

The Buryat Body Parts Names: Face*

BAYARMA KHABTAGAEVA

University of Szeged, Department of Altaic Studies, H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2, Hungary

E-mail: baiarma@hotmail.com

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ABSTRACT

There are six different terms to refer to the 'face' in Buryat. The aim of the present paper is to clarify the difference in the usage of all these various terms: which one is used as a body part anatomically, which one is used mostly with metaphorical meanings, which one has a common meaning as appearance, or whether all of them are used equally in all categories. The terms are explored from etymological, semantic and morphological aspects.

KEYWORDS

body parts names, etymology, semantics, metaphor, derivation, grammaticalization

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INTRODUCTION

In Buryat,¹ six terms are used to refer to the ‘face’, including *nyūr*, *šarai*, *šeg*, *zūhen*, *dürse* and *xamar aman*, which all cover the same area in the front of the head excluding the ears. *Nyūr* and *šarai* are the terms most frequently used by Buryat speakers in ordinary situations. Other terms are used rarely, only in specific situations. The aim of the present paper is to clarify the difference in the usage of all these various terms for ‘face’ in Buryat: which one is used as a body part anatomically, which one is used mostly with metaphorical meanings, which one has a common meaning as appearance, or whether all of them are used equally in all categories. It will also be investigated whether the etymological background of the words may help to determine the usage of the terms.² The other aim of this paper is to find out if there are special suffixes which show special affinity to a specific lexical group, namely, to body parts names.³

The terms are explored from linguistic point of view. The role of ‘face’ in the socio-cultural context in Buryat and Mongolian culture is not examined. However, it is important to mention the paper of Lacaze (2000) which investigates the Mongolian term ‘body’ from ethno-linguistic and cultural aspects.

My work is based both on native language knowledge and available Buryat lexicographic works (Čeremisov 1973; Cydendambaev 1954; Buryat corpus; Dugar-Nimaev 1979).

1. ETYMOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

From an etymological point of view, the words show a heterogeneous picture. The words of Mongolic origin are *šarai* and *zūhen*, while the words *nyūr* and *dürse* are of Turkic origin (for details on the connection of Turkic *yüz* ‘face’⁴ with Mongolic *niyur* and *dürsü* ‘face’, see Räsänen 1969: 213–214; ESTJa 1989: 259–260). The word *šeg* is of unknown origin.

¹ The speakers of Buryat language, the northernmost Mongolic people, live in the territories of Russia, China and Mongolia. Most Buryat speakers live in three administrative units of the Russian Federation: the Buryat Republic, the Zabaikalskiy, and the Irkutsk Territories. According to the 2010 census, the total number of Buryats in Russia is 461,389 persons. Additionally, at least 45,080 ethnic Buryats live in the northern and northeastern provinces of Mongolia, and approximately 10,000 Buryats live in a small community in Hulun Buir Province, China (Khabtagaeva 2013: 155–156). The Standard Buryat language is based on the eastern Khori-Buryat dialect (for more details and sources, see Skribnik 2003; Khabtagaeva 2013).

² There is a great number of Mongolic synonymous words which are distinguished by the fact that one is of Turkic origin, while the other is a native Mongolic word. This is one of the semantic criteria used to identify Bulgharic loanwords in Mongolic (for more details and data, see Schönig 2003: 407). The two terms used for ‘sand’, namely *elesün* and *qumaq*, exemplify such cases. The former is of Mongolic origin and means ‘common sand’ (e.g. *elesün siyurya* ‘sandstorm’, *elesün čiker* ‘granulated sugar’, *elesün siroi* ‘sand and dust’, etc.), the other word is of Turkic origin and generally used with a specialized meaning (e.g. *altun qumay* ‘toner powder of golden colour’, *mönggön qumay* ‘toner powder of silver colour’, etc.).

³ My research on the topic of *Mongolic colour names and their derivation* (Khabtagaeva 2001) found that there is an affinity between certain lexical groups and specific word-forming suffixes in Mongolic languages. All in all, 108 suffixes were examined, of which 49 are used with colour names and other lexical groups, and 59 are restricted to colour names, which showed special affinity to a specific lexical group to colour names.

