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## THE SEMANTIC FUNCTIONS OF ŠÜBÜR 'BAD; WRONG; EVIL' IN A MIDDLE CHULYM TRANSLATION OF ST MARK'S GOSPEL

**Keywords:** Turkic languages, Middle Chulym, St Mark's Gospel, semantics, Bible translations

### Abstract<sup>1</sup>

The recent years have witnessed the publication of new lexical data from Middle Chulym, one of the still underresearched and poorly described Turkic languages of Siberia. Among these materials is the 2019 translation of the Gospel according to St Mark. Its publication has provided researchers with an extensive text that can serve as a foundation for further linguistic studies. The article aims to present conclusions stemming from the analysis of this translation with the aim of resolving issues arising from the fact that the language lacks lexical items denoting specific referents. Given the extensive nature of the material, it is not possible to present all the findings of the analysis in the confines of a brief article. Therefore, our focus is on the semantics of the word *šübür* adj. & n. 'bad; wrong; evil' in the translation of the Gospel.

Middle Chulym (henceforth, MČ) remains one of the lesser-known Turkic languages. The research conducted by R.M. Birjukovič in the latter half of the 20th century and Li Yong-Sōng et al. in the early 21st century resulted in several attempts to describe its grammar (Birjukovič 1979a, 1981; Li Yong-Sōng et al. 2008). Selected grammatical

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<sup>1</sup> The paper has been rendered into English by a professional translator (Mateusz Urban) under a POB Heritage grant from the Jagiellonian University to Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis.

and lexical aspects of Middle Chulym have also been the focus of a number of studies published by the present author (e.g. Pomorska 2004, 2017). Finally, recent years have seen the culmination of efforts by V.M. Lemskaja,<sup>2</sup> providing long-awaited access to archival language data collected since the 1920s, as well as the latest findings from her own fieldwork. Given the dwindling number and advanced age of Middle Chulym native speakers, these are very likely the last possible studies. However, despite these extensive efforts, a comprehensive and all-encompassing grammar description is still lacking, and no dictionary exists covering the entire lexical stock of this critically endangered language.

The term “Middle Chulym” does not denote a standardized literary language but rather a language that exists in two varieties, Tatal and Melet, primarily differing in the realization of certain consonants (cf. Pomorska 2004: 18f.). Neither variety has a written standard developed by native speakers, so that the collected lexical material is recorded in various transcription systems adopted by individual researchers.<sup>3</sup> The multitude of these notation variants, coupled with interpretational difficulties, makes the available data not always suitable for further research.

Recent years have seen two publications resulting from the collaboration between V.M. Lemskaja and native speakers of Middle Chulym. One of these is a Middle Chulym translation of St Mark’s Gospel (henceforth, *Mark*), produced by the youngest native speaker of the language, V.M. Gabov, born 1952 (Gabov and Lemskaja 2019), and the other, a collection of language materials in two parts, including a glossary, inflectional paradigms and texts (Kondijakov and Lemskaja 2021).<sup>4</sup>

The translation of *Mark* uses a specially designed alphabet. However, there is no comprehensive discussion of the adopted set of letters anywhere, so that its interpretation in the text, which is not free from typographical errors and certain inconsistencies, remains challenging. For example, questions arise as to why the Cyrillic soft sign *ь* is included; what phoneme is represented by the character «Ҫ», described as “мягкий г”, which in previous MČ lexical materials denoted a fricative consonant; whether «e» and «ə» represent two distinct phonemes; why the doubling of a vowel letter to mark vowel length is employed only sporadically, even though it is well known that such vowels are part of the linguistic system of Middle Chulym, etc. Thus, the usefulness of the latest lexical material for further research appears limited in certain aspects.

As is known, when translating the Bible into other languages, especially those spoken by communities culturally distant from Christianity, translators encounter

<sup>2</sup> In the period 2010–2021, V.M. Lemskaja published a number of Middle and Lower Chulym texts collected by herself and 20th-century researchers. These appeared in a journal edited by A.Ju. Filčenko et al. and published in Tomsk under the title *Sbornik anotirovannyh folklornych i bytovych tekstov obsko-enisejskogo jazykovogo areala. Annotated folk and daily prose texts in the languages of Ob-Yenisei linguistic area*.

<sup>3</sup> For more details on these issues see Pomorska (2004: 28ff.) and Pomorska (2010).

