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# Krymchak language samples

**Henryk Jankowski**

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This article presents language samples recorded from a single informant, Ms Sultan Peisakh (1924, Simferopol; 2014, St. Petersburg). Ms Peisakh's language competence was limited, but there were no better native speakers available. She could only remember the language she spoke and heard in her childhood, and pronounce some expressions and simple sentences. Although Krymchak is a well-documented language, the available texts represent various written styles and folklore influenced by Crimean Tatar and Turkish. In contrast, documentation of spoken Krymchak is very poor. Therefore, even short recordings are worth publishing.

Keywords: Krymchak Turkic language, language documentation

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## 1. The Krymchaks and their ethnic language

The Krymchaks are a small Rabbinic Jewish community who once called themselves *beni Israel* 'Israel's sons' or *Yisraeller* 'the Israelites', but who since the beginning of the 19th century have been known by the Russian name 'Krymchak'. Their population was assessed to about 8,000 in 1939. During World War II, most of them were exterminated by the Nazis in the Crimea (Kupoveckij 1983: 86) and the 1959 Soviet census showed 1,500 Krymchaks (Kupoveckij 1989: 64). Their number decreased to 1,053 in 1970 (Kupoveckij 1983: 86). In Kizilov's (2008: 66) opinion, in 2002 there were only 204 Krymchaks in the Crimea and about 600–700 in Israel (2008: 68, 71), to which most of them migrated in the 1990s.

Krymchak is practically an extinct language. According to Polinsky (1991: 130), who carried out fieldwork among the Krymchaks in the 1980s, all native speakers were over 70 years old. There is no commonly accepted opinion about the Krymchak language. Some authors consider the Turkic language of the Krymchaks to be an ethnolect of Crimean Tatar (Ianbay, Erdal 1998: 1, Ianbay 2001: 502), or "the Jewish Krimchak ethnolect of the Crimean Tatar language" (Ianbay 2000: 4); for more details see Jankowski (2016: 455–456). The Krymchaks themselves had various names for their language, e.g. Crimean Tatar, Tatar, Krymchak, Turkish, Krymchak-Tatar, Tatar-Krymchak, Crimean Jewish and even Chaghatai (Jankowski 2016: 456). Therefore, they were not unanimous in their opinion about the Turkic language they spoke. This question will not be studied in this article, but it is clear that, from a purely structural point of view, the language spoken by Ms Peisakh may be considered to be a variety of Crimean Tatar strongly influenced by Turkish, though

with some distinctive features such as the -{GAy} optative and specific Krymchak words like *čeče* ‘dumpling’ or *arle* ‘drink of roasted flour’, not to speak of religious terms.

Krymchak literature is known from manuscripts with various contents, so-called *jönks*,<sup>1</sup> eight printed books with the translations of biblical books published at the beginning of the 20th century, a few primers and notebooks published in the Soviet Union in the 1920s–1930s (Kaja 1928, 1930), editions of fragments of old manuscripts by Rebi and V. M. Lombrozo,<sup>2</sup> re-editions of earlier printed texts by Rebi,<sup>3</sup> and the publication of proverbs and sayings by Ačkinazi.<sup>4</sup> Most of these publications appeared in the 1990s and 2000s, which was the period of an unsuccessful attempt to revive Krymchak culture and language in the Crimea.

As for studies, Filonenko (1972) was long the only available study with texts. In 1988 Polinskaja and Černin published an important study on Krymchak kinship terms, which was followed by two studies by Polinsky (1991, 1992), the former comprising eight texts with an introduction and discussion, and the latter a description of the language as recently documented and related questions. A very important event was the edition of three printed books of religious content (of the eight mentioned above), two of which were biblical translations and *targumim*, namely *Targum Sheni* of the Book of Ruth of 1906 by Erdal & Ianbay (1998) and the Song of Songs printed in 1905 with a *targum*, edited by Ianbay (2017). The third was the *Book of Miracles and Wonders* printed in 1907 and edited by Erdal & Ianbay (2000). All three were originally published by Nissim N. Levi Chakhchir. In 2010 Rebi published the *Book of Daniel* from Gabay’s *jönk* (2010: 163–234).

In Ianbay (2000) there are fragments of some Krymchak manuscripts from St. Petersburg, in Ianbay (2001) some other short texts, and in Ianbay (2002) fifteen poems by Perich. Lastly, the Krymchak translations of Obadiah and some short texts from manuscripts preserved in Kiev were published by Shapira (2016, to appear). These recent studies by Shapira are very important, for he edits fragments of the 18th-century manuscripts,<sup>5</sup> some with the same texts as those printed in 1905–1907

- 1 *Jönk* ‘collection of folk and sometimes religious literature’ is referred to in the Russian form as *jonka* (*džonka*). At one time they were very popular. Filonenko (1972: 15) mentions *jönks* owned by Purim, Chapicho, Mizraxi and Zengin.
- 2 Fragments of Šolom Baxšij’s and Yosef Gabay’s *jönks*, such as the story of Ašik Ğariḅ with a Russian translation were published by Rebi in Rebi & Lombrozo (2000: 34–132), another variant being available in Rebi (2010: 9–134).
- 3 Rebi republished the texts of stories from Kaja (1930) in Cyrillic transcription and Russian translation in (1993: 27–35) and (2004: 31–51). Rebi (2004: 3) says that they were published at the end of the 1930s; he probably used a later reprinted version of this reader.
- 4 These proverbs and sayings were prepared for print by B. I. Ačkinazi in 1991 and published posthumously (Ačkinazi 2004).
- 5 Polinsky’s text 1 (1991: 135–136) is also old; it is dated to 1785. However, since it was republished from a non-critical edition by Kaya, its linguistic reliability is restricted. In

by Chakhchir. We can see that the language of these manuscripts is very archaic and similar to that of contemporary Karaim Bible translations.<sup>6</sup>

