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/1; 端 MM /tuan/, AM /ton/ [ZY 130], /don/ [MG 115]; 察 MM /tʃ‘a/, AM /tʃ‘a/ [ZY 154]; 兒 MM /ər/, AM /ʒi/ [ZY 89], /ži/ [MG 106]2) ~ Bodančar3 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 bodo(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 (būdnǰār) (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 .čAr ~ .nčAr (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 bodntr ‘Vorfahr, Ururgroßvater’ < *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 .čA(r~g) ~ .nčA(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.

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 .čA(r~g) ~ .nčA(r~g) in other Mongolic languages. An exception might be Ordis 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 .ča in Dongxiang (Santa) and Baoan (Bonan) might go back to .čAr, 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 .čA(r~g) ~ .nčA(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 .čA(r~g) ~ .nčA(r~g) in the Mongolic Languages

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Written Mongolian</th>
<th>Kalmuck</th>
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<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>bod.nts(t)(r) &quot;ancestor, forefather; great-great-grandfather&quot;6</td>
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</table>
| —                 | tol.nts\(d\) ~ tel.nts\(x\)  
  'great-great-great-great-grandfather / great-great-great-great-grandmother on the paternal side,'7 'ancestors in the paternal line of the 6\(^{th}\) ascending generation'8 | —       | —       |
| —                 | sal.nts\(d\) ~ sol.nts\(d\)  
  'great-great-great-grandfather / great-great-great-grandmother on the paternal side,'9 'ancestor (in the fifth generation),'10 'ancestors in the paternal line of the 5\(^{th}\) ascending generation'11 | —       | —       |
| —                 | qulu.nča (ebüge, emege)  
  'great-great-grandfather; great-great-grandmother'12 | —       | —       |

5) Ramstedt 1935, p. 48b.  
6) 'predok, praščur; prapraced' (Muniev 1977, p. 104a; Pjurbeev 1996, p. 142).  
7) 'prapraced / prapraboška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).  
8) 'predki po linii otca v +6 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).  
9) 'prapraced / prapraboška so storony otca' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 61).  
11) 'predki po linii otca v +5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 213).  
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<tr>
<td>xul.ntsag ‘forebear’; 13 ‘great-great-grandfather / great-great-grandmother on the paternal side’; 14 ‘ancestors in the paternal line of the 4th ascending generation’</td>
<td>guli.nsag 1. ‘great-grandfather’s father’; 16 2. ‘ancestor; the fifth generation (in the descending line)’</td>
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<td>xuli.nsag comb. with eli.nseg</td>
<td>xula.nc, xula.ncag</td>
<td>‘great-great-grandparent’</td>
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<td>eli.nčeg, eli.čeg, eli.če, ele.čeg</td>
<td>el.ntsə, 21 ‘ancestors, forefathers’; 22</td>
<td>‘great-grandfather / great-grandmother on the paternal side’</td>
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<tr>
<td>el.ntsr, syn. el.ntsə; 24 ‘ancestors of the 4th ascending generation’</td>
<td>eli.nseg ‘great-grandfather; ancestor; ancestors; forefather’</td>
<td>ele.nc, ele.ncseg ‘forebear’</td>
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<tr>
<td>bölö.nčer 1. ‘offspring of bölö (= of a first maternal cousin. – the author)’; 2. in the collocation bölö.nčer fige.nčer ‘cousin germain, beau-frère’</td>
<td>bölö.ntsə 1. ‘grandchildren of two sisters’; 30 2. ‘third cousin’; 31 ‘third female cousins’</td>
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14) ‘prappraděd / praprabubuška 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>böln.nts1.‘enkel zweier schwestern’;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’36</td>
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<td>böln.nts2 ‘second male cousin’,37 ‘second female cousins’38</td>
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<td>böln.ts3 ‘fifth male cousin’,39 ‘daughters of the fourth female cousins’40</td>
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<tr>
<td>böln.sr ‘sixth male cousin’,41 ‘daughters of the fifth female cousins’42</td>
<td>bülönsr, bülöns, bülüns ‘children of the first male (or female) cousins (in the maternal line)’,43 ‘sisters’ children’s children, second male / female cousins in the maternal line’44</td>
<td>bülüns ‘second cousins once removed; grandchildren of two sisters’45</td>
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33) Ramstedt 1935, p. 56a.
34) ‘deti dvojurodných brat’v (po otcovskoj linii); deti dvojurodných sester (po materinský linii)’ (Muniev 1977, p. 114a).
44) ‘deti detej sester, trojurodnýe bratja / sestry po materinský linii’ (Namžilon 1987, p. 82).
45) ‘trojurodnýe plemjanníkí; vnuki dvuh sester’ (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 303b).
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| üye.nčir 1. 'children of brother's son' | üj.nčir 'vettarkinder' | üje.nser 'second male cousins in the paternal line' | üje.nser 'in the collocation üje.nser ax dā 'first male cousins' grandchil-
| 2. in the collocation üye.nčir aqa degū 'cousin issu de germain' | 48 'second male and female cousins' | 50 'second cousin' | dren towards each oth-
| | 49 'second cousin' | 51 'trojurodnyje bratja po otcovskoj linii' | er', üje.nser xōwān 'sec-
| | 52 'trojurodnyj'; üje.nser ax dā 'vnuki dvojurodnyh bratjev po otnošeniju | 53 'trojurodnye sestry (po materinskoj linii)' | ond male cousin once |
| bel.ntsā 'second female cousins (in the maternal line)' | drug druga, üje.nser xōwān 'trojurodnyj plemjannik' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 392a). | 54 'dets trojurodnych sester (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 95a). | removed' |
| bel.ntsā 'second female cousins' children (in the maternal line) | | | |

