Mongolo-Tibetica
Pragensia ’10
Ethnolinguistics, Sociolinguistics,
Religion and Culture

3/1

Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts
Towards the etymology of Middle Mongolian Bodončar ~ Bodančar

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Summary: The author provides an etymology for Middle Mongolian Bodončar ~ Bodančar which was the name of the famous ancestor of Genghis Khan. The morphological structure of the name is analyzed, its derivation is discussed, linguistic parallels from Written Mongolian and the living Mongolic languages are considered in detail. Based on the analysis of all kinds of data available, the author comes to the conclusion that MMo. Bodončar ~ Bodančar is derived from *boda.nčar ‘ancestor, forefather’.

Among the direct ancestors of Genghis Khan, mentioned in the genealogical part of the “Secret History of the Mongols” (SHM), the famous Bodončar is found – the youngest of three “sons of Heaven” (tenggiri-yin kö‘üt), born by Alan-qo’a from a bright yellow man (čeügen šira gü‘ün) who appeared to be a messenger of Heaven. The name Bodončar (孛端察兒 in the Chinese transcription; 孛 MM /po/; 端 MM /tuan/, AM /ton/ [ZY 130], /don/ [MG 115]; 察 MM /tʃ'a/, AM /tʃ’ə/ [ZY 154]; 兒 MM /ər/, AM /ʒi/ [ZY 89], /ži/ [MG 106]) ~ Bodančar occurs in the SHM (§§ 17 ff.) and in some later Mongolian chronicles, as well as in a number of other sources on the early history of the Mongols. There are two basic points of view on its possible etymology (see e.g. Rybatzki 2006, pp. 196b-197a). The first belongs to P. Poucha, who believed that Bodončar is derived from bod(o)n ‘ein Stück Vieh’ + the suffix .čAr (Poucha 1956, pp. 42, 87). The originator of the second point of view is N. Poppe, who supposed the name Bodončar to be derived from WMo. bodong ‘boar’

1) AM reading of this character is not known (it is reconstructed by S. Hattori as /pau'/ [Hattori 1973, p. 40], but it is found neither in ZY nor in MG), but the latter usually renders the MMo. syllable bo in the SHM and in other Sino-Mongolian monuments (Lewicki 1949, p. 46, No. 386; Bayar 1998, pp. 25–26).
2) The character 兒 was normally used for rendering MMo. -r in Chinese transcriptions of medieval Mongolian texts (see e.g. Lewicki 1949).
3) The form Bodančar is found in some Mongolian chronicles of the 17th-18th centuries (see e.g. Ulayan 2005, pp. 224 ff.; Altan Tobči 1999, pp. 31 ff.), as well as in the work by Rašid al-Din (bīdnijār) (Rašid-ad-din 1951 1/2, p. 64). It appears to be the most important from the historical point of view. On the transition a > o and other assimilative shifts in the field of Mongolian vocalism see (Poppe 1951).
with the same suffix \( .\check{c}A \sim .n\check{c}A \) (Poppe 1975, p. 161). Without questioning the morphemic structure of the name, I would like to propose another etymology which I consider to be more consistent with its use in the SHM.

In Kalmuck the word *bodntsr ‘Vorfahr, Ururgroßvater’ < *\( \text{bodančar} \) (Ramstedt 1935, p. 48b; Muniev 1977, p. 104a; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 142) occurs, a term which is unknown to other Mongolic languages. I think that it is of vital importance for the etymology of the MMO. *Bodončar ~ Bodančar*. This word is a part of a large group of Mongolian kinship terms, derived from noun bases by means of the suffix \( .\check{c}A(r~g) \sim .n\check{c}A(r~g) \). In the material of WMo., Kalm., Bur., and Kh. 43 kinship terms with this suffix were distinguished, of which 8 are found in WMo., 21 in Kalm., 6 in Bur. and 8 in Kh.\(^4\) For convenience they are summarized below in Table 1.