As far as the description of the language and the lexicon is concerned, in addition to Polinsky (1992) there is a sketch of grammar by Rebi & Ačkinazi & Ačkinazi (1997), and a more recent one by Rebi (2004: 4–26). We also have two dictionaries by Rebi (2004) and Ianbay (2016). These descriptions and dictionaries reflect Krymchak as known from the texts listed above. It is certain that after the publication of a more extensive corpus of earlier texts, as in Shapira (2016, to appear), there will be a need to write another grammar and another dictionary of pre-nineteenth-century Krymchak, not affected by Turkish.<sup>7</sup>

As for the texts recorded from the native speakers, it is important to distinguish between folk literature like proverbs, saying, riddles, songs and popular stories which were common to all Crimean Turkic peoples, i.e. also memorized, recited and copied by the Krymchaks,<sup>8</sup> and spoken Krymchak. The early researchers were mostly interested in folklore. For example, in 1928 Filonenko recorded nine songs sung by Z. Zengin in Simferopol. In 1947, Kaja recorded a poem spoken by M. Purim, all published by Filonenko (1972: 16–34).<sup>9</sup>

Samples of spoken Krymchak were first published by Polinsky (1991). However, there are in fact only five texts recorded from three native speakers, the other texts being published earlier and only checked by Polinsky's informants. This is because she admitted that all Krymchak native speakers were in fact semi-speakers, able to produce only a few sentences, relate short texts heard before, and carry on short practical dialogues. She added that their vocabulary was restricted (Polinsky 1991: 130–131). In 2006, Iryna Dryga & Yong-Song Li recorded Krymchak material from David (Davut) Rebi, the Krymchak scholar and author of many works on this lan-

fact, we see some SW Turkic features in this text that may or may not have been introduced by the editor.

- 6 There are also a few publications in Turkey, which unfortunately are unreliable, for example Altınkaynak (2006), which quotes various texts without reference to the source and shows “Arami yazı ile Kırımçak Türkçesi Metinleri”, i.e. ‘Krymchak Turkish texts written in Aramaic characters’ which are reproduced from a Karaim(!) manuscript.
- 7 Especially manuscript Evr I 143, among the holdings of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, probably written on 15th-century paper, formerly described by Harkavy & Strack (1875: 168), and considered to be Karaim, should be examined for a possible Krymchak provenance which cannot be excluded at this stage of research.
- 8 Ananiasz Zajączkowski (1939) and Włodzimierz Zajączkowski (1961), two Turcologists of Karaim descent, were aware of this and referred to the songs and poetry once popular among the Karaims in the Crimea which they published as Tatar-Karaim.
- 9 Ianbay (2000) has distinguished the following genres of Krymchak literature: (1) Bible translations and other religious works; (2) poetry; (3) songs; and (4) prayers and dirges. In another article (Ianbay 2001), she presents a slightly different classification: (1) translations of the Bible and other religious works; (2) songs; (3) epic; and (4) poetry. For a recent outline of Krymchak literature, see Jankowski (2016: 461–462).

guage. Dryga (2016: 257) stressed that Rebi was the only native speaker able to speak his language fluently. She published fragments of their recordings, mostly words, and characterized them linguistically. This material will be very interesting when published in full, but one should not forget that Rebi is not an ordinary native speaker and his knowledge is a kind of extended, learned and self-studied competence.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, because of a very limited corpus, it is worth extending our knowledge with new material. Since the competence of our informant was limited, I decided to add a few songs recited by Ms Peisakh as additional material for colloquial Krymchak.

## 2. Ms Sultan Peisakh and her life story

Ms Sultan Peisakh (Sultana Abramovna Pejsax), born in 1924 in Simferopol, Crimea, lived in Simferopol until the age of 16. When the Germans invaded the peninsula, she left with her mother and settled in Almaty (Alma-Ata), Kazakhstan, where they lived until 1960. Her father joined them later. In 1960 they all moved to St. Petersburg (then Leningrad) where she lived until her death in 2014.

I visited Ms Peisakh in her flat in St. Petersburg on 24 July 2010, having been introduced by her relative, Ms Irina Romodina,<sup>11</sup> to talk about the Krymchak past in the Crimea<sup>12</sup> and make recordings. Ms Peisakh said that she cannot speak Krymchak, but understands everything and if one tells her a Krymchak word, phrase or sentence she can translate it into Russian. This is because she was never interested in her ethnic language and spoke it rarely. She said that their parents, when living in the Crimea, talked to each other exclusively in Krymchak and also addressed her in this language quite often, although of course they did not use it outside the home. After her parents died, she lived in St. Petersburg alone, having no relatives or friends at all. She said that she only had an elder sister in Moscow, but could not speak to her even by telephone, for her sister was deaf.

