The animal names in the Book of Leviticus of the Gözleve Bible (1841). Part II: Bird species

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Abstract

This paper is a continuation of a previous study that presented the names of mammal, insect, and reptile species appearing in the Book of Leviticus of the so-called Gözleve Bible. The present study aims to survey the rest of the animal names in the corpus, representing bird species. The translation shows a mixed vocabulary and therefore the distribution of the Kipchak, Oghuzic, and non-Turkic elements will be compared with their equivalents in some of the other books of the Gözleve Bible, a recently published critical edition of another Crimean Karaim Bible, and some Ottoman Turkish Bible translations.

KEYWORDS

bird names, Karaim Bible translations, Ottoman Turkish Bible translations, Gözleve Bible, the Book of Leviticus, Crimean Karaim, Oghuzic characteristics, Kipchak characteristics

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1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

This article is a continuation of Işık (2020), in which some animal names (denoting mammal, insect, and reptile species) that appear in the Book of Leviticus\(^1\) (hereinafter referred to as Lev) of the Gözleve Bible (hereinafter referred to as Göz. 1841) were presented and compared to the Lev of the recently published critical edition of another Crimean Karaim Bible translation (hereinafter referred to as CrKB). In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there are altogether 58 different animal names referring to mammals (20), insects (4), reptiles (5), birds (23), and the main group names of animals (6). In my previous study, 29 of 58 animal names were investigated. In this paper, 23 words that denote the bird species will be presented and compared to the Lev of CrKB.

As I mentioned in my previous study (Işık 2020: 145–146), the so-called Göz. 1841 is a complete translation of the Tanakh (without the Chronicles) into Karaim, which was printed in four volumes in Gözleve (present-day Eupatoria) in 1841 (Jankowski 2018: 51). The language of this edition was modernised by its editors to adapt it to Turkish and therefore includes mixed characteristics (CrKB I: XX). Recently, the language of this edition was discussed by certain scholars (e.g. Shapira 2003, 2013, Németh 2015, 2016, Olach 2016, Işık 2018). However, it is difficult to reach an unambiguous conclusion based on specific parts of the Göz. 1841, since the language of the whole edition is not homogenous. Nonetheless, it is possible to say that the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents Crimean Kipchak Karaim and Crimean Turkish Karaim features\(^2\), and therefore shows mixed Kipchak and Oghuzic characteristics\(^3\). On the other hand, the principal manuscript for the CrKB translation comprises volume I and volume IV of BSMS 288, which is preserved in the Cambridge University Library in four volumes. Similar to the Göz. 1841, this manuscript contains the complete Tanakh without the Chronicles. Note that the Göz. 1841 (in the CrKB edition) was also used for some unavailable or unclear fragments of BSMS 288 since scholars opined that the general linguistic form of these translations is similar (CrKB I: XX). At the same time, the CrKB includes some other manuscripts, e.g. H 170 (Gaster) and B 282, as well as some short fragments, e.g. JSul.III.02, Baxč. 116, Evr I 143, Evr I 144, Or. Ms. 169\(^4\). For this article, the related examples of the Lev were taken from CrKB I: 165–217.

The present study will use similar sources to those used in the previous paper to describe the data and demonstrate the existing Oghuzic–Kipchak contrasts\(^5\), although here, two Ottoman Turkish Bible translations\(^6\) will also be used to present the significant similarities that occur between Chapter 11 of the Lev translations of the Ottoman Bible translations and the Göz. 1841.\(^7\)

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1. In this paper, some relevant examples from the other Books of the Göz. 1841 are also presented. However, this comparison comprises only the translation of the Pentateuch (Torah) of the Göz. 1841, as was the case with the previous paper.

2. For a description regarding the features of these dialects, see Jankowski 2015: 202–205 and for the debates on the existence of Crimean Karaim, see Jankowski 2015: 202–204, Németh 2016: 209–211, Shapira 2003: 661–662.

3. As for the distribution of these characteristics, see Işık 2018: 74.

4. The further details on the manuscripts/short fragments that were used for the Lev of the CrKB are present in the Appendix. For descriptions of the aforementioned other manuscripts and short fragments, see CrKB I: XVI–XX.

5. It is worth repeating that the examples of English and Russian Bible translations were collected from software called 'Bible Works 9'. In addition, a website (www.biblehub.com) was also very helpful in terms of viewing 29 different English Bible translations for the relevant parts of the Hebrew Bible.

6. The transcription of the forms in the Ottoman Turkish Bibles was performed by the author.

7. This comparison was not present in the previous study. For the new results from the previous data, see 3.2.
One of these Ottoman Turkish Bible translations was made by Ali Bey (also known as Ali Ufkî and Wojciech Bobowski) between 1662–1664 in Istanbul. The so-called secretarial/fair copy was printed in Leiden in 1665. Although this translation was not the first translation of the Bible into Turkish, it is considered the first translation that contains the entire Bible including the Old Testament (together with Apocrypha) and the New Testament (Pawlina 2006: 34). The draft and the secretarial copies are preserved in Leiden, while another fair copy together with some corrections made by Şahin ibn Kandi is preserved in Amsterdam. Ali Bey’s translation (hereinafter referred to as Ali Bey 1665) has been revised many times through the years (see Privratsky 2014: 22–50). One of the first attempts was made by Baron H. F. von Diez, who was assigned to lead a project by the British Bible Society in 1814. After his death in 1817, Jean Daniel Kieffer joined the project. In 1819, the translation of the New Testament was published. Later, Kieffer included the first four books of Ali Bey’s Pentateuch, which had been edited by Baron H. F von Diez, together with a revised version of the 1819 New Testament translation in his 1827 Bible edition (hereinafter referred to as Kieffer 1827) in two volumes (Privratsky 2014: 44).

2. BIRD SPECIES

In the Tanakh, the Lev specifically describes which animals are clean or unclean to eat and/or sacrifice. In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there are altogether 23 different bird names. However, with the exception of kumru ‘turtle-dove’, and kögürčin/gögürčün ‘pigeon’, all of the words occur only once throughout the book. Besides this, except for kumru and tor ‘turtle-dove’ and kartal and karakuş ‘eagle’, all the examples are the only words for the relevant bird species. On the other hand, the Lev of the CrKB does not show any synonyms for bird names, and therefore it presents only 21 different words. Another important point is that, except for aya ‘hawk’ (see 2.7.), which occurs in the Lev of the CrKB, the bird names that are identical/similar to the Biblical Hebrew forms in the Lev of these two Karaim Bible translations were not attested in the most common Karaim

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8 Ali Bey’s rough draft (Cod. Or. 390a-d), his proof sheet which was printed in 1662 (Cod. Or. 390e), the secretarial ‘fair copy’ (Cod. Or. 1101a-f), and the incomplete secretarial fair copy (Cod. Or. 1117a) are preserved in the Leiden University Library as a part of the Warner Collection (see Privratsky 2014: 19). A website (https://www.osmanlicakelam.net) also provides digital photocopies of the original manuscripts together with their transcriptions.

9 A fair copy (MS J 69c) and another fair copy (MS VI H 2) lacking the Pentateuch, Apocrypha, and New Testament are preserved in the library of Amsterdam University (see Privratsky 2014: 19).

10 The exact titles of the volumes are Kitab ül-ahd el-atik (the Old Testament) and Kitab ül-ahd el-cedid elmensub ila Rabbina Isa el-Mesih (the Book of the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ).

11 This edition can be accessed at Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum. In addition, the web site (https://www.osmanlicakelam.net) also presents this edition together with its transcription.

12 Aside from kögürçin/kögürçün/gögürçün ‘pigeon’ and kumru; tor ‘turtle-dove’, all the bird species that were listed in Lev are unclean to eat.

13 The transcription of the Lev of the Göz. 1841 was performed by the author based on a system that was presented in CrKB I: XXIV–XXV.
dictionaries. Thus, such unlisted Biblical Hebrew forms will be treated as untranslated words\textsuperscript{14}, as was the case in the previous study. Below, all the words discussed will be listed according to their occurrence in the Lev.

\subsection*{2.1. kögürçin/kögürçün/gügürçin/gögürçün}

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the words [kögürçin] (Lev 1:14, 12:8, 14:22, 15:29), [kögürçün] (Lev 14:30), [gügürçin] (Lev 12:6), and [gögürçün] (Lev 5:7/11, 15:14) appear a total of nine times, and stand for the Biblical Hebrew יֹנָה [yônâ] ‘pigeon; dove’ (CEDHL: 256, LVTL: 374). According to Clauson (EDPT: 671), the word kögürçgün means ‘pigeon; dove’ and probably goes back to the word kök ‘sky’ with the meaning ‘grey bird’, whereas Róna-Tas (WOT I: 546–547) remarks that the word kögürçgün is probably a denominal form from kögär-/kögür- ‘to turn blue/grey’ (cf. OTWP I: 357) and +gAn (cf. OTWP I: 83), and thus it is *kögürçükgän > kögürçügän > kögürçgän > kögürçän > kögärçän. However, the word kögürçgün has been attested since the 7th century with different phonological changes in many Turkic sources, e.g. DLT III: 419 kökürçkün, CC: 157 kögürçin ‘pigeon’, and Turkic languages. In the Lev of the Göz 1841, these slightly contrasting forms also show one of the main phonological differences between the Oghuzic and Kipchak languages, as the voicing of the initial plosive k->g- occurs in the Oghuzic languages and also in Crimean Tatar for some words, e.g. Tur.\textsuperscript{15} güvercin, Az. göyärçin, Trk. gögerčin, CrTat. gögerğin ‘pigeon’, whereas the unvoiced initial plosive k- is preserved in the Kipchak languages (TTL: 100), e.g. Kaz. kögeršin, Kir. kögüčkön, Tat. kügärčän, ‘pigeon’ (DTMK: 113, ESTJa 3: 57–59, EDPT: 713, L: 174, KEWTS: 165). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was translated as kögürçün throughout the Book. It is worth noting that only the examples that show the Kipchak phonological characteristic (kögürçin, kögürçün) were listed in the Karaim dictionaries (CKED: 216, KRPS: 336). In conclusion, both of the Karaim translations present the Turkic words for this bird species. Nevertheless, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 demonstrates both Kipchak-Oghuzic counterparts\textsuperscript{16} together, unlike the Lev of the CrKB.

