

POLITENESS DEVICES IN THE
TUVAN LANGUAGE

by

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ABSTRACT

POLITENESS DEVICES IN THE TUVAN LANGUAGE

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Whereas a few core areas of the Tuvan language (such as phonology and morphology) have been fairly well described by linguists, pragmasemantic topics in the language, including politeness, have until now not been probed deeply. Using insights from theories of linguistic politeness proposed by Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) and by their numerous critics (e.g., Ide 1989; Nwoye 1992; Watts 2003; Lakoff & Ide 2005; LPRG 2011), in this dissertation I investigate the morphosyntactic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of some of the primary verbal means that Tuvans use in conversation to express politeness to each other. The language material is based on a corpus of Tuvan literature, fieldwork questionnaires, and my individual contact with Tuvan speakers over the past decade.

I first explore emic perceptions that native Tuvan speakers have of what politeness means in Tuvan society: how Tuvans themselves metalinguistically characterize and

categorize politeness behavior, what social norms they believe to be primary in generating it, and their evaluation of the current level of politeness versus impoliteness in Tuva. Following this, I examine politeness devices that Tuvans use to manage face threats from an etic standpoint, separately looking at devices based on norms of social indexing and involving group face (Nwoye 1992) and those based on the desire for non-imposition and individual face (Brown & Levinson 1987). Specific devices that I investigate in detail include respectful pronouns, deferential terms of address, indirect speech acts, polite auxiliary verbs and politeness particles. Although genuine politeness is the primary focus of the dissertation, the investigation also touches upon closely related issues, such as rudeness, overpoliteness and mock politeness.

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GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

1p – 1 st person plural	INF – infinitive
1s – 1 st person singular	INS – instrumental
2p – 2 nd person plural	INT – intensifier
2s – 2 nd person singular	ITER – iterative
3 – 3 rd person	JUS – jussive
ABL – ablative case	LOC – locative case
ACC – accusative case	NG – negative
ADJ – adjectivizer	MIT – mitigator
ALL – allative	NMLZ – nominalizer
AUX – auxiliary verb	NPST – non-past
AUXN – auxiliary noun	PDEM – proximal demonstrative
BEN – benefactive	P/F – present/future tense
CAUS – causative	PFV – perfective
CMPL – complementizer	PL – plural
COM – comitative	POL – polite
COP – copula	PRP – propositive
CND – conditional	PST.I – indefinite past tense
CV – converb	PST.II – definite past tense
DAT – dative case	PSV – passive
DDEM – distal demonstrative	PTCP - participle
DEM – demonstrative	QU – polar question
DISC – discourse marker	Q.WH – illocutionary force marker on clauses containing a wh-question
EM – emphatic	RCP – reciprocal
EVD – evidential	RFL – reflexive
EXS – existential	RP – repluralized
GEN – genitive case	SBEN – self-benefactive
FOC – focus	SFT – softener
FUT – future	TOP – topic
IMV – imperative	VOC – vocative

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The primary topic of this dissertation is linguistic expressions that generate politeness in the Tuvan language of Siberia. Since this area of Tuvan has not yet been documented in the scholarly literature, my focus is for the most part descriptive, although I do use and interact with existing theoretical models for thinking about politeness in the process of describing the language phenomena. Hopefully, the material contained in this dissertation will be of interest and use to Turkic and Altaic language scholars, to linguists specializing in the study of politeness, and to the Tuvan community itself.

In this introductory chapter, I first give some background on the Tuvan language in section 1.1. Then, in 1.2, I provide an overview of the development of linguistic politeness research during the past several decades, including my rationale for using the specific theoretical framework that I have chosen to work with. In 1.3, I briefly look at what has been done in politeness studies in the Turkic language family. In 1.4, I lay out my motivation and goals in writing about Tuvan politeness, as well as the limitations of my present research. I describe the data sources used for this research in 1.5 and finish the chapter with an outline of how the rest of the dissertation will proceed in 1.6.

1.1 Background on Tuva and Tuvan language studies

Tuvan (ISO code: tyv) is a south Siberian language with approximately a quarter of a million speakers (2010 Census of the Russian Federation). Its primary locus of use is the Republic of Tuva, a Nebraska-sized area (65,830 sq.mi.) of the North Altai region close to the

geographical center of the Asian continent (see Figure 1.1 below). The Tuvan people are descendants of ancient Turkic-speaking tribes that likely mixed first with Paleosiberian and Samoyedic tribes and later with Mongolic tribes.

Beginning with the mid-1st millenium A.D., the nomadic cattle-herding clans living in south Siberia, including those of present-day Tuva, were controlled by a succession of Turkic, Mongol, and Manchu (Qing dynasty) empires. In the early 20th century, Tuva transferred its allegiance northwards and became a protectorate of the Russian Empire. After a brief period of independence as the Tuvan People's Republic (1921-1944), it officially joined the Soviet Union and is currently a member state of the Russian Federation with 'republic' status. Despite the currently overwhelming dominance of Russian in most parts of Siberia, the Tuvan language nonetheless continues to grow in number of native speakers due to a high rate of reproduction and relative isolation from the rest of Russia. In fact, it is one of only three native Siberian languages, together with Sakha (Yakut) and Buryat, that is not in critical danger of being completely replaced by Russian in the near future (Vajda 2009:424).



Figure 1.1 Location of Tuva on map of Russian Federation

(Source: <http://www.ebwu.org/index.php/en/news-and-views/winter-edition-2011-2012/93-the-republic-of-tuva>)

The Tuvan language belongs to the northeast branch of the Turkic languages, more specifically to the Sayan, or south Siberian, subgroup (together with the Altai dialects, Chulym, Khakas, Shor and Tofa). Though its lexicon exhibits heavy borrowing from Mongolian, and some from Russian, its other language components (phonology, morphology, syntax, etc.) have remained in most respects representative of general Turkic linguistic features (see Johanson 1998 for a good overview of the “essential structural features” of the Turkic languages). Thus, Tuvan exhibits vowel harmony and phonemic vowel length in its phonology, agglutinative suffixation as the primary morphological mechanism, SOV word order, head-final syntax, and heavy use of multiverb constructions. A standard Tuvan orthography was designed by Soviet scholars, with input from Tuvans, in the 1930s. Initially, this orthography was based on the Latin alphabet, but was subsequently converted to a Cyrillic-based alphabet. Dialects of Tuvan spoken outside of the Russian Federation (in Mongolia and China) do not have their own writing systems.

Various features of the Tuvan language have been documented by scholars since the turn of the 20th century (e.g., Katanov 1903), but only in the Soviet era did Tuvan become the object of directed linguistic research. Most major descriptions of standard Tuvan, such as the Tuvan grammar by Isxakov & Pal'mbax (1961), are written in Russian. I have so far been able to locate almost 40 Russian-language dissertations focused on Tuvan linguistic structure (see Appendix A). There is also a fairly large number of journal articles on the Tuvan language written in Russian, mostly by ethnic Tuvans. To my knowledge, only two dissertations devoted wholly to the Tuvan language have so far been written in English: Mawkanuli (1999) on the Jungar dialect of Tuvan spoken in China, and Harrison (2000) on Tuvan in Russia, both focusing on phonology and morphology. Much of Harrison's material was also published earlier in the short Lincom Europa overview of standard Tuvan (Anderson & Harrison 1999). The

final chapter of Gregory D. S. Anderson's dissertation on language contact in south Siberia (Anderson 2000, later published as a monograph by Harrassowitz Verlag) deals with linguistic developments in certain dialects of Tuvan due to contact with Russian.

Besides these dissertations, an older English-language descriptive grammar of standard Tuvan, based on Russian materials, was published by Indiana University in the 1970s (Krueger 1977). Anderson (2004) devoted a significant portion of his work on auxiliary verb constructions in the Sayan Turkic languages to Tuvan. Two recent European dissertations on Tuvan were written in other languages but have subsequently been published as English-language monographs: Khabtagaeva's (2009) work on Mongolic elements in Tuvan, and Ragagnin's (2011) grammar of Dukhan, a Tuvan dialect spoken in Mongolia. Prior to that, Karl Menges had published several articles on Tuvan and other south Siberian Turkic languages in the *Central Asiatic Journal* in the late 1950s in English and German (Menges 1955, 1956, 1958, 1959). Several works, including at least one dissertation, were written in Mongolian on the Uyghur-Urianxai dialect of Tuvan spoken in Mongolia (e.g., Bold 1975, 1978, 1987), and at least one was written in Chinese on the Tuvan dialect spoken in China (Wu 1999). There are also recent works describing Tuvan in other languages, such as Turkish and Japanese (e.g., Ölmez 1996; Takashima 2008).

Thus, the materials already published on Tuvan language structure are fairly numerous and rich in their description. However, none of them focus on the area of linguistic politeness or even on the broader field of pragmatics, although snippets of information related to politeness can be found here and there among the existing materials. This is the specific research gap that my dissertation is designed to fill. With this purpose in mind, I refrain in the rest of the dissertation from repeating much of the interesting background information on the Tuvan language in general, except for when this is necessary because it relates to politeness. Instead, I

refer interested readers to the excellent English-language descriptions of Tuvan provided by Anderson & Harrison (1999) and Khabtagaeva (2009). In the next section, I give a brief overview of the study of politeness by linguists since the mid-20th century and situate my dissertation's approach in the current scholarly literature on this topic.

1.2 Theories of linguistic politeness

1.2.1 The early history of classical politeness theories

Politeness in conversation is definitely not a new topic for scholarly discussion (see Ehlich 1992 and Watts 2003 for overviews of politeness-related writing in Europe from the Renaissance onward). However, the modern linguistic study of politeness really had its beginning in the work of H. P. Grice. Grice's ideas on the Cooperative Principle and conversational maxims (internalized rules of human interaction) that flowed out of it circulated among linguists since the late 1960s, although his most influential paper "Logic and Conversation" was officially published only in 1975. Besides his well known maxims of Quality, Quantity, Relation, and Manner, Grice also noted the existence of other maxims, such as 'Be polite' (1975:47), but left this line of research for others to follow up on.

Building on the centrality of Grice's conversational maxims to polite interaction between people, Robin Lakoff published several papers beginning in the mid-1970s that attempted "to incorporate politeness into the core grammar" as "an intrinsic and sometimes unmarked part of a communicative system" that is governed by often subconscious rules and is therefore available to linguists for study (Lakoff & Ide 2005:9). Other influential early researchers into linguistic politeness who based their politeness theories on the Gricean model include Fraser (1975, 1990) with his Conversational Contract model and Leech (1983) with his Politeness Principle.

1.2.2 *The Brown & Levinson model*

However, the most wide-reaching contribution to early politeness research was made by Penelope Brown and Steven C. Levinson in their seminal paper “Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena” (Brown & Levinson 1978), based on features that politeness expressions in Tamil and Tzeltal shared with politeness devices in English. This paper was reissued in 1987 with minor revisions as a free-standing monograph, *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, and is henceforth referred to simply as B&L (1987).

While continuing to work within the Gricean tradition, the major innovation that B&L proposed was that linguistic strategies for expressing politeness in various languages are underlyingly unified because they all have their foundation in the notions of *face*, *face threat* and *face work*. Following Erving Goffman’s (1967) work on social interaction, from which they borrowed these terms, B&L defined face as “the public self-image that every member [of a society] wants to claim for himself” (1987:61), but innovated further by dividing this concept into *negative face* and *positive face*.

(1) a. Positive face: a person’s desire to be valued and approved of by others

b. Negative face: a person’s desire to not be imposed on or coerced by others

Many subsequent politeness researchers, even those who do not endorse the B&L model as a whole, continue to find this bifurcating distinction to be very useful, although alternate designations with a somewhat different focus have been proposed for the two categories, such as *ideal social identity/ideal individual autonomy* (Mao 1994), *involvement/independence* (Scollon & Scollon 2001 [1995]), *connection face/separation face* (Arundale 2006) and *approach/withdrawal* (Terkourafi 2007).

B&L pointed out that certain types of common behaviors in human interaction, such as making a request or an offer, tend to naturally infringe on one or more of these desires in either

the speaker (S) or the hearer (H), thereby potentially threatening how one of the participants feels about him- or herself. Such behaviors are called face-threatening actions (FTAs). B&L noted four superstrategies that speakers can use when making a potential FTA in conversation. First, S could choose to abide by Grice's Maxims and just go "bald-on-record" with the FTA (such as making a request with a direct imperative). In many situations, this would run the gravest risk of offending the hearer or compromising the speaker's own face. Alternatively, S could attempt to completely avoid threatening the face of either of the interlocutors by going "off-record", or merely hinting at one's intention without making it unambiguously clear to H. However, this runs the greatest risk of being misunderstood by H and therefore not accomplishing the conversational goal of S. In between these extremes, B&L posit two macrostrategies that are the center of linguistic politeness behavior: these are verbal expressions designed to allow S to explicitly make the FTA but to reduce its offensiveness by employing various Maxim-flouting pragmatic strategies (face work), such as speaking less directly or explicitly highlighting one's solidarity with the person whose face is threatened. Negative politeness and positive politeness were the terms employed by B&L to describe these two superstrategies, which utilize linguistic devices for minimizing threats to negative and positive face, respectively. Examples of English utterances that make use of these two macrostrategies are given below:

(2) a. Negative politeness: Would you have any objections to my borrowing your car for a while? (B&L 1987:143)

b. Positive politeness: What a fantastic garden you have! (B&L 1987:104)

For B&L (p.129), negative politeness is "the heart of respect behaviour" and is used to emphasize social distance between interlocutors, while positive politeness is the central manifestation of 'familiar' behavior that primarily signals solidarity between interlocutors (cf.

Brown & Gilman 1960 for the central position of the solidarity/distance distinction in pronominal social deixis). In each of the English examples given above, several linguistic devices are used to indicate that the speaker is intentionally trying to be polite to the hearer. For example, in (2a), negative politeness devices for minimizing the face threat of requesting the car include: framing the request as an indirect question, using the modal verb *would*, explicitly recognizing that H might have objections to the request, and lessening the imposition on H with the temporal modifier *for a while*. Whereas using all of these devices together violates the Maxim of Manner by making the indirect request significantly longer than its direct counterpart would be (i.e., “Lend me your car”), this type of conversational behavior is frequently perfectly acceptable because it implicates to H that S is attempting to respect H’s autonomy. In (2b), the adjective *fantastic* compliments H and makes him or her feel proud of the garden, while the modifier *what a*, coupled with the fronting of the NP *fantastic garden* from post-verbal object position, intensifies S’s exuberance about H’s horticultural accomplishment. Even if S is not being completely truthful in making such a compliment (i.e., flouting the Maxim of Quality), this type of utterance tends to be acceptable to H because it is a bow to H’s positive face.

B&L’s understanding of politeness is unabashedly functionalist, as are just about all other politeness theories in the literature. For example, B&L made the following claims about the relationship of language and politeness: “face redress is a powerful functional pressure on any linguistic system” and “a particular mechanism is discernible whereby such pressures leave their imprint on language structure” (p. 255). Likewise, “social functions are a prime candidate for the motivation of the great mass of superficial derivational machinery that characterizes a particular language” (p. 257). At the same time, they attempted to make their model of how politeness works as formal as possible in order to “account for the observed cross-cultural similarities in the abstract principles which underlie polite usage” (p.57). Thus, B&L proposed a

specific strategy (subordinate to the level of the four superstrategies) for each politeness device that they found to be functioning similarly in Tzeltal, Tamil and English. This led to fifteen surface-level strategies for Positive Politeness (e.g., “Use in-group identity markers”, “Seek agreement”, “Assume or assert reciprocity”), ten for Negative Politeness (e.g., “Be conventionally indirect”, “Question, hedge”, “Impersonalize S and H”), and another fifteen for going Off-Record (e.g., “Use metaphors”, “Understate”, “Over-generalize”). B&L also suggested that the same three sociological variables are responsible for assessing how weighty a given FTA is to the speaker and the hearer in many, and maybe all, cultures:

- (i) the social distance (D) between S and H
- (ii) the relative power (P) of S and H
- (iii) the ranking (R) of impositions in the particular culture (i.e., what is the social ‘cost’ of imposing on one’s interlocutor in the specific culture and situation of the conversation)

B&L proposed that their system for categorizing linguistic politeness was universally applicable across human languages. In making the assertion of universality for their model, they were not going beyond the accepted practice in much of the sociolinguistic research of their day. Both Grice and Goffman, for example, had unabashedly made similar claims for the models that they presented. Take, for instance, the following words of Goffman (1967:13) about the universality of ritualized face work (*italics mine*):

Each person, subculture, and society seems to have its own characteristic repertoire of face-saving practices...And yet the particular set of practices stressed by particular persons or groups seems to be drawn from *a single logically coherent framework of possible practices*. It is as if face, by its very nature, can be saved only in a certain number of ways, and as if each social grouping must make its selections from *this single matrix of possibilities*.

At the same time, B&L hedged their claim by explicitly acknowledging that the exact content of face differs from culture to culture (p.61), that the three sociological variables have culture-

specific parameters of implementation (p. 76) and that the precise subsets of politeness strategies used in concrete languages are filtered through specific cultural paradigms (p. 253).

1.2.3 Reactions to the Brown & Levinson model

By the early 1990s, the B&L model had become the “most influential in providing a paradigm for linguistic politeness” (Watts, Ide & Ehlich 1992:7). A decade later, it was still considered by many scholars to be “the pervasive central influence in writings on politeness” (Hirschon 2001:35). The strategies enumerated by B&L were accepted by many language researchers as usable for categorizing expressions of politeness cross-linguistically; they provided a good foothold for sorting and explaining much of the empirical data on verbal politeness devices in both familiar and ‘exotic’ languages.

Nevertheless, soon after the publication of B&L’s monograph, dissenting voices began to be heard expressing at least partial disagreement with B&L’s claims of universality for their model. See, for example, Fraser (2005), who assembles a long list of such critics and their criticisms. A few of the most important of these criticisms are given below.

One of the main lines of dissent from the B&L model came from non-Western scholars, such as Matsumoto (1988) and Nwoye (1992), who argued that B&L’s claim about the universality of negative face was overstated and skewed to an Anglo-American perception of the importance of not imposing on others. They pointed out that for languages such as Japanese and Igbo, the social structure of the community of speakers is such that the individual typically does not feel threatened when imposed on by another person, because this is the social norm. Thus, the entire notion of negative politeness may not be a highly relevant category in these languages. Others, such as Blum-Kulka (1987, 1992) and Sifianou (1992, 1996), brought forth language data showing that in some societies (such as Israel and Greece) indirectness in

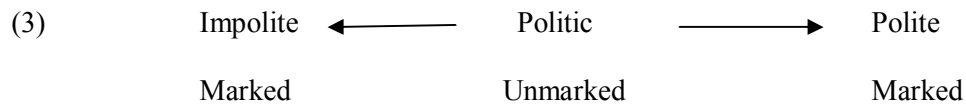
requests is not always seen as more polite than directness, contra B&L's postulate that indirect strategies typically flow from the speaker's desire to satisfy the hearer's negative face wants – "indirect speech acts have as their prime *raison d'être* the politeness functions they perform" (B&L 1987:142).

Likewise, Hill et al. (1986) and Ide (1989, 1992) argued that in Japanese society, 'discernment' (*wakimae*) of the proper way to talk to others according to the relative social position of the interlocutors plays a much greater role in linguistic politeness than does the notion of face threat to an individual on a personal level. Thus, in languages such as Japanese, Korean and Thai, the complex system of honorifics centers on speakers' need to evaluate their social standing in relation to that of other interlocutors along a multigrained system of values, such as age, power, kin relations, etc., and the choice of which honorific form to use is obligatory for all interlocutors in every conversation. Looking in depth at such language features brought deference to one's conversational partner according to societal norms of behavior into the forefront of politeness research in a way that B&L had not done.¹ Deferential politeness reflects how the collective mentality of a speaker's society is just as important as, and maybe more important than, the individual speaker's personal desires to be positively evaluated and not coerced. Nwoye (1992) usefully dubbed this notion "group face". This term will be employed henceforth in this dissertation in distinction from the "individual face" of the B&L model. Thus, since both individualistic, personal face-based politeness and community-oriented deferential politeness "co-occur with varying degree of proportion in each culture and society"

¹ Goffman (1967) had of course noted the importance of 'perceptiveness' for interlocutors to properly gauge their mutual interpretations of conversational interaction. It is not the process of 'perception' that differs from the 'discernment' of Hill et al. and Ide, but rather the object that is being perceived or discerned. For Goffman and B&L, it is the individual interlocutors' interpretations of the interaction on a personal level that are of utmost importance, while for Hill and Ide the object is rather society's constraints on how the given interaction must be carried out due to the relative position of the interlocutors in that society.