Ms Peisakh normally referred to her native language as Tatar, i.e. Crimean Tatar. She maintained that the songs they once sang were Tatar, as was the national dance *çaytarma* they used to dance. However, when asked if they spoke Crimean Tatar or Krymchak, she answered that it was Krymchak. She stressed that these two languages were very similar, but Krymchak was distinct. During our conversation she also pointed to some differences between Krymchak and Crimean Tatar. It must also

10 I often visited Mr Rebi in the Crimea and found him an enthusiastic and very helpful elder colleague. He spoke Krymchak when he was a child and youngster in the 1920s and 1930s, but later he lived and worked in Russia and did not have any contact with his native language. After he retired, he returned to the Crimea and started studying it by himself, mastering the Hebrew writing and studying old handwritten documents.

11 I owe thanks to both of them to make me this work possible.

12 All Krymchaks find it deeply distressed to talk about their history, because of their traumatic memory of the genocide of their nation by Nazis during World War II.

be stressed that her opinion about the Crimean Tatars was very positive, and she always called them close friends and good neighbours.

Unfortunately, Ms Sultan Peisakh in fact could not speak Krymchak. She was only able to translate some words, phrases and sentences into Krymchak as well as to pronounce some idioms and expressions and give indirect information on grammar. As a physician, she did not have any contact with Krymchak culture, and used Krymchak only in conversation with her close relatives, in practice her parents while they were alive.

### 3. Language samples

The samples recorded are of various types. Firstly, there are a few phrases and sentences that Ms Peisakh uttered spontaneously during our conversation. Secondly, there are a few sayings and expressions pronounced by her at my request. Thirdly, there are some sentences translated by her from Russian. Finally, there are a few songs which Ms Peisakh had learned from her mother and the lyrics of which she recited to me without singing.

#### 3.1 Phrases and sentences

These phrases and sentences are provided in the order in which they were recorded. They refer to common everyday situations, which is why our informant remembered them.

- (1) *Ekı de dülber kizim var.*  
two too pretty daughter-1POSS existing  
'I have two pretty daughters.'
- (2) *Kapini yap!*  
door-ACC shut.IMP  
'Shut the door!'
- (3) *Men evdem.*  
I house-LOC-1COP  
'I am at home.'
- (4) *Men seni seviyim.*  
I you-ACC love-1PRES  
'I love you.'

- (5) *Ökmeĸ*<sup>13</sup> *var.*  
bread existing  
'There is some bread.'
- (6) *Ökmeĸ yoĸ.*  
bread non-existing  
'There is no bread.'
- (7) \**Peñĵere aĉ!*  
window open.IMP  
'Open the window!'

Ms Peisakh uttered this sentence, but afterwards she doubted its correctness. Correctly, it should be *Peñĵereni aĉ*, for the object in a sentence so pronounced must be definite.

- (8) *Vay vay anam!*  
O o mother-1POSS  
'O my mother!'
- (9) *Korĸma*<sup>14</sup> *balam.*  
fear-NEG.IMP child-1POSS  
'Don't be afraid, my child.'
- (10) *Yaymur yaya.*  
rain rain-3PRES  
'It is raining.'

### 3.2 Sayings and expressions

Ms Peisakh was able to recall the following sayings and expressions:

- (11) *Közleriñni öpeyim.*  
eye-PL-2POSS-ACC kiss-1PRES  
'I am kissing your eyes,' said when addressing a child with love.
- (12) *Say boluñiz.*  
healthy be-IMP.POLITE  
'Thank you.'

13 Cf. Rebi (2004: 155) *ökmeĸ*, Ianbay (2017: 20) *äkmeĸ*, *ekimeĸ*, *ekmek*, *okmek*, *okmäĸ*, *ökmäk* 'bread'; see also the Standard Crimean Tatar *ötmek* (Useinov 2005: 190).

14 Cf. Ianbay (2016: 166) *qorq-*, *qorx-* 'to fear, to be frightened', but also *korxli* 'terrible, dangerous' (2016: 166).

- (13) *Aš delige kaldi.*  
 food fool-DAT remain-3PAST  
 ‘The guests have eaten few.’

This saying is also known in Turkish, see *Aş deliye kaldı* (Aksoy 1965: 158).

- (14) *Koluğa saylıx.*  
 hand-2POSS-DAT health  
 ‘Thank you.’

Neither Rebi nor Ianbay give evidence for this expression; see Turkish *Elinize sağlık* ‘a form of thanksgiving said to one who has done something with his hand’ (Akalın ed. 2005: 619).

- (15) \**Xoš bolunuz.*  
 well be-IMP.2PL  
 ‘Welcome (POLITE).’

The correct form should be *Xoš keldiñiz* ‘Welcome’ (Ianbay 2016: 218), cf. Rebi (2004: 200) *Xoš keldiñ!* ‘Welcome.’

- (16) *Janı dovaçıx olıay.*<sup>15</sup>  
 soul-3POSS prayer-DIMIN be-3OPT  
 ‘May he rest in peace.’

Ms Peisakh said *janım* ‘my soul’. Although this may also be considered correct as a form of address to a deceased man, the usual form is *janı*.

- (17) *Patlayay!*  
 burst-3OPT  
 ‘May (s)he break up!’

