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## Russian Words in a Middle Chulym Translation of the Gospel of Mark

### ABSTRACT

Since 2017, the Tomsk Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church has been implementing a project that involves translating the Gospels of the New Testament into the Middle Chulym Turkic language, one of the critically endangered Turkic languages that remains insufficiently studied and described. Within the framework of this project, a translation of the Gospel of Mark into the Middle Chulym was published in 2019 (cf. Gabov and Lemskaja). In addition to its obvious confessional value, this text is important for Turkology: it represents a new source of Chulym lexical material and opens avenues for further analyses. It also provides an excellent opportunity to examine strategies and procedures employed in the translation process, as well as the solutions proposed by the translator for conveying concepts foreign to the Chulym. The article focuses specifically on the Russian words incorporated into the Chulym text in the translation process.

**KEYWORDS:** Turkic languages, Middle Chulym language, the Gospel of Mark, Bible, translation studies

### STRESZCZENIE

Rosyjskie słownictwo w tłumaczeniu Ewangelii wg św. Marka na język środkowoczulymski

Od 2017 r. eparchia tomska Rosyjskiego Kościoła Prawosławnego realizuje projekt tłumaczenia Ewangelii Nowego Testamentu na język środkowoczulymski, jeden z krytycznie zagrożonych języków turkijskich, który nadal pozostaje niedostatecznie zbadany i opisany. W ramach tego projektu dokonano przekładu m.in. Ewangelii wg św. Marka (Gabov i Lemskaja, 2019). Oprócz swej oczywistej konfesyjnej funkcji tekst ten ma duże znaczenie dla turkologii – jest nowym źródłem czulymskiego materiału leksykalnego i stwarza pole dla różnorodnych analiz, w tym dla analizy strategii tłumaczeniowych, którymi posłużył się

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tłumacz w celu oddania pojęć obcych Czulymom. Artykuł koncentruje się na rosyjskich słowach wykorzystanych w procesie tłumaczenia.

**SŁOWA KLUCZE:** języki turkijskie, język środkowoczulymski, Ewangelia Marka, Biblia, przekładoznawstwo

Despite beginning their Christianization in the 1720s<sup>1</sup> and officially identifying as Orthodox today, the Chulym Turks<sup>2</sup> have retained their traditional shamanic practices.<sup>3</sup> Since 2017, the Tomsk Eparchy of the Russian Orthodox Church has been implementing a project involving the translation of the Gospels of the New Testament into the Middle Chulym Turkic language (Kondijakov & Lemskaja, 2021, p. 14). Within the framework of this project, the translation of the Gospel of Mark (henceforth, *Mark*) was published in Gabov and Lemskaja (2019). In addition to its obvious confessional value, the text carries further significance for the field of Turkology. It provides a new source of Chulym lexical material, one of the critically endangered Turkic languages that remains insufficiently studied and described.

It is well understood that the functional significance of biblical texts relies heavily on the readability of the terminology employed – primarily religious, but also terms that may be unfamiliar to the reader due to a variety of factors, such as cultural differences, geographical context, historical background, and so on. The essential responsibility of the translator is to employ methods that ensure the most precise adaptation within the translated text. This guarantees that the translation remains as faithful as possible to the original, capturing both its denotative and connotative levels. In this particular case, the translator faced significant challenges, largely stemming from the broader cultural differences between the two nations.

1 Church documents confirm that Orthodox churches existed in Meletsk and Achinsk in 1730 (Lvova, 1978, p. 137).

2 This includes those living in the middle reaches of the Chulym River, whose language is the subject of the analysis presented here. In the subsequent sections of this article, the term “Chulym” will be used both as a linguonym and an ethnonym, referring to the Middle Chulym Turks and the Middle Chulym language (henceforth, “MC”), respectively.

3 Although E.L. Lvova, who conducted ethnographic research among the Chulym Turks in the latter half of the 20th century, stated in a 1978 publication (p. 137) that “At present there are very vague survivals of shamanist concepts, and even the practice of shamanism has entirely disappeared”, in her 1984 publication she confirmed the presence of “minimum shamanism necessary and sufficient for its existence” among them (Syčenko, 2019, p. 65: “Issledovatelem [= E.L. Lvova] byla vyskazana interesnaja mysl' o naličii v šamanskoj subkul'ture svoego roda ‘minimuma šamanizma’, nieobhodimogo i dostatočnogo dlja ego suščestvovanija”). G.D.S. Anderson and K.D. Harrison (2006), who conducted field research among the Middle Chulym Turks in the first decade of the 21st century, highlighted that shamanism was one of the topics brought up by the interlocutors during the conversations.