<sup>4</sup> While the term *čulymskij jazyk* ‘the Chulym language’ appears in the titles of both of these works, both of Lemskaja’s native speaker collaborators spoke Middle Chulym (A.F. Kondijakov passed away before the book’s publication).

numerous challenges that require immediate resolution. Despite certain limitations stemming from an inadequate description and inconsistencies in the application of the alphabet employed for Middle Chulym by V.M. Lemskaya, A.F. Kondijakov, and V.M. Gabov, it was possible to analyze solutions proposed by the translator, a Middle Chulym native speaker, for conveying linguistically and culturally foreign concepts, such as 'desert', 'devil', 'sin', and 'leper'. Since the findings from such an analysis are too extensive to be presented in a single article in their entirety, our focus here will be on the semantic functions of the word *šübür*<sup>5</sup> adj. & n. 'bad; wrong; evil'. The analysis was carried out on the basis of the aforementioned 2019 Middle Chulym translation of Mark, which had been published along with the Russian text. Although it was not explicitly stated, it is highly likely that this Russian-language version served as the source text. Therefore, in the discussion of the selected passages from the Middle Chulym translation of Mark, the corresponding Russian source is also quoted alongside a more literal rendering in English.

In the Middle Chulym lexical materials available prior to this translation, the word is recorded as an adjective meaning 'bad, evil, wrong' or an adverb meaning 'badly, wrongly', in the function of predicative complement or manner adverbial, e.g. *māñ čurt-um šübür* [my life-1SG.POSS evil] 'my life is bad' (Birjukovič 1981: 19); *ābyla šübür čöriġä* [he.INS badly \*čöri-Vrgä go-INF] 'It is hard to go' (lit. 'It is bad to go with him') (Li Yong-Söng et al. 2008: 166). The analysis of the translation of Mark also confirms the word's usage in an expected but previously unattested function as an attributive modifier and in meanings and functions typical of a noun. Consequently, the current semantic interpretation of this word in Middle Chulym should be extended to include nominal uses in the sense of 'evil'.

In the translation of Mark, *šübür* is, understandably, often used in its original sense, e.g. *Pilat aġt-kan olar-ga: nöma Ol andag šübür ät-sal-gan?* (15:14)<sup>6</sup> [Pilate say-PST they-DAT what he then evil do-lay.AUX-PST] lit. 'Pilate said to them: what evil has he done?' (= Ru. "Пилат сказал им: какое же зло сделал Он"); *Olar-ga aġdybyl: subbota-da čakšy adärgä šübür-nu adärgä?* (3:4) [they-DAT \*aġt-ybyl say-PRS Sabbath-LOC well/good \*at-ärgä do-INF evil-ACC \*at-ärgä do-INF] lit. 'He says to them: on the Sabbath, do good [or] do evil?' (= Ru. "А им говорит: должно ли в субботу добро делать, или зло делать?"); *aš šübür pol-gan* (4:7) [food evil be/become-PST] lit. 'the food became bad' (= Ru. "оно [= grain] не дало плода").

The analysis of the translation of Mark leads to the conclusion that the lexeme under discussion is repeatedly used to denote concepts or referents for which no

<sup>5</sup> In the translation text, the word is rendered as «шубюр» (fourteen instances), «шубюр» (fifty-nine instances), and «шубрь» (one instance, in which a typographical error cannot be ruled out). It can be surmised that the Russian character «б» is employed here to indicate a palatalized consonant, an allophone of the phoneme /t/, a fact of marginal significance in this context. However, undoubtedly, the Cyrillic «y» in the first syllable does not represent a front vowel. In the present article, the spelling «šübür» is adopted for the word quoted from the translation of Mark. Previous researchers of Middle Chulym have consistently recorded this word with front vowels in both syllables.

<sup>6</sup> The numbers in brackets indicate the chapter and verse numbers in Mark.

direct equivalents could be found in the native lexicon. It may be used in this function independently or in combination with a nominal (a noun or a participle) or a verb.