- (18) *Tuz közüñe.*  
 salt eye-2POSS-DAT  
 ‘Beware!’ said to protect someone against the evil eye.

- (19) *Başı var akili yoç,*  
 head-3POSS existing wisdom-3POSS non-existing  
*akili var kilifi yoç.*  
 wisdom-3POSS existing case-3POSS non-existing  
 ‘Stop playing the wise guy.’

15 For *dovaçıx*, see *duva ~ dua* ‘prayer’ (Rebi 2004: 93) and *dova* ‘prayer’ (Ianbay 2016: 65).



Ms Peisakh said *kifirî*, which resembles *küfürü* < *küfrü* ‘his cursing’. However, this makes no sense. The word *kifirî* should probably be amended to *kiliffî* ‘his case; his cover’ by analogy to a similar Turkish saying *Başı var, akli yok, dili var kabı yok* in which *kabı* means ‘his cover; his vessel’ (cf. Redhouse 1991: 571). This saying designates a foolish, talkative, indiscreet person.

- (20) *Kettî*                    *yürek kettî*                    *baş,*  
 go away-3PAST heart go away-3PAST head  
*kayttî*                    *yürek kettî*                    *baş.*  
 returned-3PAST heart go away-3PAST head  
 ‘You should consider what you are saying.’

### 3.3 Sentences translated from Russian

While most of the phrases, sentences and expressions known by the informant from her natural linguistic experience have SOV word order, a number of the sentences which she translated from Russian are SVO. We can therefore conclude that Russian syntax affected the word order of these sentences. In other words, this kind of material does not represent Krymchak as spoken in its natural environment undisturbed by another language. A similar situation is known in translations from Hebrew, especially the canonical texts.

- (21) *Biz kirdik evge.*  
 we enter-1PL PAST house-DAT  
 ‘We have entered the house.’
- (22) *Bizge misafir keldi / Bizge keldi misafir.*  
 we-DAT guest come-3PAST / we-DAT come-3PAST guest  
 ‘The guests have come to us; a guest has come to us.’

Both variants were provided.

- (23) *Bu adam yaxşı.*  
 this man good  
 ‘This man is good.’
- (24) *Bu adam yaxşı dugul.*  
 this man good not  
 ‘This man is not good.’
- (25) *Evge keldim.*  
 house-DAT come-1PAST  
 ‘I have come home.’

- (26) *Ketti.*  
go away-3PAST  
'(S)he has gone.'
- (27) *Karasubazarȳa varyan.*  
Karasubazar-DAT go-3PERF  
'(S)he has gone to Karasubazar.'
- (28) *Kayda siz yaşaysız?*  
where you-POLITE live-2PRES.POLITE  
'Where are you living?'
- (29) *Men institutta işledim.*<sup>16</sup>  
I institute-LOC work-1PAST  
'I worked at the institute.'
- (30) *Men kirdim evge.*  
I enter-1PAST house-DAT  
'I have entered the house.'
- (31) *Men oña söledim<sup>17</sup> kiryiz mana şındı.*  
I (s)he-DAT say-1PAST enter-2IMP POLITE I-DAT now  
'I told him to come to me now.'
- (32) *Men sana çeçe vereyim.*  
I you-DAT dumpling give-1OPT  
'I will give some dumplings to you.'
- (33) *Men çayttim evge.*  
I return-1PAST house-DAT  
'I have come home.'
- (34) *O kirdi evge.*  
(s)he enter-1PAST house-DAT  
'(S)he has entered the house.'

16 Ms Peisakh said *işıldim* 'I worked' which is incorrect; for *işle-* 'to work', see Rebi (2004: 101) and Ianbay (2016: 102).

17 Cf. *solemek* (Rebi 2004: 173) and *sole-*, *soyle-*, *söylä-*, *söyle-* (Ianbay 2016: 187) 'to speak, to tell'.

- (35) *Sen kırdın evge.*  
 you enter-1PAST house-DAT  
 ‘You have entered the house.’
- (36) *Siz kırdınız evge.*  
 you enter-2PAST.POLITE house-DAT  
 ‘You have entered the house.’

### 3.4 Songs of Ms Sultan Peisakh’s mother

The first song is Crimean Tatar, for it is about Bakhchararay where the Krymchaks did not live. It has the form of the Turkish *mani* and Crimean Tatar *mane*. The fourth (*Keten kôlmek kenarsız*) is of the same kind. The second piece is not a song, but a popular Turkish saying. The third is a Crimean Tatar *çîh*, i.e. a couplet. Couplets of this type were recited by two or more people one after another, normally as a form of poetry competition. The last one is of the same genre.