The 2019 edition not only features the Chulym text but also includes the original Russian text that formed the basis of the translation. This provides researchers with an excellent opportunity to compare the two texts, examine the methods, strategies, and procedures employed in the translation process, and analyze the solutions proposed by the translator for conveying foreign concepts.<sup>4</sup>

A detailed analysis of both texts shows that one of the procedures used by the translator to express unfamiliar concepts was to incorporate Russian words<sup>5</sup> into the Chulym text. Our goal here is to analyze the extent of this vocabulary and the semantic fields it covers.

## 1. Personal names and ethnonyms

As a rule, personal names in Bible translations were usually not translated, even if the meaning of some of them was known to the translators. Instead, their transliteration or transcription was used. An exception may include those names that were already used in the language of translation (Wojciechowski, 2023, p. 75). In the analyzed Middle Chulym translation of Mark, most of the personal names appear in their Russian-language forms, which are not assimilated, even though their phonetic shapes contradict the rules of the Chulym language: Rus. *Iisus* ‘Jesus’ = MČ *Īsus* (1:14);<sup>6</sup> *Iisus Nazarjanin* ‘Jesus of Nazareth’ = *Īsus Nazarjanin* (1:24); *Iisus Nazorej* ‘id.’ = *Īsus Nazoräj* (10:47); *Hristos* ‘Christ’ = *Hristos* (14:61);<sup>7</sup> *Iisus Hristos* ‘Jesus Christ’ = *Īsus Hristos* (1:1); *Marija* ‘Mary’ = *Marija* (6:3); *Mojsej* ‘Moses’ = *Mojsäj* (7:10); *Marija Magdalina* ‘Mary Magdalene’ = *Marija Magdalina* (15:40); *Salomija* ‘Salome’ = *Salomija* (15:40); *Varavva* ‘Barabbas’ = *Varavva* (15:7); *Isaija* ‘Isaiah’ = *Isaija* (7:6); *Avraam* ‘Abraham’ = *Avraam* (12:26); *Isaak* ‘Isaac’ = *Isaak* (12:26); *Iakov* ‘Jacob’ (12:26) ~ ‘James’ (1:29) = *Iakov*; *Vartimej* ‘Barthimaeus’ = *Vartimej* (10:46); *Voanerges* ‘Boanerges’ = *Voanärgäs* (3:17); *Iair* ‘Jairus’ = *Iair* (5:22); *Filipp* ‘Philip’ = *Filipp* (3:18); *Irod* ‘Herod’ = *Irod* (6:17);

4 Periphrastic equivalents with the Chulym adjective denoting ‘bad’ were analysed in our previous work (Pomorska, 2024).

5 One of the reviewers, whom I would like to express my gratitude to for their valuable comments, rightly pointed out that the ultimate source of most of the vocabulary analysed in the article is not the Russian language. However, it is clear that it was Russian which was the direct source. An analysis of the borrowing routes of this vocabulary is beyond the scope of this article.

6 In this article, we limit ourselves to quoting only one place of occurrence of the given word. The transliteration employed for Middle Chulym is the same as in our previous works, cf. Pomorska, 2004; Pomorska, 2017.

7 Even where the declension form of this name is used in the Russian version, i.e. *Hrista* (1:1), the Nominative form *Hristos* is still used in the Chulym translation (1:1).