(Ide 1992), it is important to not miss one while overfocusing on the other, especially in Asian societies that are typically seen as more collectivistic than individualistic.² Although Tuvan society seems to be in a few respects less collectivistic than that of many East Asian societies (see discussion of Tuvan collectivism in section 3.1), I argue in this dissertation that both group face and individual face are necessary concepts for understanding politeness devices in the Tuvan language.

Another important refinement to B&L’s politeness theory was proposed by Richard Watts in a 1989 paper and subsequently developed in further writings of his (e.g., Watts 1992, 2003). Watts points out that in B&L’s model, the only two options on the scale of politeness are “polite” and its opposite “impolite”, with no middle ground, and that all linguistic behavior is therefore treated as marked in terms of politeness. Watts argues that there is in fact an intermediate category in language that is unmarked for politeness and which establishes or maintains the relationships of the speaker and the hearer in “a state of equilibrium”. This category is therefore usually not consciously noticed by speakers unless it is absent. He calls this category ‘politic behavior’.



Thus, linguistic politeness formulas that are conventionalized directives (such as the English examples “Please open the window” or “Could you open the window?”) would qualify as ‘politic’ because in prototypical situations, they are the social norm when making an unmarked request for someone to do something. According to Watts, for an utterance to qualify

² See Hofstede (1980) for the classical presentation of the individualism/collectivism divide, and the more recent Project GLOBE study (House et al. 2004) that shows East Asian countries, such as South Korea, the Philippines and Singapore, clustering high on both the institutional collectivism scale and the in-group collectivism scale.

as polite and not merely politic, the speaker has to go above and beyond the usual appropriate speech behavior so as to explicitly indicate that S values H's individual face wants, e.g., by saying something like, "I'm so sorry to bother you, but would you at all mind opening that window for me?"

Watts' observation was in fact prefigured already by Goffman (1967), who talked about the social value of simply maintaining the existing level of face that interlocutors already possess, without either attacking the other's face or trying to increase one's own level of face. As Goffman points out in describing socially prescribed face-saving behavior, "there is much to be gained from venturing nothing" (1967:43). This attitude seems to be at the core of 'politic' behavior. However, not all subsequent politeness researchers accept Watts' distinction between 'polite' and 'politic'. For example, Terkourafi (2005:252) suggests that the intuitively felt line between these two categories is in fact arbitrary, since both types of behavior maintain or constitute the hearer's face as opposed to threatening it.

The 2000s saw a notable shift in the direction of politeness research from atomistic, sentence-level analysis of polite expressions to a broader discourse-level approach for framing linguistic politeness behavior, with Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) being two of the initial major works promoting more overtly discursive models of politeness. Kadar & Mills (2011:7) well describe the heart of the perceived difference: "Brown and Levinson's approach ... claimed that it was possible to assume that a particular utterance would have a predictable effect on the hearer, whereas discursive research focuses precisely on the contextual variation of interpretation." Thus, using a formal V pronoun to address someone does not necessarily guarantee that the addressee will consider the speaker to be acting politely. If the discourse context is one in which solidarity (usually signalled by a T form) is expected, then the use of a V form might rather be interpreted as being cold and overly distant, not truly polite or politic.

As Culpeper (2011:197) puts it, “linguistic politeness does not fully determine politeness judgments”, because the linguistic expressions must be used in an appropriate context to have this effect. In the discursive approach, context (and co-text) is king. This perspective broadens the spotlight so as to include the hearer’s perception of linguistic expressions, not merely the speaker’s intention in producing them, and focuses on the interaction of S and H in negotiating the meaning of speech forms that are prototypically polite.

The discursive model also notes that what is considered politic, polite and impolite in a given society is constantly shifting, just like all other forms of linguistic behavior, and explicitly recognizes the struggle within a society over what exactly constitutes politeness at any given moment. As Locher & Bousfield (2008:8) put it, “[politeness] norms themselves are in flux, since they are shaped by the individuals who make up the discursive practice”. This approach to politeness analysis, also called the post-modern model because of its relativistic perspective, insists that it is not really helpful to talk about any sort of static politeness universals. Rather, it is argued, researchers should focus on investigating the ever-ongoing process of how specific language communities define and re-define politeness norms for themselves, with the primary research instrument being the metalinguistic discourse used by lay speakers of the language. This focus on native speakers’ own metadiscourse on politeness is termed politeness₁ by Eelen (2001) and first-order politeness by Watts (2003). It is explicitly contrasted to the second-order politeness (politeness₂) models of Lakoff, Leech, B&L and other classical politeness theories that discuss politeness using putative abstract universal categories which lay speakers do not themselves use. These two different approaches could simply be termed emic politeness research and etic politeness research, following the widely accepted use of these terms in general linguistics (Pike [1954] 1967) in reference to a culturally-internal (native speaker) perspective versus a culturally-external (researcher) perspective. In turning away from the

classical models' reliance on politeness₂ analysis, some post-modern scholars even use descriptions such as "pseudo-scientific" to describe B&L and proponents of their model (Culpeper 2011:50, referring to how Eelen 2001 and Watts 2003 classify B&L's theory).

Some politeness researchers also talk of a 'third wave' of politeness research following the Gricean/classical and discursive/post-modern waves. For example, Karen Grainger (2011) considers this third wave to be the varied sociological/interactional approaches to politeness that, in hybrid fashion, hold on to both the etic analysis-driven politeness₂ approach of the classical theories and the contextual/situational focus of the discursive approach, while criticizing and modifying both. These approaches share the postulate that face is constituted not by an individual but only by individuals interacting with each other, hence the title 'interactional'. Politeness research that is considered by Grainger to fall within this camp includes, among others, Terkourafi (2005), Arundale (2006), O'Driscoll (2007), Haugh (2007), and Grainger's own work on interaction between health professionals and patients. Some of the scholars that Grainger classifies as "third wave" seem to be ready to dismiss the B&L model wholesale on grounds other than the emic/etic question and to begin again from a fresh starting point just like many of the discursive politeness scholars. For example, Arundale (2006:210) believes B&L's definition of the central concept of face to be so flawed that the rest of their model becomes more or less useless. Among practitioners of the interactional approach, we also sometimes find a return to claims of universality for a particular view of facework, e.g., O'Driscoll's (2007:486) claim that the distinction between positive and negative face is "a culture-neutral empirical tool for examining interaction 'on the ground' with pan-cultural applicability."

Apart from modifications to politeness theory such as those listed above, another important development since the mid-1990s has been the branching-out of politeness research to

include closely related linguistic phenomena, such as rudeness and overpoliteness. The linguistic means used in such behaviors are typically accepted as accessing at least some of the same underlying cognitive structures that produce politeness, with ‘politeness’ and ‘impoliteness’ occupying opposite ends of a single scale. Culpeper (1996:355) cleverly calls impoliteness “the parasite of politeness”. At the same time, impoliteness researchers are also investigating whether certain impolite features of language may in fact be produced in a different manner than can be easily explained by the already recognized mechanisms in existing politeness theories. Although book-length works on impoliteness (e.g., Bousfield 2008, Bousfield & Locher 2008, Culpeper 2011) have so far tended to be focused almost exclusively on English-language data (a notable exception being Culpeper & Kadar 2010), the interest in extending impoliteness research to other languages has caught on among linguists, with more and more papers being published on the topic in venues such as the *Journal of Pragmatics* and the *Journal of Politeness Research*. An important feature of impoliteness research (as well as the latest politeness research) is that pragmatics is no longer the sole or even primary discipline that lends its tools for analysis; other humanities disciplines, such as social psychology and communication theory, are now also being harnessed by linguists to plumb the depths of linguistic politeness and impoliteness, which in the latest literature are often combined in the shorthand term (im)politeness or im/politeness. Although documenting rudeness and overpoliteness in Tuvan is not a central concern of my dissertation, I do occasionally touch upon these areas (e.g., Sections 2.8; 3.2.1.1; 4.4.4).

1.2.4 Response to criticisms of the Brown & Levinson model

In my discussion of Tuvan politeness devices in this dissertation, I make fairly heavy use of B&L’s politeness model. However, as mentioned above, there has been growing

opposition to this model among many politeness researchers, so my decision to use B&L requires an explanation. Whereas the B&L model does of course need to be refined as more real-life data is encountered, as is the case with all theories in any discipline of science and the humanities, I do not believe that there is sufficient reason to discard B&L altogether as some more extreme critics want to do in implementing a complete paradigm shift for thinking about politeness. For example, Arundale (2006:210) claims that “continuing to explain facework and politeness using Brown and Levinson’s (1987) theory is no longer productive”, Mills (2011:45) says that “It is no longer possible to simply map Brown and Levinson’s formal categories onto utterances”, and Watts (2003:11) calls for a “radical rejection” of this model and its presuppositions. In the following subsections, I argue that the B&L model has been on several points criticized unfairly and that it still has a good deal of explanatory power for at least a first pass at describing a language’s politeness devices, as I seek to do here for the Tuvan language.

1.2.4.1 Response to criticisms on first- versus second-order politeness

As described above, researchers in the discursive camp fault B&L for getting carried away with analyst-driven etic categories (politeness₂) and paying no attention to how native speakers of the languages they researched emically describe politeness themselves. However, this is not completely true. B&L did explicitly recognize the value of looking at emic analyses of politeness by native speakers, although they did not devote much energy to actually doing this. For example, on p. 76 of their work, they mentioned that the etic P (power) and D (distance) variables have emic correlates that are culture-specific. In endnote 19 on p. 287, they looked at some of the Tamil terms that are used by speakers to discuss the sociological conditions for choosing appropriate deferential forms in conversation. Thus, in B&L’s work, the focus on etic categories is more a matter of relative degree of attention than one of total absence

of value placed on emic categories. Discursive analysts do well to correct this imbalance, but this does not mean that the proverbial baby should be thrown out with the bathwater.

In fact, we see that certain contemporary politeness scholars (sociological/interactional, or third-wave researchers) in fact continue to affirm the value of research into etic politeness₂, especially when it is integrated with research into emic politeness₁ categories. To put it simply, they believe that lumping is better than splitting when there is really no overriding reason to split. Karen Grainger (2011:184) encapsulates this idea well in saying that “If we take the valuable insights from all three ‘waves’ of politeness theory, the result could be a very rich analysis of interactional data”. In Hegelian terms, thesis and antithesis lead to synthesis that balances out the excesses of the extremes. That is exactly what I want – a rich, balanced analysis of the Tuvan data, regardless of which politeness theory helps me to accomplish this goal. We shall see in the next subsection that the “lumping” approach to the distinction between individual face and group face also helps us to get a better grasp on what the data has to tell us about politeness in Tuvan.

1.2.4.2 Response to criticisms based on group face versus individual face in politeness

It is tempting to take the group face or deference approach to gauging politeness in cultures such as Japanese and Igbo as mutually exclusive with B&L’s individual face approach, as though in certain cultures the concept of face is constituted solely on the basis of societal expectations of appropriate deference behavior and is not in any way based on the individual face wants of the interlocutors. Selectively reading certain passages in Matsumoto (1988), Nwoye (1992) and other early advocates of the importance of group face in politeness research might lead one to conclude that B&L’s entire concept of individual face is in fact applicable primarily to Anglo-American or other Western societies, while many non-Western cultures have

a completely different “operating system”. For example, Matsumoto (1988:405) says the following about Japanese society: “Acknowledgment and maintenance of the relative position of others, *rather than preservation of an individual’s proper territory*, governs all social interaction” (italics mine). Taken at face value, this statement provides an either/or picture of group face and individual face in Japanese society. Nwoye (1992:310) frames his presentation of politeness in Igbo culture with a similar categorical dichotomy: “Brown and Levinson’s view of politeness, especially their notion of negative face and the need to avoid imposition, *does not seem to apply to the egalitarian Igbo society*, in which concern for group interests rather than atomistic individualism is the expected norm of behavior” (italics mine).

Looking at various social correlates attributed to group face and individual face in the politeness literature can also give the impression that they are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed to each other. The following table lays out some of the dimensions proposed for GF and IF by various authors.

Table 1.1 Sociocultural correlates of politeness based on group face and individual face

Group Face	Individual Face
collectivist culture	individualist culture
vertical society	horizontal society
upholds social structure	upholds personal freedom and self-image
high context culture	low context culture
discernment-based	volition-based

The importance of collective wants versus individual wants is probably the easiest to correlate to group face/individual face. As described in the now classic study of cultural dimensions by Hofstede (1980), collectivist cultures place a higher value on the wants of the cohesive in-group to which the individual member belongs, while individualist societies stress the rights and desires of each person as being just as important as (or even more important than)

what the group as a whole considers to be best. Minkov (2011) reframes this difference as one between “universalism” and “exclusionism”, but acknowledges that his index and Hofstede’s index “measure different facets of one and the same broad phenomenon” (2011:195). The individualism/collectivism cultural dimension was highlighted by Nwoye (1992) in his discussion of the importance of group face for Igbo politeness. Culpeper (2011:26) also mentions this distinction as relevant for distinguishing between GF and IF.

The second contrast is that of vertical versus horizontal society (Nakane 1970). In a vertical society, such as that of Japan, interaction between most interlocutors is typically characterized by a superior/inferior relationship because there are so many minutely differentiated distinctions in social status, based on class, age-based roles, gender-based roles, etc. Thus, the majority of dyadic interactions are asymmetric in terms of relative social power.³ Horizontal societies are characterized by a focus not on the unequal relations up and down the social hierarchy, but rather on the strong bonds between members of the same group (such as a caste, clan or class), i.e., a symmetric relationship. Matsumoto (1988) ties deferential politeness to the vertical nature of Japanese society, in which it is more important to get along smoothly with one’s superiors and inferiors than to be concerned about preserving one’s autonomy as an individual. The applicability of these first two correlates (individualism/collectivism and vertical society/horizontal society) to face concerns in Tuvan society is explored in section 3.1.

The third contrast is between cultures that primarily value upholding the existing social structure and those in which personal freedom and a strong self-image trump the importance of automatically submitting to existing social norms. Gu (1990) sees maintenance of the Confucian

³ An extreme example of such a vertically stratified language could until recently be found in Ponapean: “no two individuals could be said to share the same rank or status...in virtually any interaction the dyad would be characterized by a power differential” (Malsch 1987:411, citing Ponapean data from Rehg 1981).

social order as the primary objective of politeness in Chinese culture, which is based on the good of the group rather than on the desires of the individual. The personal positive self-image that is so important according to B&L's definition of face is claimed to not be of high priority in cultures that strive foremost to maintain the social order.

The fourth contrast is between high context societies and low context societies (Hall 1976). In a high context society, the culture is fairly homogenous and people can reliably access a high degree of covert cultural knowledge to guide the interpretation of their communication. Lots of unspoken contextual information is indexed to every word. A low context society, to the contrary, relies on explicit verbal coding of a significantly larger part of communication because there is much less of an expectation that mutual knowledge of the shared context will be sufficient to produce a clear message. This is typical of societies that are multicultural or in which interpersonal relationships are for various reasons typically not enduring enough for a solid relational context to be built up between people so as to seriously affect their communication patterns. Deferential politeness (i.e., group face) is considered to correlate to high context societies by Rosenberg (2004).

Finally, there is the difference between discernment and volition. Ide (1989) argues that in Japanese culture, the need to discern the proper honorific to be used in a given situation accesses a different type of politeness than the one based on the volition or individual intention of the speaker. Discernment-based politeness involves formal forms that are socially prescribed regardless of the speaker's intention, while volitional politeness is based on the verbal strategy that S has personally chosen to use in the given situation. Thus, discernment is associated with the primacy of group face wants, while volitional-based politeness strategies are associated with individual face wants.

Despite the appearance that group face and individual face are complete opposites that can never co-occur, it is in fact erroneous to treat them and their correlates as being in an “either/or” relationship. Both face types are in fact present cross-culturally because just about all people in all societies are conscious of group demands and all are simultaneously individuals with private cognitions as well. That all people in all societies are necessarily at the same time both individuals and members of society is of course a truism, but one that nonetheless might be worth repeating in politeness research so as to avoid a false dichotomization of face! The important factor in a specific culture is not whether this society has group face or individual face (it has both) but rather whether the collective or the private values are ranked higher in various aspects of life. If group face is ranked higher in a given sphere, then politeness will be primarily signaled by a discerning respect for accepted social norms of interaction according to the social positions of the interlocutors. If individual face is ranked higher, then it will be very important for S to explicitly indicate via various verbal strategies that H is valued as an autonomous individual whose personal wants are not to be casually disregarded. Social psychologists working in multiple cultures note that the structure of the self is such that cultural differences such as these are more fuzzy/continuum-based and less categorical. Thus, Bochner (1994:274-275) writing about differences in self-perception by Malaysian, Australian and British subjects, says:

“irrespective of their cultural background, people have complex selves that contain qualitatively different cognitions ... one way to carve up that cake is into private, collective, and public segments... cultures vary in the emphasis they place on these three components. Thus, Australians, like everyone else, have some private, some collective, and some public self-cognitions. However, their private cognitions will be more salient ... than their collective and public self-references.”

This citation supports the idea that collective and private wants are not mutually exclusive; they are present in all cultures, but have a different degree of emphasis placed upon one or the other depending on the specific culture.

Even the scholars who initially highlighted the notion of group face or deference as a corrective to B&L's primarily individualistic approach (Matsumoto 1988, Ide 1989, Nwoye 1992) themselves indicate that both GF and IF are present in their cultures, but that GF is primary. They acknowledge that the distinctions between GF and IF are not radically binary and mutually exclusive in their societies. Thus, Matsumoto (1988) admits in the closing of her article that although "[d]eference in Japanese culture focuses on the ranking difference between the conversational participants ... [t]he western type of Deference consisting of giving options [i.e., negative politeness based on individual face] is also observable in Japan, but usually among people similar in ranking" (p. 424). This confession amounts to saying that group face and individual face function in complementary distribution in Japanese society: for dyads that are asymmetric in power (the majority due to the vertical nature of Japanese society), group face concerns are the primary driving force, while for the rarer dyad in which the interlocutors are symmetric in power, individual face kicks in to guide their choice of politeness strategy. Nwoye (1992) is more explicit about the relationship of group face and individual face in Igbo society: "These two aspects of face are hierarchically ranked, with group face ranking higher than individual face" (p. 326). He mentions the following example of a possible off-record indirect request in Igbo, which clearly instantiates the negative politeness strategy of avoiding imposition, i.e., threat to individual face: "Requests can be made by implicatures, such as complementing a farmer on the size of his corn cobs ... the indirectness leaves the hearer some escape route to ignore the implied request" (p. 320). Ide (1989) goes even farther by extending this dual nature of face beyond the Japanese context as a language universal: "Discernment and

volition are points on a continuum and in most actual language usage one finds that most utterances are neither purely one or the other, but to some extent a mixture of the two ... Each language and culture is presumed to have at least these two types of linguistic politeness... each culture is different in the relative weight it assigns them” (pp. 232-233). In fact, she believes that the different politeness types represented by discernment (i.e., group face) and volition (i.e., individual face) can be incorporated into a “unified framework” (p. 243). These comments should be seen as tempering the other statements of these scholars which could be taken as maintaining the radical incompatibility of GF and IF. Hwang (1990) likewise distinguishes between ‘deference’ (linguistic encoding of the social fact of unequal power between interlocutors) and ‘politeness’ (personal psychological strategy for conflict avoidance) in Korean, but maintains that these parameters operate in parallel with each other.

Several more recent politeness researchers likewise treat group face and individual face as components of a single face system. For example, Hahn & Hatfield (2011), following Diana Bravo (2008), argue for a single, interactional approach to the notion of ‘face’ that combines individual face with group face, and argue that even Anglo-American culture (seen by many researchers as primarily concerned with individual face) in fact has a significant component of group face: “If Anglo-American culture is entirely centered on the individual, what do we make of State Departments and public relations firms who attempt to influence how we think of governments, corporations, and other groups as whole entities?” (p. 28) One of Hahn & Hatfield’s working premises is that “Group face and individual face are not intended to be mutually exclusive and indeed cannot be” (p. 29).

Following up on this premise and on Ide’s (1989) proposal that cultures differ in the proportional weight assigned to group face and individual face, I propose that various languages

can be assigned a relative position on the GF/IF scale in their manifestation of linguistic politeness. This is visually represented by the following diagram.

