river)' (T. Kar. *semi oł birniń* 'the name of the first (river)' from Kowalski 1929: 48). This particular expression is not part of the Crimean Karaim Bible published by Jankowski.

In Biblical Hebrew, the cardinal numeral 'one' sometimes takes the role of the ordinal numeral 'first'. This happens in the opening chapter of Genesis; where the *'eḥād* 'one' follows the indefinite noun *yôm* 'day' and together they have a definite sense; see the first example of Biblical Hebrew in Table 2. According to Waltke & O'Connor this is an exceptional case; it occurs nowhere else in the Bible (1990: 274). Nevertheless, when numeral 'one' stands with a definite noun, the construction expresses the first of a small number of things and *'eḥād* has an ordinal function (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 274). This feature is illustrated in the second Hebrew example of Table 2, where it has the meaning 'first' in Gen. 2:11. Interestingly, the ordinal function of the Hebrew expression is not translated into Halich and Trakai Karaim, where we find the cardinal numeral *bir* 'one' in this particular case.

5.   Conclusions

The analysis of the numeral system of the Halich Karaim bible translation illustrates that the use of numerals contains several features copied from the Hebrew Bible. Selected features of the Hebrew constructions are copied onto the Karaim morphology and syntax, as, for example, the plural agreement with the enumerated nouns in certain cases.

The frequency of certain Hebrew grammatical elements has also been copied into the Halich Karaim Bible. Thus the high frequency of the Hebrew conjunction 'and' caused the frequent occurrence of the Karaim conjunction *da* 'and' in the corpus. Besides, there are cases when only the semantic aspect of a Hebrew element has been copied into Karaim, for instance the use of *bir* 'one' in an ordinal sense.

List of abbreviations

Cr. Kar.	Crimean Karaim dialect
T. Kar.	Trakai Karaim dialect

In the glosses of Karaim examples:

DAT	dative
DI.PAST	past category formed with the suffix -*DI*
GEN	genitive
LOC	locative

PL	plural
POSS2PL	second-person plural possessive
POSS3SG	third-person singular possessive

In the glosses of Biblical Hebrew examples:

ABS	absolute state
ADJ	adjective
CARD	cardinal
CONST	construct state
DUAL	dual
FEM	feminine
MASC	masculine
ORD	ordinal
PL	plural
Q.PERF.3SG	verb form qal perfect third-person singular
SG	singular
SUFF.2PL	second-person plural suffix

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