<i>Bağçisaray bizimdir,</i>	Bakhchararay is ours,
<i>İçî tok yüzümdür,</i>	It is abundant in grapes,
<i>Endî kartlar yol berse,</i>	If the elders agree,
<i>Endî leybet<sup>18</sup> bizimdir.</i>	We will be happy.
<i>Bu dünyanın üç [...],<sup>19</sup></i>	There are three [...] in this world,
<i>Biri asretlik,</i>	One is yearning,
<i>Biri çastalıç,<sup>20</sup></i>	Another is sickness,
<i>Biri ölüm.</i>	Still another is death.
<i>Ekî de elim pek semiz,</i>	Both my hands are very fat,
<i>Ėebîme sıymay, alay,</i>	They do not fit in my pockets,
<i>ÔleĖegim derdimizden,</i>	I will die from our sorrow,
<i>Kimse duymay, alay.<sup>21</sup></i>	Nobody will notice it.
<i>Keten kôlmek kenarsız,</i>	My linen shirt is very long,
<i>Ôlsem menî anarsız,</i>	If I die you will remember me,
<i>Yüregime ot düştü,</i>	Fire burnt my heart,

18 Cf. *rağbet* ‘esteem’ (Rebi 2004: 164), *rağbet* ‘sympathy, glory’ (Ianbay 2016: 172).

19 Cf. Turkish *Bu dünyada üç şey vardır*.

20 Cf. *çastalıç* (Rebi 2004: 198), *xastalıq* (Ianbay 2016: 216) ‘illness’.

21 There is a similar variant recorded in Dobruja: *Ekî kolîñ bembiyaz | Cebîñe sıymay | Olecekmen derînden | Kimse tuymay* (Mahmut & Mahmut 1997: 84). Krymchak version with *semiz* ‘fat’ seems to be better than Dobruja Tatar *bimbiyaz* ‘all white’, since it is about the hands being too big to be contained in pockets.

<i>Kaçinüz dostlar yanarsüz.</i> <sup>22</sup>	Escape, my friends, lest you be burnt.
<i>Kinali parmaç yez türnaç,</i>	The fingers are hennaed, the nails are brass,
<i>Altında[n] oymaç, alay,</i>	A thimble of gold,
<i>Seni karşıdan kórdüm,</i>	I saw you just opposite,
<i>Pek janım sevdim seni.</i>	I loved you very much.

#### 4. Lexicon

Ms Peisakh's personal Krymchak vocabulary, as recorded during my work with her, is limited. She certainly knew more words, but collecting them would have required a longer study than was possible. My questions aimed to elicit basic vocabulary, but also specific Krymchak or Crimean elements of material and spiritual culture.

##### 4.1 Nouns

*Names of ethnic groups of the Crimea*

*Urus* 'Russian'; *Tatar* '(Crimean) Tatar'; *Aşkenaz* 'Jew';<sup>23</sup> *Čufut* '(derogatory) Jew';<sup>24</sup> *Karaim* 'Karaim'.

*Names of religious feasts*<sup>25</sup>

*Pesaç* 'Passover'; *Şabat* 'Sabbath'; *Purım* 'Purim'; *Yom Kipur* 'Yom Kippur, Day of Atonement'.

*Names of dishes*

*čeče* 'dumpling',<sup>26</sup> *čibörek* 'fried meat pie',<sup>27</sup> *lokma* 'small fried ball of dough with honey', *maça* 'unleavened bread; matzah',<sup>28</sup> *követi* 'baked pie',<sup>29</sup> *kurabiye* 'bis-

22 Another variant of this *mani* ~ *mane* is known from Dobruja: *Keten kölmek kenarsız | Keniñ anañ bek arsız | Cüregimde ot cana | Kaşınız dostlar, canarsız* (Mahmut & Mahmut 1997: 45).

23 Cf. *aşkenazi* 'Ashkenazic' (Ianbay 2016: 13).

24 Identically Garkavec' (2000: 271) for Urum, though without signalling a derogatory style.

25 According to Ms Peisakh, people were not religious at the time of her childhood. In fact they were all atheists. Therefore, she has a very limited knowledge of religion and can say just a few quite general words about the feasts, e.g. that *Purim* was a very cheerful holiday.

26 Cf. *čoče* 'meat dumpling' Rebi (2004: 205) and *čoče* 'patty, pastry' Ianbay (2016: 51).

27 Absent from Rebi (2004) and Ianbay (2016). This is a Crimean Tatar pie; see (Useinov 2005: 304). It is well-known throughout the whole of Russia and in post-Soviet Central Asia as *čeburek*.

28 Identically Rebi (2004: 144); quite interestingly, Ianbay provides a "learned" form *masa* (2016: 124); cf. Crimean Karaim *maçça* (Aqtay & Jankowski 2015: 231), but in the old texts there is also *maça*.

29 This is also a dish known in the whole of Turkic Crimea, cf. *kubete* 'kubeteh, dish of dough' (Ianbay 2016: 118), Crimean Karaim *köbeti* ~ *követi* ~ *küveti* 'round pie with raw

cuits', *pastel* 'small pie',<sup>30</sup> *sarıy* ~ *sarıχ* 'rolls made from dough',<sup>31</sup> *süzme* 'pancake (served with spread butter and ground nuts)',<sup>32</sup> *şorpa* 'soup', *χalva* 'Turkish delight', \**χursöz*<sup>33</sup> 'nuts and dried fruits', *χavurma* 'fried mutton'.

*Names of drinks and beverages*

*arle* 'drink of roasted flour',<sup>34</sup> *boza* 'drink of fermented millet', *katik* 'yoghurt', *süt* 'milk', *sütlü tüblü* 'boiled milk with coffee'.<sup>35</sup>

*Names of fruits and vegetables*

*alma* 'apple', *armut* 'pear', *büber* 'pepper; paprika',<sup>36</sup> *erik* 'plum', *funduk* 'hazelnut', *inçir* 'fig', *kavun* 'melon', *patlijan* ~ *paltajan* 'eggplant', *sarımsaχ* 'garlic', *soyan* 'onion', *χarbuz* 'watermelon', *yüzüm* 'grapes', *yüzüm-erik* 'fruits (collective word for small fruits like plums and grapes)'.