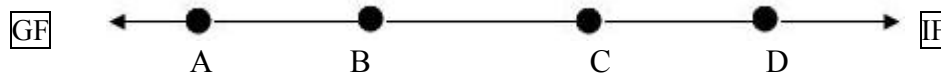


Figure 1.2 Languages on scale of group face- versus individual face-based valuation of politeness

This diagram shows four hypothetical languages, A, B, C, and D, on the scale of politeness type, with group face (GF) and individual face (IF) on opposite ends of the spectrum. Language A makes use primarily of deferential politeness expressions that have their basis in group face; Language D employs mostly individual face-based politeness expressions; and Languages B and C use some politeness expressions geared to both types of face. Picturing the languages along this sort of continuum between politeness types is preferable to picturing them as belonging to either the group face type of language or the individual face type of language; rather, it allows for features characteristic of both types of politeness to be present in each of these languages, but to varying degrees. Thus, a language such as Japanese might occupy the A position on this scale because its politeness system depends heavily on community-focused honorifics that situate the interlocutors in the social system, while British English might occupy the D position because its politeness devices are primarily oriented to mitigating the threat of impositions to individual face. This is a similar approach to B&L's (1987:245) weighting of some cultures as more negative politeness-based while others are more positive politeness-based, although that distinction is limited to internal subcategories of what I am here calling individual face.

However, the above diagram is somewhat of an oversimplification, since languages do have an internal range of politeness strategies that they choose from. Thus, we saw that Japanese prefers using honorifics (group face-based devices) in speech situations where the interlocutors do not have equal power status, but also uses non-imposing negative politeness (individual face-based) where they are social equals. Igbo prefers to make requests directly, but also has the possibility of using off-record indirectness (Nwoye 1992 does not specify in which contexts). Likewise, Turkish prefers directness within family units (in-group solidarity, Zeyrek 2001) but conventional indirectness in service encounters (individual face-based strategy, Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu 2001). It may therefore be more accurate to represent each language as also having an internal scale that hovers somewhere between the two poles of GF and IF.

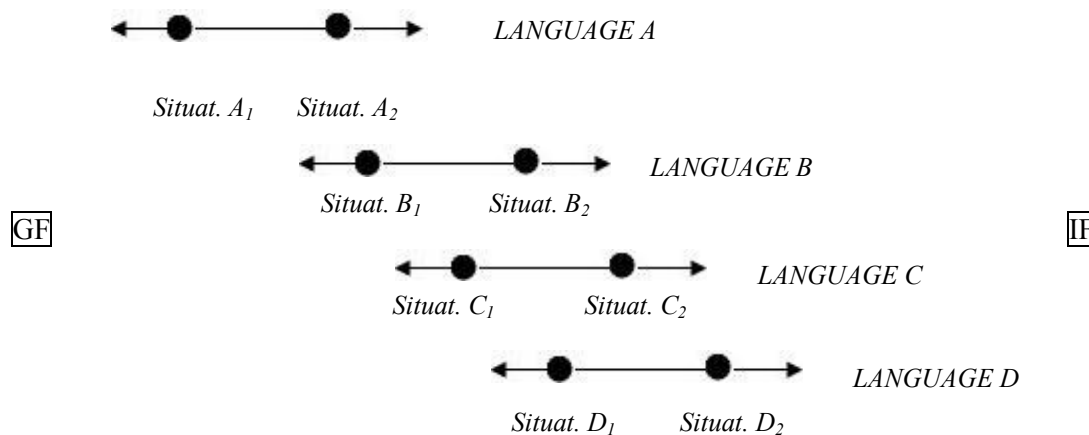


Figure 1.3 Group face and individual face languages with language-internal scales

According to this view, each of the languages A, B, C and D as a whole has a general tendency towards group face or individual face, thus accounting for what Nwoye (1992) called the hierarchical ranking of one face type over the other in a given language. At the same time, each has some situations/utterance types/speech acts in which deferential politeness based on group face is activated more highly, and others in which individual face-based politeness is

activated more highly. These situations do not necessarily have to be the same across languages. Thus, it is possible that situation A1 might refer to the same type of speech act as situation B2, so that language A would deal with this situation by using an expression of deferential politeness while language B would deal with it by using a polite verbal device based on individual face. This seems to be the case when we compare politic requests in English (non-imposing conventional indirectness based on individual face) with politic requests in Igbo (in-group solidarity directness based on group face). The representation in Figure 1.3 allows for a language to include components of both politeness types, while at the same time showing the general tendency of the language to be either more of a group face language (e.g., Japanese, Igbo) or a individual face language (e.g., English). It also allows for potential clashes between the demands of group face and individual face in borderline situations where it is not clear which type of face is best to apply when selecting a verbal expression of politeness.

1.2.4.3 Response to criticism of B&L's utterance-based approach

Finally, let us look at the criticism leveled at the B&L model for ostensibly being too focused on discrete linguistic units and not cognizant enough of discourse context as the prime generator or defeaser of politeness implicatures. According to this reading of their model, B&L assume that a speaker can use specific forms in a language that always have a predictable politeness effect on the hearer. By contrast, discursive researchers typically counter that there can never be a predictable effect because all meaning in conversation is contextually determined and politeness is negotiated by interlocutors in each specific conversation on the basis of much more than just these politeness forms.

In fact, B&L themselves fully recognized that discourse context to a great degree determines how specific verbal expressions are judged by interlocutors in terms of their

politeness value. They took pains to show that the values of their sociological variables D, P, and R are context-sensitive (1987:78-80). They warned that “one has to be cautious in generalizing across contexts” (p. 142) when ranking various verbal strategies in terms of their relative politeness. They likewise showed that conversational context, not merely immediate linguistic co-text, is absolutely necessary for disambiguating between polar opposite implicatures that a single politeness device might have (dealing specifically with English *quite* as meaning either “very” or “not very”, pp. 265-266).

B&L also presented a fair number of examples involving stretches of discourse, not single utterances (e.g., pp. 109, 113, 168, 224, 237). Section 6.3 of their work was devoted to conversational structure; in this section they affirmed that FTAs and politeness are located in discourse units that are larger than particular utterances or sentences, and that “some strategies for FTA-handling are describable only in terms of sequences of acts or utterances” (p.233). So to say that B&L ignored the relevance of discourse context to politeness is a misrepresentation of their actual argument.

Besides this, some post-modern scholars such as Jonathan Culpeper have themselves recently questioned whether discourse context may have been taken too far by their camp as being the all-in-all for explaining (im)politeness judgments. Culpeper shows in chapter 4 of his (2011) work that there are certain verbal expressions in English that evoke an evaluation of impoliteness just about any way you cut them. Culpeper points out that “[s]ome strategies or formulae that may appear impolite can in fact be neutralised or even made positive in many contexts, *but with other strategies or formulae this is only possible in a highly restricted number of contexts*” (p. 116, italics mine). He offers the taboo word *cunt* – ranked #1 for offensiveness in British English in 2000 – as an example of the latter type of non-neutralizable (or context-spanning) formula for causing offense. It stands to reason that if conventionalized impoliteness

devices have a broad negative effect across various interactional contexts, with impoliteness being merely “the parasite of politeness” (Culpeper 1996:355), the same might be true of at least some of the conventionalized politeness devices that B&L originally examined. The point is that many politeness devices in language are CONVENTIONALIZED – their use in a prototypical interactional situation is pre-programmed in the collective linguistic consciousness of the language community, and it takes extra work to dislodge the implicatures produced. It is of course very interesting to tease apart the context that can defease a politeness implicature, so that what is usually considered polite becomes the reverse; but to do this, one first has to accept that this expression really is by default considered to be polite.

Conventionalized politeness devices do have a prototypical value, all other things being equal, just like any other part of a language. Terkourafi (2005:247) talks about the existence of default assumptions tacitly made by interlocutors about social categories as the starting point for their interaction. Even though these assumptions become open for re-negotiation during the conversation, the default values are “taken for granted” at the outset of a given interaction. Thus, we see in ch. 4 of this dissertation that Tuvan respondents consistently rank various directive expressions at relative levels of politeness even when provided with only a minimal hypothetical social context for grounding their judgments. How could they do this if politeness was produced solely by the context of each specific interaction and was not at least partially inherent in the actual conventionalized expressions used? I of course accept that context does influence interlocutors’ interpretation of how conventionalized expressions are used (i.e., the distinction between sentence and utterance). But in the absence of an actual context, people in a speech community have a working model in their minds which they use to assume a prototypical context, allowing them to make politeness judgments based on the linguistic expressions themselves. This working model seems fairly consistent across the sample of

respondents in the Tuvan language, although there is of course room for variation in the perception of this model between cultural subgroups and individual speakers.

Another reason to focus on the actual pieces of language that are used by speakers to generate politeness implicatures is that this guarantees, at least for starters, to provide a rich description of a discrete cognitive subsystem of a language. Thus, in describing the workings of politeness in Tuvan, which have previously not been systematically studied, what is initially needed is an “atomistic” utterance-based approach that can lay out some of the most frequently used nuts and bolts of the linguistic system. One has to know what the pieces actually are and how they go together in typical contexts before one sets out to demonstrate how these usages can be manipulated by speakers to mean something else in an atypical context. One must first get a clear view of the tip of the iceberg to start hypothesizing about the nature of the iceberg underneath. In contrast with the atomistic approach taken by the classical models of politeness, much writing on politeness from the discursive and interactional perspectives does not seem to be trying to explain actual language data as much as to produce an underlying philosophy of communicative interaction. Haugh’s (2007:297) criticism of the discursive approach to politeness is telling: “the discursive approach abandons pursuit of not only an a priori predictive theory of politeness or a post-facto descriptive theory of politeness...but also any attempts to develop a universal, cross-culturally valid theory of politeness altogether”. Thus, the post-classical waves of politeness research bear the stamp of having moved away from the discipline of linguistics to the discipline of social theory; they are not merely at the cutting-edge interface of linguistics and social theory, but have rather made a wholesale relocation into the latter camp. This dissertation, however, consciously aims to remain a piece of linguistic research. At the same time, I readily acknowledge that this is really only the beginning of a full analysis of politeness in Tuvan, and that additional discursive and sociological perspectives in the future

would probably enrich the present analysis significantly, since politeness can ultimately be defined as “the cumulative effect of the perlocutionary effects of individual utterances drawn as the discourse unfolds” (Terkourafi 2005:252).

Finally, there is a practical reason for implementing the B&L utterance-based approach in this dissertation, namely, that I am not a native speaker of Tuvan. While a discursive approach is great for fine-tuning the analysis of politeness with the tools of conversational analysis, it definitely requires an intimate knowledge of the language in question on a native- or near-native-speaker level. The classical structural approach allows for non-native speakers, such as myself in relation to Tuvan, to produce at least a rough sketch of what the basic politeness devices are. A discursive-based politeness analysis that would show how these boundaries can be stretched, ignored, or manipulated really ought to be carried out by someone with native or native-like fluency in the language who can feel its fine nuances.

There is no end in sight to the squabbles between the various camps of politeness theorizing. Discursive practitioners are beginning to assert more and more frequently that they have won the war and that the “pseudoscientific” B&L model has been definitively laid to rest. However, merely asserting something forcefully does not make it a fact. My dissertation is not intended to put a stop to any of the squabbles, so it is best to just get on to the Tuvan language data itself. To this end, and with no further apology, my dissertation uses the B&L approach when needed to describe the Tuvan data, and also makes use of the approaches of other scholars who disagree with B&L. Let politeness theoreticians from their respective camps draw the conclusions they like from this dissertation. I affirm Terkourafi’s (2005:254) evaluation that the various politeness theories are in the long run mutually complementary, and each is useful for tackling politeness phenomena at a “different level of granularity”. Since this dissertation is the first directed attempt to examine politeness in Tuvan, the classical politeness-theory focus on

the nuts-and-bolts structural aspects of politeness devices is both called for and descriptively productive. If the opportunity arises in the future to take a more discursive look at how these structural elements are manipulated by individual speakers within specific conversational contexts so as to cancel the prototypical politeness implicature, this too will be welcome. But everything cannot come at once.

1.3 The study of politeness in the Turkic languages

Inasmuch as pragmatics in general is heavily understudied in the Turkic language family, the subfield of politeness, too, has not received much attention for most of the Turkic languages. The best studied of these languages from the point of view of pragmatic research is probably Turkish. A rising interest in politeness among Turkish scholars is testified to by occasional articles published on the topic in English-language journals, such as Doğançay-Aktuna & Kamışlı (1996) on power and politeness in Turkish, Ruhi (2006) on Turkish compliments, and a volume of articles on Greek and Turkish politeness (Bayraktaroğlu & Sifianou 2001). Linguistic conferences over the past several years have also seen a greater number of presentations on politeness and impoliteness in Turkish, such as the papers read at the Linguistic Impoliteness And Rudeness (LIAR) II conference at Lancaster University in 2009, the numerous papers presented at the 6th International Symposium on Politeness held in Ankara in 2011, and Turgut's (2012) poster on politeness acquisition at the 2012 International Conference on Turkish Linguistics (ICTL). More is likely available in the linguistic literature written in Turkish.

Besides this material on Turkish, one can also find occasional mention of linguistic expressions that signal politeness in English-language descriptive works on other Turkic languages, but these typically consist of “by the way” comments that do not approach politeness

as a coherent topic. For example, Clark's (1998) *Turkmen Reference Grammar* references politeness in passing when describing the imperative mood, the conditional mood, and euphemistic expressions, a total of six scattered mentions in a work of 700 pages.

Only a few works on politeness issues in Turkic languages have been found in the Russian scholarly literature, even though this is typically the most voluminous source of descriptive information for these languages in the core areas of linguistic research. Scattered articles include Tenišev (2001), a brief cross-Turkic description of thanking expressions. The only dissertations so far discovered on this topic written in the former Soviet Union are: Tamaeva (1992) on polite words in Kazakh, Fedorova (2003) on tactful expressions in Sakha/Yakut, Saljaxova (2004) on linguistic politeness devices in Bashkir (written in Bashkir with Russian glosses in the appendix on kin terms), Savojskaja (2005) on a comparative study of polite expressions in Kazakh, Russian, and English, and Romazanova (2007) on the pragmatics of address terms in Tatar and English. For the most part, all of these frame their research in the Soviet/Russian communicative function approach, although they are aware of some of the classical Western politeness theories, such as work by Grice, Leech and Brown & Levinson. There are also some non-scholarly but helpful Internet sources on politeness behavior, including speech etiquette, in some of the Turkic languages.⁴ It would be a very useful study to compile existing references to politeness in English, Russian and Turkish-language sources on the Turkic languages for producing a general picture of Turkic politeness devices, but this would likely quickly turn into a dissertation or monograph-length work in itself.

⁴ For example, Bashkir - <http://eng.bashkortostan450.ru/culture/culture-of-peoples/bashkirs/lang.html> (accessed 28 August 2012); Tatar and Crimean Tatar - <http://www.disput.az/index.php?showtopic=141916%20on%2012%20november%202012> (accessed 3 December 2012).

1.4 Motivation, goals and limitations of present study

As mentioned in the introduction, no works have so far been devoted specifically to the study of linguistic politeness in Tuvan. My dissertation attempts to fill this scholarly lacuna with a primarily data-driven description of linguistic devices that Tuvan speakers use to speak politely, as well as of certain elements that they consider impolite.

Why politeness in particular? While the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Tuvan have been fairly well documented in the linguistic literature, its pragmasemantics is heavily understudied. Politeness is a discrete subsystem of a language, but its boundaries are determined by pragmatics and social function, not by the language's morphosyntactic categories. This is an area of language that provides important insights into speech categories deemed by culture-bearers to be crucial to successful communication. Studying Tuvan politeness exposes themes that are specific to this language and culture, an important aspect of ethnolinguistic research; at the same time, it can also bring to light some common elements that Tuvan shares with other languages, either because these languages are genetically related, such as in the Turkic family, or because they are rooted in general human cognitive processes. To find out what these elements are, data is needed from as many languages as possible. As Sachiko Ide (1989:97) points out, "the more descriptions we acquire about the phenomena of linguistic politeness, the more we realise how little we know about the range of possible expressions of politeness in different cultures and languages". In order to gain insight as to what elements are truly universal and what elements are specific to a language or language family, there is "an acute need for the study of politeness in different sociocultural contexts and this needs to be an emic and microethnographic perspective" (Doğançay-Aktuna & Kamışlı 2001:98).

Politeness is also something that is vital for a cultural outsider to learn in order to get a working grasp of a language. As Janney & Arndt (1992:40) note, “being interculturally tactful requires somewhat different strategies than being tactful in one’s own culture”. For intercultural relations to have even a hope of succeeding, “we all have to understand each other better if we are all to survive and flourish together. Politeness (or courtesy, or civility) is essential in this enterprise, and a general understanding ... of how to be respectful and friendly to others is intrinsic to the world’s continued health” (Lakoff & Ide 2005:12). Thus, it is my hope that through this dissertation I can indirectly add my widow’s mite to intercultural good will and promote continued dialogue between Tuvan society and the outside world.

My dissertation of course seeks to be informed by the existing politeness theories and to inform these theories in return, but is not tied down to promoting a single theory as more correct than the others. The desire for politeness research that is data-rich as opposed to heavily theory-laden can already be seen in Hatfield & Hahn’s (2011) article on Korean apologies: “we do not wish to lose the presentation of data on Korean apologies within dense theoretical discussion” (p. 1304), probably as a response to many politeness articles and books in which the number of actual language examples is disproportionately small in comparison to the number of pages taken up by discussion of this or that politeness theory. Thus, in the main body of my dissertation, elements of various theoretical approaches are presented only when they are useful for documenting and making sense of the Tuvan data, not merely for pontificating on deep issues of social relations.

This study should be of interest and benefit to linguistic scholarship in at least four ways. First of all, it seeks to document a part of the Tuvan language in terms of its pragmasemantics, whereas most approaches to language documentation so far have focused on a language’s phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon. Although these core areas are

tremendously important to document, it is just as vital (and arguably even more so) to show how the language is actually used by its speakers in real-life settings to accomplish their real-life goals, i.e., pragmatic documentation. As suggested by Lakoff & Ide (2005:3), “pragmatics may well turn out to be the ‘core’ of the core, the explanatory basis for much of the rest”. Second, this study provides rich material for comparative Turcology, which is widely used by Russian, European, and Turkish linguists working in Eurasia. Third, the Tuvan data can be used by politeness researchers for continuing to chisel away at the nature of linguistic politeness. Finally, it is my hope that this dissertation will be accessible enough that the Tuvan scholarly community could make use of it to improve the teaching of politeness to students of the Tuvan language. Although there is not yet a huge demand for TFL (Tuvan as a Foreign Language), the number of language learners is growing year by year as Tuva becomes more and more open to the outside world, and some pedagogical materials have been produced, both in Russian and in English. A recent article in the BBC News (Amos 2012) even mentions the new Tuvan Talking Dictionary iPhone app created by the Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages to demonstrate how Tuvan words are pronounced (<https://itunes.apple.com/us/app/tuvan-talking-dictionary/id354960516?mt=8>). Adding explicit lessons on politeness for foreign language-learners would presumably help make their interaction with native Tuvan speakers less strained and more natural.

There are at least three obvious limitations to the present research. The first is that I am not a native speaker of Tuvan, and politeness is really an issue that deserves to have the full analytical faculties of a native speaker devoted to it. Each of the sections of the dissertation thus merely lays a foundation for future, in-depth exploration, hopefully by native Tuvans who have intuitive knowledge of what I discuss as a very interested outsider, but an outsider

nonetheless. The second limitation, which can be noted just by looking at the contents of the dissertation, is that I do not deal with the issue of prosody in signaling (im)politeness, even though this is seen by politeness researchers as being a crucial element of the contextual cues that hearers use in recognizing a speech event as polite or impolite (see Culpeper 2011b). Prosodic issues, such as attitudinally marked intonational contours (Culpeper 2011a:147) and the correlation between rate of speech delivery and perceptions of (im)politeness, are left for later research. The third limitation is that the present study makes no attempt to be exhaustive in regard to various speech acts in which politeness is manifested in Tuvan, since this is merely the first exploratory foray into this broad field. The dissertation is mostly concerned with directives (commands, requests), while other speech acts, such as asserting, apologizing, thanking and asking questions come into play merely in passing.