## 1. Semantic functions of *šübür* in the translation of Mark when used independently

When used independently, the word *šübür* has the following meanings:

- 1.1. 'sin': *prašänä šübür-nü* (2:9) [forgiveness(RU) evil-ACC] lit. 'forgiveness for evil' (= Ru. "прощаются тебе грехи").
- 1.2. 'sinner': *mäkälä-p apči-lär-ny šübür-ny* (8:38) [lie/betray-CVB woman-PL-ACC evil-ACC] lit. 'women who betrayed (= adulterous women) and evil [people]' (= Ru. "[кто постыдится Меня и Моих слов в роде сем] прелюбодейном и грешном").
- 1.3. 'possessed': *akal-gän-nar parčä-zy-n agryn-nar, šübür-lär* (1:32) [bring-PST-PL all-3SG.POSS-ACC sick-PL evil-PL] '[they] brought all the sick and possessed' (= Ru. "приносили к Нему всех больных и бесноватых").
- 1.4. 'very severe condemnation': *olar či-ptyr-lär äbinny<sup>7</sup> apči-nuḡ, kajdyg är-i ölpa-gan [...] alyktar pajdak šübür-nü* (12:40) [they eat-PRS-PL \*äp-i-nny house-3SG.POSS-ACC woman-GEN which husband-3SG.POSS \*öl-par-gan die-go.AUX-PST \*al-lyk-tar take-FUT-PL much evil-ACC] lit. 'they (= those) [who] devour the house of a woman whose husband passed away will take a lot of evil' (= Ru. "сии, поядающие дома вдов [...] примут тягчайшее осуждение").
- 1.5. 'woe!': *ol kün-dä šübür kursaktyg apči-lär-gä* (13:17) [that day-LOC evil pregnant woman-PL-DAT] lit. 'in those days, woe to pregnant women' (= Ru. "горе беременным в те дни"); *šübür poluk täg kižä* (14:21) [evil \*pol-luk be-FUT that \*kiži-gä person-DAT] lit. 'woe [will] be for that man' (= Ru. "горе тому человеку").
- 1.6. '(deadly) sad/(deadly) grief': *mäg tyn-ym-gä aträ<sup>8</sup> šübür agry-ptyr* (14:34) [\*mäḡ my breath-1SG.POSS-DAT very evil suffer-PRS] lit. 'my breath (= soul) [is] suffering very badly' (= Ru. "душа Моя скорбит смертельно").

## 2. Semantic functions of constructions of the *šübür* + nominal type in the translation of Mark

The word *šübür* combines syntactically with the following nouns and participles to convey the following meanings:

- 2.1. *šübür iš* lit. 'evil thing' – the construction conveys the meaning 'sin': *šübür iš-ty ät-tir-lär* (4:12) [evil thing-ACC do-PRS-PL] lit. '[that] they do evil things'; used in the context of 'forgiving sins' (= Ru. "и прощены будут им грехи").

<sup>7</sup> Based on data hitherto available the accusative of the 3rd person singular possessive in Middle Chulym is formed by means of the *-n* suffix, and therefore the form expected here is *äbin*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ättirä* 'very' (Li Yong-Söng et al. 2008: 123).