*Irodiada* ‘Herodias’ = *Irodiada* (6:17); *Varfolomej* ‘Bartholomew’ = *Varfolomäj* (3:18); *Andrej* ‘Andrew’ = *Andräj* (3:18); *Matfej* ‘Matthew’ = *Matfäj* (3:18); *Foma* ‘Thomas’ = *Foma* (3:18); *Faddej* ‘Thaddaeus’ = *Faddäj* (3:18); *Simon* ‘Simon’ = *Simon* (1:16); *Simon Kananit* ‘Simon the Zealot’ = *Simon Kananit* (3:18); *Ilija* ‘Elijah’ = *Ilija* (8:28); *Pjotr* ‘Peter’ = *Pjotr* (3:16); *Ioann* ‘John’ = *Ioann* (6:17).<sup>8</sup>

Russian patronymics are rendered by the genitive case of a father’s or ancestor’s name. The order of defining and defined items mirrors the syntax in the Russian text: Rus. *Iakov Alfeev* ‘James son of Alphaeus’ = MČ *Iakov Alfäj-nnyj* (3:18) [James Alphaeus-GEN]; *Levij Alfeev* ‘Levi son of Alphaeus’ = *Lävij Alfäj-nnyj* (2:14) [Levi Alphaeus-GEN]; *Iakov Zevedejev* ‘James son of Zebedee’ = *Iakov Zävädäj-nnyj* (1:19) [James Zebedee-GEN].

Original personal names that are formed by combining a forename with the name of the individual’s place of origin are translated as composite noun phrases that combine the forename with the toponym in the genitive case. The order of defining and defined items mirrors the syntax in the Russian text: Rus. *Iosif iz Arimafei* ‘lit. Joseph from Arimathea’ = MČ *Iosif Arimafäja-nnyj* (15:43) [Joseph Arimathea-GEN]; *Iuda Iskariot(ski)* ‘Judas Iscariot’ = *Iuda Kariot-nnyj* (3:19) [Judas Kariot-GEN]. Worth noting are MČ *İsus Nazarjanin* and *İsus Nazoräj* (above), where the translator chose not to employ this method.

Russian names of persons constructed as ‘X the kinship name/God of Y’ are translated using composite noun phrases that consist of the personal name combined with a genitive-possessive construction,<sup>9</sup> in which, influenced by Russian syntax, the item indicating the possessor follows the possessed entity: Rus. *Marija, mat’ Iakova ... i Iosii* ‘Mary the mother of James and of Joseph’ = MČ *Marija ižä-zy Iakov-nnyj ... Iosija-nnyj* (15:40) [Mary mother-3SG.POSS James-GEN ... Joseph-GEN]; [*İsus*] *Syn Davidov* ‘[Jesus] Son of David’ = *Oglu*<sup>10</sup> *David-nnyj* (10:48) [son-3SG.POSS David-GEN]; [*Irodiada*] *žena Filippa* ‘[Herodias] Philip’s wife’ = *anaäg-y*<sup>11</sup> *Filipp-tyj* (6:17) [wife-3SG.POSS Philip-GEN]. In some cases, however, the possessive suffix is omitted: Rus. *İsus, Syn Davidov* ‘Jesus, Son of David’ = MČ *İsus, pala David-nnyj* (10:47) [Jesus son David-GEN]; *Ja Bog Avraama, i Bog Isaaka, i Bog Iakova* ‘I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob’ = *Män Kudaj Avraam-nnyj, Kudaj Isaak-tyj, Kudaj Iakov-nnyj* (12:26) [I god Abraham-GEN god Isaac-GEN

8 For John’s title ‘the Baptist’ (Rus. *Krestitel*), see section 11 below.

9 The initial consonant if the suffix changes in accordance with the principles of Middle Chulym consonant harmony.

10 The nominative form of this word in Middle Chulym is *öl* (Birjukovič, 1981, p. 104).

11 Cf. MČ *kär anajak* ‘old woman’ (Birjukovič, 1981, p. 74), Küärik *änäjäk* ‘id., old mother’ (Radloff, 1893, p. 732).

god Jacob-GEN]; *Vartimej, syn Timeev* ‘Bartimaeus the son of Timaeus’ = *Var-timäj, pala Timäj-nyj* (10:46) [Bartimaeus son Timaeus-GEN].

In the Gospel of Mark, one can find a few toponymic ethnonyms. The analysis of the methods the translator chose to create Chulym equivalents for these names has led to the following conclusions: it turns out that the bases for these names were not Russian toponyms, as one might expect, but the toponymic ethnonyms. In the case of Russian ethnonyms that originally ended with *-e*, the translator opted to substitute this ending with the Chulym plural suffix: Rus. *Galilejane* ‘people of Galilee’ = MČ *Galiläjan-nar* (3:7); Rus. *Ierusalimljane* ‘people of Jerusalem’ = MČ *Iärusalimljan-när* (1:5).

