

THE ETHNONYM “BOSCOR/BOZGOR”. CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM

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ABSTRACT

The ethnonym “Boscor/Bozgor” is presented by some researchers or Hungarian politicians who support political correctness as being of relatively recent origin (1934), having appeared out of nowhere (ex nihilo), and as carrying exclusively pejorative or offensive connotations. In reality, this ethnonym has a significant history in the Romanian language, with a comprehensive lexical paradigm and a wide area of distribution. The ethnonym “Boscor/Bozgor” (exonym) derives from the ethnonym “Bashkir” (endonym). Its borrowing into the Romanian language might have occurred between the 9th and 14th centuries, a period during which the massive presence of the Bashkirs in the Pannonian Plain, alongside Hungarians and Romanians, is attested by various foreign authors (Byzantine, Persian or Arab). The subject should be approached without subjectivism, manipulation, or political correctness, strictly adhering to the methods and tools of objective scientific research.

Keywords: Ethnonymy, Boscor/Bozgor, Bashkir, Hungarian-Bashkir issue, etymology.

THE MEANING OF THE ETHNONYM “BOSCOR/BOZGOR”

The self-identifying names of the tribes and clans from the old Hungarian horde that migrated to Pannonia at the end of the 9th century, or the auxiliary tribes of the Hungarians, preserved to this day in the Romanian language, include a few: *maghiar, ungur, and boscor/bozgor*²⁴⁵.

The ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor* is perceived and presented by some researchers, especially Hungarian ones, as being exclusively pejorative and offensive²⁴⁶, based on the hypothesis that the term is a Romanian exonym, invented manifestly for the purpose of stigmatization, with meanings such as “homeless person”/“stateless

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²⁴⁵ After the tribal name *Megyer*, the Turkic tribal name *Onogur*, and the generic tribal name *Başqort*.

²⁴⁶ Imola Katalin Nagy, “Deprecatory Ethnonyms: The Case of Bozgor”, in *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, Vol. 15, No. 3/2023, pp. 55–85, Available at: <https://acta.sapientia.ro/content/docs/4887255.pdf>, Accessed on September 30, 2024.

person”²⁴⁷, “person without a mountain”²⁴⁸, or “person without a city”²⁴⁹ i.e., “rootless, nomadic, outsider”, or “wearer of traditional footwear”/“peasant”²⁵⁰, or from the assumption that it represents a lexical hybrid resulting from the attachment of a Hungarian derogatory expression to the Romanian word “ungur” (“Hungarian”)²⁵¹.

The term “boscor/bozgor” is recorded in Romanian dictionaries²⁵² as being colloquial, synonymous with “ungur” and “maghiar”. Some of these dictionaries indicate that the term can, in some cases, carry pejorative connotations. Romanian dictionaries also attest to the verb *a boscorodi* (to grumble/ mumble) as part of the lexical paradigm of *boscor/bozgor*.

Referring to the meanings of the ethnonym boscor/bozgor, the Hungarian researcher from Romania, Szilágyi N. Sándor, states:

“From a linguistic point of view, Bozgor is a rare and interesting case (...) Romanians do not know the meaning of the word Bozgor as ‘stateless’. They haven’t even heard of it. (...) They believe that this word means ‘Hungarian’, but said in a slightly mocking, scornful, and not entirely benevolent manner. And because everyone believes this (those of them who know the word, as not all Romanians are familiar with it), in Romanian, it only means that, it cannot mean anything else”²⁵³.

²⁴⁷ “bozgor: homeless, stateless – *A rományok mocskoltak, mer aszonták: ești bozgor, úgy mondták, mer magyar vagy* [The Romanians mocked us saying: you are bozgor, for being Hungarian] (P). *Ha megharagudnak, még azt es mondják, hogy bozgor. Ezt azért mondják, hogy ők nem értik a Magyar beszédet, s akkor azt mondják: bozgerálunk.* [If they get mad at us, they even call us bozgor. They call us that because they do not understand the Hungarian language and then they say: we speak bozgor] (Fr)” [bozgor: fără casă, fără țară – *A rományok mocskoltak, mer aszonták: ești bozgor, úgy mondták, mer magyar vagy* [Români ne-au batjocorit spunând: ești bozgor pentru că ești ungar] (P). *Ha megharagudnak, még azt es mondják, hogy bozgor. Ezt azért mondják, hogy ők nem értik a Magyar beszédet, s akkor azt mondják: bozgerálunk.* [Dacă se supără pe noi, chiar ne spun bozgori. Ei ne numesc astfel pentru că nu înțeleg limba maghiară și spun apoi că vorbim bozgorște] (Fr)], in Lehel Peti and Vilmos Tanczos, *Language Use, Attitudes, Strategies. Linguistic Identity and Ethnicity in the Moldavian Csángó Villages*, Cluj-Napoca, ISPMN Publishing House (Institute for the Study of National Minorities Issues), 2012, p. 130.

²⁴⁸ Szilágyi N. Sándor suggests that *bozgor* might be a loanword in Romanian that came through Slavic: *bez* (“without”) + *gora* (“mountain”), in Sándor N. Szilágyi, *Uő: Mi–egy–más: közéleti írások [Uő: What-else: public writings]*, Cluj-Napoca, Kalota Publishing House, 2003, pp. 503–505.

²⁴⁹ The author presents a second hypothesis regarding the loan from Slavic: *bez* (“without”) + *gorod* (“city”), in *Ibidem*.

²⁵⁰ The American sociologist Rogers Brubaker, without presenting a pertinent and convincing linguistic argument, derives the ethnonym *bozgor* from the Hungarian regionalism *bocskor* = “shoe”, in Rogers Brubaker *et al.*, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 2006, p. 307.

²⁵¹ The author suggests that *bozgor* might be a combination of the Hungarian curse *Ba(s)zsd meg* (“f* you”) and the Romanian word *ungur* (“Hungarian”), in Szilágyi N. Sándor, *quoted work*, pp. 503–505.

²⁵² DEX (2016), DOOM 3 (2021), Argou (2007).

²⁵³ Szilágyi N. Sándor, *quoted work*, pp. 713–717.