⁴ Cf. some Turkic forms with the meaning ‘face’, Khalaj *yüz*; Oghuz Turkic: Turkish *yüz*, Gagauz *yüz* ~ *üz*, Azeri *üz*, Turkmen *yüz*; Kipchak Turkic: Kumik *yüz*, Karachay-Balkar *jüz*, Karaim *yüz* ~ *yuz* (Cr., T), *iz* ~ *yiz* (T); Tatar,



1.1. nyūr

Besides the main meaning ‘face’, the Buryat word also means ‘personality’. From an etymological point of view, it is of Turkic origin, it is present in almost all Mongolic languages (Nugteren 2011: 459).⁵

Buryat *nyūr* < *niyur* < **nüur* < **nūr* ← Turkic **nūr*:⁶ cf. Old Turkic *yüz* ‘face’ (Clauson ED 983); cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *niyur*; Secret History *nūr*; Hua-yi yi-yu *nūr*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *nūr*; Rasulid *niyur*; Yiyu *niwur*; Literary Mongolian *niyur*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *nūr(en)*; Ordos *nūr*; Kalmuck *nür*; Onon Khamnigan *nyūr*; Dagur –⁷; East Yughur *nūr*; Mongghul *nüur*; Mangghuer *niur*; Baoan *nār*; Santa *nu*; Moghol *nur*.

1.2. dūrse

Buryat ‘complexion, appearance, expression of the face; look’ < **dürsü* < *düri* ‘shape, form, outline, figure; complexion, appearance, expression of the face; view, look; symptom’ + *sUn* {Mongolic NN: Poppe GWM §137} ← Turkic **dūrř*: cf. Old Turkic *yüz* ‘the face’ (Clauson ED 983):

cf. Preclassical Mongol *dürsü*; Literary Mongolian *dürsü(n)*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dürs*; Kalmuck *dürsn*; Oirat *dürsüj*; Onon Khamnigan *dürsü*; Dagur *dur*; Remaining lgs. –.⁸

1.3. šarai

Besides of the meaning ‘face’, the Buryat term *sarai* has the meanings ‘face physiognomy; expression of face’. Etymologically, the word is of Mongolic origin, which is present in the majority of Middle Mongol sources and Modern Mongolic languages (Nugteren 2011: 303–304).

Buryat *šarai* < *čirai* < **čirai*:

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *čirai*; Secret History *čirai*; Hua-yi yi-yu *čirai*; Mukaddimat al-Adab *čirai*; Yiyu *čirai*; Literary Mongolian *čirai*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *carai*; Ordos *čarā*; Kalmuck *čirä*; Onon Khamnigan *čirai*; Dagur *šar*; Mongghul *čirē*; Mangghuer *čiræi*; Remaining lgs.: –.

Bashkir *yüz*; Kazakh, Karakalpak *žüz*, Noghay *yüz*, Kirgiz *jüz*; Uyghur Turkic: Uzbek, Modern Uyghur, Yellow Uyghur *yüz*, Salar *yüz* ~ *yuz* ~ *yüz*; Siberian Turkic: Yakut *sūs* ‘forehead’; Khakas *čüs*, Altay *d’üs*; Chuvash, Tuvan, Tofan – (Siemienieć-Gołaś 2000: 38–39).

⁵ The Mongolic word was borrowed in Siberian Turkic: Yakut *nūr* ~ *nūr* ‘face’ (Kałużyński 1962: 26; Rassadin 1980: 68). The palatalization of the consonant *n*- and the development of the secondary long vowel *ū* and *ü* prove the borrowing from Buryat.

⁶ The Turkic reconstructed form **nūr* was suggested by Clauson (ED 983) on the basis of the Chuvash form *nēr* ‘appearance, beauty’ (for details, see ESTJa 1989: 260). In turn, Ščerbak (1970: 197) reconstructs the form **ṛū*.

⁷ The sign ‘–’ among listed data means that the form is not available, it may be present but not found in the considered dictionaries.

⁸ The Mongolic word was borrowed in Siberian Turkic: Tuvan *dürzū* ‘appearance, expression of the face; view, look’ (Khabtagaeva 2009: 164).



1.4. zühe(n) ~ žühe(n)

The original meaning of the term *zühen* is ‘colour [the hair of an animal]; complexion’ and then the widening of the meaning occurred ‘appearance, looks’ → ‘face’. There are two phonetic variants with initial *z-* and *ž-*, which go back to the Mongolic affricate **ʃ-*. The form *zühen* belongs to Standard Literary Buryat (Khorī Buryat), while *žühen* is a Western Buryat dialectal form. Etymologically, the word is also of Mongolic origin and is present in almost all Mongolic languages (Nugteren 2011: 389–390).