*Kinship terms*

*aγa* 'elder brother', *ana* (*menim anam*) 'mother (my mother)', *apa* (*menim apam*) 'aunt (my aunt)', *ata* 'father', *bala* '1. child. 2. son; daughter', *kardaş* (\**menim kardaşlar*)<sup>37</sup> 'brother (my brothers)', *kartana* 'grandmother', *kartata* 'grandfather', *kelin* 'daughter-in-law; bride', *kizi* 'his/her daughter', *küyöv* 1. 'son-in-law; bridegroom'. 2. 'husband', *oylu* 'his/her son', *χatin* 1. 'woman'. 2. 'wife'. As forms of address: *apay* to a woman, e.g. Sultan *apay* 'Ms Sultan', *akay* ~ *aχay* to a man, *χanum* to a lady.

meat' (Aqtay & Jankowski 2015: 226), Crimean Tatar *köbete* 'pie filled with meat' (Useinov 2005: 102) and Urum *köbete* ~ *kübete* (Garkavec' 2000: 279); one of Polinsky's texts (1991: 145) describes the preparation of this dish, which she calls 'large round meat-cake'.

30 Identically Rebi (2005: 161) and Ianbay (2016: 148).

31 Cf. *sarıχ* 'kind of sweets' (Rebi 2005: 161), absent from Ianbay.

32 Cf. *süzme* 'dumplings filled with meat, sprinkled with ground nuts' Rebi (2004: 175), *suzme* 'dumplings' Ianbay (2016: 190). Another of Polinsky's texts (1991: 146) is the recipe for preparing this dish; she calls it 'small mutton dumplings similar to tortellini'.

33 Cf. *qurı* '1. dried. 2. dried fruits' (Rebi 2004: 136); Ianbay (2016: 170) glosses the word *quru* only in the common meaning 'dry'; the second component *-söz* is probably identical with Turkish *çerez* also designating dried fruits (Akalın ed. 2005: 416), the initial part of which was deleted; the meaning 'dried fruits' is also evidenced in Urum *xuru* (Garkavec' 2000: 556).

34 Rebi (2004: 63) glosses this word as 'dessert beverage'; absent from Ianbay (2016).

35 Rebi (2004: 176) provides this word, spelled *sütlü-tüblü*, with a completely different meaning 'round dumplings'; absent from Ianbay (2016).

36 Cf. *buberçix* 'pepper-DIM' (Polinsky 1991: 146); the round vowel which is affected by the preceding labial *b-* is also evidenced in Crimean Karaim *büber* 'pepper' (Aqtay & Jankowski 2015: 99); however, see Crimean Tatar and Urum *biber* (Useinov 2004: 44, Garkavec' 2000: 97).

37 Correctly *menim kardaşlarım*; Ms Peisakh was not sure if this form was correct.

*Parts of the human body*

*ayiz* ‘mouth’, *ayaχ* ‘leg; foot’, *baš* ‘head’, *burun* ‘nose’, *kol* ‘hand’, *köz* ‘eye (*közüm* my eye(s))’, *parmaχ* ‘finger’, *kulaχ* ‘ear’, *sač* ‘hair’, *tıl* ‘tongue’, *tış* ‘tooth’,<sup>38</sup> *yürek* ‘heart’.

*Kitchen utensils*

*kašič* ‘spoon’, *pīčaχ* ‘knife’.

*Other nouns*

*Alla verdj* ‘something lucky; good luck’, *azbar* ‘yard’, *eküm* ‘doctor, physician’,<sup>39</sup> *mišik* ‘cat’,<sup>40</sup> *penjere* ‘window’, *oylan* ‘boy’.

*Proper names**Krymchak surnames*

Ms Pesakh provided the following surnames: *Aškenazi*, *Baχčī*, *Gabay*, *Gurjī*, *Kaya*, *Kokuš* (← *Köküş*), *Levi*, *Lombrozo*, *Medini*, *Peisaχ*, *Piastro*, *Kuyumjī*, *Šamaš*, *Šalom*, *Trevhoda*.

Of these, *Baχčī*, *Gurjī*, *Kaya*, *Kokuš* and *Kuyumjī* are of Turkic origin, *Lombrozo* and *Piastro* of Italian origin, *Aškenazi*, *Gabay*, *Levi*, *Medini*, *Peisaχ*, *Šamaš* and *Šalom* of Hebrew origin. *Trevhoda* is of unknown origin, but this name is well known.

*Krymchak given names*

Female names: *Lunetta*, *Raxel*, *Rebeka*, *Sultan*, *Ventora*

Male names: *Avraham* ~ *Abraham*, *Davut*.

*Lunetta* and *Ventora* are of Italian origin. The former is a diminutive form of *luna* ‘moon’, the latter is an abbreviated form of *Bonaventura* ‘good fortune’. *Sultan* is Turkic, having been borrowed from Arabic, while the remaining names are Hebrew. However, *Rebeka* is provided in a non-Jewish form, since in Hebrew it is pronounced *Rivqa*; see Hebrew רִבְקָה. *Davut* was pronounced in a Turkic form which has its root in Arabic.