- 2.2. *šübür čurt* lit. 'evil life' – the construction conveys the meaning 'sin': *Iudäj-där, Iärusalimlän-när kräs-kän-när andyn päš üs-ta Iordan-da, satannar šübür čurt* (1:5) [Judea/Judean(RU)-PL Jerusalemite(RU)-PL baptize(RU)-PST-PL he.ABL everyone(RU) river-LOC Jordan(RU)-LOC \**sata-gan-nar*<sup>9</sup> tell-PST-PL evil life] lit. 'Judeans, Jerusalemites were baptised by him in the river Jordan, [they] were telling [him about] [their] evil lives (= confessing their sins)' (= Ru. "вся страна Иудейская и Иерусалимляне, и крестились от него все в реке Иордане, исповедуя грехи свои").
- 2.3. *šübür kiži* lit. 'evil person' – the construction is used with reference to the following concepts:
- 2.3.1. 'sinner': *Ol či-ptyr [...] kiži-lär-lä kajdý al-gan-nar akčä-zy-n, šübür kiži-lär-lä* (2:16) [he eat-PRS person-PL-INS who take-PST-PL money-3SG.POSS-ACC evil person-PL-INS] lit. 'He eats with people who took money [and] with evil people' (= Ru. "Он ест [...] с мытарями и грешниками"); *Män kal-gäm kygyrga nä šübür kiži-lär-ny, no šübür kiži-ny čakšy čurta-zy-n* (2:17) [I come-1SG.PST \**kygyr-yrga* call-INF not(RU) evil person-PL-ACC but(RU) evil person-ACC good live-3SG.IMP] lit. 'I came not to summon evil people, but [to summon] an evil person [so that they may] live righteously' (= Ru. "Я пришел призвать не праведников, но грешников к покаянию"). The construction *šübür kiži* is used twice here. While its use in the sense of 'sinner' in the second part of the sentence is uncontroversial, in the first part, as an attributive modifier of the word 'person', an adjective meaning 'good' should have been used instead;
- 2.3.2. 'wrongdoer, bandit': *käl-gän ärväk šyj-gan-nyg: šübür kižä šyj-gan* (15:28) [come-PST word write-PRCP-DER evil \**kiži-gä* person-DAT write-PST] lit. 'the written word came: he wrote to an evil man' (= Ru. "И сбылось слово Писания: и к злодеям причтен"); *Abla kräs-kä kak-sal-gan-nar paza igy šübür kiži* (15:27) [he.INS cross(RU)-DAT hit/strike-lay.AUX-PST-PL still two evil person] lit. 'with Him, they also crucified two evil people' (= Ru. "С Ним распяли двух разбойников");
- 2.3.3. 'possessed': *sinagoga-da [...] šübür kiži pol-gan* (1:23) [synagogue-LOC evil person be-PST] lit. 'in the synagogue, there was an evil man' (= Ru. "В синагоге их был человек, одержимый духом нечистым").
- 2.4 *šübür-nü ajt-kan* [evil-ACC speak-PTCP] lit. 'one who speaks evil, evil-speaker' – the construction is used to convey the meaning 'sinner/blasphemer': *Kiži-lär-nyň Palä-zy tud-ubul küč čar-da, prašänä šübür-nü ajt-kän-nar-gä* (2:10) [person-PL-GEN child/son-3SG.POSS hold-PRS power earth-LOC forgiveness(RU) evil-ACC speak-PTCP-PL-DAT] lit. 'the Son of Man has the power on earth to forgive [sins] [of] evil-speakers' (= Ru. "Сын Человеческий имеет власть на земле прощать

<sup>9</sup> Li Yong-Söng et al. (2008: 160) reconstruct the root of this verb as *sät-* 'to relate, to tell, to narrate'. However, considering the forms *satän* 'he told' (Birjukovič 1981: 65) and *sataptyr* 'he narrates' (Kondijakov and Lemskaja 2021: 130), one should reconstruct a disyllabic stem for this verb as well.

- грехи”); *šübür at-kän ašamädä polbuk šübür-nu ajt-kan-ny*<sup>10</sup> (3:28) [evil do-PTCP nothing \**pol-ba-gok* be-NEG-FUT evil-ACC speak-PTCP-3SG.POSS] lit. ‘there will never be evil-doers [= evil-done]<sup>11</sup> [nor] evil-speakers’ (= Ru. “будут прощены сынам человеческим все грехи и хуления, какими бы ни хулили”).
- 2.5. *šübür(-nü) at-kän* [evil(-ACC) do-PTCP] lit. ‘[one who] does evil, evil-doer’ – the construction is used with reference to the following concepts:
- 2.5.1. ‘sinner’: *Ioann [...]* *kräs-kän-när, čakšy čurt pol-zun; šübür-nü at-kän-nar šübür-nü atpäzınar* (1:4) [John(RU) baptise(RU)-PST-PL good life be-3SG. IMP evil-ACC do-PTCP-PL evil-ACC \**at-pä-zın-nar* do-NEG-3SG.IMP-PL] lit. ‘John baptized, let there be a good life, let evil-doers not do evil’. In the Russian version of Mark, the corresponding passage reads “Иоанн [...] крестя [...] и проповедуя крещение покаяния для прощения грехов”, so this is one of the passages where the translator expressed the content descriptively;
- 2.5.2. ‘sin’ – the analysis of the sentence in section 3.5 suggests that the construction is used to refer to the concept of ‘sin’, even though the verb *at-* = CTkc. *ät*<sup>12</sup> is in active voice, cf. also section 2.4 above.
- 2.6. *šübür čär* lit. ‘evil place’ – the construction is used to convey the following meanings:
- 2.6.1. ‘[place grown over with] thorns’: *šübür čar-da čač-kan-nar, po kiži äšpagan po ärväk-ty* (4:18) [evil place-LOC pour-PST-PL this person \**aš-par-gan* hear-go.AUX-PST this word-ACC] ‘sown in a bad place, this person hears this word’ (= Ru. “Посеянное в тернии означает слышащих слово”). Given the use of MČ *tigän* ‘wild rose’ (e.g. Birjukovič 1979: 95) [= Tur. *diken* ‘thorn’] and *törn* (< Ru. *térnie*) in the translation of another passage of Mark, cf. *törn pörük* (15:17) [thorn(RU) (head)dress] ‘crown of thorns’, the use of the construction *šübür čär* for descriptive explanation of the place where thorns grow is unexpected;
- 2.6.2. ‘dark cell’: *Irod čap-sal-gan Ioann šübür čar-gä* (6:17) [Herod(RU) close-lay.AUX-PST John(RU) evil place-DAT] lit. ‘Herod shut John in an evil place’ (= Ru. “Ибо сей Ирод, послав, взял Иоанна и заключил его в темницу”).
- 2.7. *til-i šübür* [language-3SG.POSS evil] lit. ‘his language [is] evil’ – the construction is used only once in the entire translation of Mark to convey the meaning ‘mute’: *kulagyčok – äš-tyr, tyl-i šübür ajd-ybyl* (7:37) [\**kulak-y-čok* ear-3SG. POSS-be.not hear-PRS language-3SG.POSS evil speak-PRS] lit. ‘[one who] has no ear – hears, [one] whose language [is] evil – speaks’ (= Ru. “[Иисус] и глухих делает слышащими, и немых – говорящими”). This construction raises certain doubts about both its derivation and semantics. In the same sentence,