In place of the Russian ethnonym *Sirofinikijanka* ‘the Syrophoenician woman’, the translator preferred to use its periphrastic equivalent in Chulym: *[äpči] anyj tuan čäri Sirofinikija* (7:26) ‘lit. [the woman] her birthplace Syrian Phoenicia.’

## 2. Toponyms

Simplex toponyms, that is, toponyms that consist of a specific component only, are used in the Chulym version of Mark in their unassimilated Russian-language forms: Rus. *Galileja* ‘Galilee’ = MČ *Galiläja* (1:14); *Nazaret* ‘Nazareth’ = *Nazarät* (1:9); *Ierusalim* ‘Jerusalem’ = *Iärusalim* (3:8); *Idumeja* ‘Idumea’ = *Idumäja* (3:8); *Tir* ‘Tyre’ = *Tir* (3:8); *Sidon* ‘Sidon’ = *Sidon* (3:8); *Kaper-naum* ‘Capernaum’ = *Kapärnaum* (1:21); *Gefsimanija* ‘Gethsemane’ = *Gäfsimanija* (14:32); *Golgofa* ‘Golgotha’ = *Golgofa* (15:22); *Ierihon* ‘Jericho’ = *Järihon* (10:46); *Viffagija* ‘Bethphage’ = *Viffagija* (11:1); *Vifanija* ‘Bethany’ = *Vifanija* (11:1); *Vifsaida* ‘Bethsaida’ = *Vifsaida* (6:45); *Sodom* ‘Sodom’ = *Sodom* (6:11); *Gomorra* ‘Gomorrhah’ = *Gomorra* (6:11); *Iordan* ‘the Jordan River’ = *Iordan* (1:5).

Another group of toponyms used in the Russian text of Mark consists of phrases combining the name of a geographic object (e.g., “sea”, “mountain”, etc.; in one case, it is the name of a city) with an adjective derived from the specific toponym or personal name. The equivalents of these names in Chulym are expressions composed of the Chulym name of the geographic object followed by the genitive case of the specific toponym or personal name from the Russian-language version. Contrary to the rules of Turkic syntax, the word order of the modifier and the head noun in most Chulym phrases follows the Russian order: the modifier occurs after the head noun: Rus. *more Galilejskoe* ‘Sea of Galilee’ = MČ *sü Galiläja-nyj* (1:16) [water Galilee-GEN]; *gora Eleonskaja* ‘Eleon Mountain’<sup>12</sup> = *kyr Äläön-nyj* (11:1) [mountain Eleon-GEN] ~ *tag tas*

12 = The Mount of Olives.

*Äläön-nyň* (14:26) [mountain stone Eleon-GEN]; *zemlja Gennisaretskaja* 'land of Gennesaret' = *čar*<sup>13</sup> *Gännisarät-tyň* (6:53) [earth/place Gennesaret-GEN]; *Zaiordanskaja storona* 'land/region beyond the Jordan River' = *Iordan-nyň äl* (10:1) [the Jordan River-GEN land<sup>14</sup>]. To this group of phrases, we may also include *MC Käsarija Filipp-tyň* (8:27) [Caesarea Philip-GEN] = Rus. *Kesarija Filippova* 'Caesarea Philippi', whose qualified element is the name of a city in an unassimilated Russian-language form.

There are some exceptions to the above-mentioned rule. In one case, the Chulym equivalent of the Russian adjective is the genitive case of the ethnonym used in its unassimilated Russian-language form, supplied with the Chulym plural suffix: Rus. *predely Iudejskie* 'the borders of Judea' = *MC čar Iudäj*<sup>15</sup> *-där-nyň* (10:1) [earth/place Judean-pl-GEN] 'the place of Judeans.' In two other cases, the Chulym equivalent of the Russian adjective is the toponym that results from the deletion of the Russian adjective-forming suffix *-skaja* / *-skie*. Deletion of certain syllables in etyma during the derivation process from Russian to Turkic – including in Lower and Middle Chulym – is a familiar phenomenon. It usually affects those syllables that perform specific morphological functions in Russian and are easily recognizable in the recipient language.<sup>16</sup> The cases in question are: Rus. *strana Gadarin-skaja* 'the region of the Garasenes'<sup>17</sup> = *MC äl Gadarin* (5:1) [land Garasenes] and *predely Dalmanuf-skie* 'the region of Dalmanutha'<sup>18</sup> = *čar – Dalmanuf* (8:10) [earth/place – Dalmanutha].