\(\downarrow\)

\(^4\) The lack of a comparative vocabulary of the Mongolic languages does not allow us to draw any definitive conclusions, but as far as can be seen from our materials, there are no kinship terms with the suffix \( .\check{c}A(r~g) \sim .n\check{c}A(r~g) \) in other Mongolic languages. An exception might be Ords if it is considered not as a dialect of Mongol proper, but as a separate Mongolic language, following S. Georg (2003) whose opinion on this matter I do not share. According to S. Godziński (1970, p. 151), the suffix \( .\check{c}a \) in Dongxiang (Santa) and Baoan (Bonan) might go back to \( .\check{c}Ar \), but this assumption requires additional validation due to the extremely limited distribution of this suffix in both languages. – It is worth noting that by examining isoglosses of a number of language phenomena, V. Rybatzki has combined Buryat, Khalkha-Mongol, and Oirat (including Kalmuck) into one taxonomic subgroup whose members share from 32 to 45 per cent of isoglosses in common (Rybatzki 2003, p. 388). Even if we admit that all the existing linguistic classifications are very subjective, it is impossible to completely ignore the observation made by V. Rybatzki. Developing it further, we would be justified in supposing that kinship terms with the suffix \( .\check{c}A(r~g) \sim .n\check{c}A(r~g) \) could go back not to Common Mongolian, but to an intermediate proto-language from which Bur., Kalm. and Kh. seemed to develop. However, in the absence of additional sound arguments for the existence of such a proto-language, we refrain from this far-reaching statement which is also at variance with WMo. parallels for the terms of kinship concerned.
Table 1. Kinship Terms with the Suffix \( \dot{c}A(\sim g) \sim n\dot{c}A(\sim g) \) in the Mongolic Languages