38 Note that Rebi (2004: 207) records the form *čiš*, while Ianbay (2016: 50) gives the following variants: *čiš*, *diš*, *tiš* and *tış*.

39 Cf. Crimean Karaim *heküm* ‘physician, doctor’ (Aqtay & Jankowski 2015: 182).

40 Cf. *mīšič* (Rebi 2004: 150) and Ianbay *mišiq*, *mīšiq*, *mīšič* (2016: 129); note that this word is common to Crimean Tatar and Urum (Useinov 2005: 166, Garkavec’ 2000: 308), whereas in Crimean Karaim it sounds like *meçi* (Aqtay & Jankowski 2015: 236).

## 4.2 Verbs

The following verbs have been recorded:

*aç-* ‘to open’, *ayıra-* ‘to hurt’, *aşa-* ‘to eat’, *bol- ~ ol-* ‘to be; to become’, *işle-* ‘to work’ (corrected from *işil-*), *kal-* ‘to stay; to remain’, *kel-* ‘to come’, *ket-* ‘to go away; to leave’, *kİR-* ‘to enter, to come in’, *korç-* ‘to fear’, *kör-* ‘to see’, *çayt-* ‘to return’, *öp-* ‘to kiss’, *sev-* ‘to love; to like’, *patla-* ‘to break out; to burst’, *söle-* ‘to tell; to say’, *ste-* ‘to want’, *var-* ‘to go’, *ver-* ‘to give’, *yay-* ‘to rain; to snow, etc.’, *yap-* ‘to close’, *yaşa-* ‘to live’, *yİrla-* ‘to sing’, *yuçla-* ‘to sleep’.

The verbs from songs are not included. To express existence, phrases with *var* ‘there is’ and *yoç* ‘there is not’ are used.

## 4.3 Adjectives

*Qualifying adjectives*

*balaban* ‘big, great’, *biyÜk* ‘big, old (age)’, *delİbaş* ‘fool, silly’, *kİçkene* ‘small, young’, *kulaçlar tolmaz* ‘noisy, inquisitive’, *çasta* ‘ill, sick’, *yaçşı* ‘good’, *yaramay* ‘bad; wrong’.

Of these adjectives, *balaban* is typical of the whole of Crimea (Rebi 2004: 71, Ianbay 2016: 25, Useinov 2005: 37, Garkavec’ 2000: 78); *kİçkene* is attested in Ianbay (2016: 112). *Delİbaş* is a compound of *delİ*, known in the whole of Crimea, and *baş* ‘head’. In this composite form it is recorded in Urum by Garkavec’ (2000: 166). *Kulaçlar tolmaz* is known as an idiom, e.g. Turkish *kulakları dol-* ‘to get tired of hearing the same thing over and over again’ (Redhouse 1991: 683).

*Colour names*

*aç* ‘white’, *kİrmİzİ* ‘red’, *çara* ‘black’.

## 4.4 Numerals

The following cardinal numerals have been recorded:

*bİR* ‘one’, *ekİ* ‘two’, *Üç* ‘three’, *dört* ‘four’, *beş* ‘five’, *altİ* ‘six’, *yedİ* ‘seven’, *sekİz* ‘eight’, *dokuz* ‘nine’, *on* ‘ten’, *yİğİrİm* ‘twenty’, *otuz* ‘thirty’, *kİrç* ‘forty’, *ellİ* ‘fifty’, *altmİş* ‘sixty’, *seksen* ‘eighty’, *doçsan* ‘ninety’, *yüz* ‘hundred’, *ekİ yüz* ‘two hundred’, *bİn* ‘thousand’.

The numerals from one to ten are identical to Turkish except for *ekİ* ‘two’, which in the Crimea is always used in this form, characteristic of NW Turkic. The tens are also usual, if we disregard the aspirated variants *kİrç* ‘forty’ and *doçsan* ‘ninety’, and ‘twenty’ which has an unusual form *yİğİrİm*. This numeral has a normal form

*yigirmi* in Ianbay (2016: 228); unfortunately Rebi does not record it. *Yigirim*, in addition to *yigirmi*, is also attested in Urum (Garkavec' 2000: 240).

For a half, *yarım* is used, e.g. *ekî yarım* 'two and a half'.

#### 4.5 Adverbs

Since only a few adverbs have been recorded, they are provided without further classification into semantic groups:

*endi* 'from now on; now', *şimdi* 'now'; *yavaş* 'slowly', often reduplicated, e.g. *men söledim yavaş-yavaş* 'I have spoken slowly'.

#### 4.6 Interjections

Two interjections were recorded, *Ay* 'O, Oh', e.g. *Ay Allam* 'O my God' and *Vay vay* 'O, Oh'.

### 5. Grammar

#### 5.1 Nouns

The plural, possessive<sup>41</sup> and case forms are similar to those in other Crimean Turkic languages. 1st singular possessive forms are often used as forms of address, e.g. *anaçiyim* 'my mummy', *balaçiyim* 'my little child', *jançiyim* 'my child', *sevgilim* 'my darling'.