Among the toponyms used in the Middle Chulym translation of the Gospel, the equivalent of the name "the Decapolis" is particularly noteworthy. It is a calque of Rus. *Desjatihradie*, whose elements *desjat* 'ten' and *grad* 'city' have been translated word-for-word into Middle Chulym: *Ontura* (5:30, 7:31) < *on* 'ten' + *tura* 'city'. Note that this is the only form used in all occurrences of this toponym in the Chulym translation of Mark for Rus. *Desjatihradie*.

### 3. Names of religious and political sects

In most cases, the translator uses unassimilated Russian-language forms for the names mentioned; when a given name appeared in its plural form in the original version, the translated word was marked with a Middle Chulym plural suffix,

13 In most cases of the analysed text, the word for 'place' (= CT *jär*) is written with a back vowel. For our analysis, this aspect is not of primary importance.

14 In earlier available sources of Middle Chulym lexical material (Birjukovič, 1979, p. 10), the word is recorded in the meaning 'nation, people'.

15 = Rus. *iudej* 'Judean'.

16 For more information see: Pomorska (2017, pp. 190–192).

17 The Russian version of this toponym is *Gadara*.

18 The Russian version of this toponym is *Dalmanufa*.

whose initial consonant changes in accordance with the principles of consonant harmony: Rus. *farisej* ‘Pharisee’ = MČ *farisäj* (2:16); *farisei* ‘Pharisees’ = *farisäj-där* (7:1) ‘Pharisee-PL’; *irodiane* ‘Herodians’ = *irodian-nar* (3:6) ‘Herodian-PL’<sup>19</sup>; *saddukei* ‘Sadducees’ = *saddukäj-där* (12:18) ‘Sadducee-PL’.

For the Chulym equivalent of “members of the Tribe of Judah,” the translator chose the name *Iudäj-där* (3:7), where the easily identifiable element is the Chulym plural suffix *-där*. The basis for the Chulym form was certainly the Russian ethnonym, though it is difficult to determine whether the singular form: *iudej*, or the plural form: *iudei*, served as a source.

#### 4. Names of occupations and professions

The Gospel of Mark mentions several names of occupations and professions. When the vocabulary of Middle Chulym allowed for it, the translator effectively employed Middle Chulym words, compounds in the form “present participle – noun”, or sentences: *ulug kiži sinagoga-nyn* (5:22) [big man synagogue-GEN] ‘synagogue leader’; *agač-ty čon-gan* (6:3) [tree-ACC hew-PTCP] ‘carpenter’; *at-kän kiži* ~ *[i]štän-gän kiži* (12:10) [do/make-PTCP man ~ work-PTCP man] ‘builder’; *kniga sana-n (kiži)* (15:1, 14:43) [book.RUS<sup>20</sup> read-PTCP (man)] ‘teacher of the law’; *Ugrät-Kiži* (4:38) [teach-man] ‘Teacher’; *ugrät-kan ol* (2:23) [teach-PTCP son/boy] ~ *ugrät-kan kiži* (5:31) [teach-PTCP men] ‘disciple’; *čač-kan kiži* (4:14) [scatter-PTCP man] ‘sower’; *kiži kajdŷ al-gan akčä-zy-n* (2:15) [men which take-PTCP money-3SG.POSS-ACC] as an equivalent for ‘tax collector’; *olar palyk-ta-nnar* (1:16) [they fish-V.DER-3PL.PTCP] as an equivalent for ‘fishermen’.

In instances where the native vocabulary was insufficient to express specific concepts, Russian terms were decisively used: Rus. *vrač* ‘doctor’ = MČ *vrač* (2:17); *jerej* ‘[Easter Orthodox Church] priest’ = *järäj* (1:44); *arhierej* ‘high priest’ = *arbiäräj* (2:26); *centurion* ‘centurion’ = *cänturion*<sup>21</sup> (15:44); *prorok* ‘prophet’ = MČ *prorok*<sup>22</sup> (6:4); *apostol* ‘apostle’ = *apostol* (6:30).