1.5 Description of data sources

The main data sources used for the present research were trifold: a self-compiled electronic corpus of Tuvan texts, fieldwork on Tuvan politeness using questionnaires, and personal contact with native Tuvan consultants. I describe each of these in turn in the following subsections. Additional minor data sources, such as Tuvan literature outside of my corpus, was used as needed to supplement the main sources. As a preliminary matter, Tuvan data is represented in this dissertation with the transliteration system used widely in Turkic studies for describing languages that are usually written with a Cyrillic alphabet (e.g., Johanson & Csató 1998). The only symbol in this transliteration system that might not be widely understood among a general audience of linguists is the letter *ı* (Tuvan *ы*, IPA [ɯ], unrounded high back vowel).

1.5.1 *Corpus work*⁵

As Levinson (1983:63) points out, the “basic face-to-face conversational context” is the environment “in which all humans acquire language”. Since politeness has to do with interaction between people, I assumed that the ideal type of language data to examine to find plentiful examples of politeness in action would be a corpus of natural spoken Tuvan conversations; issues related to respect, solidarity, face wants, etc., could be expected to frequently surface in live, polyphonous interaction, rather than in monologues, where there is no pressure to manage potential interactional tension since only one speaker is “on the scene” at a time. However, no corpus of spoken Tuvan yet exists, and producing one would be exceedingly work-intensive and time-consuming. Therefore, I decided to turn to written Tuvan materials that approximate real-life social situations. Two text-types that fit this criterion well are plays and fictional prose (novels and short stories), because these genres typically make heavy use of conversation between characters. Because of this, previous language researchers (for instance, Brown & Gilman 1960), have successfully used plays or novels as a source of data for studying issues such as pronominal usage. Politeness researchers too have made use of plays as a corpus that approximates real-life conversation, e.g., Sifianou (1992).

A fairly large number of original (i.e., not translated) novels and plays have been published in the Tuvan language since its orthography was first developed in the 1930s. Even though such material is invented, it can reasonably be expected that the authors structured the conversations according to the speech norms accepted by most native speakers of the language. At the same time, it is also true that authors may unconsciously skew their presentation of the linguistic forms used in actual conversation. For example, Stvan (2006) describes such skewing

⁵ This subsection is an updated version of an earlier description of my corpus published in Voinov (2010b).

of spoken discourse markers in written English texts, while Srinarawat (2005) mentions a similar distortion in the portrayed usage of indirect speech in Thai novels. Nonetheless, if the author is an acknowledged master of the written word in Tuvan society, we should generally expect to see forms occurring in the text that Tuvan speakers at least believe to be representative of their conversation, and thus of social norms that underlie politeness behavior. Until a corpus of spoken Tuvan discourse can be developed, a literary corpus is a tolerable source of data for dealing with linguistic issues such as the ones raised in this dissertation.

I began putting together an electronic corpus of written Tuvan texts for use in my personal linguistic research in 2009, since there was no electronic Tuvan textual corpus publicly available for research purposes. By 2010, I had compiled a small corpus of nine literary texts (250,500 tokens) which I used for an investigation of repluralized pronouns, published as Voinov (2010b). After this, I continued to refine the corpus and add literary works to it, so that at present, the corpus contains 19 texts, all literary in nature (i.e., no spoken language material). These are presented in Table 1.2 below.

The total wordcount of this updated corpus is 431,571 word tokens (46,314 word types), as calculated by the concordancing software package AntConc v.3.3.1w, which I used for all of the corpus analysis in this dissertation. Though tiny in comparison to the megacorpora available today in world languages such as English (for example, the Oxford English Corpus⁶ boasted of containing over 2 billion word tokens in spring 2010), a size of 430 thousand words still provides enough material for at least a glimpse of many linguistic phenomena, including certain politeness devices. Increasing the size of this corpus is a constantly ongoing labor, complicated by the fact that not many electronic Tuvan texts are yet available in the public domain.

⁶ <http://oxforddictionaries.com/words/about-the-oxford-english-corpus>

Table 1.2 Texts in Tuvan literary corpus

Title	Author	Genre	Wordcount
<i>Aŋči ugbališki</i>	F. Seglenmey	collection of short stories	10,172
<i>Aŋgür-ool, Vol. 1</i>	S. Sarig-ool	novel	63,380
<i>Aŋgür-ool, Vol. 2</i>	S. Sarig-ool	novel	65,780
<i>Arzılaŋ Küderek, Vol. 2, chs.1-14</i>	I. Badra	biographical novel	22,553
<i>Börülerni aŋnaari</i>	S. Toka	short story	2,735
<i>Buyan Badirgi</i> (pp. 85-123)	M. B. Kenin-Lopsaŋ	biographical novel	10,368
<i>Čečen čugaalar</i>	M. Xovalig	collection of short stories	9,944
<i>Čirgilčinner</i>	E. Mižit	collection of short plays	8,916
<i>Döngür-ool</i>	S. Toka	play	9,564
<i>İržim buluŋ</i>	K. Kudaži	novel	44,128
<i>Yozulug er</i>	N. Kuular	play	5,806
<i>Kežik-kis</i>	E. Doŋgak	novel	36,685
<i>Kim sen, Sübedey</i>	E. Mižit	play	17,190
<i>Matpaadir</i> (introduction)	S. Orus-ool, R. Čakar	non-fiction	2,813
<i>Nogaan ortuluk</i>	S. Sürün-ool	novel	10,172
<i>Shangür-ool Kuular</i>	Sh. Kuular	collection of short stories	3,330
<i>Tanaa-Xerel</i>	N. Kuular	children's novel	12,437
<i>Taŋdi-Kežii</i>	K. Kudaži	novel	59,960
<i>Xün-xürtünüŋ xürtüzü</i>	U. Monguš	non-fiction	15,262

Nine of these texts were obtained directly from their authors or publishers as computer files. Six other texts I scanned and recognized using an OCR software package called ABBYY FineReader Pro v.9.0, while the four remaining ones had been scanned or retyped by other people and made available to me for research purposes. An official Tuvan textual corpus that contains most of these texts is in the process of being constructed and a shell is already up on the Web (www.tuvancorpus.ru), but as of the writing of this dissertation, this website is not yet operational, i.e., no searches may be performed in the Tuvan texts (see Bayyr-ool & Voinov 2012 for discussion of plans concerning the Tuvan National Corpus).

Of the nineteen works in the corpus, four are of the short story genre, four are plays, nine are fictional or biographical novels, and two are works of scholarly non-fiction. Although I did not expect the non-fiction works to contain much useful material on politeness inasmuch as they do not contain much conversation, I included them in the corpus anyway because of the paucity of available materials, and because linguistic phenomena do sometimes show up in places where researchers least expect to see them. All of the texts were written by native speakers of Tuvan, either scholars or professional authors. All but one (*Tanaa-Xerel*) were written with an adult audience in mind. Thirteen of the works were composed in the late 20th or early 21st century, while five works (*Döngür-ool*, *Börülerni aṅnaari*, *Aṅgür-ool 1*, *Aṅgür-ool 2*, *Īržim buluṅ*) and part of a sixth (*Aṅčī ugbališki*) were written a few decades earlier in the mid-20th century (1930s-1960s). These latter works were included in the corpus because the available materials were too sparse for me to be exceedingly selective, and also because they offer the possibility of getting somewhat of a diachronic perspective on the use of politeness devices in Tuvan.

As is visible from the widely divergent wordcounts of some of these texts (i.e. almost 66,000 tokens in *Aṅgür-ool 2* but fewer than 3,000 in *Börülerni aṅnaari*), I did not consider it crucial to make the constituent texts proportional in size for the present research. What was more relevant for this study was to find as many tokens of Tuvan politeness devices as possible so as to examine them in a wide variety of contexts. I thus used the texts that were available to me without worrying about the statistical distribution of their sizes. In this dissertation, language examples drawn from my corpus are found throughout chapters 2 through 4. Specific corpus analyses involving usage frequencies can be found in sections 2.3 (emic Tuvan terms for politeness); 3.2 (repluralized pronouns); and 4.4 (particles).

1.5.1.1 Annotation

Even though most of my corpus is not yet annotated with part-of-speech (POS) tags, it is definitely usable for conducting searches for particular words and morphemes to find examples and to quantify the results. The only annotation that was vital for me to do for this project was as follows. First, I added tags for disambiguating certain person-marking clitics from the independent pronouns of the same form (see section 3.2). I also tagged all tokens of the polite directive *-(A)m* to facilitate searching for this morpheme, since there are several allomorphs of this morpheme (see section 4.4.1.1). Readers interested in what a POS tagging system might look like for Tuvan can find a proposed tagset in Bayyr-ool & Voinov (2012).

1.5.2 Fieldwork

My fieldwork on Tuvan politeness was implemented in two stages, the first in 2011 (written questionnaire), the second in 2012 (oral interviews and computer questionnaire). This research was financially supported by grants from the UTA College of Liberal Arts and the Department of Linguistics. Data based on these questionnaire and interview responses is interspersed throughout the dissertation.

1.5.2.1 Stage 1 questionnaire

First, in the summer of 2011, I spent a month and a half in Tuva conducting a pilot study of politeness by questionnaire (IRB protocol 2011-0592, Exempt status). This questionnaire was written in Russian, since most Tuvans are bilingual, and had fifteen questions, several of which included multiple parts. Both the original Russian version and the

English translation of the questionnaire are included as Appendix B.⁷ The questions focused on five main areas: 1) an emic description of what constitutes ‘politeness’ in Tuvan; 2) the interaction between two auxiliary verbs and one particle that signal politeness in requests; 3) relative politeness levels of two Tuvan words used to thank people; 4) three expressions used for offering apologies; and 5) the function of repluralized pronouns in excerpts from a Tuvan novel. Not all of the areas examined in this questionnaire were actually included in this dissertation. In particular, those dealing with thanking and apologizing await a detailed examination in the future.

Of about 80 questionnaires distributed to native Tuvan speakers, I received back 39 filled out. Some were answered completely in Tuvan, some completely in Russian, but most had some mixture of the two languages. The majority of the respondents were women,⁸ and most were between the ages of 18 and 50. For the most part, respondents were residents of the capital city of Kyzyl, although some were from the town of Toora-Xem in the Todzhin region of Tuva. Although this questionnaire provided me with lots of invaluable qualitative data on Tuvan politeness, some respondents failed to answer some of the questions in the way requested (e.g., to provide a relative ranking between all the options), while others failed to answer some of the questions at all. This means that a somewhat smaller data pool than desired was available for quantifying the responses to some of the questions. Nonetheless, for questions in which quantification was possible (for example, see Table 4.2 in ch. 4), the numbers do seem to paint a sufficiently clear picture of native speaker preferences for certain politeness devices over others.

⁷ The English version of the questionnaire in Appendix B combines several minimally-differing Russian versions used in Tuva. The original Russian versions differed by counterbalanced order of choices in questions #4, 6, and 9, by degree of hypothetical offense in question #12, and by the specific request verb used in question #4 (‘show’/‘give’).

⁸ Similar gender skewing is visible in several published studies dealing with politeness, cf. Doğançay-Aktuna & Kamışlı (2001:80) and Culpeper (2011:10).

1.5.2.2 Stage 2 questionnaire/interview

In fall 2012, I returned to Tuva for two and a half weeks to get more information on politeness and impoliteness using additional data-gathering instruments (IRB protocol 2012-0753, Exempt status). This time, my focus was on formalized polite expressions, address terms, polite pronouns, and perceptions of impoliteness in Tuvan culture. This questionnaire was administered differently from the pilot study in 2011. Whereas the 2011 study was completely in written form, the 2012 questionnaire was implemented primarily conversationally, akin to a semi-structured interview. I had a set of planned questions that I tried to get through with all of the respondents (see Appendix C), but allowed them to go off on tangents which I then followed up with further unplanned questions. The metalanguage for these interviews was usually Russian, but sometimes respondents found it easier to talk in Tuvan, which I encouraged. With the consent of the respondents, our conversations were recorded using a Marantz digital voice recorder so that I could listen to them again later, and I also wrote down as much as I could of their responses on paper.

For two of the questions, I used the DMDX display software package (<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~kforster/dmdx/dmdx.htm>, see Forster & Forster 2003) to administer the questions and collect the responses on my laptop. This provided respondents with something interesting to do besides talking about politeness with me, and also facilitated the quantification of the responses. The DMDX questions were in Tuvan, translated from my Russian original by a professional Tuvan translator. The laptop approach seems to have greatly pleased, or at least amused, most of the respondents, since Tuvan-language software simply does not yet exist, although Tuvan-language Internet pages have started to appear during the last several years.

Another important difference between the 2011 and 2012 questionnaires is that for the latter, I purposefully attempted to obtain responses from different dialect areas of Tuva.

According to most researchers (e.g., Harrison 2000:10, Kara-ool 2003:162, Khabtagaeva 2009:14), there are four primary dialects spoken in Tuva (each with subdialects): 1) the Central dialect, which is used as the basis for the literary language; 2) the Northeastern (Todzha) dialect; 3) the Southeastern dialect; and 4) the Western dialect. In my 2011 study, I obtained questionnaire responses mostly from inhabitants of Kyzyl, even though many of these were not natives of Kyzyl. Thus, it was impossible to figure out based on responses to those questionnaires whether or not there are any significant differences in politeness forms between the various dialects. However, I heard much anecdotal evidence to the effect that the Southeastern dialect differs greatly from the other dialects in its use of polite pronouns. In my 2012 research, besides working with six Kyzyl-based respondents again, I also traveled to Ak-Dovurak (Western dialect), Toora-Xem (Northeastern, or Todzha/Tožu, dialect), and Erzin (Southeastern dialect) and worked with nineteen respondents who were native to those areas, exploring which elements of the politeness system are common between the dialects, and which elements may be specific to only a certain dialect.



Figure 1.4: Tuvan towns in which politeness fieldwork was conducted
(Adapted from: <http://www.si-usa.com/tuva/>, based on Google Earth satellite map)

The results of this approach did not turn up any tremendous differences in politeness usage between the dialects, but did find a few minor ones in address terms and pronominal use (see relevant sections of ch. 3).

1.5.3 Individual contact with Tuvan consultants

It is obvious that in many respects native speakers of a language can provide a much greater wealth of information about their language than can somewhat dry and lifeless instruments such as a text corpus or a written questionnaire. However, since there is no Tuvan community in the U.S. to speak of, apart from scattered individuals here and there across the country, elicitation work with speakers in the U.S. was not a feasible option for obtaining and checking data. Nonetheless, because I lived in Tuva for eight years (1999-2007), I still have several Tuvan friends and acquaintances whose native-speaker knowledge of the language I can access via e-mail, phone or Skype conversations from the U.S., or in person whenever I visit Tuva. In conversation or correspondence with my acquaintances, I often raised linguistic questions to get their grammaticality judgments, felicity judgments, attitudes, opinions, etc., concerning various elements of politeness and impoliteness in Tuvan. In order to incorporate their linguistic judgments on Tuvan (im)politeness into my dissertation, I obtained informed consent from four such language consultants (IRB protocol 2010-0128, Exempt status).

Typically, my interaction with my consultants used Russian as the primary metalanguage for discussing Tuvan words and constructions, since this was the language in which both my consultants and I shared a similar degree of proficiency. (My Tuvan conversational skills are at a low intermediate level, having deteriorated considerably after living outside of Tuva for the past six years.) Although using a language of wider communication is in some ways less than ideal for conducting such research, some field

linguists, such as Lisa Matthewson (2004), affirm that it does not in itself create major distortions in the data-gathering process, and may in fact be “the best option when presenting discourse contexts” in semantic fieldwork.

As with the questionnaire and interview-based language data, information gleaned from discussion with native consultants is interspersed throughout the dissertation. However, it is most highly concentrated in chapter 2 (the expanded definition of politeness in section 2.2 and the discussion of impoliteness perceptions in section 2.8).

1.6 Outline of the rest of this dissertation

Having sketched out the theory and methodology employed in this dissertation, in the rest of this work I describe the actual politeness devices that the Tuvan language employs. The material is structured in the following manner.

Chapter 2 starts out by examining some of the emic/first-order terms that Tuvans use to discuss politeness in their language, and also looks at native speakers’ metadiscourse on the current state of impoliteness in Tuvan. Chapter 3 discusses the main deferential politeness devices that are based on group face in Tuvan, namely respectful pronouns and address terms. In Chapter 4, I turn my attention to several politeness devices that primarily satisfy individual face wants – conventionally indirect constructions, polite auxiliary verbs, and politeness particles. Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation with a summary of the findings and with suggestions for further research in the field of Tuvan politeness.

CHAPTER 2

EMIC PERCEPTIONS OF POLITENESS IN TUVAN SOCIETY

2.1 Introduction

As noted in the introductory chapter, much recent research on linguistic politeness has focused on what Watts (2003) calls *first-order* politeness, or in simpler terms, the categories that ordinary native speakers of a given language use to talk about politeness phenomena in everyday life. This is contrasted by discursive or post-modern politeness researchers, such as Watts, Derek Bousfield and Miriam Locher, to what they call the *second-order* approach characteristic of classical politeness models (Leech, Brown & Levinson, etc.). Second-order politeness primarily attempts to categorize language-specific politeness behaviors according to cross-linguistically applicable abstract theoretical labels such as “negative facework” or “social norm-based politeness”. However, the second-order notion of politeness is somewhat problematic in that there is a profusion of proposed definitions for the concept, with no single universally recognized definition. See the introductory chapter of LPRG (2011) for a sampling of such definitions even within a single research group. It is a very slippery concept indeed, likely because of the constantly shifting nature of human interaction and cognition, including that of scholars themselves. For the purposes of this dissertation, a brief but elegant working definition of second-order politeness that does not indulge in scholarly obfuscation is borrowed from Sifianou (1992), according to whom politeness simply means showing “consideration for the other person, according to expected norms”.

In discussing first-order politeness in Tuvan, I prefer to use the phrase *emic perceptions of politeness*, because the technical term *emic* has been employed in general and anthropological linguistics for over a half-century to contrast the culture-bearer's internal perspective with the researcher's external, theory-driven *etic* perspective (Pike [1954] 1967). The distinction *emic/etic* seems to be less specialized and more quickly understood within the field of linguistics than the distinction *first-order/second-order*, although it is readily acknowledged that neither pair of terms is widely understood by English speakers outside of academic circles.

Our starting point in examining linguistic politeness in the Tuvan language is therefore to look at how Tuvans themselves conceive of the category of behavior whose closest English equivalent is 'politeness'. What are the words used by Tuvans to talk about behavior that they consider 'polite' or 'impolite'? Which conventionalized expressions do Tuvans explicitly say are important for conveying (im)politeness in Tuvan? What cultural sources shape the Tuvan understanding of (im)politeness? Is this understanding static throughout Tuvan society, or are there perceptions of dynamic change happening as politeness behavior shifts in their society? Questions such as these seem to be the best place to begin an investigation into Tuvan politeness, although they obviously cannot be the only line of inquiry, since there are limits to the depth of conscious awareness and analysis that native speakers of any language have about their mother tongue.

While focusing on what Tuvans themselves have to say about politeness in their language, I also attempt to ground these emic observations in a wider cross-linguistic setting, i.e. to note the etic categories that appear as generalizations when one compares emic categories across languages. Thus, for example, I observe in sections 2.2 and 2.5 that Tuvans emically focus their attention on the same politeness-bearing speech acts (etic categorization) as do English speakers, and in 2.4 I point out that the emic Tuvan terms for the etic notion of 'face'

correspond very closely (but are not wholly identical) to the emic terms for this concept in Igbo. This combination of the emic and etic approaches to politeness analysis has proponents even among current researchers who locate themselves in the post-modern/discursive camp, such as Grainger (2011). She argues, quite reasonably, that both first-order and second-order approaches to politeness must be used if one wants to obtain “a very rich analysis of interactional data” (2011:184).

To investigate what Tuvans believe concerning politeness in their language, I look at some of their own metadiscourse on politeness. This data is integrated from five main sources: dictionaries, the 2011 politeness questionnaires and 2012 interviews, my literary corpus, a collection of Tuvan proverbs, and comments on politeness gleaned from discussions and written correspondence with my Tuvan consultants. The specific subtopics that I examine in this chapter are: characteristics of speech considered by Tuvans to play a primary role in politeness (2.2), some of the main terms used by Tuvans to talk about politeness (2.3), emic terms that express the etic notion of ‘face’ in Tuvan (2.4), ‘golden words’ or formulaic politeness expressions, especially greeting and leave-taking formulas (2.5), the importance of recognizing the age difference between interlocutors (2.6), a sampling of Tuvan proverbs that teach polite behavior (2.7), and shifting perceptions of impoliteness in Tuvan society (2.8).