EX NIHILO? THE ATTEMPT TO TABOO THE TERM

For any word, it is important to establish, as much as possible, the time of its appearance in a language or another. In the case of lexical borrowings, it is also crucial to determine, if possible, whether it is a direct loan from a specific language or if the borrowing occurred through an intermediary language. Thus, from the outset, we must note that in the case of the term *Boscor/Bozgor*, Hungarian researchers claim that it appeared in the Romanian language *ex nihilo*²⁵⁴, and that the place and time of its appearance are very concrete (Cluj, 1934)²⁵⁵. Furthermore, we note that no researcher has yet determined whether the term exists in other languages as well.

We observe that the entire supposedly scientific Hungarian debate surrounding the old word *Boscor/Bozgor* is conducted exclusively in terms of discrimination, intolerance, xenophobia, and hate speech, occasionally bordering on self-victimization, without the necessary attention to the philological and etymological aspects of the term.

We thus notice an increasingly pronounced tendency among some Hungarian researchers to taboo the term and to condemn, from the perspective of political correctness, all those who have used or continue to use it in Romanian popular or academic language. Here, we can foresee the desire to ban and remove the innocent ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor* from Romanian usage, against which some Hungarian researchers or politicians have declared an all-out war. The term is being used as a pretext to directly or implicitly suggest alleged discrimination against ethnic Hungarians²⁵⁶.

Let's provide just a few recent examples: Imola Katalin Nagy from the Sapientia Hungarian University in Transylvania, who published the study *Deprecatory Ethnonyms: The Case of Bozgor*; Gábor Egry, director of the Institute of Political History in Budapest, with his study *Bozgori. Verbal Abuse, Mockery, and Insult in Daily Relations Between Hungarians and Romanians in Romania Between the Two World Wars*²⁵⁷; and Vilmos Tánzos, an ethnographer of Székely origin

²⁵⁴ "It would not have simply appeared in the second half of the 20th century almost *ex nihilo* as an ethnic insult. Pejoration could have taken place, but the word itself would have entered at least some dictionaries. Moreover, the ethnonym Bashkir applied to Hungarians could be explained by the fact that Turks have always supported the Asian origin of Hungarians, and the lexeme *bozkir* means 'steppe' in modern Turkish, therefore this exonym could mean 'people of the steppe', 'people who come from the steppe'."], in Imola Katalin Nagy, "Deprecatory Ethnonyms: The Case of Bozgor", in *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, Vol. 15, No. 3/2023, Available at: <https://acta.sapientia.ro/content/docs/4-887255.pdf>, Accessed on September 30, 2024, p. 60.

²⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 74.

²⁵⁶ Magyar Távirati Iroda (MTI) Newsroom, "To be Hungarian is a duty and a mission", in *Kormany*, March 7, 2018, Available at: <https://20152019.kormany.hu/en/primeministersoffice/news/tobehungarianisadutyandamission>, Accessed on September 30, 2024.

²⁵⁷ Gábor Egry, "Bozgorok. Verbális sértés, gúny, inzultus a mindennapi magyar-román kapcsolatokban a két világháború közti Romániában" ["Bozgori. Verbal abuse, mockery, and insult in everyday relations between Hungarians and Romanians in Romania between the two world wars"], in Sándor Gebei *et al.*, *Tanulmányok a 60 éves Romsics Ignác tiszteletére [Studies in honor of Ignác Romsics, aged 60]*, Linceum Kiadó, Budapest, 2011, pp. 366–372.

from Harghita County, who, together with Lehel Peti, published the *study Language Use, Attitudes, Strategies. Linguistic Identity and Ethnicity in the Moldavian Csángó Villages*²⁵⁸.

Referring to the ethnonym *Bozgor*, in the current sense of *Hungarian*, Imola Katalin Nagy claims, among other things, that:

“especially on some forums and platforms not dedicated to scientific debate, participants tend to reiterate this idea solely to demonstrate that *bozgor* is not an insult but an ethnonym”²⁵⁹

without specifying whether the individuals involved in the discussion are Romanians or Hungarians, and without providing any valid arguments to support her hypothesis about the absence of any neutral ethnic meanings of the term.

While present in Miercurea Ciuc on June 17, 2023, Hungary’s Deputy Prime Minister, Zsolt Semjén, made a statement asserting that the ethnonym *boscor/bozgor* has been used continuously for centuries:

“It is no secret that this is also a personal objective of my life. My mother is from Transylvania, so I know what it means **to be called bozgor for centuries**”²⁶⁰.

Earlier, on March 7, 2018, the same Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary, Zsolt Semjén, referred to the ethnonym *boscor/bozgor*, attributing to it the meaning of “*a person without a country*”. A statement from the Hungarian government reiterates this declaration:

“At the launch of a new book titled *A Million* about national unification and Hungarian Christian-Democratic politics, Zsolt Semjén emphasized: considering his own family and Transylvanian roots, he knows very well what it means to be called **bozgor, a person without a country**”²⁶¹.

This statement, included on the official website of the Hungarian government, aligns with the Hungarian official’s view on the centuries-old existence of the ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor*, also bringing attention to one of the hypotheses regarding the term’s origin, even if it proves to be a popular and unscientific one.

²⁵⁸ Lehel Peti and Vilmos Tánzos, *quoted work*.

²⁵⁹ Imola Katalin Nagy, “Deprecatory Ethnonyms: The Case of Bozgor”, in *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, Vol. 15, No. 3/2023, Available at: <https://acta.sapientia.ro/content/docs/4887255.pdf>, Accessed on September 30, 2024, p. 56.

²⁶⁰ Flux 24 Newsroom, „Vicepremierul Ungariei la Miercurea Ciuc: Mama mea este originară din Transilvania, așa că știu ce înseamnă să fii numit, secole de-a rândul, bozgor” [“Vice Prime Minister of Hungary in Miercurea Ciuc: My mother is from Transylvania, so I know what it means to be called, for centuries, bozgor”], in *Flux 24*, July 23, 2023, Available at: <https://flux24.ro/vicepremierul-ungariei-la-miercurea-ciuc-mama-mea-este-originara-din-transilvania-asa-ca-stiu-ce-inseamna-sa-fii-numit-secole-de-a-randul-bozgor/>, Accessed on September 30, 2024.

²⁶¹ At the launch of a new book entitled “One-Million” on national unification and Hungarian Christian democratic politics, Zsolt Semjén highlighted: In view of his own family and Transylvanian roots, he knows very well what it means to be called **a bozgor, a person without a country**, in Magyar Távirati Iroda (MTI) Newsroom, “To be Hungarian is a duty and a mission”, in *Kormany*, March 7, 2018, Available at: <https://20152019.kormany.hu/enprimeministersoffice/news/tobehungarianisadutyandamission>, Accessed on September 30, 2024.