47) Kowalewski 1844, p. 553a.
49) 'trojurodnyje bratja i sestry' (Pjurbeev 1996, p. 147).
50) 'trojurodnyj' (Muniev 1977, p. 547b).
51) 'trojurodnye bratja po otcovskoj linii' (Namžilon 1987, p. 80).
52) 'trojurodnyj'; üje.nser ax dā 'vnuki dvojurodnyh bratjev po otnošeniju drug druga, üje.nser xōwān 'trojurodnyj plemjannik' (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 392a).
53) 'trojurodnye sestry (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 95a).
54) 'dets trojurodnych sester (po materinskoj linii)' (Muniev 1977, p. 95a).
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<tr>
<td>jige.nčer 'one’s daughter’s grandson',(^{55}) ‘arrièr‑petit‑fils du côté de la fille'(^{56})</td>
<td>zē ntsr 1. 'sohn od. tochter eines schwester‑kindes od. tochterkindes',(^{57}) ‘great‑grand‑son, 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>
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<tr>
<td>zē.ntsə in the collocation zē.ntsə kūkūD</td>
<td>'great‑granddaughters through the daughter'(^{61})</td>
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<tr>
<td>zē.tsə 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)' (Mu‑niev 1977, p. 246a).
60) 'prapravnučki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).
61) 'pravnučki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).
63) 'prapravnučki po dočeri' (Korsunkiev 1977, p. 62).
64) 'potomki po ženskoj linii v –5 pokolenii' (Omakaeva, Burykin 1999, p. 214).
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<tr>
<td>zē. tsr 'offspring in the female line of the 6th descending generation'</td>
<td>zē.de.nser, zē.de.nser 1. 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (through the grandson)'</td>
<td>jē.nser 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter (through the daughter)'</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>yuči.nčar 1. 'le grand-père du trisaïeul'; 2. 'son of the yuči' (= 'great-great-grandson'. – the author)</td>
<td>gutš.nčar 1. gutši (= great-great-grandson'. – the author); 2. 'great-great-grandson's son'</td>
<td>guša.nčar 'great-grandson (through the son)'</td>
<td>guči.nčar 'great-great-grandson's son; great-great-great-grandson'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiči.nčer 1. 'great great-grandson'; 2. 'désendant à la quatrième génération'</td>
<td>džiš.nčer 1. 'der sohn des enkels mit seinen kindern, die enkelsenkel'; 2. 'great-great-grandchild, the son's grandchildren'; 'great-great-grandson with his children'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>jiči.nčer 'great-great-grandson'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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68) ‘trojurodnje 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 pravručka’ (Muniev 1977, p. 171b).
75) ‘syn pravručka; prapravruč’ (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>udum.čir 'arrière-petit-fils', 83 'male descendant in the ninth generation' 84</td>
<td>udm.tsr 'nachkommenschaft, kinder und enkel' 85</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>udam.car '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.
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, zë.tsə. 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. atu.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 < öwgön ‘old man’);