Buryat < *jisün* < **ji +sUn* {Mongolic NN: Poppe GWM §137};

cf. Middle Mongol: Preclassical Mongol *jisün*; Secret History *jisü(n)*; Literary Mongolian *jisü(n)*; Modern Mongol: Khalkha *dzüs(en)*; Ordos *jšüsü*; Kalmuck *züsñ*; Onon Khamnigan *dzüsü(n) ~ džisü(n) ~ džüsü(n) ~ džüse(n)*; Dagur *jus*; East Yughur *jšü*; Mongghul *žus* ‘face’; Remaining lgs. –.

1.5. šeg

Buryat *šeg* ‘face; face physiognomy’ < **čig*.

The word is of unknown origin, it is also present in Onon Khamnigan in the compound form *čig čirai* with the same meaning ‘face’ (Damdinov and Sundueva 2015: 345). In other Mongolic languages, as also in Buryat, *čig* means ‘direction, course; straightness’ (Lessing 1996: 179b), which at the first glance, is far from the meaning ‘face’ and cannot be related to the examined word. I did not find any data from Turkic or Tungusic languages. The word still belongs to the category of ‘unknown origin’.

2. SEMANTICS, SEMANTIC PHRASES

2.1. nyūr

The term *nyūr* is preferential in the anatomical sense:

‘towel’: *nyūr-ai aršül* {face-GEN towel};

‘to put cream on face’: *nyūr-tā krem türxi-* {face-DAT.LOC.REFL cream put};

‘to apply make-up to face’: *nyūr-ā buda-* {face-ACC.REFL make-up};

‘to wash the face and hands’: *nyūr gar-ā ugā-* {face hand-ACC.REFL wash};

‘to wrinkle face’: *nyūr-ā uršilga-* {face-ACC.REFL wrinkle}.

There are four semantic groups of different phrases with adjectives including physical characteristics, the physical condition and only one phrase each denoting the colour of face and emotional characteristics. Typologically, all adjectives used attributively precede the noun. Morphologically, adjectives are derived deverbally and denominally using various Buryat suffixes:

Phrases denoting physical characteristics (shape or form of face, its skin):

‘wrinkled face’: *atirā-tai nyūr* {wrinkle-POSS.C face};

‘dented, gap-toothed face’: *bordigor nyūr* (lit. uneven, rough face);

‘smooth face’: *meliger nyūr*;



‘fat big face’: *palxagar nyūr*;

‘face with high cheekbones’: *šanā-rxū nyūr* {cheekbone-NN/ADJ face};

‘narrow face’: *žoltogor nyūr*;

‘oval face’: *yōmogor nyūr*.

Phrases denoting the physical condition:

‘sleepy face’: *noir-mog-toi nyūr* {sleep-NN/ADJ-POSS.C face};

‘half-drunk face’: *hogtū-bar nyūr* {drunk-NN/ADJ face};

‘flabby face’: *solxoi-šo-hon nyūr* {be.flabby-INT-PTCP.PRF face};

‘emaciated face’: *zūder-hen nyūr* {get.exhausted-PTCP.PRF face}.

Phrase denoting the colour of face:

‘pale face’: *xubxigar nyūr*;

Phrase denoting emotional characteristics:

‘distorted face, skewed face’: *xazagai nyūr* (*lit.* curved face).

2.2. šarai

Unlike *nyūr*, the term *šarai* is semantically used for expressing the beauty or ugliness of the face and not in an anatomical sense, e.g.:

‘ugly face’: *mūxai šarai* (*lit.* ugly, bad face);

‘beautiful face’: *seber šarai* (*lit.* clean face);

‘attractive face’: *urin šarai* (*lit.* warm face);

‘cute face’: *xongor šarai* (*lit.* gentle face);

‘expressive face’: *xursa šarai* (*lit.* sharp face);

‘cute face’: *zōlen šarai* (*lit.* soft face);

‘pretty face’: *zoxid-xon šarai* {decent-DIM face};

‘youthful face’: *zalū-gār xaragda-dag šarai* {young-INSTR look-PTCP.HAB face}.

The term is found in Buryat proverbs, e.g.:

(1)	<i>šarai-n'</i>	<i>haixan</i>	<i>xeregtei-š'ye</i>	<i>haa,</i>
	face-POSS.3SG	beautiful	need-PART	if

<i>šanar</i>	<i>šadamar-in'</i>	<i>dēre</i>	<i>yum.</i>
quality	skillfulness-POSS.3SG	better	PART

‘Even though the beauty of the face is needed, having skillfulness is better.’ (Buryat proverb)

The term is not widely used in denoting physical characteristics, only in few cases such as *tū-xeryēn šarai* ‘round face’.