We will also note that on October 7, 2020, the National Council for Combating Discrimination (CNCD) in Romania, led by an ethnic Hungarian, issued its Decision No. 699 in case No. 23/2020, supplemented by the self-referral 18A/2020, concerning “the publication of discriminatory comments on the Facebook page of the Digi 24 television station”²⁶². This was initiated at the request of the petitioners, the Szekler Monitor Foundation and the CNCD, who accused, among other things, the use of the terms *Bozgor* and *Bozgorime*. The television station was fined 5.000 lei (equivalent to approximately 1.000 Euros)²⁶³.

THE ETHNONYM “BOSCOR/BOZGOR”. FORMS AND ANTIQUITY

1. Forms

The ethnonym *Boscor/ Bozgor* and all its variants in Romanian and other languages is an endonym meaning *Bashkir*, an ethnonym attributed to the multiple Bashkir tribes within the Hungarian tribal confederation. It is most likely that in the Romanian language, this ethnonym entered directly from the Turkic kypchak dialect of the Bashkirs or through Hungarian channels, given that the lexeme bears the imprint of Ugric phonetic alternations that allowed the evolution from the original Bashkir form “*başqor(t)*” to the current “*Boscor/ Bozgor*”.

The common noun *Bozgor/ Boscor* is productive in the Romanian language. From its paradigm, we find the verb “*a boscorodi*” (“*to speak in a foreign, unintelligible language*”²⁶⁴), the adjectives “*bozgoreasc/boscoreasc*”, “*bozgorească/boscorească*”, “*bozgorean*”, “*bozgoreană*”, the adverb “*bozgoreşte/boscoreşte*”, the nouns “*bozgoroaică*”, “*bozgorică*”, “*bozgorea*”, “*bozgorel*”, “*bozgoraş*”, “*bozgoruş*”, “*bozgorie*”, “*bozgorime*”, “*bozgoreală*”, “*boscoroadă*”, “*bozgoroi*”, “*bozgoreală/ boscorodeală*”, “*boscorodenie*”, “*bozgorodire/boscorodire*”, and “*bozgorodit/ boscorodit*”, as well as the vocative forms “*bozgore*”, “*bozgoroaco*”, “*bozgorilor*”, “*bozgoroaicelor*”. Clearly, none of the speakers of the Romanian language imagine that these words appeared *from nothing – ex nihilo* – or that they originated only in 1934, after the “*first attestation*” of the proper name *Bozgor* by the Hungarian-language newspaper *Új Kelet* from Cluj.

²⁶² ***, „Hotărârea nr. 699 din data de 07.10.2020” [“Decision No 699 of 07.10.2020”], in *National Council for Combating Discrimination*, October 7, 2020, Available at: <https://www.cncd.ro/wpcontent/uploads/2021/01/Hotarare-699-2020-1.pdf>, Accessed on September 30, 2024.

²⁶³ *Ibidem*.

²⁶⁴ The lexicographer Mihai Vinereanu, fixes the term in the Etymological Dictionary of the Romanian language based on Indo-European research published in 2008 by Alcor Edimpex in Bucharest: “*boscorodi* (var. *bozgorodi*) – to babble, to gibber, to speak unintelligibly” (p. 149), but hypothesizes that the ethnonym *Bozgor* is a regressive derivative of *a boscorodi*: “*Der: Bozgor ‘Hungarian’ (worse.) with the original meaning of ‘person who speaks unintelligibly’, chatter, babble*”, in Mihai Vinereanu, *Dicţionarul etimologic al limbii române pe baza cercetărilor de indo-europenistică [Etymological Dictionary of the Romanian language based on Indo-European research]*, Bucharest, Alcor Edimpex Publishing House, 2008, p. 149.

In the Bashkir language, Bashkir is said as *başqort* (башҡорт, phonetically transliterated as *baş'qort*), featuring a specific *K*.

Throughout history, apart from the Arabic and Persian forms mentioned above, the word *başkir* has been rendered differently in other languages: *bascard*, *bastard*, *baskar/başkar*, *baskatur/ bashkatur*, *baschart*, *baszkir* (pronounced *baskir*), *bazkir*, *bascart*, *bashart*, *biscart*, *bistart*, *pascatur*, *pascatir*, *pascatu*, etc.²⁶⁵

The term does not have derogatory connotations in Arabic, Persian, Ukrainian, or German. The ethnonym “*Boscor/ Bozgor*” was initially attributed to the Bashkirs within the Hungarian tribal confederation and, over time, was assigned, through association, to the Hungarians, among whom the numerous Bashkir element blended. Why would the same term constitute an exception in the Romanian language? The fact that it is an ethnic term alternative to *ungur* and *maghiar* is not an argument for stripping it of the neutral ethnic connotations it has always contained.

To this day, in the Volga-Ural region, once called Greater Hungary, there exist surnames that – do they not? – sound somewhat familiar to any Romanian ear: *Boskor*, *Boskorov*, *Baskor*, *Baskir*, *Baskirov*, *Baskirev*²⁶⁶. Additionally, we encounter surnames from the same paradigm – *Boschkor*, *Boşkor* – among Austrians and Ruthenians. In present-day Kyrgyzstan, we also find surnames like *Bozgorov* and *Bozgorpoev*²⁶⁷, while the surname *Bosgor* is quite common in Turkey. Furthermore, the surnames *Boscor* and *Boşcor* are carried by several individuals in Romania, where older and newer ethnonyms, which were initially simple appellatives used for identification or nicknames, are often fixed as anthroponyms²⁶⁸.

We must also point out that in colloquial and slang Russian, the adjective *bozgoriski* (бозгорский) is often encountered, with the current meaning of

²⁶⁵ Талмас Магсумович Гарипов, «Новые версии происхождения этнонима Башкорт», in Раиль Гумерович Кузеев и Константин Владимирович Сальников (соавт.), *Башкирская этнонимия, Уфа, БФАН СССР, 1987 г., с. 4, 24 – 28.* [Talmas Magsumovich Garipov, “New Versions of the Origin of the Ethnonym Bashkort”, in Rail Gumerovici Kuzeev and Konstantin Vladimirovici Salnikov (coord.), *Bashkir Ethnonymy*, Ufa, USSR Academy of Sciences, Bashkortostan Branch, 1987, p. 4 and pp. 24 – 28].