2.2 An expanded Tuvan definition of politeness

We can begin by looking at how one well-educated and linguistically perceptive Tuvan woman (early 30s, born in the town of Čaa-Xöl, raised and currently residing in Kyzyl) defined

politeness when I asked her to describe a person that she would consider to be very polite in the

Tuvan context:

“In the first place, this is a person who doesn’t throw words around, who always speaks at the right time and to the point. His speech is moderate in speed and has an intonation that does not in any way dominate or impose on others and allows them the right to make their own choices. A polite person addresses others appropriately to their social status, age, and gender (by first name and patronymic if the addressee is older, simply by first name if he or she is younger, or with the words *ugbay*, *akiy*, *daay*, *čeen*, *öpey*, *innar*, etc.) He always greets people and says goodbye to them, whether they be acquaintances or strangers; expresses gratefulness substantively (using *čettirdim*); if he has made a mistake or inconvenienced someone, he confesses his fault and openly asks for forgiveness.”
(Valeria Kulundary, p.c., mostly in Russian, with Tuvan words in italics)

Although the personal opinion of a single representative of a culture or language can never be taken as speaking for the entire society, it is nonetheless valuable in sketching out the general playing field that a researcher can probe further.

First of all, although politeness is a broad cultural phenomenon that involves much more than language (including factors such as body positioning, facial expressions, gestures, and observance of non-verbal norms of behavior), this consultant chose to focus her response on the language aspect. This may be due to her awareness of my specific research focus on linguistic politeness. Whatever the case may be, Ms. Kulundary’s response indicates several important things about politeness in Tuvan that we can take as guideposts:

- prosody is a key factor for determining polite intentions;
- both individual face-based politeness (non-imposition on others) and group face-based politeness (addressing other appropriately to their social status) are consciously recognized by Tuvans as being important;
- verbal expressions need to be chosen in light of specific social factors, such as social status, relative age, and gender of interlocutors;
- particular speech acts (greeting, leave-taking, thanking, apologizing) are seen as

prototypical loci of overtly recognizable politeness behavior.

Whereas this dissertation does not pursue prosody or the speech acts of thanking and apologizing any further, it does touch upon all of the other elements mentioned by Ms. Kuluntary.

2.3 Terms in Tuvan semantic field of politeness

Because contemporary Tuvans live in a society that is for the most part bilingual in Tuvan and Russian, a natural point of interest for our investigation is to examine meaning correspondences between these two languages for terms dealing with politeness. Thus, we can look at what is offered by both bilingual dictionaries and bilingual informants in this respect. At the same time, investigating lexical patterns in monolingual Tuvan texts (corpus analysis) helps to hone our understanding of the nuances of some of these terms in a way that neither dictionaries nor native speakers can usually do, so this source of information is also utilized below. In what follows, I examine three of the main words that convey related but not identical concepts in the Tuvan semantic field of ‘politeness’: *evileŋ-eeldek* ‘polite/decent’, *xündüleečel* ‘respectful’, and *čimčak* ‘soft’.

2.3.1 *Evileŋ-eeldek*

When I asked Tuvan consultant Nikolay Kuular to give me the first term that comes to mind as the closest Tuvan equivalent of Russian *vežlivost*, the most general Russian term for the concept of ‘politeness’, he produced the compound Tuvan term *evileŋ-eeldek*. A Tuvan/Russian dictionary (Tenišev 1968) confirms that both *evileŋ* and *eeldek* have the primary meaning of *vežlivyj* ‘polite’, and cross-references these components as synonymous to each other, but does not have an entry for the compound version *evileŋ-eeldek*. It is not clear from these dictionaries whether there is any semantic distinction between these two component words.

Although typically seen as authoritative in language communities, some dictionaries, especially those produced in the Soviet era, may be accused of occasionally being more prescriptive than descriptive. It is also the case that a single native speaker's linguistic competence (in this case, my consultant's) may not perfectly reflect that of other native speakers. Because of these potential problems, I checked with Tuvan questionnaire respondents about their understanding of the term *evileŋ-eeldek* as a close semantic equivalent of the Russian term *vežlivyj*. No respondents challenged or disagreed with this being a fully acceptable translation equivalent. About a third of the respondents (12 out of 39, or 31%) volunteered their opinion that the two parts of the compound (*evileŋ* and *eeldek*) cannot be felicitously separated from each other when talking about politeness. Another 16 respondents (41%) indicated that they could not think of any differences in meaning between the two components if one were to use them separately.

Looking at my Tuvan literary corpus, I found only one token of *evileŋ-eeldek* and two tokens with the reverse order *eeldek-evileŋ* (see Table 2.1 below). I also discovered two tokens of *evileŋ* by itself, but fourteen tokens of *eeldek* by itself. There were also a few compound terms containing either *evileŋ* or *eeldek*, both with the additional term *eptig*, which by itself means 'fitting, appropriate', but in the given contexts refers to polite behavior. Thus, although the two parts of the compound *evileŋ-eeldek* appear to be more or less synonymous, *eeldek* is the word that is used on its own much more frequently to convey the concept of 'politeness'. This is probably why the more recent Tuvan/English–English/Tuvan dictionary (Anderson & Harrison 2003) gives only *eeldek*, but not *evileŋ*, as meaning 'polite'

Table 2.1 Corpus frequency of politeness synonyms *eeldek* and *evileŋ*

<u>Expression</u>	<u># of corpus tokens</u>
eeldek	14
eeldek-eptig	1
eeldek-evileŋ	2
evileŋ-eeldek	1
eptig-evileŋ	2
evileŋ	2

2.3.2 *Xündüleečel*

We also find several other close synonyms for *evileŋ-eeldek* given in dictionaries. Tenišev (1968) offers the synonym *čövüleŋ* for each of the components of this compound; its meaning is not in any way disambiguated from the meaning of *evileŋ* and *eeldek*, but my consultants have said that *čövüleŋ* is archaic and is no longer used in conversational Tuvan. Furthermore, both Tenišev (1968) and Anderson & Harrison (2003) have the term *xündüleečel*, derived from the stem *xündü* ‘respect’, as meaning ‘polite, respectful, deferential’. Another word based on the stem *xündü* with a similar meaning is *xündüürgek*, also given by Tenišev (1968) with no shades of difference indicated in the precise semantics of the two terms. The common verb *xündüleer* ‘treat respectfully’ is also derived from this stem.

Looking beyond the limitations of meaning equivalences provided by dictionaries (several of which were compiled primarily by L2 speakers of Tuvan), we can examine the terms that native Tuvan speakers themselves provided when questioned about the semantic field of ‘politeness’. When asked to list some qualities associated with being *evileŋ-eeldek* (question #1 of the questionnaire, see Appendix B), 14 respondents⁹ gave 28 different Tuvan words or

⁹ The other 25 respondents answered this question in Russian. Although their responses are useful in sketching out the general areas of behavior covered by the term *evileŋ-eeldek*, they do not help to directly establish a lexical field for politeness in Tuvan.

phrases as being characteristic of ‘polite’ people. The following table shows the top five answers (most of the respondents provided more than one characteristic of politeness):

Table 2.2 Top five characteristics given for people who are *evileŋ-eeldek*

Tuvan word or phrase	English equivalent	# of respondents
<i>xündüleečel</i>	respectful, deferential	7
<i>biče setkildig</i>	modest, humble (lit. ‘having a small soul’) ¹⁰	5
<i>čimčak/ čimčak setkildig / aaži-sözü čimčak</i>	soft / soft-souled / soft in temperament and speech	4
<i>duzaargak</i>	helpful, ready to help out	4
<i>toptug / toptug-tomaannig</i>	decent, well-behaved, meek	4

When asked to suggest other Tuvan words that could be used to express the notion of ‘politeness’ or ‘polite person’ (question #3 of the questionnaire), 14 other respondents offered *xündüleečel* ‘respectful, deferential’ as being a fitting word, while another 5 suggested *čimčak* ‘soft’ or a phrase containing this word. The overall picture produced by these responses is that the prototypical characteristics of ‘politeness’ as perceived by Tuvans are showing respect and deference to your conversational partner (*xündüleečel* is mentioned by 21 respondents in all) and using your words softly, non-abrasively (*čimčak* is mentioned by 9 respondents in all). As I show in later parts of this dissertation, these two features of linguistic behavior correspond closely to the primary conventionalized verbal expressions used to signal politeness in Tuvan.

The specific semantic difference between *evileŋ-eeldek* ‘polite’ and *xündüleečel* ‘respectful’ is not easy to tease apart. According to one questionnaire respondent, both terms mean exactly the same thing. Another respondent stated that *evileŋ-eeldek* is now rarely used, mostly by older people, and that it is being replaced by *xündüleečel* in contemporary Tuvan. A

¹⁰ The character trait of humility in relation to both oneself and other is well encapsulated in the following Tuvan proverb: *Boduŋnu bogdaga bodava, Ežiŋni enikke deŋneve* ‘Don’t consider yourself to be God, and don’t treat your friend like a dog (lit. puppy)’.

third respondent analyzed the difference as follows: “*evileŋ-eeldek* refers more to the external, formal side, i.e., to a person who uses polite words and expressions, and *xündüleečel* ... to internal human qualities”. This last observation may show that *evileŋ-eeldek* is an indicator of politic behavior (the external, formal side of interaction), while *xündüleečel* refers to polite behavior in the fuller sense of the word (an attempt on the personal level to go beyond the minimum expected by social norms for making your conversational partner feel respected.)

Alternatively, it is possible to analyze *xündüleečel* as the basic-level category meaning ‘polite’ and *evileŋ-eeldek* as being a hypernym, meaning something broader like ‘decent’ (see Rosch 1978 for the hypernym/basic-level/hyponym taxonomy.) This interpretation is supported by the fact that several of the characteristics of *evileŋ-eeldek* given by respondents, such as *duzaargak* ‘helpful’, *xülümzürüür* ‘smiling’, *ekiirgek* ‘generous’, and *megeči eves* ‘not a liar/deceiver’ seem to lie outside the bounds of what is covered by the English term *politeness* or the Russian term *vežlivost’*. In this case, the other words given by my respondents to describe characteristics of *evileŋ-eeldek* would be either basic-level terms or hyponyms of basic-level terms. A graphic representation of the possible lexical relationship between *evileŋ-eeldek*, *xündüleečel* and several other relevant Tuvan terms given by the questionnaire respondents might look like the following:

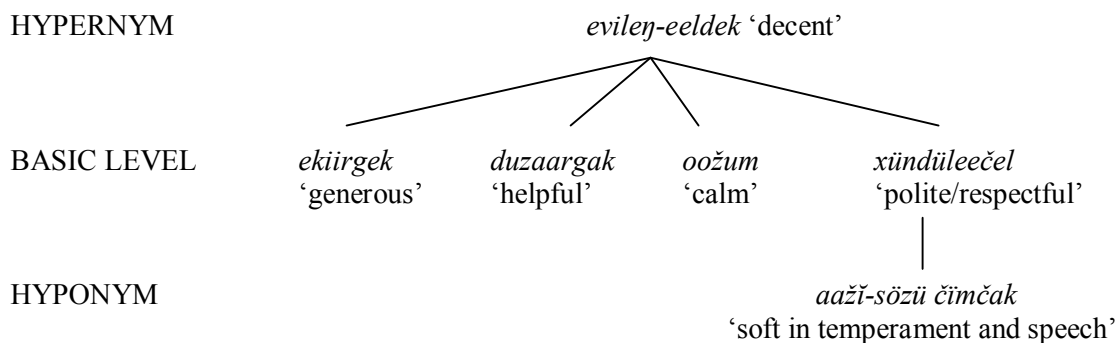


Figure 2.1 Proposed semantic inclusion hierarchy for *xündüleečel* and *evileŋ-eeldek*

Based on Rosch's (1978) association of basic-level categories with greater frequency of use in language, it might be expected that in a Tuvan textual corpus the term *xündüleečel* would occur significantly more frequently than *evileŋ-eeldek* if these were truly in a basic-level/hypernym semantic relationship. This possible prediction is not borne out by the data in my corpus, where *xündüleečel* occurs only four times (and its synonym *xündüürgek* does not occur at all). This number is comparable to the four total tokens of the compounds *evileŋ-eeldek* and *eeldek-evileŋ* (see table 2.1 above). However, since later work (see, e.g., Wisniewski & Murphy 1989) has shown that the actual relationship between lexical frequency and basic-level categories involves other semantic nuances and is not necessarily a straightforward correlation, no solid argument can really be made either for or against the proposed semantic hierarchy of these Tuvan terms based on their word frequency in the corpus.

The fact that terms with an *evileŋ* component co-occur in coordinate constructions with *xündüleečel* in texts may be taken as an indication that they are on the same level of a lexical taxonomy. For example:

- (4) Xemčik čonu šag-töögü-den čugaa-soottug, eptig-evileŋ bolgaš
 Kh. people time-history-ABL talkative polite and
 kaygamčik xündüleečel
 incredibly respectful

‘The people of the Khemchik river have from of old been talkative, polite and incredibly respectful’ (Buyan, p. 101)

Nonetheless, since native speakers were not able to think of any cases of *xündüleečel* speech that were not also *evileŋ-eeldek*, it is overall best to conclude that *xündüleečel* is subsumed within *evileŋ-eeldek*. Although both terms contribute to the concept translated as *polite* in English and *vežlivyj* in Russian, it is *xündüleečel* that is likely at the prototypical semantic center of what is etically deemed ‘politeness’ behavior. The following diagram attempts to

graphically represent the relationship of the etic term ‘politeness’ and the emic Tuvan terms *evileŋ-eeldek* (broader) and *xündülečel* (narrower and more focal).

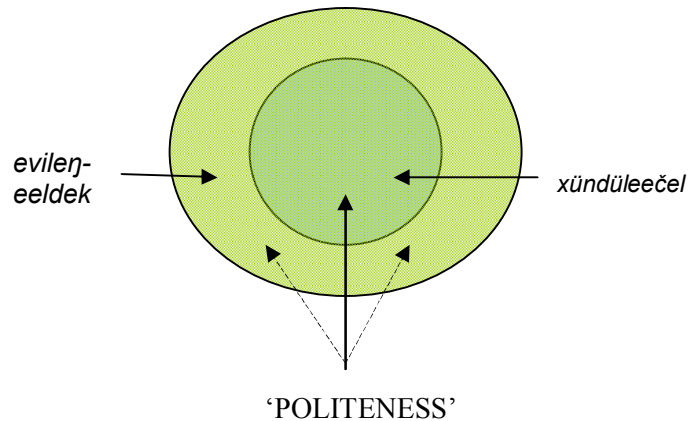


Figure 2.2 Proposed relationship of emic Tuvan terms *evileŋ-eeldek* and *xündülečel* to etic term ‘politeness’

2.3.3 Čimčak

Let us return to the term *čimčak* ‘soft’, which we saw in Table 2.2 above to be one of the most frequent characterizations of ‘polite’ speech in the questionnaires. Interview respondents confirmed that this term is frequently used in collocation with *söster* ‘words’ or *čugaa* ‘speech’ (*čimčak söster* / *čimčak čugaa*) to describe speech that is friendly, non-abrasive, and non-imposing. Its emic antonym is *kadiŋ* ‘hard, harsh’. The latter term is defined by Monguš (2011:26) as being the opposite of *eptig-evileŋ*, which we saw in Table 2.1 above to be one of the lexical variants for indicating ‘polite’ speech. Whereas ‘hard words’ are not necessarily offensive, they noticeably lack the extra linguistic elements that ‘soften’ speech so as to make it respectful. A subcategory of ‘hard words’ that interview respondents mentioned is that of *bagay söster* ‘bad words, foul language’. *Bagay söster* are considered inherently impolite by Tuvans because they predicate something about the referent or hearer that is patently not true

but offensive, typically a taboo concept or a metaphorical comparison to a cultural item with highly negative connotations. A few examples of each category are provided below.

Čimčak söster ‘soft words’

- (5) čaraš boor sen
pretty be.P/F 2s
‘You are handsome/pretty’ (spoken to child)
- (6) aška-ni ap al-iñar=am, ugba-y
money-ACC take.CV AUX-2p.IMV=POL older.sister-VOC
‘Please take the money, older sister’
- (7) kayi xire čoru-p tur sen?
which extent go-CV AUX 2s
‘How are you doing?’ (to friend or younger person)

Kadig söster ‘hard words’

- (8) ma, ap al
here take.CV AUX.IMV
‘Here, take it’ (‘hard’ when said to person older than the speaker)
- (9) öödežok xey sen
good.for.nothing useless 2s
‘You are a useless good-for-nothing’
- (10) čüü xire čoru-p tur sen?
what extent go-CV AUX 2s
‘How are you doing?’ (between men, or when angry)
- (11) čid-e ber!
vanish-CV AUX
‘Get lost (lit. vanish)!’

Bagay söster ‘bad words’

- (12) čü-l, xavan?!
what-Q.WH pig
‘What, pig?!’ (typical insult leading up to a fight)
- (13) xiymanj sen / kööt sen
ass 2s pussy 2s
‘You’re an asshole / You’re a pussy’

Thus, the ‘soft’ expressions either assert something positive about the hearer (5), add a non-obligatory linguistic element to lessen imposition, such as the particle *-(A)m* in (6) (see section 4.4.1), or promote a solidarity relationship between S and H, as in (7). No ‘softening’ devices are used in the ‘hard’ words. We also see that certain lexical items – *čüü* ‘what’ in (10) in comparison to *kayī* ‘which’ in (7) – are considered by Tuvans to be harsher than others for reasons that are not yet clear to me.

It should be noted that not all negative appellatives are considered by Tuvans to automatically belong to the category of *bagay söster* ‘foul language’. Thus, the appellative in (9) – *öödežok xey* ‘useless good-for-nothing’ – is negative and ‘hard’, but was said by interview respondents to not be as offensive as the types of words that are truly *bagay*. Other appellatives of this sort are presented in section 3.2.1, and can be compared to English “light cuss words” such as ‘jerk, dummy, bonehead, etc.’

‘Hard’ words were associated with male speech by interview respondents. Neither male nor female respondents considered it fitting for women to use such expressions, although they acknowledged that occasionally they do hear a woman talking this way, typically when she is verbally castigating someone or when intoxicated. ‘Soft’ words, on the other hand, are considered to be appropriate and polite for both genders to use. At the same time, several respondents indicated that there are times when the situation demands that a man speak to someone with ‘hard’ words, e.g., when using ‘soft’ words has repeatedly failed to produce the desired effect. Thus, the distinction between ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ words could be looked as a difference in “politeness register” in Tuvan, with culturally-determined gender roles playing an important part in assessing the appropriateness of each register in a given interactional situation. At the same time, according to one female interview respondent, Saylikmaa Ooržak, Tuvan men think that using ‘hard’ words makes them manly/macho, while Tuvan women look upon men

who talk in this way as simply being rude and uncouth. Sailykmaa’s husband, Ayas Ooržak, concurred with her opinion, stating that to him as well, conversation characterized by ‘hard’ words is *čurum čok* ‘undisciplined, disorderly’ and *čaraš eves* ‘ugly’.

Finer gradations are also noted by Tuvans between *kadig* ‘hard’ words and *čimčak* ‘soft’ words. Thus, certain expressions in certain contexts are seen as being *kadigzimaar* ‘hardish, somewhat hard’. An example of such a ‘hardish’ expression is provided in (15) from the semantic field of kin terms:

- | | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| (14) | a. duŋma-m
b. ugba-m | ‘my younger sibling’
‘my older sister’ | (<i>čimčak</i>) |
| (15) | a. duŋma-k-ïm
b. ugba-k-ïm | ‘my younger sibling’
‘my older sister’ | (<i>kadigzimaar</i>) |

When the fictive kin terms in (14) are used to address another person, they prototypically mark a polite attitude or at least a politic one, underlining family-like solidarity between the interlocutors (see more on kin terms in section 3.2.2). The morphologically more complex kin terms with the *-k-* affix in (15), however, appear to add a note of distance or coldness to the address. Two respondents, Raisa Kechil and Valeria Damba, independently said that these address forms could felicitously be used only in the context of a mild conflict situation.¹¹ They are not quite *kadig*, but also not really *čimčak*.