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<tr>
<th>Written Mongolian</th>
<th>Kalmuck</th>
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<tr>
<td><code>bod.n\$\text{r}</code>, \text{`u}n$\text{r}<code>\text{\</code>u}ntsr,\text{`u}\text{`u}ntsə<code>\text{\</code>u}nts`</td>
<td><code>\text{\</code>u}ntsr<code>; \text{'ancestor, forefather; great-great-grandfather''}\text{\</code>u}nts`</td>
<td><code>-</code></td>
<td><code>-</code></td>
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<tr>
<td>qulu.n`ca (eb&quot;uge, emege)</td>
<td><code>-</code></td>
<td><code>\text{\</code>u}nts`</td>
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5) Ramstedt 1935, p. 48b.
6) \text{\`u}predok, pra\'\v{s}čur; prapr\`ared'' (Muniev 1977, p. 104a; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 142).
7) \text{\`u}prapr\`ared / prapr\`raprabuška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).
8) \text{\`u}predki po linii otca v +6 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).
9) \text{\`u}prapr\`ared / prapr\`raprabuška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 61).
10) \text{\`u}pred (v pjatom pokolenii)'' (Muniev 1977, p. 437b; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 147).
11) \text{\`u}predki po linii otca v +5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).
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<tr>
<td>xuli.nseg comb. with eli.nseg</td>
<td>xula.nc, xula.nceg</td>
<td>guli.nseg 1. ‘great-grandfather’; 2. ‘ancestor; the fifth generation (in the descending line)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>eli.nceg, elii.nceg, elii.nce, ele.čeg</td>
<td>eli.nceg, ele.čeg 1 ‘ancestors, forefathers’; 2 ‘ancestors; forefather’</td>
<td>eli.nceg ‘great-grandfather; ancestor; ancestors; forefather’</td>
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14) ‘prapraded / praprababushka so storony otca’ (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 61).
21) Ramstedt 1935, p. 120a.
24) Ramstedt 1935, p. 120a.
28) Lessing 1960, p. 147b.
29) Kowalewski 1846, p. 12366.
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<tr>
<td>bölnnts 1.‘enkel zweier schwester’; 33 ‘children of the first male cousins (in the paternal line); children of the first female cousins (in the maternal line)’; 34 2. ‘fourth male cousin;’ 35 ‘daughters of the third female cousins’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bölnntsa ‘second male cousin;’ 36 ‘second female cousins’</td>
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<tr>
<td>böltsa ‘fifth male cousin;’ 37 ‘daughters of the fourth female cousins’</td>
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<tr>
<td>böltsr ‘sixth male cousin;’ 38 ‘daughters of the fifth female cousins’</td>
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<tr>
<td>büllöns, büllöns, büle.encer ‘children of the first male (or female) cousins (in the maternal line);’ 39 ‘sisters’ children’s children, second male / female cousins in the maternal line’</td>
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<tr>
<td>büle.encer ‘second cousins once removed; grandchildren of two sisters’</td>
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33) Ramstedt 1935, p. 56a.
34) ‘deti dvojurodných bratjev (po otcovskoj linii); deti dvojurodných sester (po materinskoi linii)’ (Muniev 1977, p. 114a).
44) ‘deti detej sester, trojurodnje bratja / sestry po materinskoj linii’ (Namžilon 1987, p. 82).
45) ‘trojurodnje plemjanniki; vnuki dvuh sester’ (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 303b).
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<tr>
<td>üye.nčir 1. 'children of brother’s son'; 46 2. in the collocation üye.nčir aqa degüü 'cousin issu de germain'</td>
<td>üj.ntsə ‘vetterkinder’, 48 ‘second male and female cousins,’ 49 ‘second cousin’</td>
<td>üj.e.nser ‘second male cousins in the paternal line’</td>
<td>üje.ncer ‘in the collocations üje.ncer ax dū ‘first male cousins’ grandparents towards each other’, üje.ncer xöwūn ‘second male cousin once removed’</td>
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<td>–</td>
<td>bel.ntsə ‘second female cousins (in the maternal line)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bel.ntsə ‘second female cousins’ children (in the maternal line) 54</td>
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47) Kowalewski 1844, p. 553a.  
50) ‘trojurodnij’ (Muniev 1977, p. 547b).  
53) ‘trojurodnje sestry (po materinskoj linii)’ (Muniev 1977, p. 95a).  
54) ‘deti trojurodnyh sester (po materinskoj linii)’ (Muniev 1977, p. 95a).
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<tr>
<td>jige.nčer 'one’s daughter’s grandson',55 arrière-petit-fils du côté de la fille'56</td>
<td>zē.ntsr 1. ‘sohn od. tochter eines schwesterkindes od. tochterkindes’,57 ‘great-grandson, great-granddaughter (in the daughter’s line), grandchildren (in the female line)’,58 2. ‘offspring in the female line of the 4th descending generation’;59 ‘great-great-granddaughters through the daughter’60</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>zē.ntsɔ in the collocation zē.ntsɔ kūkūD ‘great-granddaughters through the daughter’61</td>
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<tr>
<td>zē.tsɔ 1. ‘offspring in the female line of the 4th descending generation’,62 ‘great-great-granddaughters through the daughter’,63 2. ‘offspring in the female line of the 5th descending generation’64</td>
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56) Kowalewski 1849, p. 2352a.  
58) ‘pravnuk, pravnučka (po linii dočeri), vnučata (po ženskoj linii)’ (Muniev 1977, p. 246a).  
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zē.tsr 'offspring in the female line of the 6th descending generation'; 65 'great-great-granddaughters through the daughter' 66</td>
<td>zēle.nser, zē.nser 1. 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (through the grandson)', 67 2. 'second male / female cousins in the maternal line' 68</td>
<td>jē.nser 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (through the daughter)' 69</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuči.nčar 1. 'le grand-père du trisaïeul'; 70 2. 'son of the yuči' (= 'great-great-grandson'. – the author) 71</td>
<td>gutš.ntsr 1. gutši (= 'great-great-grandson'. – the author); 72 2. 'great-great-grandson's son' 73</td>
<td>guša.nsar 'great-grandson (through the son)' 74</td>
<td>guči.nčar 'great-great-grandson; great-great-great-grandson' 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiči.nčer 1. 'great great-grandson'; 76 2. 'descendant à la quatrième génération' 77</td>
<td>džitš.ntsr 1. 'der sohn des enkels mit seinen kindern, die enkelsenkel', 78 'great-grandchildren, the son's grandchildren'; 79 2. 'great-great-grandson with his children' 80</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jiči.nčer 'great-great-grandson', 81 'great-great-grandson (son of the gučincar, the fourth generation of grandsons)' 82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68) ‘trojurodnye bratja / sestry po materinskoj linii’ (Namžilon 1987, p. 82).
70) Kowalewski 1846, p. 10356.
71) Lessing 1960, p. 364b.
72) Ramstedt 1935, p. 156b.
73) ‘syn prapravnuka’ (Muniev 1977, p. 171b).
75) ‘syn prapravnuka; prapravnučki’ (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 465b; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 128b).
76) Lessing 1960, p. 1049a.
77) Kowalewski 1849, p. 2351a.
78) Ramstedt 1935, p. 113b.
80) ‘prapravnik so svoimi det’mi’ (Muniev 1977, p. 231b).
81) ‘prapravnik’ (Luvsandendev 1957, p. 181b).
82) ‘prapravnik (syn gučincara, četvertoe koleno vnukov)’ (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 180b).
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<tr>
<td><code>udum.čir</code> 'arrière-petit-fils'[^83], 'male descendant in the ninth generation'[^84]</td>
<td><code>udm.tsr</code> 'nachkommenschaft, kinder und enkel'[^85]</td>
<td>–</td>
<td><code>udam.car</code> 'remote descendant, grandson in the eighth generation'[^86]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^83]: Kowalewski 1844, p. 387a.
[^84]: Lessing 1960, p. 861b. – N. Poppe, without specifying his source, also mentions among WMo. kinship terms the form `döčin.čer` 'great-great-grandson's great-grandson’ (Poppe 1927b, pp. 108–109). Since this form is unknown to our dictionaries and does not occur in the living Mongolic languages, I did not take it into consideration.
[^85]: Ramstedt 1935, p. 446a.
[^86]: 'otdalennyj potomok, vnuk v vos'mom kolene’ (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 308b).
As it is evident from Table 1, all the above-mentioned forms are designations of the remote degrees of lineal and collateral kinship, many of the terms (30) occurring in all four languages with identical or very similar meanings. Of the 43 terms included in Table 1, only 13 have no counterparts in other Mongolic languages, being used exclusively in Kalmuck: tol.ntsə ~ tel.ntsə, zê.Čsr. This curious phenomenon may be due to the fact that Kalmuck has retained a substantial number of archaic forms which have disappeared in other areas of the Mongolian linguistic world, so that “even in the vocabulary of other Mongol peoples … not all Kalmuck kinship terms have appropriate correspondences” (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 67).