²⁶⁶ Russian language – Боскор, Боскоров, Баскор, Баскир, Баскиров, Баскирев.

²⁶⁷ Kyrgyz language – Бозгорев, Бозгорпоев.

²⁶⁸ For example, the anthroponyms Arapu/Arăpaşu (=Arab), Armanu/ Armeanu/Armenaş (=Armenian), Arnăut/Arnăutu/Arbinaş (=Albanian), Boscor (=Bashkir, attributed to Hungarians), Bulgaru, Cerchez, Cingină/ Ginghină (=Rom), Coman/Comănel/Comănici/Comănescu/Comăniţă (=Cuman), Cozaru (=Khazar), Frâncu (=Italian), Ghiftu/Ghiftea/Ghiftei/ Curbet (=Roma, especially found among Macedonian Romanians), Grecu, Guţu/Huţanu/Guţuleac (=Hutsul), Ivireanu (=Georgian), Jidovan/ Ovreiu (=Jew), Cazacu/Zaporojan (=Ukrainian, also attributed to others such as, especially, Russians), Grecu, Sârbu, Leahu/Leafu/Leahiu/ Lehaş/Lehoiu/Leahotă/Mazuru (=Polish), Litfan, Liftescu (=Lithuanian), Neamţu/Sas/Sasu (=German), Pecineagu/Pecineagă/ Becineagă/Pecinişcă (=Pecheneg), Raţ/Raţiu (=Serb), Rus/Rusu/ Moscalu (=Russian), Rusnac (=Ruthenian), Şcheau (=Slav), Secuiu/Secuianu (=Szekler), Tăut/Tăutu (=Slovak), Turcu/Turculeţ/Turceanu/Turcescu (=Turk), Țiganu/Țigănaş/ Țigănuş/Țigănescu (=Roma), Tăturu/Tătăruş/Tătărescu, Ungur/Ungureanu, Uzu/luzu/Ozoiu (=Uz, Pecheneg tribe) and others.

unintelligible, foreign, literally meaning Bashkir (for example, *бозгорский лепет* [=bozgorean babble] or *бозгорские бредни* [=bozgorean nonsense]).

From a phonetic perspective, the ethnonym *Bozgor*, derived from the endonym *Başqort*, raises four issues, namely: a) the transformation of the first vowel A into O; b) the transformation of the consonant Ş into S; c) the transformation of the consonant clusters SQ and ZG; and d) the omission of the final consonants –T and –D, as found in medieval writings.

The phenomenon of vowel alternation specific to the languages of the Volga region, namely the A/O alternation, explains why *başqor(t)* became *boşqor(t)*, and later *boscōr*. The transformation of the unstressed A into O can be explained by a characteristic reflex of Turanic languages in general, and Uralic languages in particular. Generally, Uralic languages tend toward *vowel harmony/symmetry*²⁶⁹, a fact manifested through the transformation of the unstressed vowel from the preceding closed syllable into the stressed vowel of the following syllable, and vice versa. In fact, we should also note that in Persian, the current form reflects the phenomenon of transforming the first vowel A into O: *boşqord*.

We will also consider the phonetic alternation of Ş/S attested in Old Hungarian, as well as in some present-day Bashkir dialects, an alternation that some Russian researchers explain through the Evenki (Tungusic) component of the Bashkirs. This type of alternation has led to the emergence in the Turkic world and the eastern Uralic world of surnames like *Boskor*, *Bozgor*, *Bozgorev*²⁷⁰, anthroponyms derived from the ethnonym *Bashkir*. Moreover, many medieval authors who wrote about the Bashkirs in the Pannonian Plain and/or Greater Hungary (present-day Bashkortostan and surrounding regions) used forms of the ethnonym in which the consonant Ş had already been replaced with S (*Basghird*, *Basgird*, *Pascatir*, etc.), which sometimes shifted to Z (*Bazghird*).

The specific sound K in the endonym *başkort* is an occlusive or explosive velar sound, which makes it very similar to a velar G. This fact explains the transition from *Boscōr* to *Bozgor*. We observe the same phenomenon in the historical forms recorded in Latin, Persian, and Arabic centuries ago²⁷¹. We especially note the forms *başgurt*,

²⁶⁹ Hadumod Bussmann (coord.), *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, London – New York, Routledge, 1998, p. 47.

²⁷⁰ Russian language – Боскор, Бозгор, Бозгорев.

²⁷¹ Regarding travelers and authors such as the Italian Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (“Baskart, meaning Greater Hungary,” in the work *Historia Mongalorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, written in 1240), the Fleming Guillaume de Rubrouck (“Pascatir, meaning Greater Hungary,” “The language of the Pascatiri and Hungarians is one and the same,” “Next to Pascatir live Ilak, which means the same as Blak” (Blak = Wallachian) in the work *The Travels of Guillaume de Rubrouck in the Eastern Lands of the Year of Salvation 1253*), the Arab from Spain Ibn Said al-Magribi (“To the north of the foul-smelling lands lies the land of Basgirt. The Basgirts are pagans and kill all who come to them” in the work *The Book of the Extent of the Earth*, written between 1270 and 1280), and the Hungarian Iulianus Hungarus (“When I, Brother Iohanus, along with two Hungarian brothers and an Englishman, arrived in Baskardia – the great people subject to the Tatars” in the work *Letter from Brother Iohanus Hungarus, by the order of the Minorites, to the head of the order, Brother Mihail of Cesena*, written in 1320). Extracts translated from: Игорь Владимирович Антонов, *Башкиры в эпоху средневековья – Приложение I. Средневековые авторы о башкирах*, Уфа, Башкирский государственный педагогический университет имени Мифтахетдина Аkmullы, 2012, с. 233–307 [Igor Vladimirovich Antonov, *Bashkirs in the Middle Ages – Appendix I. Medieval authors about the Bashkirs*, Ufa, Bashkir Miftahetdin Akmulla State Pedagogical University, 2012, pp. 233–307].

bazghird. The phenomenon is broader, especially in Romanian, where the sound C alternates with G. For example, consider: *examen, exemplu, exist*.

The final consonant –T, represented in other languages as –D, both affixes having the grammatical function of a marker of belonging or plural, is naturally omitted. The final affix has disappeared from the ethnonym *başkir* in most Indo-European languages, as well as in some Turkic or Uralic languages, being replaced, as appropriate, with specific affixes of those languages, especially for indicating the plural (for example, the Hungarian form *bozgorok* or *baskírok*).