2.4 Emic terms related to ‘face’ in Tuvan

In Tuvan there are two main lexemes that emically encode semantic components related to the abstract etic notion of ‘face’ as a person’s socially constructed public image. These are

¹¹ The affix *-k-* is found as an endearment morpheme in Sakha/Yakut kin terms, e.g. *iye-ke-em* ‘my dear mother’ (Fedorova 2003:111), and appears to have had a similar function in Tuvan texts in the mid-20th century. Monguš (2003:516) believes that the address term *duŋmakim* is endearing, and Kara-ool (2003) considers *-k-* to be an endearment morpheme in *avakim* ‘mommy dear’, *ugbakim* ‘older sister dear’, *duŋmakim* ‘younger sibling dear’, *oglukum* ‘sonny dear’ and *uruukum* ‘daughter dear’. However, none of my politeness interview respondents recognized the respectful function of *-k-* in any lexemes except for *avakim* ‘mommy dear’, and some said they were not at all familiar with any kin terms that use the *-k-* affix. This may be a form that is quickly becoming archaic in contemporary Tuvan.

arın ‘physical face, visage’ and *at* ‘name’. Interestingly, the same two concrete notions are prominent in Igbo for talking about the construction of one’s social self (Nwoye 1992:314-316), although the specific alignment of the social components is not completely equivalent between Tuvan and Igbo. One or both of these concrete notions appear to be used in a good number of unrelated languages in co-lexification with the abstract idea of ‘face’. The best known of these are Chinese and English, from which the actual term ‘face’ originally entered the English-language scholarly literature on social interaction and politeness. Other languages that I am personally familiar with as using at least one of the same two conceptual co-lexifications are Russian, ancient Hebrew and Turkish. The specific way that Tuvan relates these notions is worth examining because the exact meaning components of ‘face’ present in a given culture have obvious implications for determining how ‘politeness’ is conceptualized in this society.

2.4.1 *Arın* ‘visage’

The Tuvan lexeme that encodes the notion of a person’s physical face or visage, *arın*, has several extended meanings that have to do with social interaction. One metaphorical transfer of the Tuvan term *arın* seems to have at its root the notion ‘visible surface presentation of a more deeply embedded content’. Thus, a page is literally the face of a book (*nom arını*) in Tuvan. Likewise, a person who consciously presents himself or herself differently in different public settings for their personal gain can be accused of being *iyi arınnıg* ‘two-faced’. However, it is unclear whether the latter expression is a relatively recent calque from the Russian term *dvuličnyj* ‘two-faced’ or belongs to an earlier stratum of the Tuvan language.

There is another, more prevalent Tuvan social metaphor that uses the lexeme *arın*, namely that of ‘conscience, sense of shame’. In (16) below, this Turkic-source word is compounded with the Mongolian-source component *nüür*:

(16) *arın-nüür* ‘conscience’

Various Tuvan expressions in the same semantic field are constructed based on *arın* or, less frequently, *arın-nüür*. For example:

(17) *arın-nüürzek//arın-nüürlüg* ‘conscientious’

(18) *arın čok // arın-nüür čok* ‘shameless’

(19) *arnı düktüg kiži* ‘shameless person (lit. person with a hairy face)’

(20) *iyadıř arınnıg kiži* ‘conscientious person (lit. person whose face feels shame)’

(21) *čazık arınnıg kiži* ‘good-natured/polite person (lit. person whose face is exposed)’

This co-lexification of ‘physical face’ and ‘shame, conscience’ is instructive as to what drives a significant part of Tuvan culture (traditionally, a shame-based society).¹² It also clearly shows that the abstract social connotations of ‘face’ in the lexeme *arın* are only partially overlapping with those behind the English folk concept of *face* or the second-order construct of ‘face’ as a person’s public image. To find a better fit with this second-order construct, we must look at the Tuvan term *at* ‘name’.

2.4.2 *At* ‘name’

Another vital part of the etic notion of ‘face’ as a person’s interactionally constructed public image is encoded in Tuvan by the term *at*. The primary meaning of this word is ‘name, designation’ – what a person, place or thing is called or referred to as. The abstract semantic extension of this term relevant to the present research is given as subentry #4 of *at* in Monguš

¹² Tuvan culture also exhibits elements of a guilt-oriented society, as witnessed by a strand of vocabulary based on the term *buruu* ‘guilt, fault, blame’, such as in the conventional apology formulas *buruulug boldum* ‘I have incurred guilt’ and *buruudatpayn körünjer* ‘please do not place blame/guilt on me’. A cognate form of apology is found in the Sakha/Yakut term *buruydaaxpin* ‘I’m guilty’, but is considered to be a calque of the Russian apology formula *vinovat* ‘I’m at fault’ (Fedorova 2003:80-81). In both Tuvan and Yakut, the lexeme *buruu/buruy* is itself a Mongolic borrowing (Khabtagaeva 2009:177). Thus, the importance of the social concept of ‘guilt/fault’ seems to have entered Tuvan society through interaction with Mongolians, and may not have played a large part in the pre-Mongolian Turkic stratum of Tuvan culture.

(2003) with the sense “fame, reputation”. In Tuvan, if you have a good *at*, this means that you are well thought of by others, while possessing a bad *at* means that others think poorly of you.

- (22) Ad-ī öl-ür ornunga bod-u öl-gen-i čaagay
 name-3 die-P/F rather self-3 die-PST.I-3 good
 ‘It is better for one to die oneself than for one’s name to die [i.e., than to enter disrepute]’ (Aŋgır-ool 1)

The ‘reputation’ sense of the lexeme meaning ‘name’ is similar to the usage found in English for much of the history of the English language, but which may have gone out of style in contemporary English, judging by the dearth of recent citations in the Oxford English Dictionary. A couple of examples of this sense from the OED are provided below:

- (23) He hath an excellent good name.
 (Shakespeare, *Much Ado About Nothing* iii. i. 98)
- (24) Henry Ford made a name for himself which will cling for all time.
 (*Automobile* 7 Jan. 9/1)

Another cross-linguistic example of this extension of ‘name’ is found in the ancient Hebrew wisdom literature of the Bible:

- (25) A good name is better than fine perfume (Ecclesiastes 7:1, NIV)
- (26) A good name is to be more desired than great wealth (Proverbs 22:1, NASB)

This sense of Tuvan *at* is particularly clearly seen when the term is synonymously compounded with the words *aldar* ‘glory, fame’ (27) or *surag* ‘hearsay, fame, renown’ (28).

- (27) a. Aldar-at-tig Esügei maadır-niŋ ogl-u Temüüčin
 fame-name-ADJ Yesükhei hero-GEN son-3 T.
 ‘Temüjin, son of the famous warrior Yesükhei’ (Sübedey)
- b. Čon araziŋga oon at-aldar-ī ulug=daa tur-gan
 people among it.GEN name-fame-3 large=FOC be-PST.I
 ‘It had a great reputation among the people’ (Nogaan ortuluk)
- (28) Ak-Sal irey at-surag-lig aŋči
 A. elder name-renown-ADJ hunter
 ‘Elderly Ak-Sal is a renowned hunter’ (K. Arakčaa, cited in Monguš 2003:177)

Idiomatically, a person's name/reputation can be defiled (29) or worsened (30) in Tuvan. Likewise, a person can 'enter a bad name' (31). All of these idioms are closely related to the etic notions of 'losing face' or 'being shamed'.

(29) Ad-ī bužarta-ar-ga, aržaan=daa arī-d-īp šīda-vas
 name-3 defile-P/F-DAT spring=FOC become.clean-CAUS-CV be.able-NG.P/F
 'When one's name is defiled, even a spring (of water) cannot cleanse it.'
 (M.B. Kenin-Lopsan, cited in Monguš 2003:174)

(30) Mīnda kàš oor kiži-ler bar. Bay-Buluŋ čon-u-nuŋ ad-ī-n
 here some thief person-PL EXS B. people-3-GEN name-3-ACC

baksīra-t-kan čüve-ler ...
 worsen-CAUS-PST.I AUXN-PL

'There are a few thieves here. They worsen the name of the people of Bay-Bulung [i.e., bring shame on them]' (Kežik-kis)

(31) Er kīži-niŋ bak at-ka kir-er-i kaday-īn-dan baza xamaarž-īr
 male person-GEN bad name-DAT enter-P/F-3 wife-3-ABL also depend-P/F
 'A man can also get a bad reputation because of his wife.'
 (M.B. Kenin-Lopsan, cited in Monguš 2003:208)

The ideal of maintaining a good name is tremendously important in the Tuvan world view. As one young man put it during his politeness interview, "Your honor will never return to you if you let yourself be humiliated even once." Another interview respondent (Yana Tandaray) cited a traditional proverb to this effect, in which the value of 'name' is compared to that of 'visage, physical face':


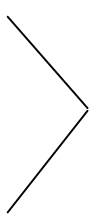
(32) Arn-īŋ kamna-ar-īn ornunga ad-īŋ kamna
 face-2s spare-P/F-3-ACC instead.of name-2s spare.IMV
 'Guard your name rather than your face' (i.e., you may need to fight to protect your reputation)

2.5 'Golden words' and speech acts

One questionnaire respondent prescriptively but invaluablely listed some of the Tuvan *aldin söster* 'golden words', or polite conventional expressions, that one expects to hear from people if they are to be considered *evileŋ-eeldeŋ* 'polite'. It is important for politeness

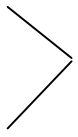
researchers to know such prescriptive social norms because they reveal part of the grammar of politeness in a culture, which may often differ from actual implementations of politeness in an average speaker's everyday life. As Minkov (2011:6) points out, double standards between personal values and norms that one prescribes to others are a "well-known fact of life" and must be taken into account in studies of culture. This is to some degree similar to the competence/performance distinction in generative grammar.

The formulas listed by this respondent are shown below, with the corresponding speech act indicated to the right, and fairly literal interlinear glosses provided to hint at the etymology of these expressions:

(33)	a.	ekii good	‘Hello’		GREETING
	b.	mendile-p tur men greet-CV AUX 1s	‘I greet (you)’ ¹³		
	c.	mendi-čaagay safe.and.sound	‘Be safe and well’		LEAVE-TAKING
	d.	bayırlıg festive	‘Goodbye’		
	e.	užuraškıže until.next.meeting	‘See you later’		
	f.	čettir-di-m be.grateful-PST.II-1s	‘Thank you’ ¹⁴	_____	THANKING

¹³ This greeting formula, also mentioned by a couple of interview respondents, seems to be used only by members of a specific Protestant denomination in Tuva, apparently as a calque of the Russian expression *privetstvuy* ‘I greet (you)’ that is used in many traditional Protestant churches in Russia. See Voinov (2010a) for a discussion of other expressions that have come to form a specifically Christian jargon in the Tuvan language over the past two decades.

¹⁴ Teniřev (2001) mentions both *čettirdim* and the related form *čettirgen* as being used to express gratitude in Tuvan. He derives the etymology as coming from the verb stem *čet* - ‘reach, be sufficient’. While this may in fact be ultimately correct etymologically, Tuvan respondents that I have questioned about the expression are not consciously aware of any semantic or formal relation between the thanking verb and the simple stem *čet*- ‘reach, be sufficient’.

g.	buruulug bol-du-m guilty be-PST.II-1s	‘I’m sorry’		APOLOGIZING
h.	öršee-p kör show.mercy-CV AUX.IMV	‘Please forgive me/ Excuse me’		

In the above list, we can see that Tuvan has conventionalized expressions for many of the same speech acts that English and Russian do: greeting someone upon meeting them, leave-taking, thanking, and apologizing. Note that the speech acts included in this list are identical to the ones indicated by Ms. Kulunday in her description of a polite person in section 2.2. This of course does not mean that these speech acts are the only ones to carry conventionalized politeness in Tuvan, but it does show that these are the speech acts that are prototypical in Tuvan thinking as bearing a politeness function in conversation. Such expressions should probably be considered politic rather than polite if Watts’ (1989) distinction is implemented: the presence of these words in conversation is typically not commented on or actively noted, but their absence is noted as a glaring lack of propriety. B&L (p. 233) note that “violations of opening and closing procedures”, in particular, are potentially face-threatening actions. Thus, if I fail to greet or take leave of H appropriately to the context, H may be offended because I did not frame our interaction in the way prescribed by social norms, and thereby may have implicated either that I disapprove of these norms and of the general sociocultural environment in which they have regulatory value or that I disapprove of my conversational partner in particular. According to Sifianou (1992:182), formulaic greetings are used because “the speaker is interested in a harmonious, social encounter”. Culpeper (1996:357) presents “the absence of politeness work where it would be expected” as one of his five impoliteness superstrategies (based on B&L’s politeness superstrategies.)

Since opening and closing procedures are accorded a high degree of importance both by politeness researchers and by native Tuvan speakers, I focus my examination of Tuvan

“golden words” by taking a more in-depth look at some of the more common conventional Tuvan greeting and leave-taking formulas. These were primarily culled from responses provided by interview respondents. Examining these formulaic expressions systematically can help locate specific cultural themes present in the Tuvan worldview.

Table 2.3 below presents some of the more commonly heard Tuvan greetings. I divide them into three sub-categories. Group A presents expressions typically used by Tuvans who reside in Kyzyl (“the City”) or other Tuvan towns and lead a sedentary lifestyle. Some of the formulas appear to have been motivated by bilingualism with Russian. Group B gives formulas that were said by sedentary Tuvans to be more likely encountered among Tuvans that continue to lead a nomadic lifestyle in yurts. Several of these have to do with the well-being of the hearer’s cattle and domestic animals, an integral part of the nomadic way of life. Some sedentary Tuvans say that these formulas sound archaic, but that they themselves also employ them when greeting Tuvans who live in yurts in the countryside (*ködee čerde*). Other sedentary Tuvans say that they have never heard most of the greetings in Group B and do not know what they mean. Group C contains expressions that are closely related to the Tuvan cultural theme of keeping track of where your neighbors are (see Harrison 2007:125ff on the importance of conversations about who is moving around where in Tuvan society). It can be noted that all three subcategories of greeting formulas frequently involve questions. For the most part, these seem to be taken by Tuvans as polite but genuine requests for information (initiating interaction between interlocutors), not merely bleached conventional formulas that require no response.

Table 2.3 A sampling of Tuvan greeting formulas

A. Among sedentary Tuvans

Expression	Translation equivalent	Comments
<i>Ekee-ekee</i>	‘Hi there’	A less formal version of the standard greeting <i>Ekii</i> (example 33a above)
<i>Eki-le-dir be?</i>	‘Are things quite well?’	
<i>Kayī xire čorup turar?</i>	‘How’s it going?’	
<i>Kayī xire olur/tur siler?</i>	‘How are you doing?’	
<i>Kadiñ eki-dir be?</i>	‘Is your health good?’	
<i>Ertenniñ/Ertenginiñ mendizi-bile</i>	‘Good morning’	This and the following two are believed by some respondents to be fairly recent cultural borrowings from the Russian language ¹⁵
<i>Eki xünnüñ mendizi-bile</i>	‘Good day’	
<i>Kežeekiniñ mendizi-bile</i>	‘Good evening’	

B. Among nomadic Tuvans

<i>Amirgīn-na be? / Amīr-la be?</i>	‘Is everything peaceful?’	Also used widely during festive/solemn affairs such as Tuvan national holidays (e.g., Shagaa)
<i>Sol-mendi</i>	‘Greetings’	
<i>Kiš xūr ažip tur be?</i>	‘Is winter going well?’ (lit. Is winter passing in satiety?)	The term <i>xūr</i> has to do with fullness of the stomach, satiety.
<i>Mal-magan xūr-le be?</i>	‘Are the cattle full?’	
<i>Īt-kuš sol-la be?</i>	‘Are your domestic animals well/safe?’	Several residents of Erzin and Kyzyl said that <i>it-kuš</i> , which literally means ‘dogs-birds’, refers to domestic animals. However, consultant Nikolay Kuular, who himself grew up in a yurt, says that <i>it-kuš</i> is really a reference to predators/wolves, and that the original form of this expression was actually <i>Īt-kuštan sol-la be?</i> ‘Is all safe from predators?’ ¹⁶
<i>Dumaa-xalaa/Dumaa-xīnaa öršeeldig-le be?</i>	‘Are things going well?’ (lit. Are disease and difficulties being merciful?)	This expression is not well known to Kyzyl residents.

¹⁵ Similar greeting expressions having to do with the times of day have also been borrowed from Russian into Sakha/Yakut (Fedorova 2003:38-39).

¹⁶ The canonical form *Īt-kuštan sol-la be?* is confirmed by Monguš (2011:704).

Table 2.3 – Continued

C. Travel-related

<i>Kažan/Kandig keldiŋ?</i>	‘When/How did you come?’ (when H has traveled from afar)	
<i>Kayıın köstüp keldiŋ?</i>	‘Where did you come from (lit. appear)?’	
<i>Kayıın keldiŋ, kaynaar baariŋ ol?</i>	‘Where did you come from, where are you going?’	
<i>Kayda sen?</i>	‘Where are you?’	Frequently, this is the first phrase said when speaking on cell phone, to make sure that H is in a position to talk and is not otherwise occupied

As for leave-taking formulas, these are presented in Table 2.4 below. These too can be divided into subcategories based on whether the context of use is general (group A) or whether the circumstances are particular to the hearer’s situation and thus only certain formulations are appropriate to the context (group B).¹⁷ Group C presents formulas related to travel. Unlike the conventional greetings listed above, leave-taking formulas are not framed as interrogatives. Rather, most of them are wishes/blessings for the future, in either present/future (gnomic) tense or in the jussive mood (3rd person imperative).

According to Fedorova (2003:44), the Sakha/Yakut language is also rich in context-dependent politeness formulas called *algis* ‘blessing’ (the cognate Tuvan word is *algış*, with the same meaning), especially in greeting and leave-taking situations. In Yakut, most conventional leave-taking expressions other than blessings have been borrowed from Russian, which is explained by Fedorova (2003:41, 86) as due to a traditional Yakut taboo on formal leave-taking as a bad omen that the person leaving will not return safe and sound. The Tuvan language does

¹⁷ In his discussion of Turkic expressions for thanking, Teniŋev (2001) makes a similar distinction between universally-applicable politeness formulas (универсальные формулы) and those that depend on particular situations to be felicitous (ситуативные формулы).

not appear to share any vestiges of such a taboo, yet it too uses blessings as one of the standard verbal means of leave-taking.

Table 2.4 A sampling of Tuvan leave-taking formulas

A. General expressions

Expression	Translation equivalent	Comments
<i>Bayırlıg</i>	‘Goodbye’	Standard formula, felicitous in most situations
<i>Mendi-čaagay</i>	‘Be safe and sound’	Frequently seen on road signs when leaving a town, high register
<i>Xerek-coruuŋ eki büdürer sen</i>	‘Your will conduct your affairs well’	
<i>Barıktıg-la bolzunam</i>	‘May (all) go alright’	
<i>Aas-kežiktig boluŋar</i>	‘Be happy/fortunate’	
<i>Če, indig-dir</i>	‘OK, that’s that’	Informal; parting is expected to last a short time
<i>Daraazında użuraškiže</i>	‘See you later (lit. until we meet next time)’	
<i>Użuraži beer bis</i>	‘We’ll meet again’	

B. Specific circumstances

<i>Olčalıg boor sen</i>	‘You will find prey’	Not limited to hunters; can be extended metaphorically to many situations where H has some goal to achieve
<i>Kadık boluŋar/oluruŋar</i>	‘Be healthy’	When H has been experiencing health problems
<i>Eki uduur sen</i>	‘Good night (lit. you will sleep well)’	
<i>Eki diştanır sen</i>	‘You will rest well’	
<i>Ažil-xerek čoguur-la bolzun</i>	‘May work be succesful’	To one’s co-workers

Table 2.4 – Continued

C. Travel-related

<i>Oruk čaagay bolzun</i>	‘May the road be pleasant!’	S is staying at place from which H is departing
<i>Eki-le čoruur sen</i>	‘You will go very well’	
<i>Mendi čeder sen</i>	‘You will arrive at your destination safe and sound’	
<i>Eki-mendi čoruñar</i>	‘Go well and in health’	
<i>Eki čoraaš keliņer</i>	‘Go and return well’	
<i>Eki olurar/turar siler</i>	‘You will be well’	H is staying at place from which S is departing

In the related Kazakh language, one of the common threads running through polite formulaic expressions is the conventionalized concern for the health of the hearer and his or her family members, according to Savojskaja (2005:128,134). Savojskaja hypothesizes that such a primary concern for H’s health in Kazakh stems directly from the nomadic nature of traditional Turkic societies, in which acquaintances might not see each other for a long time on a regular basis. In Tuvan, we do see a fairly frequent use of expressions such as *amir-la be* and *mendi-čaagay* that are at least potentially concerned with H’s health, and similar concern for the well-being of a nomad’s animals and cattle. But health-related formulas do not appear to constitute the majority of conventional Tuvan polite expressions, despite the fact that historically Tuvans and Kazakhs shared a similar nomadic lifestyle that shaped their languages. Instead, Tuvan apportions a good deal more attention to the cultural theme of going and coming, which also fits well with traditional nomadic concerns.