The following forms of predicative suffixes with nominals were attested:

Number/person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>men çastam</i> 'I am sick'; <i>men yaçşım</i> 'I am good'	<i>biz çastamız</i> 'we are sick'
2	–	<i>siz çastasız</i> 'you are sick'
3	<i>o çasta</i> '(s)he is sick'	–

#### 5.2 Verbs

*Moods and modality*

*Imperative*

Number/person	Singular	Plural
2	<i>aç</i> 'open'; <i>bol</i> 'be'	<i>açınız</i> 'open'; <i>bolunuz</i> 'be'

41 Ms Peisakh was not sure if the sentence she produced *menim yürek ayıray* 'I have a heart-ache; my heart is hurting' was correct.



*Optative*

The optative has the form  $-\{GAy\}$ , but only the form for 3rd person singular was recorded. It occurred in two expressions: *olay* ‘let it be’ and *patlayay* ‘may (s)he go to hell’.

*Volitional modality*

Number/person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>men steyim yuxlama</i> ‘I want to sleep’	–
2	<i>sen steysin yuxlama</i> ‘you want to sleep’	–
3	<i>o stey yuxlama</i> ‘(s)he wants to sleep’	–

*Necessitative*

The necessitative is expressed with *kerek* ‘needed; it is needed’.

*Tenses**Present tense*

Number/person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>men yirlayim</i> ‘I am singing’	<i>biz yirlaymiz</i> ‘we are singing’
2	<i>sen yirlaysin</i> ‘you are singing’	<i>siz yirlaysiz</i> ‘you are singing’
3	<i>ol yirlay</i> ‘(s)he is singing’	<i>olar yirlaylar</i> ‘they are singing’

*Past tense*

Number/person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>men kirdim</i> ‘I have entered’	<i>biz kirdik</i> ‘we have entered’
2	<i>sen kirdin</i> ‘you have entered’	<i>siz kirdiniz</i> ‘you have entered’
3	<i>o kirdi</i> ‘(s)he has entered’	–

*Future tense*

Number/person	Singular	Plural
1	<i>men asayjam</i> ‘I will eat’	<i>biz asayjamiz</i> ‘we will eat’
2	<i>sen asayjasin</i> ‘you will eat’	<i>siz asayjasiz</i> ‘you will eat’
3	<i>ol asayjak</i> ‘(s)he will eat’	<i>olar asayjaklar</i> ‘they will eat’

Note the unusual second person contracted forms, which are also shown as optional forms in Rebi (2004: 18). According to Polinsky’s samples, these forms should have been pronounced *asajasin* and *asajasiz*; see *tasladzasin* and *jaghladzasin* (Polinsky 1991: 145).

*Negative forms*

The negative verb forms are formed with the negative suffix  $\{-mA\}$ , e.g. *Korçma* ‘don’t be afraid’, *Men şindi yuxlama stemeyim* ‘I do not want to sleep now’.

*Interrogative verb forms*

Quite interestingly, Ms Peisakh argued that the enclitic *mî* is not used and one should ask using intonation.

*Verbal noun*

Only one {-mA} verbal noun has been recorded; see above.

**5.3 Pronouns**

## 3. 1. Personal pronouns

The following pronouns occur in the samples recorded:

## Singular

- (1) *men* 'I' (*mana* 'to me', *meni* 'me', *meniim* 'my');
- (2) *sen* 'you (SING)' (*sana* 'to you', *seni* 'you ACC');
- (3) *o ~ ol* '(s)he' (*oña* 'to him/her').

## Plural

- (1) *biz* 'we' (*bizge* 'to us', *bizim* 'our');
- (2) *siz* 'you' (POLITE and PL);
- (3) *olar* 'they'.

**Conclusion**

Although there is satisfactory documentation of various written varieties of modern and pre-modern Krymchak, the spoken language is very poorly documented. In fact there are only Polinsky's (1991) texts collected in the 1980s. Polinsky was however only able to find three native speakers who could relate some stories. Therefore, even such a small corpus as in this article must be considered valuable. In the circumstances of ongoing language loss, it is naturally difficult to assess Ms Peisakh's competence in Krymchak, but we can characterize it as follows. Ms Peisakh's vocabulary was very restricted. She could not remember many Krymchak words and provided a few words in incorrect or doubtful forms, e.g. *işil-* 'to work' and *çursöz* 'nuts and dried fruits'. There were also some inadequacies in her grammar. She could not recall the full paradigms of some verb forms, e.g. the 3rd plural of *o stey yuxlama* 'he/she wants to sleep', though she knew how to say 'they are singing'. Nevertheless, she seldom made a mistake, rather admitting that she did not know a form than pronouncing it incorrectly. In the case of a few incorrect forms, she stressed that she was uncertain, e.g. *\*meniim kardaşlar* 'my brothers'. Morphologically, Krymchak as spoken by Ms Peisakh is a NW Turkic language. Phonologically, it is a mixed SW and NW Turkic language, e.g. *var-* 'to go', but *ket-* 'to go away'. There are some forms typical of common Crimean Turkic, less common in Crimean Turkish, some of which have not been included in grammars, e.g. *yigirim* 'twenty'. However, there are also some Crimean Turkish forms, e.g. the *-iy* present as in *seviyim* 'I love', but *öpeyim* 'I kiss'.

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