Let us briefly dwell on the derivational suffix .čAr ~ .nčAr (Kalm. .ntsr), which is a part of the morphological structure of MMO. Bodončar ~ Bodančar. The functions of this suffix are discussed in detail in various grammars and special works (see e.g. Poppe 1927a, § 19.4), so here I will present them in a summarized form. The productive suffix .čAr ~ .nčAr (as well as its variants .čAG ~ .nčAG) forms nouns with the following meanings:

1) diminutive (e.g. WMo. činu.čar ~ činu.nčar ‘jackal’ < činu-a ‘wolf’; Kh. olon.cor ‘belly-band’ < olon ~ olom ‘saddle-girth’; Kh. ata.nčar ‘young or small camel gelding’ < at ‘camel gelding’);

2) pejorative (e.g. Bur. basaga.sar a contemptuous expression for a girl < basaga ‘girl’; Kh. öwgö.cör a contemptuous expression for an old man < öw‑gön ‘old man’);

3) partial degree of a feature (e.g. Kalm. χar.Čsr ‘blackish’ < χar ‘black’; Kalm. sul.Čsr ‘rather weak’ < sul ‘weak’; Kh. jüwan.car ‘ellipsoid’ < jüwan ‘oval, ellipse’)87;

4) fondness of or propensity towards something (e.g. WMo. qoyula.nčar ‘gluttonous’ < qoyula ‘food’; Kh. arxi.nčar ‘drunkard’ < arxi ‘brandy’; Bur. üge. nser ‘talkative’ < üge ‘word’);

5) manner (e.g. WMo. busu.čar ~ busu.čir ‘otherwise, in another manner’ < busu ‘another’).