<sup>10</sup> The sequence *-nn-* is most likely a misspelling and the text should read *ajtkany*.

<sup>11</sup> Given the corresponding passage in the Russian translation of Mark, it is not unlikely that *šübür atkän* denotes the result of the activity (i.e. the sin) rather than the agent (i.e. the sinner), cf. also 3.5 below.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sevortjan (1974: 312f.).



the meaning 'deaf' is conveyed by means of the compound *kulagyčok* lit. 'earless', which is a typical way of forming adjectives expressing the absence of something in Middle Chulym, and therefore one would expect the meaning 'mute' to be conveyed by means of *\*tiličok* lit. 'tongueless'.

- 2.8. *äz-y šübür* (1:27) [self/own (being?)-3SG.POSS evil] – the construction is used to convey the meaning 'evil spirit', Ru. *дух нечистый*. It appears in the translation of Mark only once, whereas elsewhere the concept is denoted by the word *kačka* (6:7; 9:20) ~ *kačky*<sup>13</sup> (3:30). The first element of the construction is most likely a MČ rendering of the CTkc. reflexive pronoun *ös*.<sup>14</sup> Although in the available Middle Chulym lexical material, the word is only recorded with the meaning 'self, own' (Li Yong-Söng et al. 2008: 140), in other Turkic languages, it can also mean 'being', 'breath', 'soul', 'power', etc. (cf. Sevortjan 1974: 506f.). Therefore, we can also assume such meanings for MČ *ös* (~ *äs*), cf. also section 3.1.2 below.
- 2.9. *šübür čurtan kiži* lit. 'person living badly' – the construction is used to convey the meaning 'extremely poor': *šübür čurtan kiži-lär-ny ös-lä apar-ybzagnar* (14:7) [bad *\*čurta-gan* live-PTCP person-PL-ACC self/OWN-INS *\*apar-ybylzyňnar* bring-2PL.PRS] lit. 'bring with you people who live badly' (= Ru. "Ибо нищих всегда имеете с собою").