More phrases are connected to the colour of face, where usually the colour names are used:

‘dark face’:

xara šarai (*lit.* black face);

xab xarašag⁹ šarai (*lit.* dark black face);

xürin šarai (*lit.* brown face);

⁹ The colour name is derived with a strengthening prefix, where the first syllable is reduplicated and a *-b* is added. This is a typical way of derivation of colour names for expressing dark colours, e.g. Buryat *sab sagān* ‘snow white’, *xüb xūxe* ‘entirely blue’, *nob nogōn* ‘pure green’, etc. (for more details, see Khabtagaeva 2001: 85, 96).



‘pale face’:

nimgen šarai (lit. thin face);

xubxai šarai (lit. whitish face);

xüxe saġān šarai ‘deathly pale face’ (lit. blue white face);

‘red face’:

ulān šarai.

Compared with the term *nyūr*, the term *šarai* is extensively used in phrases denoting emotional characteristics of humans:

‘angry face’: *ūr-tai šarai* {anger-POSS.C face};

‘happy face’: *xüxyü-tei šarai* {joy-POSS.C face};

‘happy face’: *bayarla-han šarai* {be.glad-PTCP.PRF face};

‘dumbfounded face’: *modo-xi šarai* {wood-NN/ADJ face}.

The literary meaning of the phrase *xürmag šarai* ‘false, fake face’ has the meaning ‘mask’.

2.3. zühe(n) ~ žühe(n)

The word *zühen*, which is originally used in reference to the ‘colour of an animal’, can also be used as ‘colour of face, appearance’, e.g.:

(2) *tere zühe mū-tai xün xen gēše*
 he/she colour bad-POSS.C person who namely

be?

Q

‘Who is the person with an ugly face? Who is this unrepresentable person?’

2.4. šeg

The word *šeg* besides meaning ‘face’ can also refer to ‘physiognomy’. There are phrases pointing to the physical characteristics as colour of face and also pointing to emotional characteristics of a person:

‘a painful red face’: *meneger ulān šeg* (lit. purple-red, very red face);

‘a sallow face’: *šeg ünge-tei* {face colour-POSS.C};

‘sullen, moody, morose’: *xüiten šeg-tei* {cold face-POSS.C};

‘a bored face’: *uida-han šeg* {be.bored-PTCP.PRF face};

‘a cunning, sly face’: *mexe-tei šeg* {deception-POSS.C face}.

Cf. the term in proverbs:

(3) *šeg-ei seber bai-han-hā,*
 face-GEN cleanliness be-PTCP.PRF-ABL



<i>sed'xel-ei</i>	<i>seber</i>	<i>xeregtei.</i>
soul-GEN	cleanliness	need

‘Instead of having a beautiful face, rather have good thoughts.’ (Buryat proverb)

3. METAPHORS

3.1. *nyūr*

From the semantic perspective, there are six groups where the term *nyūr* went through metaphorical changes:

a. Besides the meaning ‘face’, the term *nyūr* indicates also ‘person, personality’, e.g.:

- ‘identity card’: *nyūr-ai ünemšelge* {face-GEN certificate};
- ‘a private matter; a private business’: *nyūr-ai xereg* {face-GEN business};
- ‘confidant’: *etigemže-te nyūr* {trust-NN/ADJ¹⁰ face};
- ‘executive’: *tušāl-ta nyūr* {official.position-NN/ADJ face};
- ‘official person’: *xūli-ta nyūr* {law-NN/ADJ face};
- ‘responsible person’: *xaryūsалга-tai nyūr* {responsibility-POSS.C face};
- ‘dramatis personae [in theater]’: *xabāda-xa nyūr* {participate-PTCP.FUT face};
- ‘familiar, acquainted’: *tani-xa nyūr* {be.acquainted-PTCP.FUT face};
- ‘historical person’: *tūxe-de eli nyūr* {history-DAT.LOC clear face}.

b. Another important metaphorical meaning for the word *nyūr* is ‘a front side, surface of something’, e.g.:

- ‘facade of the house’: *ger-ei nyūr* {house-GEN face};
- ‘surface of anvil’: *dūš-in nyūr* {anvil-GEN face};
- ‘a front side of the saddle’: *emēl-ei nyūr* {saddle-GEN face}.