Moreover, in some grammars and general works (see e.g. Poppe 1974) a further meaning is found, namely:

6) (remote) degrees of kinship

It is the latter meaning that is the most interesting for us here. In my view, the definition given in the literature is generally true, but at the same time it is subject to some specification. This can be made on the basis of data included

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87) For the meaning of the partial degree of a feature as applied to colour names see (Khabtagaeva 2001, § 3.2.2.1), where it is named diminutive.
Tab. 2. The Derivation of the Mongolian Kinship Terms with the Suffix ęA(r~g) ~ ęnęA(r~g)

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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>sal.nts ~ sol.nts &lt; sal ę 'great-great-great-grandson', offspring in the male line of the 6th descending generation</td>
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<tr>
<td>bölo.ncer &lt; bölo &lt; böle 1. ‘cousins (of children of two sisters only)’; 2. in the collocations bölo ači ‘petit fils au troisième degré, bölo jige uruy ‘cousin issu de germain, parent par les femmes’</td>
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<tr>
<td>böls.nts, bölnts-r̥, böl.nts, böl. tsa, böl.tsr &lt; bölo, ‘first male cousins (sons of two sisters)’, ‘first female cousins’, ‘first cousin through the mother, son of the mother’s brother or sister’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bülölin.ser &lt; bülölin ‘first male cousin, first female cousin (in the maternal line)’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bül.ntsə &lt; bülunts ‘first male cousin, first female cousin (in the maternal line)’, ‘children of the sisters, first male and female cousins in the maternal line’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bülölin.ser, bülö.nser ‘first male cousin, first female cousin (in the maternal line)’, ‘children of the sisters, first male and female cousins in the maternal line’</td>
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96) Bur. ęAli, not mentioned among the derivational suffixes by Sanžeev 1962, corresponds to WMo. ęGAli which forms nouns designating names of degrees of kinship (see Poppe 1974, § 118; Dondukov 1993, p. 41, § 10). For ęn, which is often a part of compound suffixes of word formation, see (Poppe 1927a, § 5). So, the form bülölin is derived from bülö.
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<tr>
<td>üj.nts &lt; üjə 'first cousin', cf. üjü.ŋər (üjə + pl. suffix .ŋər) 'die vettern', üj 'first male and female cousins (in the paternal line)'</td>
<td>üj.nts &lt; üjə 'first cousin'; üjü.ŋər (üjə + pl. suffix .ŋər) 'die vettern', üj 'first male and female cousins (in the paternal line)'</td>
<td>üje.ncer &lt; üje in the collocations xöwgən üje 'first cousins' degree, generation, i. e. father's brothers' or sisters' children, descendants in the junior collateral line, first cousins' degree, brothers' children; üje ax 'first male cousin'; üjə xajə 'kin'</td>
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<tr>
<td>jige.ŋər &lt; jige (← OT jegən 'nephew') 'child of one's daughter or sister; child of any of one's female descendants,' 'petit-fils du côté de la mère'</td>
<td>zē.nts, zē.ntsə, zē.ntsə, zē.nts &lt; zē 1. 'kind der jüngeren schwester od. der tochter, enkel weiblicherseits,' grandson, granddaughte (in the daughter's line), 2. 'nephew, niece (in the maternal line), 'nephew, niece (mother's sisters' children)</td>
<td>jè.ncer &lt; jē 1. 'grandson, granddaughter (through the daughter); 2. 'nephew, niece (in the maternal line)</td>
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102) 'dvojurodnyj' (Muniev 1977, p. 547a).
104) 'dvojurodnuye bratja i sestry (po otcovskoj linii)' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 147).
105) xöwgən üje 'dvojurodnoe rodstvo, koleno, t. e. deti bratjev i sester otca, potomki mladšwej bokovoj linii, dvojurodnoe rodstvo, deti bratjev'; üje ax 'dvojurodnyj brat'; üje xajə 'rodnja' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 391a-b).
106) 'plemjannik' (OTD 252b).
107) Lessing 1960, p. 1051b.