19 In one sentence (12:13), the translator replaces Rus. *nekotorye iz irodian* ‘some of the Herodians’ by *Irod-nyn* ‘Herod-GEN’. The Genitive form, however, with a different initial consonant of the suffix, was also used to replace the Russian adjective *irodovŷj* = MČ *Irod-dyn* (8:15).

20 This loanword from Russian is documented in the Middle Chulym language sources, which showcase its usage in the first half of the 20th century, cf. Pomorska, 2017, p. 32.

21 In 15:39 of the Chulym version, the word *cänturion* was supplemented by MČ *cäs-tüg kiži* [hundred-ADJ.DER man], a semantic calque of Rus. *sotnik* ‘commander of a hundred men’, a synonym for *centurion*.

22 Cf. also Rus. *lžeporoki* ‘false prophets’ for which the translator used in 13:22 the compound of MČ *čoj* ‘lie’ (Lemskaja, 2023-2024) and *prorok-tar* ‘prophet-PL’.

## 5. Names of spiritual beings

Those of Russian origin include the following: Rus. *angel* ‘angel’ = MČ *angäl* (1:2); *satana* ‘Satan’ = *satana* (1:13); *vel’zevul* ‘Beelzebul’ = *väl’zävul* (3:22). Notice that the translator consistently uses the Middle Chulym word *Kudaj* as an equivalent for the Russian word *Bog* ‘God’ (e.g., 2:7, 5:19). This choice is justified, as *Kudaj* functions in Chulym culture similarly to how God is perceived in Christianity.

## 6. Names of special weekdays and feasts

In the analyzed Middle Chulym translation of Mark, almost all names within this semantic group have been used in their Russian-language forms: Rus. *pjatnica* ‘Preparation Day’ = MČ *pjatnica* (15:42); *subbota* ‘the Sabbath’ = *subbota* (2:23); *Pasha* ‘the Passover’ = *Pasha* (14:1). The exception is the name of a feast called *prazdnik opresnikov* ‘the Festival of Unleavened Bread,’ which was rendered in the Chulym version using a literal translation approach: *itpäk suslo čok kün-ü* (14:1) [bread leaven.RUS there is not day-3SG.POSS].

## 7. Names of places of worship

In the sections where the Russian version uses the word *sinagoga* ‘synagogue,’ the same word was also included in the translation, and depending on its function within the sentence, it is accompanied by the appropriate Chulym suffixes: *sinagoga-da* (1:39) [synagogue-LOC]; *sinagoga-dyn* (5:35) [synagogue-ABL]. In places where the Russian version uses the word *hram* ‘temple,’ the translator replaced it with the Chulym izafet *Kudaj äb-i* (eight times, e.g., 11:15) [God house-3SG.POSS]. However, in one sentence, the Russian *hram* was included alongside it: *I vošel Isus ... v hram* ‘Jesus entered the temple’ = *Isus kir-gän hram-ga, äp Kudaj-nyň*<sup>23</sup> (11:11) [Jesus enter-PTCP temple-DAT, house God-GEN].

## 8. Names of monetary units

With the exception of “piece of silver” (Rus. *srebreńnik*), for which the translator used the native Middle Chulym noun *akčä*<sup>24</sup> (14:11), other units are used

23 Note the Russian word order of the elements of this construction.

24 Cf. *akča* ‘money, kopeck’ (Pomorska, 2004, p. 46).



in unassimilated Russian-language forms: Rus. *dinarij* ‘denarius’ = MČ *dinarij* (6:37); *lepta* ‘lepton’<sup>25</sup> = *läpta* (12:42); *kodrant* ‘kodrantes’<sup>26</sup> = *kodrant* (12:42).

## 9. Names of animals and plants

In the Middle Chulym translation of Mark, we can find the following names of animals and plants of Russian origin: Rus. *akridy* (PL) ‘locusts’ = MČ *akridy* (1:6); *osjol* ‘colt; donkey’ = *osjol*;<sup>27</sup> *gorčica* ‘mustard (seed)’ = *gorčica* (4:31); *vinograd* ‘fruit of the vine’ = *vinograd* (12:1); *smokovnica* ‘fig (tree)’ = MČ *smokovnica* (11:20). Within this specific semantic group, we can find one example of expected phonetic assimilation – despirantization of Rus. *v-* into MČ *b-*:<sup>28</sup> Rus. *verbljud* ‘camel’ > MČ *bärblüt* (1:6).