3) partial degree of a feature (e.g. Kalm. χar.tsə ‘blackish’ < χar ‘black’; Kalm. sul.tsə ‘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.nčar ‘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 .čA(r~g) ~ .nčA(r~g)

<table>
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<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>sal.nts ~ sol.nts &lt; sal 'great-great-great-grandson', offspring in the male line of the 6th descending generation'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bölö.čer &lt; bölö &lt; bölé 1. 'cousins (of children of two sisters only)', 2. in the collocations bölö ači 'petit fils au troisième degré, bölö jige uruy 'cousin issu de germain, parent par les femmes'</td>
<td>böl.ntsə, böl.ntsr̥, böl.ntsa, böl. tsə, böl.tsr &lt; bölö, 'first male cousins (sons of two sisters)', 'first female cousins', 'first male cousin through the mother, son of the mother’s brother or sister'</td>
<td>bölölin.ser &lt; bölölin 'first male cousin, first female cousin (in the maternal line)'</td>
<td>böl.čer &lt; böl 'first male cousin through the mother, mother’s sister’s son, first female cousin (through the mother); children of the sisters'</td>
</tr>
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90) Lessing 1960, p. 147a.
91) Kowalewski 1846, p. 1236b.
96) Bur. Ćali, not mentioned among the derivational suffixes by Sanžeev 1962, corresponds to WMo. .GAli which forms nouns designating names of degrees of kinship (see Poppe 1974, § 118; Dondukov 1993, p. 41, § 10). For .n, which is often a part of compound suffixes of word formation, see (Poppe 1927a, § 5). So, the form bölölin is derived from bölle.
98) The suffix .A, which occurs in the morphological structure of the word bölö.nser < *ból.ge.čer, is unknown to grammars of the Mongolic languages as a means of denominal (not deverbal!) word formation. It corresponds to WMo. .*GA, which seems to be a part of the above-mentioned suffix .GAli (see Note 96) and to perform the same function.
100) ‘dvojurodnaja rodnja po materinskoj linii, ’deti sester, dvojurodnye bratja i sestry po materinskoi linii’ (Namžilon 1987, p. 66, 82).
101) ‘dvojurodnyj brat po materi, syn sestry materi, dvojurodnaja sestra (po materi); deti sester’ (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 302a; cf. Luvsandendev 1957, p. 94a).
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<td>—</td>
<td>üj.nts &lt; üj ‘first cousin’;102 cf. üj+nər (üj + pl. suffix .nər) ‘die vettern’;103 ‘first male and female cousins (in the paternal line)’104</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>üje.ncer &lt; üje in the collocations xöwgûn 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’; üje xajā ‘kin’105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jige.nčer &lt; jige (← OT jegān ‘nephew’106) ‘child of one’s daughter or sister; child of any of one’s female descendants’;107 ’petit-fils du côté de la mère’108</td>
<td>zē.nts, zē.ntsa, zē.tsa, zē.ts &lt; zē 1. ‘kind der jüngeren schwester od. der tochter, enkel weiblicherseits’109 ‘grandson, granddaughter (in the daughter’s line)’110; 2. ‘nephew, niece (in the maternal line)’111; 3. ‘nephew, niece (mother’s sisters’ children)’112</td>
<td>zēle.nser;113 zē.nser &lt; zē 1. ‘grandson or granddaughter through the daughter’;114 2. ‘nephew, niece in the maternal line’115</td>
<td>jē.nčer &lt; jē 1. ‘grandson, granddaughter (through the daughter)’;116 2. ‘nephew, niece (in the maternal line)’117</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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105) xöwgûn üje ‘dvojurodnoe rodstvo, koleno, t. e. deti bratjev i sester otca, potomki mladšwej bokovoj linii, dvojurodnoe rodstvo, deti bratjev’; üje ax ‘dvojurodnyj brat’; üje xajā ‘rodnja’ (Pjurbeev 2001/3, p. 391a-b).  
106) ‘plemjannik’ (OTD 252b).  
107) Lessing 1960, p. 1051b.  
111) ‘plemjannik, plemjannica (po materinskoi linii)’ (Muniev 1977, p. 245a-b).  
113) The word zēle.nser < ‘jige.li.nčer contains the suffix *.li, which is unknown to grammars as a means of denominal (not deverbal!) word-formation. It also seems to be a part of WMo. .GAli.  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Mongolian</th>
<th>Kalmuck</th>
<th>Buryat</th>
<th>Khalkha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuči.nčar &lt; yuči &lt; &quot;yutī&quot;</td>
<td>'great-grandson'118, 2. 'arrière-petit-fils, les descendants de la troisième génération'119</td>
<td>guša.nsar &lt; guša 'great-grandson',124 'great-grandson, great-granddaughter through the son'125</td>
<td>guči.nčar &lt; guč 'great-great-grandson'126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jiči.nčer &lt; jiči</td>
<td>'great-grandson',127 'un arrière-petit-fils'128</td>
<td>džitš.nsr &lt; džitši 'enkelkind, der sohn des enkels',129 2. 'great-great-grandson, great-great-granddaughter'130</td>
<td>jiči.nčer &lt; jič 'great-grandson'131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udum.čir &lt; udum</td>
<td>'descendant, scion',132 'parenté; parent, d’une même famille, d’un même nom'133</td>
<td>udm.tr &lt; udm 'nachkommenschaft, kinder und enkel'134</td>
<td>udam.car &lt; udam 'offspring, descendant'135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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120) Ramstedt 1935, p. 156b.
121) 'syn vnuka, pravnuk, krovnœ rodstvo po pjatoj linii' (Muniev 1977, p. 171b).
125) 'pravnuk, pravnučka po synu' (Namžilon 1987, p. 73).
126) 'praprawnuk' (Pjurbeev 2001/1, p. 465b; Luvsandendev 1957, p. 128b).
129) Ramstedt 1935, p. 113b.
130) 'prapravnuk, prapravnučka' (Muniev 1977, p. 231b).
131) 'pravnuk' (Pjurbeev 2001/2, p. 180b).
133) Kowalewski 1844, p. 387a.
135) '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 \( \cdot cA(r\sim g) \sim \cdot n\tilde{c}A(r\sim g) \) have a common meaning structure which can be presented as ‘child of he who is designated by the underlying stem’, or, schematically, as