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111) 'plemjannik, plemjannica (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 245a-b).
113) The word zēle.ŋser < "jige.linčer contains the suffix ".li, which is unknown to grammars as a means of denominial (not deverbal!) word-formation. It also seems to be a part of WMo..
114) 'vnuk ili vnučka po dočeri' (Namžilon 1987, p. 82; cf. Čeremisov 1973, p. 275a).
116) 'vnuk, vnučka (po dočeri)' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 257a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 214b).
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<td><em>γuči.nčar</em> &lt; <em>γuči</em> &lt; &quot;<em>yutí</em> 1. 'great-grandson'&quot;&lt;sup&gt;118&lt;/sup&gt;, 2. 'arrière-petit-fils, les descendants de la troisième génération'&lt;sup&gt;119&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>gutš.ntsr &lt; gutši 1. 'enkelsohn; blutsverwandtschaft in dritter linie'&quot;&lt;sup&gt;120&lt;/sup&gt; 2. 'grandson’s son, great-grandson, blood relationship in the fifth line',&lt;sup&gt;121&lt;/sup&gt; 2. 'great-grandsons in the fifth generation',&lt;sup&gt;122&lt;/sup&gt; 'offspring in the male line of the 5th descending generation'&lt;sup&gt;123&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>guša.nsar &lt; guša 'great-grandson',&lt;sup&gt;124&lt;/sup&gt; 'great-grandson, great-grand-daughter through the son'&lt;sup&gt;125&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td><em>γuči.nčar</em> &lt; <em>γuč</em> 'great-great-grandson'&lt;sup&gt;126&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td><em>ǰiči.nčer</em> &lt; <em>ǰiči</em> 'great-grandson',&lt;sup&gt;127&lt;/sup&gt; 'un arrière-petit-fils'&lt;sup&gt;128&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>džitš.ntsr &lt; džitši 1.'enkelssohn, der Sohn des Enkels',&lt;sup&gt;129&lt;/sup&gt; 2. 'great-grandson, great-great-grandson, great-granddaughter'&lt;sup&gt;130&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>ǰiči.nčer</em> &lt; <em>ǰič</em> 'great-grandson'&lt;sup&gt;131&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<td><em>udum.čir</em> &lt; <em>udum</em> 'descendant, scion'&lt;sup&gt;132&lt;/sup&gt; 'parenté; parent, d’une même famille, d’un même nom'&lt;sup&gt;133&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>udm.tsr &lt; udm 'nachkommenschaft, kinder und enkel'&lt;sup&gt;134&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><em>udam.car</em> &lt; <em>udam</em> 'offspring, descendant'&lt;sup&gt;135&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
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<sup>118</sup> Lessing 1960, p. 364a.  
<sup>119</sup> Kowalewski 1846, p. 1035a.  
<sup>120</sup> Ramstedt 1935, p. 156b.  
<sup>121</sup> 'syn vnuka, pravnik, krovnoe rodstvo po pjatoj linii' (Muniev 1977, p. 171b).  
<sup>122</sup> 'pravnuki v pjatom pokolenii' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 143).  
<sup>123</sup> 'potomki po mužskoj linii v –5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).  
<sup>124</sup> 'pravnik' (Čeremisov 1973, p. 162a).  
<sup>125</sup> 'pravnik, pravnučka po synu' (Namžilon 1987, p. 73).  
<sup>126</sup> 'prapravnik' (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 465b; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 128b).  
<sup>127</sup> Lessing 1960, p. 1049a.  
<sup>128</sup> Kowalewski 1849, p. 2351a.  
<sup>129</sup> Ramstedt 1935, p. 113b.  
<sup>130</sup> 'prapravnik, prapravnučka' (Muniev 1977, p. 231b).  
<sup>131</sup> 'pravnik' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 180b).  
<sup>132</sup> Lessing 1960, p. 861b.  
<sup>133</sup> Kowalewski 1844, p. 387a.  
<sup>134</sup> Ramstedt 1935, p. 446a.  
<sup>135</sup> 'potomstvo, potomok' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 308a; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 448b).
in Table 2 below, which depicts the nature of the semantic relationships between derivatives and their underlying stems (where the latter are known).

From Table 2 it is apparent that the vast majority of forms with the suffix \( .čA(r~g) \sim .nčA(r~g) \) have a common meaning structure which can be presented as ‘child of he who is designated by the underlying stem’, or, schematically, as

\[
X.čA(r~g) \sim X.nčA(r~g) = ‘X’s child’.
\]

Of course, some exceptions to this rule should be mentioned here. Thus, it does not apply to the following derivational pairs: WMo. udum.čir < udum, Kalm. sal.nts\( \sim \) sol.nts\( \sim \) salp whose semantic relations are of a more complex nature. Furthermore, in Kalmuck the suffix considered is regularly used as a means of semantic differentiation by generations (cf. böл.nts\( \sim \) böл.ts\( \sim \) and böл.tsr; bel.nts\( \sim \) and bel.ntsr), which in itself can be a relatively late local phenomenon.\(^{136}\) However, the limited number of these exceptions and, most importantly, the lack of a common system beyond them, makes it highly probable that once they also had to obey the rule established by us in this paper.