\textsuperscript{14} Some of the animal names in the Hebrew Bible are still disputed, which therefore has caused certain problems in the Bible translations. First of all, some of the Biblical Hebrew words are not present in modern Hebrew and their definitions have remained uncertain, which might be related to the folk taxonomy of the ancient Hebrews (for further details, see Cansdale 1970, Ferguson 1974). Moreover, certain words are also\textit{ hapax legomena}, which causes difficulties in analysing the forms. Thus, some different preferences regarding the uncertain identification of animal names have also been followed in different Bible translations (see, e.g. some possible influence regarding names of certain animals between the Slavonic-Russian Pentateuch from the 15th century and the Turkic [Western Kipchak] Targum of the Torah was discussed in Grischčenko 2017a, 2017b).

\textsuperscript{15} It should be noted that the word gögürçin had been preserved in Ottoman Turkish (RTD I: 577), while a similar form had also been used in both Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665, Lev 1:14 [gögerçen], Kieffer 1827, Lev 1:14 [gögerçen]. Nevertheless, these Ottoman Turkish forms do not survive in modern Turkish.

\textsuperscript{16} The Oghuzic characteristic mentioned predominates slightly over the Kipchak form of this bird name (56%–44%).
2.2. ḳumru

The Lev of the Göz. 1841 contains the word קֻמְרוּ [ḳumru] ‘turtle-dove’ (KRPS: 374) eight times (Lev 1:14, 5:6/7, 12:6/8, 14:22, 15:14/29)\(^{17}\) to indicate the Biblical Hebrew תּוֹר [tôr] ‘turtle-dove (streptopelia turtur); other species of columba’ (CEDHL: 695, LVTL: 1023). The word ḳumru\(^{18}\) was also attested in Ottoman Turkish as کُمْری [kumri], which is of Arabic origin (NS: 485). In the modern Turkic languages, this loanword is preserved in the Oghuz branch and Crimean Tatar, e.g. Tur. کومر [kumr], Az. زمرب [zumr] (TDTLM: 45, KEWTS: 238), CrTat. كُومْرَی [kumr] (KRUS: 301) ‘turtle-dove’, whereas the Kipchak languages have different words for this bird species, e.g. Kaz. ئىرمىڭەرە [orman kêtëp], Kir. بەکتەک [bahtek], Tat. ۇرەمان کۇچەرىچە [orman kügärçene] (TDTLM: 45). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was not translated into Karaim and therefore it occurs in the Biblical Hebrew form تور. Consequently, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 illustrates a loanword that was mainly used in the Oghuzic area, whereas the Lev of the CrKB displays an untranslated Biblical Hebrew word.

2.3. ḳartal/ḳara ḳuš

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, the words קַרְטַל [ḳartal] ‘eagle’ (CKED: 295, KRPS: 364) and קוּשׁ קָרָא [ḳara ḳuš] ‘eagle’ (CKED: 291, KRPS: 363), which denote the Biblical Hebrew נֶשֶׁר [nešer]\(^{20}\) ‘eagle; vulture’ (CEDHL: 430, LVTL: 640–641), occur next to each other on one occasion (11:13)\(^{21}\). Although the word ḳartal does not exist in the modern Kipchak languages (DTMK: 121–122), it is possible to find the word کارا کُس [ḳara ḳuš] ‘eagle’ beginning from the early texts, e.g. IrqB: 8 کُرُاُس [ḳaraḳuš], KB: 398 کاراکُس [ḳarakuš], DLT I: 331 کاراکُس [ḳarakuš], CC: 193 کارا قَوْس [qara-qoš] ‘eagle’ to the modern Turkic languages in similar forms e.g. Tur. كاراکُس ‘imperial eagle’ (aquila heliaca), Az. قاراقُس, ‘eagle’, Trk. قاراقُس ‘imperial eagle’ (aquila heliaca), Kaz. قارا قوُس ‘Egyptian vulture’ (neophron perenopterus), Tat. قاراقوُس ‘eagle’, CrTat. قارا قوُس ‘eagle; the bearded vulture (gypaetus barbatus)’ (DTMK: 122, ESTJa 6: 183, EDPT: 670). In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was also translated as کاراکُس. According to Clauson (EDPT: 648–649), the word ḳartal probably means ‘spotted, striped’\(^{22}\) and ‘eagle, vulture’ (cf. KEWTS: 207). Therefore, he claims that the word initially had denoted a ‘spotted, striped bird’, which later has been attested in Ottoman Turkish as کارتل ‘Arabian vulture’ (vultur monachus) and in modern Oghuz languages in identical/similar forms, e.g. Tur., Az. کارتل, Trk. گارتل ‘eagle’ (ESTJa 5: 316–317, L: 169). Therefore, although both of the Karaim Bible translations present a Turkic word in common use for this bird species, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 also presents an Oghuzic counterpart. In fact, this Oghuzic form has also been attested in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 فرتنال [ḳartal], Kieffer 1827 فرتنال [ḳartal]’eagle. Besides this, it should

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\(^{17}\) It must be noted that of the eight occurrences, the word appears as کوم [ḳum] in Lev 5:11 due to a scribal error.

\(^{18}\) Some slightly different forms have been listed as قَمْرِ [qumri] ‘turtle-dove’ in Crimean Karaim as well (CKED: 188, KRPS: 605).

\(^{19}\) The same form has also been attested in Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665, Lev 1:14, قُمْرُ [kumri], Kieffer 1827 Lev 1:14, قُمْرُ [kumri]. According to Nişanyan, one of the earliest sources showing the word کومرم in Ottoman Turkish was Süheyl ü Nevbahar, which was a translation by Mesud b. Ahmed in 1354 (see references).

\(^{20}\) It is worth noting that the word نَمْرُ has also been listed in Crimean Karaim, meaning ‘eagle’ (CKED: 252, KRPS: 423).

\(^{21}\) The word كارا قوُس appears in parenthesis as a synonym next to the word کارتل.

\(^{22}\) This meaning was also attested in DLT I: 483 as کارتال یک یگو ‘the striped sheep’.
be pointed out that the word נֶשֶׁר [nešer] appeared altogether five times in the entire Torah (Pentateuch). However, apart from the Lev, the same Biblical form was exclusively denoted as karakūš in the rest of the Göz. 1841, e.g. Exo 19:4, Deut 14:12, 28:49, 32:11, [karakūš] ‘eagle’.

2.4. ironî

The word אִירוֹנִי [ironî] appears once in Lev 11:13 of the Göz. 1841 as another unclean bird of prey, standing for the Biblical Hebrew פֶרֶס [peres], which has been described as ‘bearded vulture (gypaetus barbatus); lämmergeier (lit. lamb’s vulture)’, whereas its literal meaning might also be ‘ossifrage (bone-breaking)’ (CEDHL: 530, LVTL: 779).

In Turkic languages, there are different words that stand for gypaetus barbatus, e.g. Tur. sakallı akbaba; kuzu kartalı; nuri kuşu, Az. ğızığaşan; toylugöttürün, Trk. բյուրգութ, Kaz. կուռնարանք [koriqumay], Tat. bərəngəraq; բերեն բերկեթ e [bəren berkete], CrTat. կարակուշ [karakus] (DTMK: 235, TDTLM: 72, Turan 1990: 72).

In the Lev of the CrKB, the word occurs as peres, which once again goes back to the Biblical Hebrew form. The exceptional example ironî in the Göz. 1841 does not occur in the Karam dictionaries, either in the best-known early Turkic sources or Turkic languages. However, in the Ali Bey 1665, the same Biblical word has been translated as āron [aron/erun], which appears as āron [irûn] in the Kieffer 1827. The word āron [irûn] is of Persian origin and denotes ‘eagle’ (CPED: 40). Ergo, the word ironî can be traced back to the Kieffer 1827 translation. As will be demonstrated, some words that were copied from the Ottoman Bible translations into the Lev of the Göz. 1841 have an extra ACC marker as a copy error (see 3.3.). In this case, the ending vowel in the word ironî can be traced back to the Oghuzic ACC marker that was attached to the main word in the Kieffer 1827. Finally, it should be noted that apart from Lev 11:13, the same Biblical word appears only in Deut 14:12 in the entire Hebrew Bible. However, in Deut 14:12 of the Göz. 1841, the word has remained untranslated as āron [peres], unlike the example from Lev 11:13 of the Göz. 1841.

2.5. deňiz ḳartalî

In the whole of the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there is one example (11:13) of the word דֵנִיִּי קַרְתַּלִי [deňiz ḳartalî] (lit. ‘sea eagle’), which denotes the Biblical Hebrew עָזְנִיָּה [‘ozniyâ], that probably stands for ‘black vulture’ (aegypius monachus) (CEDHL: 468, LVTL: 695). This compound noun was not listed in the Karam dictionaries, whereas it was attested in Ottoman Turkish (TS II: 1080), and it is still preserved in Turkish as deniz kartalı (haliaeetus albicilla) (ÖTS 2: 1160). Moreover, the Turkic word was also present in the Ottoman Turkish translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665

23 Due to the Hebrew writing system, the vowels i, ï, and o in the word might also be read with their front/back counterparts.

24 There exist some English Bible translations that translate this unclear word as ‘sea-eagle’ (e.g. BST, DBT), similar to the Lev of the Göz. 1841, whereas ‘black vulture’ (e.g. ESV, NLT), ‘buzzard’ (e.g. NASB, NKJV), ‘osprey’ (e.g. KJB, JB2000), and ‘Egyptian vulture’ (e.g. CSB) can also be attested.

25 According to the dictionary, one of the earliest occurrences of the word in the written sources was from Ahter-i Kebir, which was an Arabic-Ottoman Turkish dictionary written by Mustafa Ahteri in 1545 (see references).
2.6. aḳ baba

As another unclean bird of prey, בַּבַּ אַק [aḳ baba] appears once in Lev 11:14 of the Göz. 1841. This word stands for the Biblical Hebrew נַעַר [dāʿā], which is defined as ‘a species of eagle and/or vulture; kite; red kite (milvus milvus)’ (CEDHL: 112, LVTL: 198). The word aḳ baba was attested in Ottoman Turkish26 (RTD I: 803) and still exists in Turkish (ÖZTS I: 166), meaning ‘vulture’. This compound noun might seem Turkic; aḳ baba lit. ‘white father’. However, it is not clear whether the word was a Turkic compound originally or was later created by an analogical reformation27 from Arabic عَقَّب [uḳāb] ‘eagle’, which was also present in Ottoman Turkish (OTAL: 1302). On the other hand, there are different words that stand for ‘vulture’ in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. леш къарталы [leš ḳartalï] (KRUS: 321). In the Karaim dictionaries, the word aḳ baba was not listed, whereas the word акь-баба къушы [aḳ-baba ḳušï] ‘kite’ has been listed for Crimean Karaim in KRPS: 377. However, considering that the word נַעַר [dāʿā] is a hapax legomenon in the Hebrew Bible and was not described clearly in the Hebrew dictionaries28, it might be difficult to remark on what aḳ baba denotes exactly in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. On the other hand, the Biblical Hebrew word has been translated with the identical Turkic form in the Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 [aḳ baba], Kieffer 1827 [aḳ baba] ‘vulture’. If the following word, čaylaḳ, could be considered an Ottoman Turkish word (see 2.7.) that also stands for ‘kite’, then the word aḳ baba might also be accepted as a specific Ottoman Turkish word denoting ‘vulture’. Finally, note that the Biblical Hebrew daʾa remains untranslated in the Lev of the CrKB.