2.6 Differential treatment according to relative age

In describing characteristics of a person who is ‘polite’, two questionnaire respondents independently made reference to the same bit of proverbial Tuvan wisdom in slightly different forms:

Respondent A

(34) ulugnu ulug dep, bičiini bičii dep bil-ir
big-ACC big CMPL small-ACC small CMPL know-P/F
‘recognizing an older person as older and a younger person as younger’

Respondent B

(35) ulugnu ulug kıldır xündüleer, bičiini bičii kıldır xündüle-er
big-ACC big as respect small-ACC small as respect-P/F
‘respectfully treating an older person as older and a younger person as younger’

Both forms of this saying indicate that to Tuvan eyes, one of the important features of politeness is the ability to interact with people of all ages, both older than you and younger than you, in ways that are appropriate to the age of each. As in many other cultural traditions, it is of paramount importance for politic interaction that the interlocutors know each other’s relative age, as well as the behavior patterns that are appropriate for dealing with a person that age. Respondent A (34) employs the verb *bilir* ‘know, recognize’, which reminds us of Ide’s (1989) notion of *wakimae* ‘discernment of appropriate behavior for the specific situation’ in Japanese culture. Respondent B (35) uses the verb *xündüleer* ‘show respect’, indicating that even people who are younger than you – and therefore usually less socially powerful in traditional Tuvan culture – are worthy of deferential treatment in interaction, albeit with a different manifestation of respect than that which should be accorded to elders.

Two other questionnaire respondents, in their answers to the question about characteristics of an *evileŋ-eeldek* person, likewise indicated (in Russian) that respectful treatment of those who are older than you is an important component of being *evileŋ-eeldek* ‘decent/polite’. Cf. Savojskaja 2005:126 for the primary place of deference to elders in Kazakh society. All of these responses support the conclusion that social indexing – the proper appraisal of the interlocutors’ roles within the specific system of social norms – is an integral part of the Tuvan notion of politeness. Section 3.2.2 will further demonstrate how this concern about the age of one’s conversational partner is integrated into the kin term system of Tuvan.

In general, the cultural attitudes and expectations held by Tuvans concerning the roles attributed to people of different ages are of the following nature: the elder person deserves respect and submission, and can be relied on for advice and material help, while the younger person is to be cared for, protected and taught, and can be relied on to help out with work that needs to be done. Provided below are some Tuvan proverbs, culled from Budup (2010), that point out some of these age-specific cultural expectations:

(36) Duŋma-liŋ kiži dīš, uŋba-liŋ kiži us
 younger.sibling-ADJ person rest older.sister-ADJ person skill
 ‘Whoever has younger siblings has rest, whoever has older sisters has skill’ (p. 21)

(37) Ulu-u-n ulču-t-pas, anīya-a-n algīr-t-pas
 big-3-ACC wander-CAUS-NG.P/F young-3-ACC yell-CAUS-NG.P/F
 ‘Don’t cause an elder to wander around (homeless), don’t cause a youngster to cry’ (p.45)

(38) Ulus-tuŋ ulu-u čagīg-liŋ, urug-nuŋ xeymer-i čassīg
 people-GEN big-3 order-ADJ daughter-GEN youngest-3 affectionate
 ‘The oldest of the family commands, while the youngest child cuddles’(p. 45)

(39) Kiži-niŋ duŋma-zī kara-a-niŋ og-u, baar-ī-niŋ öd-ü bol-ur
 person-GEN younger.sibling-3 eye-3-GEN bullet-3 liver-3-GEN bile-3 be-P/F
 ‘A person’s younger sibling is the apple of the eye and the bile of the liver’
 [bile has a positive connotation for Tuvans as something rare and valuable] (p. 95)

Interview respondent Galina Čaldīg provided an age-related proverb in the same vein:

- (40) Duŋma-lar-ïŋ-ga ïnak čor-zuŋza, duza-zï-n kör-üp kïri-ïr sen
 younger.sibling-PL-2s-DAT loving be-2s.CND help-3s-ACC see-CV age-P/F 2s
 ‘If you love your younger siblings, you will receive help from them as you get old’

Interview respondent Karïma Oyun offered yet another alternate version of the sayings in (34) and (35), namely:

- (41) Ulug-nu xündüle, bičii-ni karakta
 big-ACC respect.IMV small-ACC care.for.IMV
- Ulug-nu ulug dep kör, bičii-ni ilga-y kör-be
 big-ACC big CMPL see.IMV small-ACC discriminate-CV see-NG.IMV
- ‘Respect the older person, take care of the younger person
 Treat the older as an older, do not discriminate against the younger’

These principles of appropriate behavior are of course not always carried out in public life, but they do exist as ideals in the traditional Tuvan collective consciousness, and continue to shape Tuvan reactions to specific interactions in which these ideals are either followed (typically signalling politeness) or ignored (typically signalling lack of politeness).

2.7 Other Tuvan sayings about politeness/respect

Since we have already seen some Tuvan proverbs (*üleger domaktar*) that point to the importance of recognizing age differences in society in order to behave politely, we can likewise look at a sampling of other traditional sayings that are used in Tuvan society to teach the younger generations about aspects of politic/polite behavior. One was taken from a Tuvan publication on folk sayings, while the others were provided by interview respondents from memory in response to my request for sayings that teach respectful/polite behavior.

The first is a simple aphorism that affirms the value of politeness in society.

- (42) Evileŋ kižee čon ïnak
 polite person.DAT people love
 ‘People love a polite person’ (Sagan-ool 1976:14)

The second proverb, somewhat of a tongue twister, was offered in slightly varying forms by several respondents. It teaches that respect must be reciprocal between people:

- (43) kiži kiži-ni kiži de-er-ge, kiži kiži-ni kiži de-er
 person person-ACC person say-P/F-DAT person person-ACC person say-P/F
 ‘When you treat someone as a person, s/he will also treat you as a person’
 (canonical form of proverb, Budap 2010:95)

Another form of this proverb changes the meaning slightly and humorously to show what happens when the spirit of the canonical proverb is blatantly ignored by another person. Due to the laconic and word-playing nature of this form of the proverb, I provide a fairly free translation to show the semantic point of the saying:

- (44) kiži-ni kiži de-er-ge, kiži-ni kidis de-er
 person-ACC person say-P/F-DAT person-ACC felt.cloth say-P/F
 ‘When you treat someone as a person, s/he treats you like a piece of felt cloth’
 (Aldīnay Ondar)

When the canonical form of the proverb is changed in this way, it registers a complaint by S about being treated disrespectfully by another person – *kidis* ‘felt cloth’ in this case seems to be simply an alliterative example of something that it not accorded any human dignity.¹⁸

A third well-known saying mentioned by several respondents (Ayas Ooržak and others) indicates the belief that one has to be trained in proper/politic behavior from a very young age:

- (45) Àt bol-ur-u kulun-dan, kiži bol-ur-u čaž-īn-dan
 horse be-P/F-3 colt-ABL person be-P/F-3 infancy-3-ABL
 ‘A horse becomes such from when it is a colt, a person becomes such from when s/he is a small child’

¹⁸ As pointed out by K. David Harrison (p.c.), the figurative use of *kidis* ‘felt cloth’ in this non-canonical proverb may also have to do with the fact that *kidis* is manufactured by beating wool with metal rods for a long time, i.e., imagery associated with aggression, not respect. One native Tuvan consultant (Nikolay Kuular) who had never heard this non-canonical form of the proverb said that he does not understand what semantic nuance could have been intended by the substitution of *kidis* for *kiži* in the non-canonical form.

The fourth additional proverb I include here teaches listeners to not be overly bashful or tight-lipped in their interaction with others (a character trait found among many Tuvans, likely due to other cultural influences):

(46) Àt kište-ež-ip taniž-ar, kiži čugaala-ž-ïp taniž-ar
horse neigh-RCP-CV get.acquainted-P/F person talk-RCP-CV get.acquainted-P/F
'Horses get acquainted by neighing to each other, people get acquainted by talking to each other' (Artyom Xertek)

No attempt is made here to look at Tuvan proverbs systematically or comprehensively, of course; that would be a dissertation-length work in itself. The main point I am making by citing these sample proverbs is that folk sayings continue to play an active part in the oral transmission of Tuvan culture/wisdom to this day, and this folk wisdom includes prescriptive principles of politic behavior that play a large part in forming Tuvan perceptions of politeness and impoliteness.

2.8 Perceptions of impoliteness in Tuvan society

It is fairly common in cultures around the world to hear from some members of society, especially older people, that people's behavior is "going to hell in a handbasket". In some cases, this is due to the fact that as a society shifts from traditionally held values to values that are more recently introduced (often from a dominant neighboring culture), the older generations find it harder than the younger generations to accept the innovations. This is an important point to note in studying people's perceptions of politeness in a given culture: as post-modern researchers emphasize, politeness is not a static system, so there is a constant re-negotiation of what truly constitutes politic or polite behavior because different groups in the society (such as, for example, the middle-aged generation and teenagers) are applying different values to evaluate their interaction with others.

In the literature on (im)politeness, we see Nwoye (1992:315) commenting on the shifting values of politic behavior in Igbo society as it becomes more urbanized: “traditional values have been greatly eroded and relationships are impersonal.” He notes that due to the shifting away from group face to individual face as the Igbo norm for social interaction, a conventionalized way to ask a question about the perpetrator of an anti-social act in a traditional Igbo village (e.g., “Whose child stole the chicken?”) is no longer the way that this question would be asked in an urban setting (“Who stole the chicken?”). Likewise, Culpeper (2011:255-256) notes that “Many British people have the *impression* of a massive explosion in the use of impolite language” in recent years, when in fact, he argues, indirectness for politeness purposes is actually more widely attested in British English today than it was in previous eras. The bottom line for Culpeper is that “Impoliteness is perceived to be a big deal today because perceptions of what counts as impolite usage are changing” (2011:257).

As previously pointed out in Voinov (2010a), many Tuvans, both elderly and middle-aged, also frequently voice their concerns about the loss of politeness and civility in their society, hand-in-hand with that of many other ideals of virtuous behavior. Although such a complaint is probably made by older generations in most if not all cultures, in Tuva it may have a particular degree of validity due to the shift in society produced by overly rapid assimilation to Russian values, as has been the case in Tuva ever since it joined the Soviet Union in the mid-1940s. The rapidity of change was exacerbated by the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s (an event aptly called “traumotogenic change par excellence” by Sztompka 2004:171), and continues as Tuva becomes gradually more and more open to the outside world, both through the mediation of Russian culture and by direct contact with foreign cultures. Thus, many of today’s elderly Tuvans were born in a feudal, nomadic society, grew up as sedentary town or city dwellers under Soviet Communism with its space-age technology, and are currently

living out their last days in a highly dysfunctional free-market, Facebooking, Twittering society. The sociocultural changes have been so enormous and have transpired in such a short span of time that it is no surprise that some Tuvans may feel that the rug they were standing on has been suddenly pulled out from under their feet.

To examine the perception of a negative shift away from politeness and common courtesy in Tuvan society, I start by presenting some microethnographic observations made by one of my Tuvan consultants, Valeria Kulundary (early 30s, raised in Kyzyl). These come from e-mail correspondence (dated 2/2/2012) on the general nature of politeness in Tuvan speech, in which Ms. Kulundary offered some particularly insightful points on what, in her eyes, differentiates politeness from impoliteness in contemporary Tuvan society. The texts given below were originally in Russian (translation into English mine), with Tuvan expressions maintained in italics. I present somewhat sizeable blocks of text here so that a genuinely Tuvan voice could be heard without the dangers inherent to decontextualized soundbytes. First, Ms. Kulundary notices a shift in politeness in Tuvan culture:

“Strange as it may seem, Tuvans today have become more reserved. They will not greet each other or bid farewell to each other any more than is absolutely necessary; even if they are familiar with each other to some degree, they might pretend to not know each other in a public place or in public transportation. They rarely thank each other, even for something minor. In the past I didn’t notice such things, or maybe they were normal behavior for me as well. I’m not sure whether Tuvans have really started to change over time, but alas, politeness has started to depart from our culture.”

Ms. Kulundary gives the following example of what she considers to be politic behavior in the common activity of riding a bus (Russian *maršrutka*) around the capital city of Kyzyl:

“For example, in a bus I always address another passenger with the words, ‘*Bo aškani damčidiptar siler be? Čettirdim*’ – ‘Please pass this fare money up, thanks’. When they return the change to me, I again say *čettirdim* [thanks]. Then I ask the driver’s assistant, ‘*Gagarinaga turguzuptar siler be?*’ – ‘Could you stop

at Gagarin St.?’ If I request the bus to let me off in a place that is not a regular stop, I say ‘*Čazak dužunga turguzuptar argaŋar bar be? Čok bolza, počtaga düžüp kaayn*’ – ‘Is it possible for you to stop near the Administration building? If not, I’ll get off at the post office.’ When the driver’s assistant lets me off the bus, I thank him, ‘*čettirdim!*’ I always try to give my seat up to the elderly, to people with children, and to people who are unwell. And I see that these small things pleasantly surprise the driver’s assistant and other passengers who pass my money up. It causes them to react with gratitude. With a softer voice they say, ‘*čaa, ažirbas*’ – ‘OK, you’re welcome.’”

For Ms. Kulunday, speaking with strangers in public transportation with a warm personal touch represents the way she believes it ought to be done and was the usual pattern of interaction among Tuvans in the past. Although she thinks that her approach is merely politic (the usual way, the norm of behavior), she notices that others react to the way she addresses them as if her words are not just politic but polite (going above and beyond the expected norm, see 4.2.1 on this judgment about requests framed indirectly as questions). She is aware that what is considered politic behavior by many other Tuvans in such a situation has shifted from her own perspective as described above. She goes on to contrast this with how she sees the typical situation in Tuvan public transportation today:

“The usual picture in a bus is this: someone taps you on the shoulder and without a word hands you some fare money. It is assumed that you are obligated to pass this on to the driver’s assistant and no one expects you to refuse. In a similar way they take their change back. When the bus is approaching the needed stop, the passenger yells, ‘*Gagarina bar!*’ – ‘At Gagarina St.!', then silently exits the bus. This is the accepted way to behave in public transport, i.e., it is considered normal. People rarely give up their seat to someone else; even schoolchildren obstinately stay in their seats when a little old lady with a crutch climbs with great difficulty into the bus. More and more often nowadays one also encounters rudeness and boorishness.”

One can see from the above description that Ms. Kulunday is somewhat disturbed by this model of normal interaction on buses today, although she recognizes that the new ‘politic behavior’ is not necessarily in itself a product of intentional impoliteness on the part of bus riders.

In Ms. Kulundary's estimation, things must have been better in previous times, when Tuvans were still more oriented toward clan consciousness:

"I don't know if Tuvans have always been like this or if these are the consequences of assimilation to other nationalities and urbanization. It still seems to me that when Tuvans lived in small clans, politeness and openness were more intrinsic to them than nowadays."

We may note that urbanization is invoked as one of the possible causes of this shift in politic interaction among Tuvans, just as it was by Nwoye (1992) for the depersonalization of interaction in Igbo society. As more and more people settle in a growing urban community, the pressures of limited time and space make it harder and harder to regularly treat others with personal attention and warmth, especially since the majority of interactants are now strangers. Fedorova (2003) notes a similar shift in the value of etiquette in the speech of urban Yakuts.

Ms. Kulundary provides another example of this shift by recalling patterns of interaction between strangers in the birth ward of the hospital. She begins with how things were when she had her first child:

"At that time, all of the women in the hospital room got acquainted with each other upon the very first day of their arrival. They were sincerely interested in each other and talked amongst themselves; there was a certain unity and closeness between the women in the hospital room. It was even commonly accepted that we would share the food that our relatives sent us from home with each other, and it did not look good if you just stayed aloof and ate everything all by yourself."

Her perception of interaction between women in the birth ward at a recent subsequent visit (about a decade after the first) is rather different:

"And what about nowadays? I was recently in the birth ward for seven days, and did not get acquainted with or talk to a single one of the eight women who were in my room. It was an incredibly tight fit, the beds were very close to each other, very little personal space; and yet, we somehow figured out a way to live the entire week together without having any significant communication with each other. Each stayed in her own shell. All I learned about some of the women was their last name, and that only because the obstetricians did a roll call each time. And I know that if our paths cross again somewhere in another place, almost all of us will feign not knowing each other. I could

have taken the initiative to get to know the others, but I really felt that they were not expecting this of me and did not want this. So I didn't insist, so as not to be out of place. I noticed that for the most part, the women talked to their friends and relatives by cell phone for long periods of time, several times per day."

In the last sentence, she notes the fact that new technology allows women to maintain their existing relationships long-distance, which frees them from having to form new relationships with others in their immediate vicinity. The role of technology in the rapidly shifting Tuvan society thus also plays a part in perceptions of politeness.

Ms. Kulundary's overall take on such unpleasant behavior is pithily encapsulated in the following statement: "We've all become such individualists here in Tuva." This of course does not mean that traditional Tuvan society used to be so collectivistic as to exclude all elements of individualism. In fact, elements of rugged self-reliance were inculcated into Tuvan children from their very early years and are still encoded in bits of proverbial wisdom such as the following:

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------|
| (47) | Kara-an-dan baška,
eye-3-ABL except | šin-i čok
truth-3 NG.EXS |
| | Bod-un-dan baška,
self-3-ABL except | ež-i čok
friend-3 NG.EXS |

'Apart from one's own eyes, there is no truth
Apart from one's own self, there are no friends' (Budup 2010:25)

Ms. Kulundary's perception of a negative shift toward lesser politeness in Tuvan society is not universally shared by Tuvans. While many interview respondents support her judgment that the general politeness level, both linguistic and non-linguistic, in Tuva is declining, others believe, to the contrary, that Tuvan society is seeing an increase in politeness; yet others do not see much change in the society in either direction.

From the side that sees politeness as decreasing in Tuva, interview respondents referred to a wide variety of everyday situations in the public sphere in which

impoliteness can be regularly witnessed. Sildis Kalbak-kis (early 20s) points to the constant rudeness, bickering, and even physical fighting between people in the town of Sarig-sep when they are standing in long lines to get in to a bank or to a government official's office. Anecdotally, he recalls a Tuvan line-cutter who defended her action by citing a Russian catch phrase:

(48) Naglost' – vtoroe sčast'e 'Brazen/Shameless behavior is a second source
of happiness'

He also mentions the increasing public visibility of children who speak rudely to adults, e.g., by using the T pronoun *sen* instead of the politic V pronoun *siler* (see section 3.2 for more on pronoun usage). Ayas and Saylikmaa Ooržak (early 30s, Ak-Dovurak) note the coldness and rudeness that has become typical of state functionaries as well as private sector personnel in dealing with clients. Aydis Xovalig (early 30s, Kyzyl) tells of groups of young men in villages, often drunk, who yell insulting challenges to strangers and seek to provoke fights with them. Alonia Čoodu and an anonymous respondent (both mid-late 40s, Erzin) say that nowadays if you ask a stranger to help you out with something, more likely than not they will do this only for money. According to these respondents, whereas earlier community standards require people to be polite and helpful to each other, many of these standards no longer function in Tuvan society. Nowadays, they say, "people no longer ask (*dileves*); they demand (*negeer apargan*)", whether by the word forms they use or by the intonation with which they say it. Galina Čaldig (late 70s, Erzin) considers Tuvan young people today to be better educated or "enlightened" than in previous generations, but also more impudent. She points to how it became more common in the past decade to hear elderly people addressed as *kaday* 'old woman' or *ašak* 'old man' (considered by her to be 'hard' forms of address) rather than the previously customary

fictive kin terms *kirgan-avay* ‘grandmother’ and *kirgan-ačay* ‘grandfather’ (see section 3.3 for more on kin term address forms). Xüler and Činči Čüldüm-ool (mid-30s, Ak-Dovurak) believe that the direct source of much of the impoliteness in contemporary Tuvan is the prison jargon that many Tuvan men learned when serving prison sentences. This is especially true, they say, of the many *bagay söster* ‘bad words’ borrowed into Tuvan directly from Russian. They also believe that sedentary Tuvans have fared much worse in this respect than have nomadic Tuvans, who have in large part maintained traditional norms of social politeness. Yet other Tuvans with whom I spoke (mostly middle-aged and elderly) mention that the way young people express their gratitude nowadays is remarkably impolite. One of their most frequent complaints was that young people tend to use the thanking verb *čettirgen* (impersonal form) instead of the warmer, personalized form *čettirdim* (see fn. 11 in section 2.5 on this thanking verb.). More research is needed to pinpoint the precise nature of the pragmasemantic difference between these two forms.