2. Antiquity

The ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor* is presented to us as being of relatively recent origin, appearing after the Treaty of Trianon, specifically in 1934, when the respective lexeme was first attested as a proper name in the Hungarian-language press in Cluj²⁷². It is also claimed that the extent of this ethnonym's usage by Romanians returned during the Ceaușescu era²⁷³. Researcher Imola Katalin Nagy argues that the ethnonym *bozgor*, functioning as an ethnic insult, would be a neologism intended to replace another archaic derogatory term, namely *boanghină*²⁷⁴, but does not explain why such an “replacement” would occur objectively.

We would not be wrong to assert that no Romanian doubts the antiquity of the ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor* and does not perceive it as a post-Trianon neologism invented by the malevolent genius of the Romanian language out of thin air, with the aim of ethnically insulting the Hungarian people and its related minority in Romania.

The linguist Vasile Bogrea, a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy, referring to the verb *a boscorodi*, from the paradigm of *Bozgor/Boscor*, notes:

“Regarding the antiquity of the word (the cited lexicons only recognize modern examples: from Alecsandri, Negruzzi, Creangă), we observe that it is attested in the

²⁷² “The lexeme *Bozgor* was attested in this form in 1934 (for example, in the newspaper *Új Kelet*, as a proper name, but see other occurrences as well), then there was a gap. It was used in oral communication in the 1970s and 1980s as a pejorative exonym used by Romanians to refer to Hungarians and was widely used in the 1990s in similar contexts and situations. However, in this form, it was not included in any dictionaries before the 2000s, when it was listed in Volceanov (2007). Parekh, B. (2006) emphasizes that there are three main characteristics of hate speech: a constant, almost obsessive reference to a certain individual or community, with the evident aim of defamation; allocation of a set of negative characteristics or behavioral traits, viewed with disgust by other members of society; exclusion of the targeted individual or community.”, in Imola Katalin Nagy, “Deprecatory Ethnonyms: The Case of *Bozgor*”, in *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, Vol. 15, No. 3/2023, Available at: <https://acta.sapientia.ro/content/docs/4887255.pdf>, Accessed on September 30, 2024, p. 74.

²⁷³ “The term spread as an insult for Hungarians, especially in the last decades of the communist era; it is possible that it was favored by the communist nationalism promoted by Ceaușescu, which greatly contributed to the emergence and proliferation of negative stereotypical representations (although official propaganda constantly emphasized the common goals of all friendly socialist states)”, *Ibidem*, p. 56.

²⁷⁴ “The archaic *boanghin*, or *boanghen* seems to be a political construct which has the purpose of naming the enemy and personifying the evil. It is a typical case of verbal abuse, mockery, or insult which used to display a significant amount of collectively formed pejorative connotation. Today it is old-fashioned, as it has been replaced by another slur, *i.e.*, *bozgor*, which is going to be presented in a forthcoming study”, in *Ibidem*, pp. 106–122.

coresian texts: ‘Up til now, consider what you have learned: little and less, for you know nothing; suddenly, for you have not understood that the priests have *boscorodit* in the church’²⁷⁵.

‘do not *boscorodiți*, for the Lord will strike you’²⁷⁶.

The renowned linguist Bogrea notes the existence of the term in Ruthenian: ‘In fact, our *boscorodesc* is Ruthenian *božkoroditi*’, also pointing out the Ruthenian forms *božkar* and *božkadajlo*²⁷⁷.

Moreover, another renowned Romanian linguist, Vasile C. Ioniță, has argued for the considerable antiquity of the ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor*, which he relates to the verb *a boscorodi*:

‘The nickname *bozgor* attributed to Hungarians is not glossed in DLR. I have tried to explain where this word originated and have concluded that the incomprehensible speech of Romanians regarding Hungarians is to blame. (...) In Romanian, *a bâlbâi* also means ‘to mumble’ or ‘to mutter’ (the latter also meaning ‘to recite incantations’). Therefore, I believe that *bozgor* comes from *a boscorodi*, a word contrasted with the voiced consonant cluster -sc-, which became -zg-²⁷⁸’.

When referring to the antiquity of the term *Boscor/Bozgor* in the Romanian language, we must consider that in the Middle Ages, the Bashkirs were recorded as neighbors of the Romanians and were designated by various authors²⁷⁹ with forms of the ethnonym in which the alternation of Ș-S/Z was already produced: *basghird*, *basgird*, *pascatir*, *bazghird*.

VOLGA-URALIAN GREATER HUNGARY AND THE BASHKIR-MAGYAR PARALLELS

The mere existence of the term *Boscor/Bozgor*, along with all its variants and the entire lexical suite from its paradigm, holds particular significance for explaining and understanding the ethnic relationship between Hungarians and the Bashkirs from the southern Ural region and the middle course of the Volga River (present-day

²⁷⁵ „În ce privește vechimea cuvântului (lexicele citate nu cunosc decât exemple moderne: din Alexandri, Negruzzi, Creangă), observăm că el e atestat încă în textele coresiene: «Până acmu socotiți ce-ați învățat: mai nemică, că nu știți nemică; derep ce, că n-ați înțeles, că popii au boscorodit în bisearecă»”, in *Cazania*, quoted by Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii române [History of Romanian literature]*, 2nd edition, Vol. I, p. 186, in Vasile Bogrea, *Note lexicale și etimologice [Etymologies and lexical notes]*, Vol. VII, Cluj-Napoca, Institute of Graphic Arts “Ardealul” Publishing House, 1924–1926, pp. 795–796, Available at: <https://dspace.bcuiasi.ro/handle/123456789/87130?show=full>, Accessed on September 30, 2024.

²⁷⁶ *Molitvelnic*, quoted by Nicolae Iorga, *quoted work*, quoted by Prinos Sturdza, p. 251, in Vasile Bogrea, *quoted work*, pp. 795–96.

²⁷⁷ Vasile Bogrea, *quoted work*, p. 795.

²⁷⁸ Vasile C. Ioniță, *Contribuții lingvistice. Onomastică. Legicologie 2 [Linguistic Contributions. Onomastics. Lexicology 2]*, Reșița, InterGraf Publishing, 2004, p. 55.

²⁷⁹ For example, Al-Idrisi, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Guillaume de Rubrouck, and Ibn Said al-Magribi. The forms of the ethnonym attributed to Romanians are: Olac, Avlac, and Al-avlac.