From what has been said the conclusion follows that MMo. Bodončar < *boda.nčar must have had the same morphological structure. The stem bodo < boda can hardly be related to WMo. bodo < boda ‘ein Stück Vieh’ (as was suggested by P. Poucha) or to WMo. boda ‘substance, matter; object’ < OT bod ‘body, trunk; stature, figure’.\(^{137}\) It is likely that we are dealing with the homonymous stem *bodo < *boda, which designated one of the remote ascendant degrees of kinship, but lost its status as an autonomous lexical unit by the time of the earliest MMo. monuments, surviving in a petrifried form only as a part of the derivative lexeme *boda.nčar. To these petrified stems seem to belong also *qulu > WMo. qulu.nča, *elii > WMo. elii.nčeg ~ elii.nče etc. Unfortunately, Middle Mongolian terms for relatives in the ascending line are known not farther than the fourth generation, for which the words yolinmuču[q] ‘great-great-grandfather’\(^{138}\) and boroqai ‘id.’\(^{139}\) were used (see Rykin 2009). But it is reasonable to assume that once there were more special

\(^{136}\) Cf. the conclusion reached by N. V. Bikbulatov, that one of the most ancient features of kinship systems of the Uralo-Altaic peoples was generation-merging, under which the division of the members of one and the same generation into the elder and the younger ones took place, whereas the classification of relatives by the generational principle alone is a later innovation (Bikbulatov 1981, pp. 63–70).

\(^{137}\) For this etymology see (Rybatzki 2006, pp. 196b–197a).

\(^{138}\) Apparently, one of the phonetic variants of the word *qulu.nča ~ *qulu.nčay with the initial consonant’s voicing.

\(^{139}\) This is presumably a taboo word: boroqai < boro ‘grey’ + the suffix.QAi (for the latter see Poppe 1927).
terms in the Mongolian kinship system, which did not survive in Middle Mongolian and in modern Mongolic languages. In support of this assumption it is appropriate to quote the following statement by Rašīd al-Dīn:

The grandfather of Čingiz-qan is Bartan-bahadur, in Mongolian he is named ebūge. The great-grandfather of Čingiz-qan is Qabul-qan, in Mongolian he is named elinčig. The great-great-grandfather of Čingiz-qan is Tumbine-qaan, in Mongolian he is named budutuu (?). The fifth ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Baisonkur, in Mongolian he is named buda-ukur. The sixth ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Qaidu-qan, in Mongolian he is named jurki (?). The seventh ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Dutum-Menen, in Mongolian he is named dutaqun. The eighth ancestor of Čingiz-qan is Činkiz-qan Bodančar, farther than the seventh [generation] the special terms are lacking, but all [together] they are named ečigin-ebugen.140

The designations of the remote ancestors of Genghis Khan from Tumbine-qan onwards, which are mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn, present great difficulties for interpretation. For example, G. Doerfer gives the following readings for them: ? bōdātū (instead of budutuu), ? bōdā kūr (instead of buda-ukur) and bōraqai (instead of jurki) (Doerfer 1963, pp. 217–219). If these readings are right, the stem *bōdā in the first two words can be related to Mongolian *boda as meaning an ascending degree of kinship, followed by some morphological elements or autonomous words which have not yet been identified.

To summarize, MMo. Bodončar ~ Bodančar is derived from *boda.nčar ‘ancestor, forefather’. Taking into account the fact that Bodončar was the first direct ancestor of Genghis Khan, such a name, I think, was in full conformity with the role of its bearer in the genealogy of the founder of the Mongol empire and in the historical framework of the author (or the authors) of the Secret History of the Mongols.

Abbreviations

AM – Ancient Mandarin  
Bur. – Buryat  
Kalm. – Kalmuck  
Kh. – Khalkha  
MM – Modern Mandarin  
MMo. – Middle Mongolian  
OT – Old Turkic  
WMo. – Written Mongolian  
ZY – the dictionary Zhongyuan yinyun by Zhou Deqing (1324) (Yang Naisi 1981)

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