### 3. Semantic functions of syntactic structures of the type *šübür* (+ nominal) + verb in the translation of Mark

The word *šübür* (or one of the constructions discussed in section 2) can combine with the following verbs to convey the following meanings:

- 3.1 *šübür ajt-* lit. 'to speak evil, to speak ill' – the construction is used with reference to the following concepts:
- 3.1.1 'to defame/slander': *par-gan-nar kiži šübür ajt-kan-nar Ana učün* (15:29) [go-PTCP-PL person evil speak-PST-PL he.DAT for] lit. 'the passing people spoke ill about Him' (= Ru. "Проходящие злословили Его");
- 3.1.2 'to blaspheme (against God)': *Kudaj-ga šübür ajd-ybyl* (7:22) [god-DAT evil speak-PRS] lit. '[he] speaks evil towards God' – in this case, the personal form of the verb substitutes for the Russian noun *богохульство* 'blasphemy'; *slär äš-käyňnar Kudaj-ga šübür ajdarga* (14:64) [you hear-2.PL.PST god-DAT evil *\*ajt-arga* speak-INF] lit. 'have you heard [him] speak badly towards God' (= Ru. "Вы слышали богохульство"); *kim ajdyk šübür-nü*

<sup>13</sup> In the available Middle Chulym data, this word is attested only as a euphemism for 'bear'. An etymology was suggested by Stachowski (1998: 114f, also see Pomorska 2021: 85). The question of whether MČ *kačka* ~ *kačky* in the translation of Mark and *kačky* euph. 'bear' are the same word or homonyms requires further exploration beyond the scope of this article. Such research may shed new light on discussions regarding the development of the euphemistic character of the term for 'bear'.

<sup>14</sup> There are inconsistencies regarding the spelling of this word in the translation of Mark: *езы* is attested alongside *эзю* (3:24) ~ *эзю* (16:14) ~ *ези*, in *Кудай Езу* lit. 'God Himself' 'Holy Spirit' (3:29).

- Kudaj Äz-i-ngä* (3:29) [who \**ajt-tyk* speak-FUT evil-ACC god self/own-3SG. POSS-DAT] lit. ‘who will speak badly towards the Holy Spirit’ (= Ru. “кто будет хулить Духа Святого”);
- 3.1.3 ‘to condemn (to death)’: *Kiži-lär-nyň Pala-ny šubür ajdyk ölüräjä* (10:33) [person-PL-GEN child/son-ACC evil \**ajt-tyk* speak-FUT \**ölür-ärgä* kill-INF] lit. ‘[they] will speak evil [against] the Son of Man [for him to be] kill[ed]’ (= Ru. “осудят его [= Сына Человеческого] на смерть”);
- 3.1.4 ‘to testify against someone’: *olar Säň uçün-gä šubür ajdadylar* (14:60) [they you.GEN for-DAT evil \**ajt-ady-lar* speak-PRS-PL] ‘they speak evil of You [lit. for You]’ (= Ru. “они против Тебя свидетельствуют”).
- 3.2 *šubür(nu) at- ~ šubür ät-* lit. ‘to do evil’ – the construction is used to convey the following meanings:
- 3.2.1 literally, ‘to do evil’: *subbota-da čakšy ad-ärgä šubür-nu adärgä* (3:4) [Sabbath-LOC good do-INF evil-ACC \**at-ärgä* do-INF] ‘on Sabbath [should one] do good [or] do evil?’ (= Ru. “должно ли в субботу добро делать, или зло делать”);
- 3.2.2 ‘to sin’: *Aga Üstün čurta-był poštkan slär-gä šubür atkägnar* (11:25) [father high dwell-PRS \**pošVt-kan* empty-PST you-DAT evil \**at-kägnar* do-2PL. PST] lit. ‘Father, [who] lives High [in Heaven], purged you from the evil you committed’ (= Ru. “Отец ваш Небесный простил вам согрешения ваши”);
- 3.2.3 ‘to defile, to make (a person) impure’: *po [...] kiži-ny šubür ät-tyr* (7:23) [this person-ACC evil make-PRS] lit. ‘this makes a man evil’ (= Ru. “это [...] оскверняет человека”);
- 3.2.4 ‘to humiliate/debase’: *Kiži-lär-nyň Palä-zy-nga [...] pajdak agrigä šubür at-tik-tär* (9:12) [person-PL-GEN child/son-3SG.POSS-DAT much \**agry-Vrga* suffer-INF evil do-FUT-PL] lit. ‘the Son of Men [will] suffer much, they will do evil’. The corresponding passage in the Russian text runs “Сыну Человеческому [...] надлежит много пострадать и быть уничижену”; the passive voice of the discussed verb has not been retained in the translation.
- 3.2.5 ‘to do something against someone’: *kim slär-gä šubür adarčol – ät-tyr čakšy* (9:40) [who you-DAT evil \**at-ar-čol* do-AOR-NEG do-PRS good] lit. ‘whoever does not do evil to you, does good’ (= Ru. “кто не против вас, тот за вас”);
- 3.2.6 ‘to slay, to kill’: *Farisäj-där [...] irodian-nar-la satäš<sup>15</sup>-ip – šubür-nu ädärgä Iisus-ka* (3:6) [Pharisee(RU)-PL Herodian(RU)-PL-INS talk with-CVV evil-ACC \**ät-ärgä* do-INF Jesus(RU)-DAT] lit. ‘Pharisees talked with Herodians – [conspiring] to do evil to Jesus’ (= Ru. “Фарисеи [...] составили с иродианами совещание против Него, как бы погубить Его”).