Bashkortostan and the adjacent regions of Chelyabinsk and Kurgan), a territory referred to in the Middle Ages as Greater Hungary²⁸⁰.

Referring to history can help us here. Among those who, in the medieval era, visited *Bashkortostan*, that is, *Greater Hungary (Magna Hungaria, Hungaria Maior)* on the Volga, and claimed, starting from the 13th century, that there is a close ethnogenetic relationship between Hungarians and Bashkirs were travelers such as Iulianus Hungarus (Hungarian), Giovanni da Pian del Carpine (Italian), and Guillaume de Rubrouck (Flemish)²⁸¹, from whose writings I have cited above.

Thus, we retain the argument that today's Bashkiria, or Bashkortostan, perfectly overlaps, for at least seven centuries, with the old Greater Hungary²⁸², and since then, there has been talk of a genuine Hungarian-Bashkir or Bashkir-Hungarian issue²⁸³.

In Hungary, the ethnic relationship and parallels between Hungarians and Bashkirs have been the subject of research by several scholars, especially in the 20th century. Here are just a few names: Mészáros Gyula, Róna-Tas András, Tóth Tibor, Vargyas Lajos, Torma József, Pauler Gyula, Ligeti Lajos, Czeglédy Károly, Káldy-Nagy Gyula, Berta Árpád, Péter Juhász, Czeglédi Katalin, Vásáry István and Németh Gyula.

In Bashkiria (Bashkortostan), the Bashkir-Hungarian relationship has been studied by historians and ethnographers such as Talmas Magsumovich Garipov, Rail Gumerovich Kuzeev, Ahmetzaki Ahmetshah-ulí Walidov (Ahmad-Zeki Velidi Togan), Saria Fazullova Mirzhanova, Rim Zainigabitdinovich Ianguzin, and Galimjan Ghirvan-ul Tagan, an ethnographer and Bashkir Turkologist who lived and worked in Hungary.

We also note that the same subject has been extensively researched by Russian historians, ethnographers, and Turkologists such as Daniil Abramovich Hvolson, Nikolai Alexandrovich Baskakov, Vladimir Pavlovich Shusharin, Igor Vladimirovich Antonov, and Boris Alexandrovich Serebrennikov.

²⁸⁰ Игорь Владимирович Антонов, «Страна башкир и её соотношение с Великой Венгрией», *Вестник Челябинского государственного университета*, Том 43, № 1(216)/2011, с. 17–22 [Igor Vladimirovich Antonov, "The Land of the Bashkirs and Its Relation to Greater Hungary", in *Bulletin of Chelyabinsk State University*, Vol. 43, No. 1(216)/2021, pp. 17–22].

²⁸¹ Igor Vladimirovich Antonov, *quoted work*, 2012, pp. 25–27.

²⁸² Ярослав В. Пилипчук, *Башкирско-венгерская проблема – дискурс источников и стереотипы историографии*, Budapest-Esztergom, Hadak útján, 2017 г., с. 233–243 [Jaroslav V. Pilipciuk, *The Bashkir-Hungarian Problem – The Discourse of Sources and Stereotypes in Historiography*, Budapest-Esztergom, Hadak útján, 2017, pp. 233–243].

²⁸³ Талмас Магсумович Гарипов, Раиль Гумерович Кузеев, «'Башкиро-мадьярская' проблема (Краткий обзор основных источников)», АЭБ, Том 1, 1962 г., с. 337 [Talmas Magsumovich Garipov and Rail Gumerovich Kuzeev, "The 'Bashkir-Hungarian' Problem" (A Brief Overview of the Main Sources)", in *Archaeology and Ethnography of Bashkiria Journal (AEB)*, Vol. 1, 1962, p. 337].

TRIBES OF THE ANCIENT HUNGARIAN HOARD

Long before the three travelers to the Mongol Empire mentioned above, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, author of the work “On the Administration of the Empire”, written between 948 and 952, provides information regarding the 8 basic tribes that formed the ancient Hungarian tribal confederation: the *Nyekes*, *Megers*, *Kurt-Guarmats*, *Tarjans*, *Yeneys*, *Kers*, *Kesis* and *Kavars*²⁸⁴. We should note that the erudite Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII uses the generic term “Turks” for the tribes settled in the Pannonian Plain and refers to their living space as “Turkia”²⁸⁵.

Hungarian and Bashkir researchers from the 20th century, mostly Turkologists, have argued with valid and hard-to-refute points that the ancient Hungarian tribal confederation included 1 or 2 tribes of Ugric origin (specifically the Megheri and possibly the Nyicsi), 6 or 5 tribes of Turkic origin (specifically Bashkir), and 1 tribe of Khazar origin, encompassing three different branches.

For example, the Bashkir origin of the Nyicsi is considered certain by the Hungarian researcher Németh Gyula and the Bashkir ethnographer Rail Gumer-ulí Kuzeev. Németh Gyula writes about the connection between the Megheri and the Bashkirs in his work “The Tribal Names of Hungarians among the Bashkirs”²⁸⁶.

Another Hungarian researcher, Mándoky Kongur István, nicknamed the “Apostle of the Huns”, indicates that there was also a tribe among the ancient Bashkirs called the Medier²⁸⁷, which introduces a significant degree of confusion regarding the Ugric or Bashkir origin of the *Magyer* ethnonym.

²⁸⁴ Sources:

1. In the original: “Νέκη, Μεγέρη, Κουρτουγερμάτου, Ταριάνου, Γενάχ, Καρή, Κασή, Κάβαροι” in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsik, english translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, Washington, Dombaron Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies Trustees for Harvard University, 1967, pp. 174–175;

2. In the original and Russian: “Νέκη, Μεγέρη, Κουρτουγερμάτου, Ταριάνου, Γενάχ, Καρή, Κασή, Κάβαροι / Неки, Мегери, Куртугермат, Тариана, Генах, Кари, Каси, Кавары” in Константин Багрянородный, *Об управлении Империей*, текст, перевод и вступительная статья Геннадия Григорьевича Литаврина, Москва, Институт славяноведения Российской академии наук, 1991 г., стр. 132–133. [Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Governance of the Empire*, text, translation and introductory article by Gennady Grigorievich Litavrin, Moscow, Institute of Slavonic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 1991, pp. 132–133].

²⁸⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *quoted work*, 1967, pp. 174–175.