The spatial relations are expressed with the instrumental case:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|
| (4) | <i>üils-in</i> | <i>xoito</i> | <i>nyūr-ār</i> | <i>yaba-na-ø</i> |
| | street-GEN | nothern | side-INSTR | go-DUR-3SG |

‘He is walking along the north side of the street.’

c. The word *nyūr* also has meaning ‘book’s or newspaper’s page’:

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (5) | <i>taba-daxi</i> | <i>nyūr-ta</i> | <i>unša-ža</i> | <i>bai-na-b</i> |
| | five-ORD.NUM | page-DAT.LOC | read-CVB.IMPRF | be-DUR-1SG |

‘I am reading on page five.’

d. The word is also used in grammar as the ‘grammatical person’:

- ‘the first person’: *nege-dexi nyūr* {one-ORD.NUM face};
- ‘impersonal sentence’: *nyūr-güi medūlel* {face-NEG sentence};

¹⁰ Originally, the denominal adjective suffix +*tA* is a shortened form of the possessive case +*tAi*.



e. There are also some examples with metaphorical meaning ‘to face each other, to one’s face’:

‘to strike the eye, be evident’: *nyüde nyür-är gara-* {eye face-INSTR go.out} (*lit.* via an eye and face go out);

‘to walk at a breakneck pace’: *nyüde nyür xara-n-güi yaba-* {eye face see-CVB.MOD-NEG go} (*lit.* to go without seeing the eyes and face);

‘to meet tête-a-tête’: *ulän nyür-är-ä ülza-* {red face-INSTR-REFL meet} (*lit.* to meet through one’s own red face);

(6)	<i>tede-ner</i>	<i>nyür</i>	<i>nyür-är-ä</i>	<i>mürge-lde-be-ø</i>
	they-PL	faceface-	INSTR-REFL	bang.head-RECIPR-TERM-3PL

‘They collided face to face recently.’

(7)	<i>xen-š’ye</i>	<i>xün</i>	<i>zon-oi</i>	<i>nyur</i>
	who-PART	person	people-GEN	face
	<i>dēre</i>	<i>bai-xa</i>		<i>dura-güi.</i>
	on.top.of	be-PTCP.FUT		like-NEG

‘Nobody likes to be in full view of everybody.’

f. The word *nyür* is also productively used in the phrases regarding a human character. In most cases the human qualities are negative :

‘hypocrite’: *nyür saxi-dag xün* {face protect-PTCP.HAB person};

‘hypocrite’: *nyür xara-dag xün* {face see-PTCP.HAB person};

‘biased’: *nyür xara-ngi xün* {face see-VN/ADJ person};

‘shameless’: *eše-xe nyür-güi* {hesitate-PTCP.FUT face-NEG} (*lit.* (the person) without hesitated face);

‘brazen’: *nyür-güi* {face-NEG};

‘shameless’: *nyür zuzän* (*lit.* face is thick) ;

‘two-faced’: *xoyor nyür-tai* {two face-POSS.C};

‘shameless, brazen’: *uhan nyür-tai* {water face-POSS.C};

‘uncommunicative, unsociable, indecisive, timid’: *ühe-tei nyür-tai* {hair-POSS.C face-POSS.C} (*lit.* with hairy face).

There are some phrases with verbs where *nyür* is used with the reflexive accusative case suffix:

‘to lose conscience’: *nyür-ä alda-* {face-ACC.REFL lose};

‘to hesitate’: *nyür-ä xala-* {face-ACC.REFL burn}.

It is an interesting fact that the phrase *nyür xala-* without the reflexive suffix has the meaning ‘to feel embarrassed’.

Cf. also the Buryat proverb:

(8)	<i>nyüsegen</i>	<i>nyür-ta</i>	<i>dalda</i>	<i>ügi,</i>
	naked	face-DAT.LOC	secret	NEG

<i>nügel-tei</i>	<i>xün-de</i>	<i>etigel</i>	<i>ügi.</i>
sin-POSS.C	person-DAT.LOC	belief	NEG

‘A honest person has no secrets, a sinful person has no belief.’ (Buryat proverb)



3.2. *šarai*

a. There are some verbal phrases such as the following:

‘to lose weight’: *šarai alda-* (*lit.* to lose a face);

‘to recover after illness’: *šarai oro-* (*lit.* to enter on face);

b. The term *šarai* is also used with meaning ‘time, period, season’:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| (9) | <i>übel-ei</i>
winter-GEN | <i>šarai</i>
face | <i>ünger-be</i>
pass-TERM |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
- ‘Winter is over.’
- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| (10) | <i>namar-ai</i>
autumn-GEN | <i>šarai</i>
face | <i>üze-gde-be</i>
see-PASS-TERM |
|------|-------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
- ‘Autumn is coming.’
- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (11) | <i>xübü-mni</i>
son-POSS.1SG | <i>xoyor-doxi</i>
two-ORD.NUM | <i>žel-ei-ngē</i>
year-GEN-REFL |
|------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
- | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>šarai</i>
face | <i>xar-ā.</i>
see-PTCP.IMPRF |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
- ‘My son is in his second year.’