2.7. čaylaḳ

In Lev 11:14 of the Göz. 1841, the word צַיְלַק [čaylaḳ] denotes the Biblical Hebrew אַיָּה [ʾayâ] ‘falcon; kite; hawk; black kite (milvus migrans)’ (CEDHL: 21; LVTL: 36). The word čaylaḳ was not attested in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it is preserved in Turkish in an identical form, (çaylak; ÖTZS I: 908), and in Azerbaijani as çalağan (ADIL I: 439) ‘kite’. In the Ottoman Bible translations,

26 It must be noted that the words kerkes, kerkez, and kerkenes with the same meaning were also attested in Ottoman Turkish sources (between the 15th and 19th centuries) (TS IV: 2442). On the other hand, one of the earliest appearances of the word aḳ baba ‘vulture’ is present in TLO I: 326, which was published in 1680 (see references).

27 These two possibilities were pointed out in the Turkish dictionary (ÖZTS I: 166).

28 In addition, this unclear word was also translated as ‘kite’ (e.g. NIV, NHEB), ‘red kite’ (e.g. NASB, NKJV), ‘vulture’ (e.g. KJB, AKJV), and ‘falcon’ (e.g. NLT, ESV) in some English Bible translations.
the same Turkic word is used for the Biblical Hebrew אַיָּה [ʾayâ], e.g. Ali Bey 1665 [çaylak], Kieffer 1827 [çaylak] 'kite'.

In the modern Kipchak languages, there are different words representing 'kite', e.g. Kaz. кез үқ йры қ [kezḳuyrïḳ], Kir. айры куйрук [ayrï kuyruk], Tat. тилгән [tilgen] (TDTLM: 53), CrTat. айа [aya] (KRUS: 42). According to Nişanyan (NS: 145–146), the word çaylak derives from the Old Turkic verb çarla-/çawla- 'to shout' together with the +Uk suffix, and was attested in middle Turkic Kipchak-Oghuz languages as çarlak/çawlak (see also KEWTS: 109). Although the word was not listed in Karaim dictionaries and the meaning of the Biblical Hebrew word is debated, it is possible to consider the word çaylak 'kite' as an Ottoman Turkish and/or Oghuzic form. In fact, the identical word is also preserved in both Ali Bey 1665 and Kieffer 1827 whereas it is not attested in the modern Kipchak languages. Thus, the meaning of the previous word aḳ baba can also be considered 'vulture', instead of 'kite'. On the other hand, the Lev of the CrKB once again presents the word untranslated, as aya. However, unlike the previous examples, this Biblical Hebrew word was listed in the Karaim dictionaries (for all three dialects of Karaim) as aïa [aya] (KRPS 50–51) meaning 'kite; hawk' (CKED: 58, KRPS: 50–51). Finally, it should be noted that the same Biblical Hebrew word appears once more in Deut 14:13. Nevertheless, it was also translated as אַיָּה [ʾayâ] in the Deut of the Göz. 1841.

2.8. ḳuzġun

The word קָוָצְגוּנ [ḳuzġun] (CKED: 325, KRPS: 373) occurs once in Lev 11:15 of the Göz. 1841 and stands for the Biblical Hebrew עֹרֵב [ʿôrêb] 'raven; corvus' (CEDHL: 467, LVTL: 733). The same form ḳuzġun is also preserved in both the CrKB and the Ottoman Bible translations (Ali Bey 1665; ﻓﻮُﺯْﻏﻮُﻥ, Kieffer 1827; ﻓُﻮُﺯُﻏُﻮُﻥ), as well as in the other Turkic languages starting from the early periods with the meaning of 'raven; some black birds', e.g. IqrB: 12 kuzgun, KB: 51 ḳuzgün, DLT I: 439 kuzgun, Tur. kuzgün, Az. ʴuzyun, Kaz. quzyyn, Kir. quzyyn, Tat. qozyyn, CrTat. quzyyn (DTMK: 162, ESTJa 6: 106–107, EDPT: 682, KEWTS: 241). Hence, both Karaim Bible translations present the same common Turkic word for this bird species.

2.9. deve ḳušu

Another unclean bird is present as קַוַשׁו דֵו [deve ḳušu] (lit. 'camel bird') 'ostrich' (KRPS: 183) once in Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, and signifies the Biblical Hebrew יַﬠֲנָה [yaʿănâ] 'female ostrich; ostrich (struthio camelus)' (CEDHL: 261, LVTL: 389). The same Turkic word with the meaning 'ostrich' was present with slight phonological differences in some Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. deve kušu (ÖTS 2: 1185), Az. دَوْنَقُسُو (ADIL I: 606), Kaz. myýæços [tïyekus] (KTS: 561), CrTat. дөө қоғууу [deve kušù] (KRUS: 153). Among the forms, the word deve'camel' (KRPS: 183) also shows the Oghuzic voicing of the initial t->d-. It is worth stressing that the word has also been attested

29 In some English Bible translations, the word was translated as 'kite' (e.g. KJB, BST), 'black kite' (e.g. NIV, NHEB), 'falcon' (e.g. CSB, NAS 1977), or 'buzzard' (e.g. NETB, GWT).
30 The word might be a calque from the Persian مشیر مرغ [šütür 'camel' murg 'bird'], which was also attested in Ottoman Turkish (RTD I: 554).
in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 [deve ḳušï], Kieffer 1827 [deve ḳušï] ‘ostrich’.

In the CrKB, the Biblical word was translated as anjït ‘ostrich; gryphon; dragon’ (CKED: 42, KRPS: 68). The same word [anja] appears instead of deve ḳušï in Deut 14:15 of the Göz. 1841 as well, where the Biblical Hebrew word occurs for the second/last time in the whole Torah. In CKED: 42, it was remarked that the word anjït might be of Arabic origin. However, according to DTMK: 18, the word probably goes back to the Turkic āṇït, which denotes ‘ruddy goose’ (anas casarca), and later also stood for other large birds (EDPT: 176). According to Clauson, it has survived in Khakas as āt ‘black diver’ (anas nigra) and in Ottoman Turkish as āṇït ‘ruddy goose’ (EDPT: 176). Nevertheless, apart from Karaim anjït, which clearly denotes a different animal species, the word still exists in some modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Tur. anq ‘ruddy shelduck’ (casarca ferruginea/tadorna ferruginea), Trk. anq, ‘ruddy shelduck’ (casarca ferruginea/tadorna ferruginea), Khak. aat ‘the common scoter’ (DTMK: 18).

2.10. baya ḳušï

In Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, the word [baya kušï31] ‘owl’ (baykuš, CKED: 74, KRPS: 98) stands for the Biblical Hebrew שַחַף [šaḥaf] ‘seagull; mew’ (CEDHL: 650, LVTL: 961). This compound noun might seem to be a specific Karaim word since it has not been listed in commonly-known Turkic sources and it does not exist in other modern Turkic languages in the meaning of ‘seagull; mew’, e.g. Tur. martı, Az. qağayı, Kas. šağa [šağa], Kir. ak čardak [ak čardak], Tat. akçarlaq [akçarlaq] (TDTLM: 70), CrTat. балыкчы къуш [balïḳčï kuš]; чагъала [šaģala], Kir. ak čardak [ak čardak], Tat. akçarlaq [akçarlaq] (TDTLM: 70), CrTat. балыкчы къуш [balïḳčï kuš]; чагъала

2.11. ḳuḳu ḳušï

The word [kuḳu kušï32] ‘seagull; mew’ (CEDHL: 319, KRPS: 374) is present once in Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, denoting the Hebrew שַחַף [šaḥaf] ‘seagull’ (CEDHL: 650, LVTL: 961). This compound noun might seem to be a specific Karaim word since it has not been listed in commonly-known Turkic sources and it does not exist in other modern Turkic languages in the meaning of ‘seagull; mew’, e.g. Tur. martı, Az. qağayı, Kas. šağa [šağa], Kir. ak čardak [ak čardak], Tat. akçarlaq [akçarlaq] (TDTLM: 70), CrTat. балыкчы къуш [balïḳčï kuš]; чагъала [šaģala], Kir. ak čardak [ak čardak], Tat. akçarlaq [akçarlaq] (TDTLM: 70), CrTat. балыкчы къуш [balïḳčï kuš]; чагъала

31 The word baya seems to be an unusual form of the word bay, which might be a scribal error. Besides this, the ending vowel in the word kušï shows another copy error (see 3.3.).

32 The word might seem similar to the Turkic kuğu ‘swan’ (EDPT: 609). However, the word koğu ‘swan’ also exists in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (see 2.16).
However, quite interestingly the word ḳuḳu ḳušï also denotes the same Biblical Hebrew form in the Kieffer 1827, e.g. ﻓُؤُورُ ﭒُشُ, in Ottoman Turkish, some similar forms have been listed, such as guġuk; guķuḳ kušï, meaning ‘cuckoo’ (RTD I: 200). In fact, the word is onomatopoeic and was attested in early sources with different meanings, e.g. IrqB: 14 k(a)kük ‘eagle’, DLT II: 287 kekiḳ ‘Bonelli’s eagle; a bird the bones of which are used in conjurations and sorcery’ while in modern Turkish languages it denotes ‘cuckoo’, e.g. Tur. guķuḳ kuşu, Az. guġçu; guyyu, Kir. küküc, Kaz. kökek, Tat. kükük, CrTat. kükükquş. Considering that the Biblical Hebrew word has been translated as ‘cuckoo/cuckow’ in at least four different English Bible translations, e.g. KJB, AKJV, WBT, YLT, and the striking similarities between Chapter 11 of the Lev translations of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841, it is highly possible that the word has been copied from the Ottoman Bible translation to the Göz. 1841 and therefore stands for ‘cuckoo’ instead of ‘seagull; mew’. The main source for the Crimean Karaim kuḳu ‘seagull; mew’ definition belongs to Shapshal’s lexical material, which has mainly been used in the KRPS dictionary. The word in the KRPS dictionary was probably collected from the Lev of the Göz. 1841 or another text (which has used the Lev of the Göz.1841 as a source) and defined based on some (probably the most common) equivalents (e.g. seagull; mew) of the Biblical Hebrew word in other Bible translations (see 3.3.).