<sup>15</sup> In earlier available sources of Middle Chulym lexical material, the verb is also recorded with a long vowel in the first syllable: *sätyš-* ‘to speak with, to talk with’ (Birjukovič 1984: 80; Li Yong-Söng et al. 2008: 160) ~ *sätaš-* ‘id.’ (Birjukovič 1979b: 116).



- 3.3 *šübür pol-* lit. 'to be evil, to become evil, (of evil) to be/happen' – the construction is used to convey the following meanings:
- 3.3.1 'to be guilty, to deserve punishment': *anzonda*<sup>16</sup> *ajdarga šübür pol-gan* (3:2) [later \**ajt-arga* say-INF evil be/become-PST] lit. '[in order to] say later [that] [He] became evil' (= Ru. "чтобы обвинить Его");
- 3.3.2 'to exist, to occur (of pain related to death)': *täg kün-dä dä aträ šübür poluk kiži-lär-gä* (13:19) [this day-LOC PRT very bad \**pol-luk* be/become-FUT person-PL-DAT] lit. 'on that day, it will be/become very bad for people' (= Ru. "Ибо в те дни будет такая скорбь");
- 3.3.3 'to be/become that which defiles (a person)': *ašamädä kir-za kižä šubr any atpük; no andyn šyk-sa šübür poluk* (7:15) [nothing enter-COND \**kiži-gä* person-DAT evil he.ACC \**at-pa-gok* do-NEG-FUT but(RU) he.ABL exit-COND evil \**pol-luk* become-FUT] lit. 'nothing [that] gets inside a man will make him evil, but [what] comes out will be/become evil' (= Ru. "ничто, входящее в человека извне, не может осквернить его; но что исходит из него, то оскверняет человека");
- 3.3.4 'to become something that causes suffering': *Kiži-lär-näη Pala pajdak šübür poluk* (8:31) [person-PL-GEN child/son much evil \**pol-luk* become-FUT] lit. 'a lot of evil will befall the Son of Men' (= Ru. "Сыну Человеческому много должно пострадать").
- 3.4 *šübür pögün-* lit. 'to think evil [thoughts]' – the construction is used to convey the following meanings:
- 3.4.1 'to be mistaken': *slär šübür pöktübzünnar* (12:27) [you wrong \**pögün-übülzünnar* think-2PL.PRS] lit. 'you will think wrong' (= Ru. "Итак, вы весьма заблуждаетесь");
- 3.4.2 'to be offended (by someone)': *Ana šübür pöktännar* (6:3) [he.DAT wrongly \**pögün-gAn-nar* think-PST-PL] lit. '[they] thought ill of Him' (= Ru. "И сот блазнялись о Нем").
- 3.5 *šübürnü atkän al-* lit. 'to take the evil-doer (= evil done, cf. also section 2.4 above)' – the construction is used to convey the meaning 'to forgive sins': *Kudaj-ga kaja šübür ajdybyl: kim alyk šübür-nü at-kän; Kudaj alyk?* (2:7) [god-DAT why evil \**ajt-ybyl* speak-PRS who \**al-lyk* take-FUT evil-ACC do-PTCP god \**al-lyk* take-FUT] lit. 'Why does [he] speak evil to God? Who will take the evil-doer (= evil done), will God take it?' (= Ru. "что Он так богохульствует? кто может прощать грехи, кроме одного Бога?").
- 3.6 *šübür čurt sata-* lit. 'to tell [sb about one's] evil life (= sin)' – the construction is used to convey the meaning 'to confess'; for a sentence in which it is attested cf. 2.2 above.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *anzöndyn* 'next time' (Li Yong-Söng et al. 2008: 109).

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