\[
X.\tilde{c}A(r\sim g) \sim X.n\tilde{c}A(r\sim g) = \text{‘X’s child’}.
\]

Of course, some exceptions to this rule should be mentioned here. Thus, it does not apply to the following derivational pairs: WMo. \( udum.\tilde{c}ir < udum \), Kalm. \( sal.n\tilde{ts}v \sim sol.n\tilde{ts}v < salp \) 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. \( \text{böl.nts}_\theta \), \( \text{böl.tsr} \); \( \text{bel.nts}_\sigma \) and \( \text{bel.n}tsr \), 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. \( \text{Bodončar} < *bodanačar \) 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’ \( \leftrightarrow \) 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 petrified form only as a part of the derivative lexeme \( *bodanačar \). To these petrified stems seem to belong also \( *qulu > \text{WMo. qulu.nča, *elii} > \text{WMo. elii.nčeg} \sim \text{elii.nće} \) etc. Unfortunately, Middle Mongolian terms for relatives in the ascending line are known not farther than the fourth generation, for which the words \( \gammao\text{linmuču[q]} \) ‘great-great-grandfather’\(^{138}\) and \( \text{boroqai} \) ‘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 \( *qulu.nča \sim *qulu.nčay \) with the initial consonant’s voicing.

\(^{139}\) This is presumably a taboo word: \( \text{boroqai} < \text{boro} ‘grey’ + the suffix.QAi \) (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 ebüge. 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-qa’an 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 中原音韻 Zhongyuan yinyun by Zhou Deqing (1324) (Yang Nai si 1981)

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