Finally, the Lev of the CrKB does not provide a Karaim translation and therefore the Biblical Hebrew šaḥaf has remained untranslated. Another important point is that the Biblical word is present only in Lev 11:16 and Deut 14:15 in the Tanakh. Although in Deut 14:15 of the Göz. 1841, the word was translated as ﺬَﺸَﺎٰف [šaraf], this was probably a scribal error and goes back to the Biblical Hebrew form ﺬَﺸَﺎٰف [šaḥaf].

2.12. duğaŋ

In Lev 11:16 of the Göz. 1841, the word ﷲ [duğaŋ] ‘hawk’ (yaduğaŋ/yeduğa, CKED: 440/458, KRPS 216/269) appears once and stands for the Biblical Hebrew ﷲ [nêts] ‘hawk; falcon (falco peregrinus pelegrinoides)’ (CEDHL: 423, LVTL: 628). According to Clauson (EDPT: 470–471), the word was attested as toğan in the early sources, e.g. IrqB: 12 tog(a)n kuş, KB: 182 toğan ‘falcon’, and probably survived only in Ottoman Turkish as a generic term for ‘falcon’ and forms part of the names of seven or eight other related birds. In the Ottoman Bible translations, the same Turkic word also renders the Biblical Hebrew ﷲ [nêts], e.g. Ali Bey 1665 ﻛُوُذَاٰن [doğaŋ/toğan]; Kieffer 1827 ﺮُوُذَاٰن [doğaŋ/toğan] ‘hawk; falcon’. Nevertheless, in addition to the Turkish doğaŋ (ÖTS 2:

35 In the Ali Bey 1665, the same Biblical form has been translated as ﺔَﻨُد [angid]. Considering the Biblical Hebrew ﻳَدَاٰف [šaḥaf] ‘seagull’, the word angid is most probably a loanword, which differs from the Turkic word angît/angüt ‘ruddy shelduck.’

36 According to EDPT 710, the identity of the word is uncertain. However, Hauenschild claims that Kashgari’s translation al-zummaş stands for ‘cuckoo,’ whereas it is often mistakenly considered to be ‘sparrow-hawk’ or ‘merlin’ (see DTMK: 101).

37 Seraya Shapsal (1873–1961) was an orientalist scholar and the last ḥakham (the highest spiritual authority in the Karaim community) of the East European Karaims who played an important role in the Turkicization of Karaim ethnic identity and the language. He is one of the co-authors of the KRPS dictionary and made a large number of studies on Crimean Karaim (For further details, see e.g. Shapira 2005, Kizilov 2009: 235–277).

38 In at least 19 English Bible translations, the Hebrew word has been translated as ‘sea-gull,’ ‘gull,’ or ‘sea-mew,’ e.g. NKJV, CSB, ISV, NAS 1977, etc.
(1257), it is still preserved in other modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Gag. *doan*, dyjan, Nog., Kaz. *tujyyun*, HKar. *tuian*, Uyg. *toyan*, Yak. *tojon* (ESTJa 3: 247, L: 169, KEWTS: 130). Note that the word *dugan* in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 shows the Oghuzic feature of the voicing of the initial t->d- as well.

In the Lev of the CrKB, the word was translated as *kîrgîy* (CKED: 304, KRPS: 381), meaning 'hawk'. In the entire Torah, the Biblical Hebrew word was also attested in Gen 40:10 and Deut 14:15. In Gen 40:10 it denotes 'blossom', whereas in Deut 14:15 it indicates the bird species which appears as *kîrgîy* in the Göz. 1841, similar to the Lev of the CrKB example. According to Clauson (EDPT: 654–655), the word *kîrguy* 'sparrow-hawk' (*accipiter nisus*) was not attested in Ottoman Turkish, whereas it exists in the early sources, e.g. DLT II: 95 *kîrguy*, CC: 207 *qyrγyj* ‘sparrow-hawk’ and some other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. *ğiγï*, Trk. *ğiγï*, Kaz., Kir., Tat. *ğiγïy*, CrTat. *ğiγïy* ‘sparrow; Eurasian sparrow-hawk’ (DTMK: 132, ESTJa 6: 234). Thus, it is possible to say that the Lev of the Göz. 1841 once again presents a specific word that was common in Ottoman Turkish, whereas the Lev of the CrKB employs a word that is used in many Turkic languages except for Ottoman Turkish.

2.13. *ügi ḳušu*

The word *צּוֹשַע אוּגִי* [uggyi37 ḳušu] ‘eagle owl’ (*uğîy*, CKED: 424, KRPS: 573) occurs once in Lev 11:17 of the Göz. 1841, and stands for the Biblical Hebrew *כּוֹס* [kôs] ‘little owl; owlet (*athene noctua saharae*)’ (CEDHL: 273, LVTL: 428). The word *ügi* ‘owl’ was attested in many early texts, e.g. KB: 246, DLT I: 34, CC: 269 *ügü* ‘owl’ and Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. *puγu*, Trk. *χüvi*, Kaz. *üki*, Kir. *ükü*, CrTat. *puyu* ‘owl; eagle owl’ (DTMK: 232, TMEN II: 612, L: 170, EDPT: 101). Nevertheless, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word has remained as *kos*. In the whole Torah, the Biblical Hebrew word appeared altogether 6 other times, e.g. Gen 40:11/13/21, Deut 14:16. In Gen, the word denotes ‘cup’, whereas in Deut 14:16 it also stands for the bird species. However, Deut 14:16 of the Göz. 1841 presents the word as *כּוֹס* [kos], unlike *ügi ḳušu* in the Lev of the Göz. 1841. Finally, it must be pointed out that similar Turkic forms were preserved in Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 *ﻗُﻮﺵِ اُﻭﮐِﻲ* [ügi ḳušï], Kieffer 1827 *أوكَفْ قُوش* [ügi ḳuši] ‘a kind of owl’.

2.14. *ḳara bataḳ*

Another unclean bird appears as * צָלָק בַּטַק* [ḳara bataḳ] in Lev 11:17 of the Göz. 1841, and stands for the Biblical Hebrew *שָׁלָ* [šâlâk], denoting a bird of uncertain meaning38 that is rendered by most scholars as ‘cormorant’, or also as ‘fish owl’ (*ketupa ceylonensis*) (CEDHL: 662, LVTL: 978). The word *ḳara-bataḳ* exists in the best-known Karaim dictionaries (for Crimean Karaim) as ‘tern’ (CKED 290, KRPS: 363), whereas it was also referred to as ‘cormorant’ (TDTLM: 39)39. The exact word has been attested in Ottoman Turkish (RTD I: 180) in the written sources since the 16th

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37 Due to the Hebrew script form, it is also possible to read the word as *uği*.
38 In some English translations it has been translated as ‘cormorant’ (e.g. ESV, KJB, etc.), whereas ‘fisher owl’ (e.g. NKJV) and ‘gannet’ (e.g. DBT) can also be found.
39 The source does not make distinction between Eastern and Western Karaim.
century⁴⁰, and is still preserved in Turkish as karabatak (ÖTS 3: 2413), and in Azerbaijani as qarabatdaq (ADIL Vol.3: 47) ‘cormorant’. In fact, the word karabatak is also present in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 [kara batak], Kieffer 1827 [kara batak] ‘cormorant’. Nonetheless, there exist different words for this bird species in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Trk. жуптун [žüptün], Kaz. бақлан [baklan], Kir. кара каз; каракаш [kara kaz; karakaş], Tat. дингәц көзгән [dingәč kozgini] (TDTL: 39), CrTat. дәлгәч күш [dalğac kus] (KRUS: 150). The word qara bataq consists of two Turkic elements: qara ‘black’ and bataq ‘bog’. Although batak stands for ‘bog’ in Turkish, the form most probably goes back to batıg/batu ‘act of sinking’ (EDPT: 301, ESTJa 2: 80), which might refer to the cormorant diving for its prey. In fact, the Kipchak counterpart batuq has also been attested in KI: 16 as ‘cormorant’. However, the form qara bataq does not occur in the other modern Turkic languages and well-known early sources. Thus, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents an Oghuzic/Ottoman Turkish lexical form for this bird species, unlike the Lev of the CrKB, which shows the untranslated Biblical Hebrew form šala. It is important to note that the Biblical Hebrew word also appears once in Deut 14:17, which appears as šala[k] in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, identical to the Biblical Hebrew form.

2.15. toyi

The word יִבְיֵ [toyï] ‘ibis’ (CKED: 410, KRPS: 535) occurs once in Lev 11:17 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew יַנְשׁוּף [yanšûf] ‘long-eared owl’ (asio otus); bee-eater (merops apistera)’ (CEDHL: 260, LVTL: 386). The word toyï seems to be a unique word, which has not been attested in the other Turkic sources with the meaning of ‘ibis’. However, a phonetically similar form might be the Ottoman Turkish toy ‘bustard’ (RTD I: 103, TS V: 3833), which also survives in modern Turkish, e.g. toy; toy kuşu ‘great bustard’ (otis tarda) (ÖTS 5: 4882). According to Clauson (EDPT: 449), the earlier form of toy ‘bustard’ goes back to to/du and probably only survived in Ottoman Turkish; it was also attested in KB: 534, DLT III: 142, toy ‘bustard’. Nevertheless, the word toyï in the corpus clearly denotes a different bird species, since in Crimean Karaim ‘bustard’ has been denoted by duvadak⁴¹ (CKED: 143, KRPS: 180), which is a different variant of the word toy and similar ‘bustard’ translations do not appear for this Biblical Hebrew word in Bible translations. However, with the help of the Ottoman Bible translations, light can be shed on the mystery of this Karaim word. In both Ali Bey 1665 and Kieffer 1827, the same Biblical Hebrew word has been translated as to/tu⁴², meaning ‘a species of owl’.⁴³ At the same time, the Oghuzic ACC marker + (y)I has been attached to both of the words, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 [to/tu+yî]; Kieffer 1827 [to/tu+yî]. Thus, Karaim toyi ‘ibis’ seems another copy mistake which occurred in Lev 11 of the

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⁴⁰ According to Nişanyan (NS: 413), the word has been attested in Regola del Parlare Turco, which was written by Filippo Argenti in 1533 (see references).