3.3. *šeg*

There are some verbal phrases where the term *šeg* is also used in compounding with another term *šarai* with reflexive accusative case endings:

‘to look fresher’: *šeg oro-* (*lit.* to enter on face);

‘to turn pale, to change in face’: *šeg šarai-gā xobxo tata-* {face face-ACC.REFL INT.PART pull down} (*lit.* to pull down the face);

‘to lose one’s good looks’: *šeg šarai-gā mūda-* {face face-ACC.REFL spoil} (*lit.* to spoil a face).

4. DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

In this study only eight derived forms connected to terms were investigated, one of them is derived with the denominal noun suffixes {NN}, three of them with denominal nomen/adjective suffixes {NN/ADJ}, and four forms are derived with denominal verb suffixes {NV}.

NN

Buryat +*xAn*

A productive Mongolic suffix (Literary Mongolian +*KAn*) which forms nouns designating diminutives, in Literary Mongolian sometimes forms nouns designating females (Poppe GWM §124; Khabtagaeva 2001: 118). It may be added to nouns and adjectives equally, e.g. Literary Mongolian



keüken ‘girl, daughter’ < *keü* ‘son’, *eneken* ‘this’ < *ene* ‘this’, *čayaqaŋ* ‘whitish’ < *čayan* ‘white’; cf. Buryat *naraqan* ‘sun, Russian солнышко’ < *naran* ‘sun’, *šaraxan* ‘yellowish’ < *šara* ‘yellow’, *amtataixan* ‘so tasty’ < *amtatai* ‘tasty’, etc.

šaraixan ‘little face’ < *šarai*.

An interesting fact is that this productive suffix cannot be added to other terms meaning ‘face’.

NN/ADJ

Buryat +*mAg*

The suffix is linked to the Common Mongolic diminutive suffix +*mAG* (Poppe 1964: §130; Szabó 1943: §176; Khabtagaeva 2001: 119–120; 2009: 282). It is productive and may be added to nouns and adjectives, e.g. Literary Mongolian *naγurmay* ‘pool’ < *naγur* ‘lake’; *qaramay* ‘blackish’ < *qar-a* ‘black’; cf. Buryat *xužarmag* ‘small salt marshes’ < *xužar* ‘salt marsh’.

nyürmag ‘courteous’ < *nyür* ‘face’.

Buryat +*mAgAi*

The suffix is probably connected to the previous +*mAg* suffix and consists of +*mAg* and another diminutive suffix +*gAi* (cf. Literary Mongolian +*GAi*), where the internal consonant *g* is degeminated. The suffix is non-productive in Buryat, only few cases exist, such as *hanāmagai* ‘sharp-witted, smart’ < *hanā* ‘thought’.

nyürmagai ‘courteous’ < *nyür* ‘face’.

Buryat +*rxū*

Historically, the suffix consists of two suffixes: the productive denominal verbum suffix +*rKA-* (Poppe GWM §247) (Buryat +*rxA-*) and the deverbial nomen/adjective suffix -*GU* (Poppe GWM §152). The latter one in Buryat has no productive character, it is found in adjectives, e.g. Buryat *xatū* ‘hard’ (cf. Literary Mongolian *qatayu* ‘id.’ < *qata-* ‘to dry, to become hard’), *hogtū* ‘drunk, intoxicated’ (cf. Literary Mongolian *soγtayū* ‘id.’ < *soγta-* ‘to become drunk’), Buryat *ülū* ‘superfluous’ (Literary Mongolian *ülegü* ‘id.’ < *üle-* ‘to remain’), etc. The Buryat denominal verb suffix +*rxA-* denotes, as in other Mongolic languages, possession of something in abundance, e.g. Buryat *omogorxo-* ‘to be proud’ < *omog* ‘pride’, *bayarxa-* ‘to boast of something’ < *bayan* ‘rich’, etc. The historically compound suffix +*rxū* is productive in Buryat, e.g. *bayarxū* ‘bragging’ < *bayarxa-* ‘to boast of something’, *bālarxū* ‘annoying, cheeky’ < *bāla-* ‘to force’, *goyorxū* ‘arrogant; well dressed’ < *goyo-* ‘to dress up’, etc.

šarairxū ‘dial. hospitable’ < *šarai* ‘face’.