It is noteworthy to analyze the equivalents used in the Chulym text for the Russian word *ternie* (4:7, 4:18) ‘[place grown over with] thorns’ and *ternovyj* [*venec*] (15:17) ‘[crown] of thorns.’ Although the Middle Chulym language includes the Turkic word *tiken* ‘thorn’<sup>29</sup> (Clauson, 1972, p. 483), the translator selects the construction *šubür čar* ‘lit. bad place’ in the first instance,<sup>30</sup> while in the second instance, the Russian word *tern* = MČ *tjorn*<sup>31</sup> [*pörük* ‘(head)dress’] is used.

## 10. Other substantives

The nouns presented below exemplify various semantic groups, each often standing as the sole representative of a particular one. Hence, we have chosen to present them together in one section. Clearly, they pertain to objects that were previously unfamiliar to speakers of the Chulym language. The only exception is Rus. *krest* ‘cross’ = MČ *kräs* ‘id.’ (8:34) ~ *kräst*<sup>32</sup> ‘1. id.’ (10:21), ‘2. baptism’

25 Lepton was worth 1/2 kodrantes or 1/128 denarius (Bratcher, 1959, p. 168).

26 Kodrantes (Latin: *quadrans*) was worth ¼ assarion or ¼<sub>64</sub> denarius (Bratcher, 1959, p. 169).

27 The word appears three times in the Middle Chulym version, once as “osel” (11:2) and twice as “osjol” (11:4, 11:7), reflecting the spelling variations of this word in Russian. It is also possible to interpret “-sjo” as “-sö”.

28 Cf. Pomorska, 2017, p. 113.

29 = MČ *tigän* ‘dog rose’ (Birjukovič, 1979, p. 95).

30 For details, see: Pomorska (2024, p. 274).

31 The spelling of the word discussed here is „tjorn” and the “tjo”-group may also be interpreted as “tö”.

32 In the lexical sources available to date, this word has only been attested in Lower Chulym cf. (Pomorska, 2017, p. 82). The noun *kräs* also forms the basis for some MČ verbs cf. section 11, below.

(10:38), which was documented in Chulym lexical sources in the mid-20th century and underwent phonetic assimilation by means of simplification of the consonant cluster in the absolute final position.

All other terms are presented in the Chulym version of Mark in their original, non-assimilated Russian forms: Rus. *miro* '(perfumed) oil' = MČ *miro* (14:3); *smirna* 'myrrh' = *smirna* (15:23); *gubka* 'sponge' = *gubka* (15:36); *uksus* 'vinegar' = *uksus* (15:36); *krovat* 'bed' = *kravat* (4:21); *sveča* 'candle' = *sväča* (4:21); *plaščanica* 'burial sheet' = *plaščanica* (15:46); *zavesa* 'curtain' = *zaväsa* (15:38); *sud* 'judgment' = *sud*<sup>33</sup> (6:11); *sinedrion* 'Sanhedrin' = *sinädrion* (14:55); *nalog* 'tax' = *nalog* (2:14); *polk* 'regiment' = *polk* (15:16); *legion* 'legion' = *lägion* (5:9); *pretorija* 'Praetorium' = *prätorija* (15:16); *sovet* 'Council' = *sovät* (15:43); *gäänna* 'hell' = *geenna* (9:43); *suslo* 'wort' = *suslo*.<sup>34</sup>

The Russian word *sosud* 'container (for liquids)' was translated interestingly. Disregarding the verse (4:21), in which it was omitted in the Chulym version, there arose the need to use it twice in verse (14:3): "... *prišla ženščina s alavastrovym sosudom mira iz narda čistogo, dragocennogo i, razbiv sosud, vozlila Emu na golovu*."<sup>35</sup> The translator used *upsalğan*<sup>36</sup> *sosud* for *razbiv sosud* '[she] broke the jar' and *alavastr tuäs* for the Russian phrase *alavastrovyy sosud* 'alabaster jar.' *Alavastr* is undoubtedly a Russian term specifically chosen for this translation.<sup>37</sup> The second element of this compound is MČ *tuäs* < Rus.dial. *tues* << Trk. (Anikin, 2000, p. 560), a word that has been documented in Middle Chulym sources prior to 1950 (Dulzon, 1973, p. 191).