⁴¹ Similar forms exist in the other modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Az. doydaq, Trk. toydar, Kir. toudaq, Tat. didak (DTMK: 224, TMEN II: 519–527, L: 174), CrTat. дува́дакъ [duvadak] (KRUS: 168) ‘great bustard’.

⁴² Due to the Arabic script, the word can be read in two different ways.

⁴³ The forms can be traced back to the to the word ضَوْع [duwa'/du'] which was listed in an Ottoman dictionary from the 17th century in the meaning of ‘male owl (bubo mas); black bird (avis nigra)’ (TLO II: 3055). Similar meanings were also listed in both Arabic and Persian dictionaries as well, e.g. ضَوْع ‘a species of owl; an owl’ (WAED: 372, CPED: 804).
Göz. 1841. Similar to the previous example (see 2.11), it might be possible to consider that the meaning of this problematic word has been giving according to an equivalent of the original Biblical Hebrew word in other Bible translations\(^44\). On the other hand, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word appears in a form identical to the Biblical Hebrew word, yanšuf. Additionally, the word has also remained untranslated in Deut 14:17 of the Göz. 1841 as יַנְשׁוּף [yanšuf], where the Biblical Hebrew word occurs for the second/last time in the entire Torah.

2.16. ḳoğu

The word [ḳoğu] 'swan' (CKED: 310, KRPS: 318) is present once in Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, and denotes the Biblical Hebrew תִּנְשֶׁמֶת [tinšemet], which stands for two different animals. The first one is a kind of owl, probably 'white owl' (tyto alba), whereas the other one is 'chameleon' (CEDHL: 709, LVTL: 1035). However, the word ḳoğu clearly denotes a different animal\(^45\), which appears in many Turkic sources, e.g. IrqB: 16 kugu kuş, KB: 24 ḳuģu, DLT III: 225 kugu, and Turkic languages with some phonological changes, e.g. Tur. kuğu, Az. ğu, Trk. ğuv, Kaz. aqqu, Kir. quu, Tat. aqqos, CrTat. aqqu (DTMK: 148, EDPT: 609, TDTLM: 55, KRUS: 45). The Kieffer 1827\(^46\) also presents the word [ḳoğu] for this translation, whereas the Biblical form has remained untranslated as tinšemet in the Lev of the CrKB. It must be noted that the Biblical Hebrew word is present altogether 3 times in the whole Tanakh. Although it has been translated as göz tōbā in Lev 11:30, and clearly denotes 'mole' (see 3.2.), it has remained untranslated as תִּנְשֶׁמֶת [tinšemet] in Deut 14:16 of the Göz. 1841, just as with the Lev of the CrKB example.

2.17. ḳašïḳčï ḳušï

Another unclean bird appears as [ḳašïḳčï ḳušï] 'pelican' (ḳašıkčï, CKED: 295, KRPS: 368) once in Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, denoting the Biblical Hebrew קָאַת [qâ’aṯ], which indicates 'pelican', although some scholars believe that it might also mean 'little owl' (athene noctus lilith) or 'jackdaw' (CEDHL: 559, LVTL: 819). The word ḳašïḳ 'spoon' (CKED: 295, KRPS: 368) most probably refers to the pelican’s characteristic beak. Slightly different forms were also attested in Ottoman Turkish as kaşık burun (lit. 'spoon nose') (TS IV: 2329) and in Crimean Tatar as къашыкъ къуш [ḳašıḳ ḳuš] (KRUS: 306) 'pelican', while the identical form is preserved in Turkish as kašık küşu 'pelican'. Similar to the previous examples, the Ottoman Bible translations and the Göz. 1841 show parallels in Chapter 11 of the Lev, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 قاشقجي فوش [kašık küş] (KRUS: 306) 'pelican'. However, there are different words for 'pelican' in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. qutan; balıqudan, Trk. gotan [gotan], Kaz. бирказан [birkazan], Kir. бирказан [bir​gazan], Tat. баба кош [baba koş] (TDTLM: 59). As for the Lev of the

\(^{44}\) It should be pointed out that in at least 20 different English Bible translations the word was translated as 'a species of owl,' (e.g. NIV, KJB, NASB, etc.) whereas it appears as 'ibis' only in a few of them (e.g. ISV, DRB, DBT).

\(^{45}\) This Biblical Hebrew word has denoted different animal species in some English Bible translations as well, e.g. 'swan' (e.g. AKJV, BST, etc.), 'white owl' (e.g. BSB, NASB, etc.) 'barn owl' (e.g. NLT, ESV, etc.), 'water-hen' (e.g. ISV), 'horned-owl' (e.g. ASV, ERV, etc.), 'red-bill' (e.g. BST, etc.).

\(^{46}\) In the Ali Bey 1665, the word سَقَسَغَن [saksağan] 'magpie' (RTD I: 495) has been used.
CrKB, the word has remained untranslated and therefore appears as *ḳaʿat*. In the whole Torah, the same word also appeared in Deut 14:17. However, in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, the word appears as *ḥasidâ* [raḥamî], similar to the Biblical Hebrew form.

### 2.18. raḥamî

Another unclean bird appears as *רַחַמִי* [raḥamî] in Lev 11:18 of the Göz. 1841, and goes back to the Biblical Hebrew *רָחָמ* [râḥâm]; *רָחָמָה* [râḥâmâ] ‘carrion vulture (*vultur percnopterus*)’ (CEDHL: 613, LVTL: 886). The word has remained untranslated in the Lev of the CrKB as well, e.g. *raḥama*. Furthermore, this uncertain word47 appeared as *רָחֶם* [rah(a)m] in the Kieffer 182748 as well, which might explain why it has also remained untranslated in the Göz. 1841, which is not usual for Chapter 11 of its Lev translation. In addition, it seems that the word *raḥamî* shows another copy mistake, which includes one of the Oghuzic ACC markers +(*y*)I (see 3.3.). It is also worth noting that the word appears as *חֲסִידָה* [ḥasida] in Deut 14:17 of the Göz. 1841 as well, where the Biblical Hebrew word occurs for the second/last time in the whole Hebrew Bible.

### 2.19. legläg

The word *לֵגְלַג* [legläg] ‘stork’ (leglek, CKED: 229; leklek, KRPS: 400) in Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841 stands for the Biblical Hebrew *חֲסִידָה* [ḥasida], which indicates ‘stork; heron’ (CEDHL: 225, LVTL: 319). The similar forms were attested in the Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 *لَيْلَﮏ* [leyleg/leylek], Kieffer 1827 *لَﮑْلَﮏ* [legleg/leklek]. The word *legläg* is of Arabic origin (NS: 506), and is preserved in many modern Turkic languages as well, e.g. Tur. *leylek*, Az. *leyläk*, Kaz. *ләйлек* [läylek], Kir. *ипеъилек* [ilegileg], Tat. *ләләк* [läkläk] (TDTLM: 39), CrTat. *лейлек* [leylek] (KRUS: 320). However, in the Lev of the CrKB, it appears as *ḥasida*, which is identical to the Biblical Hebrew word. In the rest of the Torah, the same word also appears once in Deut. 14:17. Similar to the previous examples, in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, the word has remained untranslated, e.g. *חֲסִידָה* [ḥasida], unlike the Lev of the Göz. 1841.

### 2.20. balïḳčïn

In Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841, the word *בַּלִיקְצִינ* [balïḳčïn] appears once and indicates the Biblical Hebrew *אֲנָפָה* [ʾănâfâ] ‘heron; egret’ (CEDHL: 41, LVTL: 70). In Karaim, the word *balïḳčïn* has not been listed, whereas the word *turna* (CKED: 414, KRPS: 548) means ‘heron; crane’ in Crimean and Halitch Karaim. On the other hand, the Biblical Hebrew *אֲנָפָה* [ʾănâfâ] has been denoted using similar Turkic forms in the Ottoman Bible translations as well, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 *بَلِقْﭽِﻞ* [balïḳčïl], Kieffer 1827 *بَلِقْﭽِین* [balïḳčïn] ‘heron’. According to Clauson (EDPT: 337), the word *balïḳčïn* ‘heron;

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47 The word was translated in some English Bible translations as ‘osprey’ (e.g. NIV, BSB, etc.), ‘Egyptian vulture’ (e.g. NLT), ‘carrion vulture’ (e.g. ESV, NKJV, etc.), ‘gier-eagle’ (e.g. KJB, JB2000, etc.), ‘vulture’ (e.g. ASV, ERV), ‘swan’ (e.g. BST), and ‘porphyrion’ (e.g. DRB).

48 In the Ali Bey 1665, the word has been translated as *فُؤَغُو* [kuğu] ‘swan’.
fish-eating bird’, which also appeared in DLT I: 512, probably only survived in Ottoman Turkish (TS I: 390). However, apart from Turkish balıkçıl (OTS I: 452) and Crimean Tatar балыкъчил [balïkçïl] (KRUS: 95) ‘heron; egret’, the word was attested with slight phonological differences in some modern Turkic languages referring to different bird species, e.g. Uzb. balïqčï ‘seagull’, Khak. палïкъчï ‘cormorant’ (DTMK: 55); in contrast, there are different words for ‘heron’ in the other Turkic languages, e.g. Az. balïqçïdan; vaŋ, Trk. хокгар; сувгушï, Kaz. кеккutan [kekkutan], Kir. кытан [kïtan], Tat. челэн [čelän] (TDTLM: 69). On the other hand, in the Lev of the CrKB, the word anafa has remained untranslated as per the Biblical Hebrew form. In the Hebrew Bible, the same word also appeared for a second/last time in Deut 14:18. However, once again the word has remained untranslated in the Deut of the Göz. 1841, e.g. ḥûnû [anafa].

2.21. hüd hüdi

Lev 11:19 of the Göz. 1841, presents the word חודה והד [hûd hûdi49] to render the Biblical Hebrew דוכיפת [dûkıˆfaṯ] ‘hoopoe’ (CEDHL: 117, LVTL: 205). The word has not been listed in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it was attested in the Ottoman Bible translations, e.g. Ali Bey 1665 [hûdhûd], Kieffer 1827 [hûdhûd], as an Arabic loanword (NS: 348). In modern Turkic languages, this word exists in the Oghuz branch, Tur. hüthüt, Az. hüdhüd ‘hoopoe’, whereas Kipchak languages have different words that stand for ‘hoopoe’, e.g. Kaz. үдуу; сасык кекек [üdüd; sasïk kekek], Kir. үңүү; сасык үңүү [üpüp; sasïk üpüp]50, Tat. өдүп көшү [bedyed košï] (TDTLM: 68). However, in the Lev of the CrKB, the Biblical Hebrew has remained untranslated, e.g. duçižfat, which is also present in Deut 14:18 of the Göz. 1841 as דוכיפת [duçižfat], where the Biblical Hebrew word appears for the second/last time in the entire Hebrew Bible. Thus, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 presents another Arabic loanword that existed in the Oghuzic area, unlike the Deut of the Göz. 1841 and the Lev of the CrKB.