²⁸⁶ Sources:

1. Дьюла Немет, *Венгерские племенные названия у башкир*, in *Археология и этнография Башкирии*, Том 4, 1971 г., с. 249 [Gyula Németh, “The Hungarian tribal names among the Bashkirs”, in *The archaeology and ethnography of Bashkortostan*, Vol. 4, 1971, p. 249].

2. Gyula Németh, “Ungarische Stammesnamen bei den Baschkiren” [“Hungarian tribal names among the Bashkirs”], in *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 16, No. 1–2/1966, pp. 1–21.

²⁸⁷ Mándoky Kongur István, “Tribes of Hungarian descent within the Bashkirs”, in *Tiszataj*, Vol. 30, No. 10/1976, pp. 41–44.

Hungarian historiography and ethnography links the Kurt-Guarmats with the Bashkir tribe of the *Iurmat*. The same Hungarian Turkologist, Németh Gyula, provides arguments supporting the Bashkir origin of the *Tarjan*, *Yeney*, *Kary* and *Kese* tribes, the latter being presented as part of the large Bashkir Kese tribe from the *Tabyn*²⁸⁸ branch.

According to the Bashkir Turkologist Ahmetzaki Ahmetşah-ulî Walidov (Ahmad-Zeki Velidi Togan), the numerical dominance of the Bashkirs in the Hungarian army and the transfer of political power in Hungary to the nobility of the Bashkir tribes of the *Iurmați* and *Ienei* in the 12th century led to the ethnonym *Başghird/Basghird/Bazghird* appearing in medieval Arab chronicles as a term defining the entire population of the Kingdom of Hungary, alternatively referred to as *Ba Unkurija* or *Başghirdija/Başghirdia*²⁸⁹.

There are also other authors who provide ancient testimonies about the intimate relationship between Hungarians and Bashkirs, which justify the presence of the archaism *Boscor/Bozgor* in various languages, including Romanian. Thus, the Arab historian and geographer Al-Masudi (cca 896–956) refers in his work “The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems” to Hungarians and Bashkirs as a single people, calling them *Bashghirs*, *Badjghirs* or *Bazghirs*. These mentions appear in the description of the war waged by Hungarians and their Pecheneg (Kuman) allies against Byzantium (years 932–943)²⁹⁰.

In the centuries X–XIV, chronicles and other Persian and Arabic writings from historians and travelers such as Abu Abdallah al-Jayhani, Al Istakhri, Muhammad Abu'l-Qasim Ibn Hawqal, Abu Hamid al-Garnati, Ibn Said, Abu-l-Fida al-Hamawi, Yaqut al-Hamawi, Al-Qazwini, Abu-l-Fida, Ibn-Dast, Ibn-Fadlan, Abu Zayd al-Balkhi, Al-Idrisi, Dimeshki, or Shukrallah provide testimonies about the Muslim Bashkirs (“*bajghirds*”, “*basghirds*”, “*bazghirds*”) in Hungary (“*Hunkarija*”, also called “*Bajghirdija*”, “*Başghirdia*”, “*Bazghirdia*”)²⁹¹.

With so many Bashkirs coming to Europe, along with the Megyers and Khazars, it was natural for the ancient Romanian population of Pannonia and Transylvania to call most of them by the ethnic name they identified with: *Bashkirs*.

Moreover, not only the Romanians but also other peoples, who did not take the time to distinguish among the multitude of ethnic, tribal, and gentilice names of those settled in the Pannonian Plain under King Árpád, applied the old name of *Bashkirs* to all the ancestors of today’s Hungarians for centuries.

²⁸⁸ Gyula Németh, *quoted work*, 1966.

²⁸⁹ Ахмедзакі Валиді Тоган, *История башкир*, Уфа, перевод с турецкого, Китап, 2010 [Ahmedzaki Walidi Togan, *History of the Bashkirs*, translation from Turkish, Ufa, Kitap Publishing House, 2010].

²⁹⁰ Igor Vladimirovich Antonov, *quoted work*, 2012, pp. 233–307.

²⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

ORIGINE OF THE ETHNIC NAME BASHKIR

To understand exactly how the Turkic endonym of the Kipchak type, “Başqor(t)”, evolved into “*Boscor/ Bozgor*” in Romanian, it is necessary to refer to the origin of the Bashkir ethnonym. Several Hungarian, Bashkir, and Russian researchers consider that the Hungarian and Bashkir ethnonyms are related, as well as the tribes that identified with these names.

Let’s first review all seven versions put forward by various researchers regarding the origin of the name *Bashkir*.

No.	Proposed etymology	Explanation
1	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>baş</i> (head, main, leader) + <i>qurt</i> (wolf) > <i>baş qurt</i> “leader of the wolves”	The wolf is one of the totems of the Bashkirs, after which they might have taken their name.
2	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>baş</i> (head, main, leader) + <i>qurt</i> (bee – in some Bashkir dialects) > <i>baş qurt</i> “queen bee”	The name could have been attributed to the Bashkirs due to the widespread practice of beekeeping among them.
3	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>baş</i> (head, main, leader) + <i>qart</i> (elder) > <i>baş qart</i> “the great aqsaqal”	The name could have been given to the Bashkirs because of the important role of the tribal leader
4	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>baş</i> (head, main, leader) + <i>qur</i> (trib) + <i>t</i> (a plural affix) > <i>baş + qur + t</i>	The meaning would be “ <i>peoples of the chief tribe, of the leading/principal tribe</i> ”.
5	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>beş</i> (five) + <i>oğur</i> (name of the Ogur tribe) + Hungarian suffix <i>-d</i> > <i>Beş(o)ğurd</i> > <i>Başğyrd</i> > <i>Başqurt</i> – “five ogurs”	An analogy with: *On-Oğur* “ten Ogurs”; *Toquz-Oğuz* “nine Oghuz”.
6	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>başqırt</i> < <i>başıq</i> (head, main, leader) + <i>yurt</i> (hoard)	This suggests that the tribes bearing this name may have been part of the Great Avar/Hunnic Horde, which settled in the Pannonian Plain centuries before the Magyars. This can be verified through topical inversion, which in Turkic languages does not change the meaning: “Qurt baş” or “Baş qurt”.
7	<i>Başqurt</i> < <i>Başghird</i> (anthroponym)	There is a hypothesis that the anthroponym “Başghird” became an ethnonym. “Başghird” was a military leader of an army of 2.000 horsemen, mentioned by Gardizi (11 th century), who wrote that in the 8 th century they were in Khazaria.