NV

Buryat +*dA-*

The suffix is connected to Common Mongolic suffix +*dA-* (Poppe GWM §242; Szabó 1943: §76; Ramstedt 1957: 175–176; Khabtagaeva 2009: 288). It is a productive suffix, which expresses the use of the object designated by the primary word (mostly transitive verbs), e.g. Buryat *argada-* ‘to persuade’ < *arga* ‘method, trick’ (cf. Literary Mongolian *aryada-* ‘to outwit’ < *arya* ‘trick’); Buryat *būda-* ‘to shoot’ < *bū* ‘rifle’; *dūda-* ‘to call’ < *dū(n)* ‘voice’; etc.

nyürda- ‘to meet in person’ < *nyür* ‘face’.



Buryat +l(A)-

The suffix is related to Common Mongolic suffix +lA- (Poppe GWM §245; Ramstedt 1957: 173–174). It is a productive suffix, which denotes acquirement of a quality, e.g. Buryat *altala-* ‘to gild’ < *altan* ‘gold’; *gerle-* ‘to marry’ < *ger* ‘house’; *uhal-* ‘to water’ < *uha(n)* ‘water’. It is important to note that while in Literary Mongolian there is one form +lA-, in Buryat after consonants it is preserved, but after vowels the final vowel is deleted:

nyūrla- ‘to lead in the game’ < *nyūr* ‘face’;
šarail- ‘to take a look, appearance’ < *sarai* ‘face’.

Buryat +mAl-

The suffix is non-productive in Buryat, it appears only in one case:

nyūrmal- ‘to accompany; to speak instead of somebody’ < *nyūr* ‘face’.

Buryat +šAl-

The productive Buryat suffix connected to Mongolic suffix +čilA- (for details on function, see Poppe GWM §240). In Buryat as in other Mongolic languages the suffix indicates that the object is rendered into, made into, or made like the thing or quality designated by the primary word, e.g. *amaršal-* ‘to greet, to welcome’ < *amar* ‘well-being’, *ayanšal-* ‘to travel’ < *ayan* ‘traveling, journey’, *barlagšal-* ‘to mock, scoff’ < *barlag* ‘servant boy, farmhand’, *daišal-* ‘to fight’ < *dain* ‘war’, etc.

šaraišal- ‘to watch someone’s expression of face; to curry favor’ < *šarai* ‘face’.

5. COMPOUNDING

The examples of this category belong to the *hendiadys*-expressions.

a. For expressing of term ‘physiognomy’ or ‘appearance’, the compound ‘face + face’ is found, e.g.:

nyūr šarai < *nyūr* ‘face’ + *šarai* ‘face’;
ünge šarai < *ünge* ‘colour’ + *šarai* ‘face’;
šarai šeg < *šarai* ‘face’ + *šeg* ‘face’
šeg šarai < *šeg* ‘face’ + *šarai* ‘face’, cf. *dor’bogüi šeg šarai* ‘dull face’.

b. Besides the mentioned words, denoting ‘face’, there is the compounding *xamar aman* ‘nose and mouth > face, facial features’, e.g.

(12)	<i>xamar</i>	<i>aman-<u>in</u></i>	<i>mongol</i>	<i>xün-ei</i>
	nose	mouth-POSS.3SG	Mongolian	person-GEN

<i>beše</i>	<i>yanza-tai</i>
NEG	appearance-POSS.C

‘It looks like his face is not Mongolian.’



6. SYNTACTIC CHANGE: GRAMMATICALIZATION

a. The Buryat body-part terms *nyūr* and *šarai* ‘face’ provided with dative-locative case endings (+*dA*/*+tA*), i.e. *nyūrta* and *šaraida*, grammaticalized into temporal postpositions bearing the meaning ‘during’:

- ‘during many years’: *olon žel-ei nyūrta* {many year-GEN during};
 ‘during this year’: *ene žel-ei nyūrta* {this year-GEN during};
 ‘today, during this day’: *münōder-ei nyūrta* {today-GEN during};

- ‘during last year’: *üngerhen žel-ei šaraida* {last year-GEN during};
 ‘during nine days’: *yühen xonog-oi šaraida* {nine day-GEN during}’.

- (13) *Darima* *oyodołšo-d-oi* *kurs-ta*
 personal name seamstress-PL-GEN course-DAT.LOC

hura-ža, *dürbe-dexi* *har-ın* *šaraida*
 study-CVB.IMPRF four-ORD.NUM month-GEN during

diplom-toi *bol-ō.*
 diploma-POSS.C become-PTCP.IMPRF

‘Darima studied at a seamstress course and, after four months, received her diploma.’

b. Another term for ‘face’ *šeg* is also grammaticalized, it also used with the dative-locative case but in the reflexive form. It is also a temporal postposition with the meaning ‘while, during the time when’. The modifier is usually marked with the participle perfective suffix *-hAn*, e.g.