2.22. tor

In the whole of the Lev of the Göz. 1841, there exist nine instances that denote the Biblical Hebrew תור [tôr] ‘turtle-dove (streptopelia turtur); other species of columba’ (CEDHL: 695, LVTL: 1023). As was noted above (see 2.2), eight out of these nine times it was written as קומר [kümri], whereas one example in Lev 14:30 of the Göz. 1841 displays the Biblical Hebrew form תור [tor]. Conversely, it was always translated as tor in the Lev of the CrKB. The word also appears once in the Gen and the Num of the Torah. However, in the rest of the Göz. 1841, the word tor never appears, and the forms similar to that used in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 can be found, e.g. Gen 15:9 [ךםר/kümri], Num 6:10 [ךםר/kümri]. Thus, Lev 14:30 contains an exceptional example in the Göz. 1841, showing more than one lexical item (that is not given in parenthesis) for the same bird species throughout the Lev.

49 The word can also be read as hudhuđi.
50 The form үпüp goes back to the Old Turkic onomatopoetic word üpgük, which has been attested in many early written Turkic sources, e.g. IrqB: 14 üpgük, DLT I: 78 übgük ‘hoopoe’ and Turkic languages, e.g. Tur. ibibik, Az. hop-hop, Trk. xiïypïypik, CrTat. öpöö ‘hoopoe’ (DTMK: 234, KEWTS: 181).
3. CONCLUSION

3.1. The distribution of the bird names in the corpus

In this study, the bird names appearing in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 have been presented together with their equivalents in the Lev of the CrKB, the Ali Bey 1665, and the Kieffer 1827. Although the languages of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB were assumed to be similar, their lexicons for the bird names in the Lev show quite many differences, since out of 21 different bird names, only five words (24%) occur in similar forms in these two Bible translations.

Table 1. The common bird names in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB

| Lev          | Biblical Hebrew Forms | Göz. 1841                              | CrKB                             |
|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1:14, 14:30, | יְוֵנָה [yônâ]          | kögürçin/kögürçün/gügürçin/gögürçün     | kögürçün 'pigeon'                |
| 12:6, 5:7    | 'pigeon; dove (columba)' | kögürçün 'pigeon'                      |                                  |
| 11:13        | נֶשֶׁר [nešer]          | ḳara ḳuš 'eagle'                       | ḳara ḳuš 'eagle'                 |
| 11:15        | בְּר [‘ôrêb]          | ḳuzgün 'raven'                         | ḳuzgün 'raven'                   |
| 11:18        | רָחָם [râḥâm]         | rahami (untranslated Biblical form)     | rahama (untranslated Biblical form) |
| 14:30        | רָחָם [tôr]          | tor (untranslated Biblical form)        | tor (untranslated Biblical form)  |

Among these examples, the words tor and rahami/rahama go back to the Biblical Hebrew forms, whereas the other three words are of Turkic origin. It is remarkable that the bird names in the Lev of the CrKB consist of a high predominance of Biblical Hebrew words. As has been discussed, the main reason for this might be related to the uncertainty of some Biblical Hebrew words for animal names in the Hebrew Bible. The Lev of the CrKB presents altogether 21 different bird names, and 16 of these words (76%) are from the Biblical Hebrew forms, e.g. tor ‘turtle-dove’, peres ‘bearded vulture’, ‘azniya ‘black vulture’, da’ a ‘eagle; vulture; kite; red kite’, aya ‘falcon; kite; hawk; black kite’, tahmas ‘a kind of owl’, sahafsp ‘seagull’, kos ‘a kind of owl’, salaş ‘cormorant’, yanşuf ‘long-eared owl; bee-eater’, tinşemet ‘white owl; chameleon’, ka’at ‘pelican; little owl; jackdaw’, rahama ‘carrion vulture’, ḥasida ‘stork’, anaş ‘heron; egret’, duşfat ‘hoopoe’, and 5 of them (24%) are of Turkic origin, e.g. kögürçün ‘pigeon’, ḳara ḳuš ‘eagle’, ḳuzgün ‘raven’, kirğiıy ‘hawk’, ayrık ‘ostrich’. Among these Turkic items, the Lev of the CrKB only shows two common Turkic forms (14%) that were also attested in similar forms in Ottoman Turkish, e.g. kögürçgün ‘pigeon’, ḳarakuş ‘eagle’. Thus, it should be noted that the CrKB edition does not present any specific Oghuzic and/or Ottoman Turkish forms for the bird names throughout the Lev.

In the Lev of the Göz. 1841, only two items (9%) out of 23 different bird names come from to the Biblical Hebrew forms, e.g. rahamî ‘carrion vulture’, tor ‘turtle-dove’. In the other cases, there are 15 Turkic words (65%), e.g. kögürçin/kögürçün/gügürçin/gögürçün ‘pigeon; kartal; ḳara ḳuš ‘eagle, deniz kartali ‘sea-eagle, ak baba ‘vulture, čaylaš ‘kite, kuzgün ‘raven, deve kuşu ‘ostrich, baya kuşu ‘owl, duğan ‘hawk, falcon, úgi kuşu ‘a species of owl, ḳara batak ‘cormorant, koğu ‘swan, kaşığı kuşı ‘pelican, balikçin ‘heron’, three words (13%) are of Arabic origin that were common in Ottoman Turkish forms for the bird names throughout the Lev.
man Turkish, e.g. *ḳumru* 'turtle-dove', *_legläg* 'stork', *ḥüt ḥüdi* 'hoopoe', and one lexical item (4%) is of Persian origin, e.g. *ironï* 'bearded vulture' (*gypaetus barbatus*). Although the rest of the examples (9%) were listed in the Karaim dictionaries, e.g. *toyï* 'ibis', *ḳuḳu ḳušï* 'seagull', it seems they were copied from the Kieffer 1827 with some morphological mistakes. Nevertheless, it is possible to claim that 15 bird names were directly/indirectly influenced by the specific Ottoman Turkish lexicon (65%, see Table 2). Therefore, the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and the CrKB demonstrate a clear difference regarding the use of specific Ottoman Turkish words for the bird names (65% vs 0%).

Table 2. The specific Ottoman Turkish words in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

| Lev | Biblical Hebrew Forms | Göz. 1841 | Kieffer 1827 | Ali Bey 1665 |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| 5:7/12:6 | יונָה [yônâ] 'pigeon; dove' | gügürčin/gögürčün 'pigeon' | gögerjin 'pigeon' | gögerjin 'pigeon' |
| 5:7 | רות [tôr] 'turtle-dove' | *ḳumru* 'turtle-dove' | *ḳumru* 'turtle-dove' | *ḳumru* 'turtle-dove' |
| 11:13 | נֶשֶׁר [nešer] 'eagle; vulture' | kartal 'eagle' | kartal 'eagle' | kartal 'eagle' |
| 11:13 | עָזְנִיָּה [ʿoznıˆyâ] 'black vulture' | deniz kartalı prob.'sea-eagle' | iron/ironi 'a kind of eagle' | deniz kartalı 'sea-eagle' |
| 11:14 | דָּאָה [dâʾâ] 'eagle and/or vulture; kite; red kite' | *ḳašıkǰï ḳušï* 'pelican' | *ḳašıkǰï ḳušï* 'pelican' | *ḳašıkǰï ḳušï* 'pelican' |
| 11:16 | לְפֶרֶס [peres] 'bearded vulture' | čaylaḳ prob.'kite' | čaylaḳ 'kite' | čaylaḳ 'kite' |
| 11:19 | אֲנָפָה [ʾănâfâ] 'heron; egret' | balïkčïl 'heron' | balïkčïl 'heron' | balïkčïl 'heron' |
| 11:19 | דּוּכִיפַת [dûkıˆfaṯ] 'hoopoe' | to/to 'a species of owl' | to/to 'a species of owl' | balıkčïn 'heron' | balıkčïl 'heron' |
In conclusion, except for the untranslated Biblical Hebrew forms, (e.g. tor 'turtle-dove', raḥamī 'carrion vulture'), the remaining words of the lexicon for the bird names (91%) in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 are predominantly similar to the words in Ottoman Turkish and/or the Oghuzic languages. Based on the comparison, it is quite clear that the main source for the bird names in Lev 11 of the Göz. 1841 was the Kieffer 1827, since all the words that stand for the bird species in Lev 11 of these translations are identical or extremely similar. Another finding also supports this claim, since 16 of the 23 bird names (70%) were attested in the other books (Pentateuch) of the Göz. 1841 in different forms, and are almost identical to the Lev of the CrKB examples. However, these parallel forms are mostly based on untranslated Biblical Hebrew forms.