## 11. Verbs

In our analysis of the translated version of Mark, we identified several nominal-verb compounds consisting of a Russian noun followed by a Chulym auxiliary verb. Similar to other Turkic languages, the use of such compounds is a common method for deriving verbs in Middle Chulym:

33 It is also important to mention the adjective derived from this noun: MČ *sudtug* (16:16) 'condemned'.

34 Cf. *itpäk suslo čök künü* in section 6, above.

35 In the NIV version of Mark (available at <https://www.biblica.com/bible/niv/mark/14/>), the passage sounds: "... a woman came with an alabaster jar of very expensive perfume, made of pure nard. She broke the jar and poured the perfume on His head". The passage "iz narda čistogo" was not translated into Chulym.

36 < \**ug-up sal-ğan* [break (up)-CVB put(AUX)-PST].

37 It is important to note that the translator opted for a noun rather than a Russian adjective; in Orthodox terminology, *alavastr* refers to an alabaster vessel for storing myron (ointment) (*Pravoslavnaja Ėnciklopedija*. Retrieved from: <https://www.pravenc.ru/text/82589.html>, access: 25.01.2025).

Rus. *proščeniya* (GEN.SG < *proščenie* ‘forgiveness’) – MČ *prašānija āt-* (2:5) [forgiveness do/make] ‘forgive’;

Rus. *poklon* ‘bowing’ – MČ *poklon āt-* (15:19) [bowing do/make] ‘pay homage’;

Rus. *proročestvo* ‘prophecy’ – MČ *proročāstvo ajt-* (7:6) [prophecy tell] ‘prophecy’;

Rus. *krest* ‘1. cross; 2. baptism’<sup>38</sup> – MČ *krās-kā kak-* (15:15) [cross-DAT hit] ‘crucify’; *krās sal-* (10:38) [cross put] ‘get baptised’.

In this context, the verbs chosen by the translator to replace the Russian verb denoting ‘baptize’ are particularly noteworthy. Sometimes, he used nominal-verb compounds made of native words: [1] *su-a sur-* (1:8) [water-DAT push forward], [2] (*sug-ga*) \**požul-*<sup>39</sup> (1:8, 16:16) [(water-DAT) release]. In verse (1:4), the Russian phrase “[Ioann] krestja v pustyne” ‘[John] baptizing in the desert’ has been translated as: [*Ioann*] *kiži čok čārdā*<sup>40</sup> *krās-kān-nar* [*krās*-PST-PL]. Similarly, in verses (6:14, 6:24, 6:25), the translator used *Ioann* – *Krās-kān kiži* [John *krās*-PST men] for the name ‘John the Baptist’. Both these forms are most probably derived from Rus. verbal root *-krest-* ‘to baptize’.<sup>41</sup>

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Russian expansion onto Chulym territories and intensive, lasting contacts which ensued over several centuries, created opportunities for the borrowing of numerous Russian words into the Chulym languages. A detailed analysis by Pomorska (2017) emphasizes that “[T]he introduction of Christianity and new customs by the incoming Russians brought about significant changes in the life of the Chulym Turks and resulted in an influx of religious vocabulary, including words for ‘church’ or ‘cross’” (Pomorska, 2017, p. 224).

The analysis carried out proved that the religious vocabulary of Russian origin present in the Middle Chulym language until the translation of Mark was not sufficient to express all the specific concepts contained in the language of the Gospel text. That was the reason for introducing a large amount of new Russian vocabulary, and the fact that most of it was not the subject of phonetic adaptation or underwent minimal adaptation may indicate that it was introduced only for the needs of this text and did not become ingrained in the Chulym language.

38 Cf. section 10, above.

39 We reconstruct this form based on *poštupskan* (1:9) < \**požul-up ys-kan* [release-CVB-sent. AUX-PST].

40 Note the Chulym periphrastic equivalent *kiži čok čār* [man there is not place], which the translator used for the Russian word *pustynja* ‘desert’.

41 For additional examples of this process refer to (Pomorska, 2017, p. 234).

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