- (14) *güi-že* *yaba-han* *šegtē*
 run-CVB.IMPRF go-PTCP.PRF during the time when

toro-žo *una-š-ō-b*
 stumble-CVB.IMPRF fall-INT-PTCP.IMPRF-1SG

‘I stumbled and fell on the run.’

- (15) *noirso-hon* *šegtē* *bai-na-ø*
 sleep-PTCP.PRF during be-DUR-3SG

‘He is still sleeping.’

c. The term *šeg* with the negative clitic *-güi* ‘[lit. without face]’ is used as a modal adverb with the meaning ‘very, very much’, e.g.:

- ‘a lots of’: *šeggüi olon* (lit. very many);
 ‘very secret thing’: *šeggüi nyūsa yūmen*;
 ‘to take great offense’: *šeggüi gomdo-*;
 ‘to be very happy’: *šeggüi bayarla-*.



CONCLUSION

Among the examined six different terms for ‘face’, the most frequently used ones are *nyūr* and *šarai*. The investigated material shows that the etymological background does not help to determine the usage of the terms. As a common term for ‘face’ in an anatomical sense, the Turkic loanword *nyūr* (cf. Literary Mongolian *nīyur*) is used, while the other term, *šarai* (cf. Literary Mongolian *širai*), is used mostly for expressing beauty and ugliness, colour and emotional characteristics. This latter word is a native Mongolic word. An interesting fact is that the Buryat term *šeg* (< *čig) of unknown origin is used equally for physical and emotional characteristics of humans. This term is not used often, mostly only in compounds with the term *šarai*.

Semantically, most metaphors are connected to the term *nyūr*, six different groups with various metaphorical meanings have been found. Besides the meaning ‘face’, the term indicates ‘person/personality, a front side/surface of something, page in periodicals, grammatical person’ and is also found in phrases denoting the negative human characteristics.

From a morphological perspective, there are no special suffixes which show special affinity to a specific lexical group, namely, to body parts names. Eight different suffixes are investigated and seven of them have a productive character. Only one suffix *+mAl-* is non-productive in Buryat, it appears in the verbal form *nyūrmal-* ‘to accompany; to speak instead of somebody’ derived from the term *nyūr*. There is also a group of various compounds referring to ‘face’ in Buryat, they are used very often in colloquial speech.

A very important finding of the paper is concerns the grammaticalization of the terms. Nouns in Buryat grammar are used as the temporal postpositions with meaning ‘during, while’. With the negative clitic one of the terms is used as a modal adverb with the meaning ‘very, very much’.

ABBREVIATIONS

1PL	first person plural
1SG	first person singular
2PL	second person plural
2SG	second person singular
3PL	third person plural
3SG	third person singular
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
Buryat	= ČEREMISOV 1973; CYDENDAMBAEV 1954; Buryat corpus
Buryat corpus	http://web-corpora.net/BuryatCorpus/search/
CVB.IMPRF	converb imperfective
CVB.MOD	converb modal
Dagur	= ENGKEBATU 1984
DAT.LOC	dative-locative case
DIM	diminutive
DUR	durative
ESTJa 1989	= LEVITSKAJA 1989



GEN	genitive case
Hua-yi yi-yu	= LEWICKI 1959
INSTR	instrumental case
INT	intensive suffix
INT.PART	intensive particle
Khalkha	= BAWDEN 1997
Literary Mongolian	= LESSING 1996
Mukaddimat al-Adab	= POPPE 1938
Oirat	= COLOO 1988
Old Turkic	= CLAUSON 1972
Onon Khamnigan	= DAMDINOV and SUNDUEVA 2015
Ordos	= MOSTAERT 1968
NEG	negative clitic
NN	denominal noun suffix
NN/ADJ	denominal adjective suffix
NV	denominal verb suffix
ORD.NUM	ordinal numeral suffix
PART	particle
PASS	passive voice
'Phags-pa	= TUMURTOGOO 2010
Preclassical Mongol	= TUMURTOGOO 2006
Rasulid	= GOLDEN 2000
PTCP.FUT	participle futuritive
PTCP.HAB	participle habitive
PTCP.IMPRF	participle imperfective
PTCP.PRF	participle perfective
PL	plural
POPPE GWM	= POPPE 1954
POSS	possessive
POSS.C	possessive case
Q	question particle
RECIPR	reciprocativ voice
REFL	reflexive
Secret History	= HAENISCH 1939
TERM	terminative
VN/ADJ	deverbal adjective suffix
VV	deverbal verb suffix
Yiyu	= APATÓCZKY 2009



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