Table 3. The comparison of the other Books of the Göz. 1841

| Biblical Hebrew Forms | Lev of the CrKB | Other Books of the Göz. 1841 | Lev of the Göz. 1841 |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| נֶשֶׁר [nešer]         | 11:13, karaḵuš | Exo 19:4, Deut 14:12, 28:49, 32:11, | 11:13, kartal/kara kuš |
| פֶרֶס [peres]        | 11:13, peres    | Deut 14:12, peres             | 11:13, ironi        |
| עָזְנִיָּה [ʿoznıˆyâ] | 11:13, ʿazniya   | Deut 14:12, ʿazniya            | 11:13, deniz kartali |
| אַיָּה [ʾayâ]         | 11:14, aya      | Deut 14:13, aya               | 11:14, çayłak       |
| יַעֲנָה [yaʿănâ]     | 11:16, anḳït    | Deut 14:15, anḳït             | 11:16, deve kuši    |
| תַּחְמָס [taḥmâs]    | 11:16, taḥmas    | Deut 14:15, taḥmas             | 11:16, baya kuši    |
| שַׁחַף [šaḥaf]       | 11:16, šaḥaf    | Deut 14:15, šaraf              | 11:16, kuku kuši    |
| כּוֹס [kôs]          | 11:17, kos      | Deut 14:16, kos                | 11:17, twig kušu    |
| קָאַת [qâ’aṯ]       | 11:18, ḳa’at     | Deut 14:17, ḳa’at               | 11:18, koğu         |
| חֲסִידָה [ḥăsîdâ]    | 11:19, ḥasida    | Deut 14:17, ḥasida             | 11:19, leglâg       |
| אֲנָפָה [ʾănâfâ]     | 11:18, anafa     | Deut 14:18, anafa              | 11:19, balıkân      |
| דּוּכִיפַת [dûkıˆfaṯ] | 11:19, duğiʃat   | Deut 14:18, duğiʃat            | 11:19, hûd hûdi    |

51 Moreover, a large number of Oghuzic features of Lev 11 of the Göz. 1841 translation (see Işık 2018: 69–75) might go back to the Kieffer 1827.
Finally, together with the previous paper, 52 different words that stand for different animal species in the Lev of the Göz. 1841 were presented. Among these words, 32 of them show Oghuzic and/or Ottoman Turkish characteristics (62%), and do not appear in the Lev of the CrKB translation. Moreover, 28 of these Oghuzic words only appear in Chapter 11 (87%). Thus, Chapter 11 of the Lev in the Göz. 1841 represents an exceptional case when compared to the other chapters, since all the animal names were copied from the same parts of the Kieffer 1827. Due to this, these results once again show that it might be misleading to make far-reaching conclusions regarding the whole edition of the Göz. 1841 based on only one book, since even chapters from the same book present contrasting characteristics. Further analysis of the other Books of the Göz. 1841 might demonstrate whether these characteristics occur systematically in certain chapters or not.

3.2. An addendum to the previous study

In my previous study, the Ottoman Turkish Bible data were not compared to the Lev of the Göz. 1841. The direct connection between the Lev 11 translations of the Göz. 1841 and the Kieffer 1827 edition can also be noticed in the previous paper. However, first, I would like to make some corrections regarding the previous data. In Lev 11:29 of the Göz. 1841, I have noted the word göz tökä and claimed that it must be a type of gecko since the Biblical Hebrew form has also been translated as some type of gecko species in other Bible translations and the word tökä might refer ‘tokay’ gecko. However, in both Ottoman Turkish Bible editions, the word has been translated as köstebek/göstebek ‘mole’\textsuperscript{52} e.g. Ali Bey 1665 \( \text{کوُسْتَبِّک} \), Kieffer 1827 \( \text{کوُسْتَبِّک} \), which is present in modern Oghuz languages as well, e.g. Tur. köstebek, Az. köstäbäk (KTLS 1: 509–510). Thus, the word should be read as göz töbä\textsuperscript{53}. Another possible reading mistake appears in Lev 11:22 of the Göz. 1841 in relation to the word jurjurı/jürjüri ‘cricket’. Considering that there exists a word in Turkish, çırçır [jïrjïr], which stands for ‘cricket’, it might seem logical to read the word as jurjurı or jürjüri. However, based on the Kieffer 1827 example, e.g. جدجد, the word probably is judjud or jüdjüd,\textsuperscript{54} and denotes ‘cicada’\textsuperscript{55}.

Finally, below the other animal names for species from Chapter 11 have also been presented and compared to the Ottoman Turkish Bible translations.

\textsuperscript{52} The word has also been denoted as ‘mole; mole rat’ in at least eight different English Bible translations, e.g. NLT, NASB, NKJV, DBT, etc.

\textsuperscript{53} Another reason for this misreading was due to the difficulty of making a distinction between the Hebrew letters ב [bet] and כ [kaf] in some parts of the Göz. 1841. Interestingly, the words göz and töbä are also written separately, lacking the final -k, e.g. טובַּא גוז.

\textsuperscript{54} It should be noted that the letters ד [dalet] and ר [resh] sometimes look identical in the Göz. 1841, which can cause such reading interpretation mistakes. However, it is clear that the word appears in the Hebrew script as ג׳וּדְג׳וּדִי.

\textsuperscript{55} The Ottoman Turkish word was described as orak kuşu in Turkish (Efe 2017: 384), and therefore stands for ‘cicada’ (OTS 4: 3626). It is worth noting that the word jïrjïr was also described as ‘cicada’ in another Ottoman dictionary (Toven 1927: 254) and therefore it is probably a variant of the form judjud.
Table 4. The comparison of the previous data to the Ottoman Bible translations

| Lev | Other Biblical Animal Names | Göz. 1841 | Kieffer 1827 | Ali Bey 1665 |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| 11:4 | מָגָל [gâmâl] ‘camel’ | deve ‘camel’ | deve ‘camel’ | deve ‘camel’ |
| 11:5 | מָן [sâfân] 'rock badger; cony rabbit' | ada tavušan prob. ‘hare; European rabbit’ | ada tavšan ‘hare; European rabbit’ | ada tavšan ‘hare; European rabbit’ |
| 11:6 | הָרִיב [‘arnebeṯ] ‘hare; rabbit’ | tavušan ‘rabbit; hare’ | tavšan ‘rabbit; hare’ | tavšan ‘rabbit; hare’ |
| 11:7 | חוּז [ḥâzir] ‘pig; swine’ | ḥânzir ‘pig; swine’ | ḥânzir ‘pig; swine’ | ḥânzir ‘pig; swine’ |
| 11:19 | חִלְּקַב [sol’âm] ‘a kind of locust’ | judjud/jûdjûd prob. ‘cicada’ | judjudjudjûd ‘cicada’ | sula ‘am (untranslated Biblical form) |
| 11:22 | חָרְגֹּל [ḥârgôl] | ḥarğol (untranslated Biblical form) | ḥarğol (untranslated Biblical form) | ḥarḡol (untranslated Biblical form) |
| 11:22 | חָגָב [ḥâgâb] | ḥaġab (untranslated Biblical form) | ḥaġab (untranslated Biblical form) | ḥaġab (untranslated Biblical form) |
| 11:29 | חֹלֶד [ḥôled] ‘mole-rat, mole weasel’ | gelinčik ‘mole ?’ | gelinjk ‘weasel’ | gelinjk ‘weasel’ |
| 11:29 | עַכְבָּר [ʿakbâr] ‘mouse’ | sičan ‘rat; mouse’ | sičan ‘rat; mouse’ | sičan ‘rat; mouse’ |
| 11:29 | כֹּחַ [kôaḥ] ‘a kind of lizard’ | kaplu baga ‘turtle; turtoise’ | kapluþuğa ‘turtle; turtoise’ | kapluþuğa ‘turtle; turtoise’ |
| 11:30 | תִּנְשֶׁמֶת [tinšemeṯ] ‘white owl; chameleon’ | göz töbä prob. ‘mole’ | köstebek ‘mole’ | köstebek ‘mole’ |
3.3. Copy errors in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

In both the Göz. 1841 and the Kieffer 1827, the nouns that stand for the unclean animals between Lev 11:4 and Lev 11:29 require an ACC marker due to the Turkic case-marking system of the verbs that have been used in these verses.

Table 5. The commandments regarding unclean animals in Lev 11 of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841

| Lev   | English Standard Version 2007 | Kieffer 1827 | Göz. 1841 |
|-------|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 11:4  | you shall not eat these       | bunlar+i     | bular+i   |
|       | these+ACC                     | ye-me-(y)esiz| these+ACC |
|       | to eat-NEG-2PL.JUSS           |               | to eat-NEG-2PL.JUSS |
| 11:13 | these you shall detest        | bunlar+i     | bular+i   |
|       | these+ACC                     | mekrü fut-asiz| these+ACC |
|       | to regard as abominable-2PL.JUSS |             | ikrah id-iŋiz |
| 11:22 | of them you may eat           | onlar+dan bunlar+i | bular+i | olan+dan |
|       | those+ABL these+ACC           | ye-(y)esiz   | these+ACC those+ABL |
|       | to eat-2PL.JUSS               |               | aša-ŋiz |

In Crimean Karaim texts, it is natural to see the Oghuzic ACC marker +(y)I (Çulha 2019: 87). However, it should be noted that throughout the Lev of the Göz. 1841, such Oghuzic ACC markers appear only in Chapter 11. Below, the animal names that contain Oghuzic ACC markers in the Book are shown.

Table 6. The Oghuzic accusative case markers in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

| The Lev | Kieffer 1827                  | Göz. 1841 |
|---------|-------------------------------|-----------|
| 11:6    | tavšan+i                      | tavušan+i |
|         | rabbit; hare+ACC              | rabbit; hare+ACC |
| 11:7    | ḥînzîr+i                      | χînzîr+i   |
|         | pig; swine+ACC                | pig; swine+ACC |
| 11:14   | kuzğun+i                      | kuzğun+i  |
|         | raven+ACC                     | raven+ACC |
| 11:16   | doğan+i                       | duğan+i   |
|         | hawk; falcon+ACC              | hawk; falcon+ACC |
| 11:19   | baliḵčîn+i                    | baliḵčîn+i |
|         | heron; egret+ACC              | heron; egret+ACC |

Although the above instances cannot be regarded as copy errors, it is possible to claim that the Kieffer 1827 has influenced the Göz. 1841 regarding such usages as well. The other examples below clearly illustrate some interesting copy mistakes, since the lexical items in the Kieffer 1827 were copied into the Göz. 1841 together with their Oghuzic ACC markers, and later the Kipchak ACC markers were also attached to these forms.
Table 7. The double accusative case markers in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

| Lev | Kieffer 1827 | Göz. 1841 |
|-----|--------------|-----------|
| 11:13 | iron+i | iron+i+ní | eagle+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.) |
| 11:16 | baykus+i | baya kuš+i+ní | owl+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.) |
| 11:17 | tu+yí | to+yí+ní | owl?+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.) |
| 11:18 | raḥ(a)m+i | raḥam+i+ní | carrion vulture+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.) |
| 11:19 | hüdhüd+i | hüdhüd+i+ní | hoopoe+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.) |
| 11:20 | jüdǰüd+i | jüdǰüd+i+ní | cicada+ACC (ogh.)+ACC (kip.) |

In Lev 11:29, the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841 show different translation strategies. Based on the structures, animal names require an ACC marker in the Kieffer 1827, unlike the Göz. 1841.