Most researchers tend to believe that the first four versions presented above are popular, and that the fifth hypothesis, put forward by the Hungarian Turkologist Németh Gyula, which identifies the name of the tribal Ogur in the ethnonym Başkir, is the most plausible²⁹².

The sixth hypothesis was proposed by the Kazakh researcher **Serikbol Adilbekuly Kondybay**; (1968–2004). He believes that the ethnonym Başkir is much older than previously thought and that it originates from the period of the unification of the Hunnic hordes (2nd–4th centuries AD²⁹³). Although it has not been embraced by many Turkologists, it is worth noting this hypothesis, as if confirmed, it would clarify that this name could have been transmitted into the Romanian language during the first invasion of the Hunnic hordes in Europe. This would demonstrate the ancient contacts between Romanians and Huns, as well as the fact that when the ancestors of the Hungarians arrived in the Pannonian Plain, the indigenous Romanians coexisted with the descendants of the Huns, known as Başkori or Boşkori. Kondybay derives Başkir from başqırt < başıq (main, chief) + yurt (horde), attributing it the meaning of “Main Horde” or “Great Horde”.

The seventh hypothesis is considered rather popular, so we will not dwell on it.

The overwhelming majority of ethnographers and linguists recognize that the Bashkirs are a people descending from a Kipchak tribe under the significant influence of the Bulgarian and Ugric substrata, which, in turn, have a close genetic relationship with the Hun-Bulgar tribe of the Ogurs ~ Ughurs ~ Ugric people, known in the eastern part of the Turkic world as *Oguz* (oγur ~ oγuz are the same name differentiated phonetically according to the rule of rhotacism-zetacism).

The renowned Russian Turkologist **Nikolai Aleksandrovich Baskakov** states in his study “On the Origin of the Ethnonym Bashkir”²⁹⁴ that in some Turanic dialects or varieties, initial **B** could alternate with **M**, according to the Turkic-Mongolian correspondence B ~ M. Thus, the ethnonym *badža oγur* (brother-in-law of the Ogurs, brother-in-law of the Ugors) > *badž(a) oγur* > *badžγar* acquired the form *madž(a) oγur* > *madžγur* > *madžγar* > *madjar*, meaning that, in other words, the ethnonyms *Bashkir* and *Magyar* have a common origin.

The identity of the ethnonyms *badžγyrt* and *madžγur* ~ *madžγar* is confirmed by the majority of researchers on this issue. The situation has progressed to the point where there is an increasing discourse in the scientific community about a genuine **Bashkir-Hungarian question (= baskír-magyar kérdés)**.

²⁹² Gyula Németh, “Magyar törzsnevek a baskíroknál” [“Hungarian tribal names among the Başkirs”], in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, Vol. 68, No. 1/1966, pp. 17–18.

²⁹³ Серикбол Адилбекулы Кондыбай, *Гиперборея: родословие эпохи сновидений*, Алматы, издательство Уш киян, 2003. [Serikbol Adilbekuly Kondybay, *Hyperborea: the genealogy of the era of dreams*, Almaty, Ush Kiyan, 2003].

²⁹⁴ Николай Александрович Баскаков, «О происхождении этнонима башкир», Отв. ред. Роза Шотаевна Джарылгасинова и Вячеслав Алексеевич Никонов, *Этническая ономастика*, Москва, издательство Наука, 1984, с. 13–18 [Nikolai Aleksandrovici Baskakov, “On the Origin of the Ethnonym Bashkir”, in Roza Shotaevna Dzharylgasynova and Vyacheslav Alekseyevich Nikonov, *Ethnic Onomastics*, Moscow, Nauka Publishing, 1984, pp. 13–18].

The close and intimate relationship between the ethnonyms Hungarian (generic), Bashkir (tribal), and Maghiar (tribal) is evident. It is plausible that the tribes constituting the ancient Hungarian tribal union were related tribes that spoke distinct dialects, which were mutually intelligible but differentiated by the phonetic alternation **B/M**: *Baškiri* (*Badžyor* > *Baskar* > *Boscor/Bozgor*) and Maghiari (*Madžyur* > *Madžyar* > *Madjar* > *Maghiar*). These represent two branches closely linked to each other and possibly twin in origin, growing from **the same Onoguric stem**.

CONCLUSIONS

The relationship between the ethnonyms *Bashkir* (*başqort*) and *Boscor/Bozgor* is evident and easy to demonstrate. The ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor* did not originate in Romanian territory; it is a lexical borrowing produced in an ancient era. It did not enter the Romanian language and other languages by chance.

There are valid grounds to consider that the lexical borrowing of the term *Boscor/Bozgor* could have occurred via one of the following transmission paths: a) Directly from the Bashkir language spoken by the numerous Bashkir tribes that were part of the greater Hungarian horde settled in the Pannonian Plain; b) Through the intermediary of the Hungarian language, which functioned as a lingua franca, facilitating contact both with Bashkir and Romanian; c) Directly from a contact Turkic language spoken by certain tribes within the Great Hunnic Horde, established in the Pannonian Plain in the 4th century, or from the Avar Horde, which settled in the region during the 6th century.

Each of these pathways offers a plausible mechanism for the transmission of the ethnonym into the linguistic landscape of the region.

The ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor*, with its ancient meaning of *Bashkir* and currently attributed to the Hungarians, should not be rejected, tabooed, or expelled from the Romanian language. Instead, it should be studied impartially, with a good measure of academic curiosity and intellectual honesty, within a framework defined by truth rather than so-called political correctness. The antiquity of the ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor* is also confirmed by its presence as a surname in Romania and other states.

The ethnonym *Boscor/Bozgor*, preserved and used for centuries in the Romanian language, holds significant importance for both explaining and understanding the historical relationships between the native Romanians and various migrating tribes settled in the Pannonian Plain, as well as for understanding the ethnogenesis and history of the Bashkirs of the Volga.

We express the opinion that the ethnic term *Boscor/Bozgor*, which is very valuable from a linguistic and historical perspective, should not be tabooed but subjected to multi-faceted research, as it provides the opportunity for a better

understanding of Hungarian ethnogenesis and the historical relationships between the various tribes within the Hungarian tribal confederation settled in the Pannonian Plain and their Romanian, Slavic and German neighbors.

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