Table 8. The different translation strategies in the Lev of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841

| Lev | English Standard Version | Kieffer 1827 | Göz. 1841 |
|-----|--------------------------|--------------|-----------|
| 11:29 | these are unclean to you | bunlar+i | bu+dur siz+e |
|      |                          | these+ACC   | this+COR you (2PL)+DAT |
|      |                          | napak tut-asíz | o Haram |
|      |                          | to regard as unclean-2PL.JUSS | theí illicit |

In the aforementioned verse, a different copy error is also present in three words. In Turkic languages, the structure of compound nouns usually appears as ‘noun+noun+3SG.POSS’ or ‘noun+noun’. However, it seems that the words güneš kelerí and yildž kelerí were copied from the Kieffer 1827 into the Göz. 1841 together with their 3SG.POSS suffixes and another 3SG.POSS marker was also attached to these forms. Besides this, a 3SG.POSS marker was also attached to the Turkish word kertenkele in an unusual way, as the form is already a compound noun.

Table 9. The unusual usage of 3SG.POSS suffixes in the Lev of the Göz. 1841

| Lev | Kieffer 1827 | Göz. 1841 |
|-----|--------------|-----------|
| 11:29 | güneš keler+i+ni | güneš keler+i+si | sun lizard+3SG.POSS+ACC |
|      | yildž keler+i+ni | yildž keler+i+si | star lizard+3SG.POSS+3SG.POSS |
|      | kertenkele+yí | kerten kele+si | lizard+3SG.POSS |

56 It is vastly known that the Turkic languages do not have definite article. However, one of the most common features of the Karaim Bible translations is rendering the Hebrew definite article הַ־[ha-] by some Turkic demonstrative pronouns, e.g. ol, o, šol etc.
Finally, the results of the present study show that five words that were listed in the Karaim dictionaries for Crimean Karaim might be incorrect according to their descriptions. Note that all these problematic words originally belong to Shapsal’s lexical material\textsuperscript{57}, and therefore to the KRPS dictionary. In the dictionary, the Karaim words have been listed together with Russian and Polish descriptions. The following is a comparison of the Russian descriptions of these problematic words to the relevant parts of a Russian Bible translation from the 19th century (RSO 1876) in order to present a possible explanation for these disputed descriptions.

First of all, as was demonstrated, the word \textit{toyï} (Lev 11:17, Göz. 1841) can be traced back to the word ‘\textit{tu}+\textit{yï}’, which appears in the Kieffer 1827 and stands for ‘a kind of owl+ACC’, whereas it was defined as ‘ibis’ (Rus. \textit{ибис}) in the Karaim dictionaries (CKED: 410, KRPS: 535). The same Russian equivalent is also present in RSO 1876, e.g. Lev 11:17, \textit{ибис} ‘ibis’. The second word \textit{kuku kuśi} (Lev 11:16, Göz. 1841) denotes ‘seagull; mew’ (Rus. \textit{чайка}) (CKED: 319, KRPS: 374) in the Karaim dictionaries, whereas it stands for ‘cuckoo’ in the Kieffer 1827. Similar to the previous example, the meaning in the KRPS matches with the Russian Bible translation, e.g. Lev 11:16, RSO 1876; \textit{чайка} ‘seagulls’. The next word \textit{karabatak} has been listed as ‘fisher (bird); tern’ (Rus. \textit{рыболова} lit. ‘fisher (bird)’, Pol. \textit{rybitwa} ‘tern’) in the Karaim dictionaries (CKED 290, KRPS: 363), whereas it represents ‘cormorant’ in Oghuzic languages and the Kieffer 1827. The Russian Bible translation presents the identical form in Lev 11:17 as well, e.g. RSO 1876, \textit{рыболова} lit. ‘fisher’. Another word has been listed as \textit{aḳ-baba kuśi} ‘kite; hawk’ in the KRPS: 377\textsuperscript{58} (Rus. \textit{коршун} ‘kite’, Pol. \textit{jastrząb} ‘hawk’), whereas it denotes ‘vulture’ in Turkish and the Kieffer 1827. Once again, the Russian description in the KRPS has been attested in the RSO 1876 as well, e.g. Lev 11:17 \textit{коршун} ‘kite’. Hereby, I consider that the words \textit{toyï}, \textit{kuku}, \textit{karabatak}, and \textit{aḳ baba kuśi} have most probably been collected from the Lev of the Göz. 1841 (or other texts that also have used the Göz. 1841 as their source) and the meanings of these erroneous/unclear forms might have been compared to their controversial equivalents in some other Bible translations. For instance, the Russian descriptions of the aforementioned words in the KRPS also appear in the Russian Bible translation from the 19th century mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is not clear whether Shapsal himself had analyzed the Lev of the Göz. 1841 and compared these problematic forms with other Bible translations. This is especially true considering that there are at least eight bird names that appeared in the same part of the Göz. 1841, but were not listed in the KRPS, e.g. \textit{gügürčin/gögürčün}, \textit{ïronï}, \textit{deŋiz ḳartalï}, \textit{čaylaḳ}, \textit{deve kušu}, \textit{ügi ḳušu}, \textit{balïḳčïn}, \textit{hüd hüdi}.

The final debated word is \textit{gelinčik}, which was presented in the previous study (Işık 2020: 152). As was mentioned, the word \textit{gelinjik} appears in the Oghuz branch and Crimean Tatar with the meaning of ‘weasel’, e.g. Tur. \textit{gelincik} (ÖTS 2: 1675), Az. \textit{gəlinčik} (ADIL II: 230), CrTat. \textit{κελιντικ} [kelincik] (KRUS: 223) whereas there exist some common forms that stand for ‘weasel’ among the Kipchak languages, e.g. Kaz. \textit{küzen}, Kir. \textit{közön}, Tat. \textit{közän}, CrTat. \textit{küzen} (DTMK: 119, EDPT: 761, L:163). However, according to KRPS: 166 and CKED: 164, the word \textit{gelinčik} denotes ‘mole’\textsuperscript{59} in Crimean Karaim. Considering the strong link between the Lev translations of the Kieffer 1827 and the Göz. 1841 for animal names, the interpretation of the word as ‘mole’ might be incorrect. In

\textsuperscript{57} Shapsal’s data are generally considered to be reliable when compared with some other materials. Nevertheless, some problematic cases have briefly been mentioned in the CKED: 9–10 as well.

\textsuperscript{58} This word was not listed in the CKED.

\textsuperscript{59} Interestingly, the Biblical Hebrew word \textit{חֹלדֶ} [ḥôled] (Lev 11:29) has been translated in some English Bible translations (at least eight) as ‘mole; mole rat’, e.g. ESV, NKJV, NAS 1977, etc., whereas in most of the English Bible translations (at least 16) the word was denoted by ‘weasel’, e.g. NIV, KJB, ASV, etc.
fact, the Russian word *крот* ‘mole’ in the KRPS dictionary is present in the RSO 1876 as well, e.g. Lev 11:29, *krum*. Besides this, the corrected reading of the word *göz tōbā* (see 3.2.) clearly shows that there is another word that also stands for ‘mole’ only a verse later. However, it should be noted that the word *kelincek/kelincik* has also been listed as meaning ‘mole’ in Halitch Karaim60 (ESTJa 3: 18, KRPS: 30261). Stachowski (KEWTS: 155) claims that the two animals have some common features which might cause such semantic developments. Ergo, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the word *gelinčik* in Crimean Karaim, whereas in the Göz. 1841 it clearly denotes ‘weasel’. Perhaps some analysis of the Karaim texts might shed light on the issue of this word. Furthermore, possible attestations of the aforementioned erroneous forms in Karaim texts might also be significant in explaining the link between such sources.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

The research upon which this publication is based has been awarded funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement no. 802645).

**ABBREVIATIONS**

**Bible Translations:** AKJV = American King James Version; ASV = American Standard Version; BSB = Berean Study Bible; BST = Brenton Septuagint Translation; CrKB = Critical edition of a Crimean Karaim Bible Edition (2019); CSB = Christian Standard Bible; DBT = Darby Bible Translation; DRB = Douay-Rheims Bible; ERV = English Revised Version; ESV = English Standard Version; Göz. 1841 = Gözleve Bible (1841); GWT = GOD’S WORD® Translation; ISV = International Standard Version; JB2000 = Jubilee Bible 2000; KJB = King James Bible; NAS 1977 = New American Standard 1977; NASB = New American; NETB = NET Bible; NHEB = New Heart English Bible; NIV = New International Version; NKJV = New King James Version; NLT = New Living Translation; RSO (1876) = Russian Synodal Orthodox Version 1876; WBT = Webster’s Bible Translation; YLT = Young’s Literal Translation

**Biblical Books:** Deut = Deuteronomy; Exo = Exodus; Gen = Genesis; Lev = Leviticus; Num = Number;

**Languages:** Az. = Azerbaijani; CrTat. = Crimean Tatar; Gag. = Gagauz; HKar. = Halitch Karaim; Kaz. = Kazakh; Khak. = Khakas; Kir. = Kirghiz; Nog. = Nogai; Ot. = Ottoman Turkish; Pol. = Polish; Rus. = Russian; Tat. = Tatar; Trk. = Turkmen; Tur. = Turkish; Uyg. = Uyghur; Uzb. = Uzbek; Yak. = Yakut (Sakha);

**Other Abbreviations:** 2PL = second person plural; 3SG = third person singular; ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; Cop = copula; GEN = genitive; IMP = imperative; JUSS = jussive; kip. = Kipchak; lit. = literally; NEG = negation; ogh. = Oghuzic; PART = participle; POSS = possessive marker; prob. = probably

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60 On the other hand, in Trakai Karaim, ‘mole’ was denoted by the Russian word *krot* (KRPS: 341).
61 This lexical item was originally listed in Markowkicz 1933: 42.
Manuscripts and Fragments of the Lev of the CrKB

Baxč. 116 = This is preserved in the Russian National Library, and was copied in the 18th century. It contains fragments of the Pentateuch (Exodus 26–40, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), three books of the Five Scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations), and some parts of Psalms (1–19, 22–37, 55–57, 69–89). Only a few available leaves were employed in the Lev of the CrKB: Lev 3:10–4:7, 5:23–6:7, 8:36–10:4, 15:30–16:8. BSMS 288 = This is in the Cambridge University Library (among the holdings of the British and Foreign Bible Society) in four volumes; volume I – 203 text leaves (Pentateuch and Five Scrolls), volume II – 144 text leaves (Former Prophets), volume III – 155 text leaves (Latter Prophets), and volume IV – 118 text leaves (Writings). The manuscript contains the whole Tanakh without the Chronicles. In the CrKB, only the volumes I and IV have been included as the basic manuscript.

Evr I 143 = The available fragments consist of Lev 1:1-15 and Lev 16:4–5.

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