For the most part, those who see politeness as decreasing in Tuvan society also see new technology as playing a detrimental part in this process, similarly to how Valeria Kulunday linked the use of cell phones to a decreased need in communicating with one’s immediate neighbors. Interview respondent Valeria Damba (late 40s, Erzin) mentions another aspect of the cell phone as something that decreases politeness in conversation: mobile interlocutors are concerned with how much each minute of conversation costs and therefore try to economize the time by speaking more curtly and to the point. Artyom Xertek (mid 30s, Ak-Dovurak) believes that the violent computer games that Tuvan children play today makes them harsher in their interaction with each other, and negatively compares these games with the traditional Tuvan sport of *xüreš* ‘wrestling’,

which, although physically aggressive, requires wrestlers to always maintain self-control and not get angry with one's opponent. One woman (Raisa Kečil, late 60s, Kyzyl) even mentions the refrigerator as being partially responsible for lessened politeness between relatives and neighbors: in the past, hunters would usually share the meat they brought home among several yurts in the yurt encampment (*aal*), since it would rot if not consumed quickly, but nowadays refrigerators can keep the meat frozen for a long time, so people don't want to share with each other anymore.

On the other side of the divide, there were some interview respondents (a minority) who thought that Tuvan society is actually becoming more polite than in previous days, and that modern technology is not at all harming the general politeness level, even if it is affecting the Tuvan language in other ways.¹⁹ According to Spartak Oyun (early 40s, Toora-Xem), today's schools are doing a better job at teaching children to interact politely with each other and with adults. Whereas in the 1990s, the educational system was falling apart due to the collapse of the Soviet Union so that children were not really being taught much in school, now the system has become functional once more and children are actually learning in school, including the social graces. New information technologies, such as the computer and the Internet, are helping the Tuvan people to understand the world better, and also to more accurately and positively re-evaluate their own position as a distinct ethnocultural group in this world. All of this is promoting a greater level of politeness among Tuvans. Aybek Xural-ool (mid 20s, Ak-Dovurak)

¹⁹ One interesting recent development in the Tuvan language due to technology was motivated by the automatic Russian voice message heard on cell phones when the other party is not responding. The standard message in such cases is *abonent vremenna nedostupen* 'the subscriber is temporarily not available' or *apparat vyzvaemogo abonenta vykljuchen* 'The subscriber's mobile device is switched off'. Based on these messages, Tuvan cell phone users have borrowed the Russian terms *abonent* (originally 'subscriber') and *apparat* (originally 'mobile device') with a new meaning – 'absent, not present'. Thus, Tuvans now say sentences such as *Dolgaarimğa, sen abonent bolduŋ* or *Dolgaarimğa, sen apparat bolduŋ*, both meaning 'When I called, you were not there'. According to Tuvan consultant Anna Svanes (néé Monguš), this new sense of the words *abonent* and *apparat* has now expanded also to the Russian dialect spoken in Kyzyl.

believes that the Internet allows Tuvan young people greater access to the words of wise people, which motivates them to become wiser and more polite themselves. Even though the Internet is accessible to Tuvans mainly through the medium of the Russian language, bilingual Tuvans still culturally profit from its resources. Aldinay Ondar (early 30s, Kyzyl) says that the 1990s were a very difficult time for Tuvans in all respects and that “everyone was rude to each other” during those years because of economic hardships, but now people are more relaxed and nicer to each other because the economy is better and they have a bit more pocket money to spend. She also notes that since the automatic voice that people hear on their cell phone always talks to them using Russian *vy* ‘2pl’, this may prompt Tuvans to also be more polite and address each other with the Tuvan V pronoun *siler*. According to another respondent (mid 20s, Kyzyl, prefers to remain anonymous), Tuvans are in general more polite nowadays than when he was a boy because they are now expected to say formal politeness expressions (i.e., ‘golden words’) to each other, including in the Russian language, more than they did when he was young. As for the effect of technology on the level of politeness in society, he thinks that being able to send text messages via cell phone allows people to quickly express gratitude to each other at a distance, i.e. this piece of technology is a positive factor for raising general politeness in society.

Thus, the jury is still out concerning the ultimate effect of technology on politeness performance in Tuvan society, just as it is in cultural studies in general. As Minkov (2011:34) notes, “We still do not know how exactly information technologies will affect the cultures of those societies that use them intensely, but it is plausible that the Internet and mobile phones will eventually have profound cultural consequences.” Although the use of such technologies may not be as intense and widespread across the board in Tuvan society as it is in societies such as South Korea or the United States, their impact is definitely being felt.

That different members of Tuvan society have different perceptions of the growth of (im)politeness is the expected state of affairs according to the discursive/post-modern perspective, with its focus on ongoing society-wide negotiation of the definition of what it means to be polite or impolite. This divide illustrates that perceptions of (im)politeness are not homogenous within the Tuvan culture; they are constantly in flux and are part of a continuous discursive struggle within the society. No more focused attention will be paid specifically to impoliteness in this dissertation, but this is definitely an area of the Tuvan language that deserves broader and more in-depth research in the future. In the following chapters, I move on to an examination of Tuvan politeness devices based on different types of face, first those grounded in group face wants in chapter 3, then those that reflect individual face wants in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3

TUVAN POLITENESS DEVICES BASED ON GROUP FACE

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I turn my attention to examining Tuvan politeness devices that have to do primarily with the etic category of group face. As discussed in chapter 1, this term was originally introduced by Nwoye (1992) to characterize the underlying motivation for certain politeness phenomena in the Igbo language. When this type of face is salient in social interaction, politeness expressions are chosen by interlocutors in order to appropriately situate themselves and each other in the culturally-determined social structures of which they are a part. In every society there are specific expectations concerning how people should interact with each other based on various social factors, such as their relative age, gender, degree of social power, level of education, etc. Based on these factors and following the demands of group face, interlocutors exhibit respect and politeness to each other by recognizing and agreeing with behavioral constraints that society places on its members' conversation.

The types of politeness devices that are typically seen as stemming from group facework in this approach were of course recognized by classical politeness researchers, but typically categorized under a different title – “social deixis”. For example, Levinson (1979:206) defines social deixis as “the range of phenomena that includes honorifics, titles of address, second person pronominal alternates and associated verb agreements, and the like”. Although group face concerns are encoded by a somewhat broader list of linguistic devices than

Levinson's,²⁰ they are to a large extent overlapping with this list. The main theoretical innovation in talking about “group face-based politeness devices” versus simply “social deictics” is this: devices based on concern for group face are explicitly set off as different in their underlying sociopsychological motivation from devices based on concern for individual face. Categorizing the former merely as “social deictics” does nothing to distinguish between the differing impulses for producing each type of politeness device. Apart from this concern, the somewhat bulky designation “group face-based politeness devices” could be seen as largely synonymous with the term “social deictics”.

Deferential verbal expressions, driven by group face concerns, are basically a way for interlocutors to explicitly acknowledge their social distance and relative power status, and to signal to each other that they accept the social norms and associated behaviors that flow out of each one's status. When the interlocutors' social system is vertical (i.e., has fine-grained distinctions between many subclasses of society, so that most interactions are not between complete equals, see Nakane 1970), one expects this to be reflected in the language structure, which functionally adapts to the needs of its users, with a profusion of honorific forms. When the society instead has a more horizontal social system, one would not expect to find many different honorifics active in the language.

Tuvan society does not seem to be as much of a ‘vertical society’ as that of Japan (see Table 1.1 and related discussion in chapter 1), in that the social class distinctions are not fine-grained but are rather painted with fairly broad strokes. Traditional feudal Tuvan society up to the early 20th century was divided into two main parts, with the main power distinction being

²⁰ For example, Nwoye (1992:315) suggests the case of someone in rural Igbo society asking “Whose child stole the chicken?” instead of simply “Who stole the chicken?” The subject “whose child” is framed as part of a family group, not simply an individual thief, so the shame of the offense spreads to the family. This sort of concern for group face does not appear to have any place within the boundaries of the traditional category of “social deixis”.

between the empowered minority – political authorities (e.g., *čagirikčilar* ‘rulers’, *noyannar* ‘nobles’, *düzümetter* ‘functionaries’) and religious authorities (*xamnar* ‘shamans’ and *lamalar* ‘Buddhist monks’) – and the subjugated majority – the rest of the people (*arat čon / karačaldar* ‘commoners’). Within the authoritative minority group, there were of course many levels in the hierarchy of relative power, ranging from the Manchu emperor overlord at the top to low-level Tuvan bureaucrats at the bottom, so people in this social sphere presumably had to be very perceptive and discerning to choose appropriate verbal expressions of deference so as not to accidentally threaten the face of a superior.

Among the non-empowered majority, however, typical social relations seem to have been much more egalitarian, at least among adult men of the same age group. The main factor that influenced interaction between commoners was relative age, with elders accorded deference by younger. Relative wealth was also a social factor that influenced interaction in society, but its importance seems to have been later exaggerated by Soviet propaganda that demonized the *baylar* ‘rich ones’ as heartless enemies of the masses. Apart from these factors, there do not seem to have been many vital differences in social status among men of the same age group, most of whom led the same way of life – nomadic cattle-herding. Women, however, were not considered to be equals with men.

Large-scale social change in Tuva was introduced by a rapid transition to Communist society in the mid-20th century, then to a post-Soviet society in the past quarter-century.²¹ The Soviet system abolished feudal lords and ostensibly set up a classless social system, although in reality, high-ranking Party bosses became the new elite. Communists actively discouraged the Tuvan people from according any authority to religious figures, but for the most part, religion

²¹ See Fedorova (2003:157-159) for a good discussion of parallel Soviet influence on the Sakha/Yakut society and language.

merely went underground until it was able to resurface with new energy. As soon as the Soviet Union fell apart, Buddhist monasteries and holy places began to be actively rebuilt and ‘houses of shamanism’ opened to offer their spiritual services to a still very eager population.

The greatest permanent element of change that was ushered into Tuva by the Soviet era was probably the position that women could now hold in society. They were no longer to be designated *xereežok* ‘useless, not needed’; this derogatory term was intentionally changed by Soviet-era linguists to the neologism *xereežen* ‘woman’, a hybrid of Tuvan *xeree-* ‘use, need’ and Russian *ženščina* ‘woman’. The Soviet era also brought about institutional reforms in Tuvan society such that a high status was now more possible to achieve, whereas in the past social statuses were typically ascribed based on factors out of a person’s control (for a discussion of achieved versus ascribed status in the anthropological literature see, e.g., Schusky 1972 and Harris 1995). Thus, the institution of public education made it possible for more intellectually gifted Tuvans to earn advanced degrees and to pass on their knowledge to others for the good of their people. This earns them respect and deference from the masses in a way that was not common in Tuvan society prior to inclusion in the Soviet Union. Hence, whereas the deferential title *baškī* ‘teacher’ was in traditional Tuvan society typically limited to Buddhist lamas who taught the people religion, nowadays it is also applied to schoolteachers and university instructors, and remains with the teacher throughout their lifetime, so that former students will respectfully address their former teachers as *baškī* even many years after their schooling is over.

The place of the Tuvan individual within the collective is also something that has been shifting over the past century due to historical social developments. Thus, in pre-Soviet times, when the vast majority of Tuvans were leading a nomadic lifestyle, the most important unit of society was the *aal* ‘yurt encampment’. The inhabitants of each yurt in the *aal* were typically a

nuclear family who were closely related to the other members of the *aal*. The collective success of the *aal* members in their everyday herding and hunting activities to a large part determined the well-being of each individual in the *aal*. At the same time, there was a strong sense of belonging to a specific clan that is larger than the *aal*; e.g., the Mongush clan, the Saryglar clan, the Ondar clan, and so forth. These clan names came to form the basis of many Tuvan last names in the 20th century.²² Belonging to a clan was something that could help the *aal* survive in difficult times, and was therefore valued very highly. Clan identity was possibly at the conceptual center of collective ‘we’ reference in this time period.

During the Soviet era, a different sort of collectivism was imposed on the Tuvan people by the new dominant political ideology of communism. The primary allegiance of the ideal Tuvan Soviet citizen was now supposed to be the Soviet Union itself, in which there was no longer any room for petty clan loyalties. The new expectation was that the primary economic units would become the *kolkhoz* and *sovkhos* (state-sponsored collective farms) instead of the *aal*. This shift was promoted by mass urbanization, which led to families being dislocated from their relatives as many Tuvans chose to settle in apartment blocks with amenities such as running water, central heating and electricity.

When the Soviet Union disintegrated and Tuvans began to feel more free to assert their Tuvanness, clan identity turned out to still be very strong in the Tuvan social consciousness even though the *aal* had been effectively dislodged as the main social unit for a large majority of Tuvans. In contemporary Tuvan society, clans still compete with each other to hold the most spectacular weddings and to give their young people the most expensive gifts, and are gratified and proud when their athletes win important athletic events. Turning to clan loyalty is likewise effective for setting up a business and for pushing paperwork through (or around) bureaucratic

²² According to Harrison (1999), there are about 30 of these clan names.

and legal obstacles. The collective mentality of strength in numbers is reflected in proverbial sayings such as:

(49) Demnig saaskan teve tud-up či-ir
collective magpie camel catch-CV eat-P/F
'A flock of magpies can catch and eat even a camel'

At the same time, some tension is felt in Tuvan society due to conflict between the age-old clan consciousness and the ideals of a more individualistic type of society promoted by increased contact with the Western world. Thus, reports of nepotism in the Tuvan government evoke disgruntled and critical responses from the average Tuvan. Although group work is still often the *modus operandi* among students in the Tuvan educational system and is tacitly accepted by teachers, the parents of bright students realize that only individual merit and effort will help their children get a good higher education "beyond the Sayan Mountains" in Russia or abroad. Though the clan can help finance such an endeavor, its influence typically does not extend far beyond the boundaries of Tuva and it therefore cannot guarantee the student's success if s/he does not to a great degree rely on self apart from the clan.

Thus, although a completely self-focused "me mentality" is not an acceptable social face for Tuvans, neither do many individual Tuvans find it desirable to be wholly dissolved in the collective so that group concerns dictate the course of one's life. On an anecdotal note, I have heard many Tuvan acquaintances complain bitterly about how their extended family exerts unwanted pressure on them to conform in terms of various social concerns (e.g., property disputes, religious preferences, child-rearing practices), and how they have to painfully go against the grain in asserting their rights as autonomous decision-makers. If group face was not a concern for Tuvans, they would not feel any such pressure. If individual face was not relevant to Tuvans, they would not feel it necessary to occasionally affirm their independence of collective demands. One of the challenges of relationship management for Tuvans seems to be

in finding and maintaining an acceptable balance between these two poles of authority in one's social existence.

The sociohistorical factors discussed above have contributed to the contemporary constitution of group face and social indexing in Tuvan society and are reflected in the Tuvan perception and use of politeness devices in conversation. We have already seen in section 2.8 a few examples of how group face concerns affect Tuvans' perception of politic behavior in certain activities such as food-sharing (inhibited by individualism-enhancing refrigerator technology) and making chit-chat with new friends in public places like the birth ward, where many Tuvan women now have cell phones that allow them to remain disconnected from other confined women.

In the rest of this chapter, I concentrate my attention on two of the main ways that group facework is linguistically encoded in Tuvan. First, in 3.2, I examine the Tuvan system of pronouns, focusing on how plurality is used to convey deference. Then, in 3.3, I turn my attention to address terms commonly used by Tuvans in conversation for socially situating themselves relative to each other. Both of these – pronouns and address terms – are considered referent honorifics in the traditional social deixis approach to these devices (Levinson 1979:207). For the pronoun section, the primary source of examples was my literary corpus. I also probed the semantic scope of several of the pronouns through discussion with my consultants and gathered native speaker intuitions on these via my initial, paper-based politeness questionnaire. Dialectal variation in polite pronoun use was gathered from nineteen speakers via a follow-up, computer-based questionnaire. For the address term section, I collected a sample of Tuvan appellatives (about 35 terms used for kin and fictive kin and 30 terms not related to kinship structures) and categorized them in terms of their politeness value. Many of these terms were already familiar to me from everyday conversation and from Tuvan

literature, while the others I culled from a Russian-language work on Tuvan kinship address (Kara-ool 2003). Some information on personal names was offered by my Tuvan consultants, while the computer-based questionnaire provided sociolinguistic data on cross-dialectal usage of certain affixes occurring on kin terms in the Tuvan system of polite address.

3.2 Tuvan pronouns: The politeness of plurality²³

Ever since Brown & Gilman's (1960) influential work on pronouns of power and solidarity in the European languages, a voluminous amount of work has been done on the sociolinguistic aspects of pronominal usage. A bibliography of publications dealing with social features of pronouns and address terms up to the mid-1980s can be found in Philipsen & Huspek (1985), while a more recently compiled bibliography encompassing works up to 2004 is online at <http://rumaccc.unimelb.edu.au/address/bibliography/database.html> (accessed 28 August 2012). The continued interest in this field of study among European languages is testified to by more recent works, such as Clyne, Norby & Warren (2009) on nominal and pronominal address in English, French, German and Swedish and Dziugis (2010) on pronominal variation in Argentinian Spanish. Looking at other areas of the world, East Asian languages such as Japanese, Korean, and Thai possess honorific systems that are much more complex than the simple dyadic relationship of Brown & Gilman's T and V pronouns, but the basic principles set out by Brown & Gilman about the relevance of social power and social distance to the choice of address form have stood the test of time cross-linguistically. Studies touching on the social aspects of pronominal usage among Turkic languages are not easy to find in either Russian or English-language publications; one can, however, point to Danilova (1991) on Yakut pronouns and Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu (2001) on Turkish pronouns and address forms.

²³ Parts of this section were previously published as Voinov (2010b).

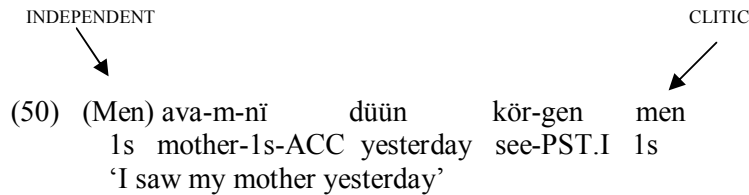
In this subsection, I focus on describing certain politeness-related aspects of Tuvan pronouns, with a specific focus on the use of the plural morpheme that pushes the Tuvan pronominal system one level further than the T/V distinction found in most of the Turkic languages.

The Tuvan paradigm for free-standing basic personal pronouns, given in the nominative case, is shown below.

Table 3.1 Basic personal pronouns of standard Tuvan

	<u>Sg</u>		<u>Pl</u>	
1	<i>men</i>	‘I’	<i>bis</i>	‘we’
2	<i>sen</i>	‘you’	<i>siler</i>	‘you (y’all)’
3	<i>ol</i>	‘he/she/it’ ²⁴	<i>olar</i>	‘they’

Of these six basic pronoun forms, *men*, *sen*, *bis* and *siler* also function as person-marking clitics on certain verb forms and verbal elements (see Harrison 2000: 35). The following example illustrates the different position in the sentence for the pro-droppable independent pronouns and the obligatory person-marking clitics (orthographically represented as separate words):



At first glance, this looks like a standard six-pronoun system, considered cross-linguistically most common (Mühlhäusler & Harré 1990:81). But in fact things are somewhat more complicated. The first departure from a tidy six-pronoun system is presented by the existence of a pluralized form of the 1p pronoun ‘we’ – *bis-ter* (1p + plural /LAr/), used only as an independent pronoun, never as a clitic. Anderson & Harrison (1999:25) note that in some

²⁴ Similarly to other Turkic languages, Tuvan has no grammatical gender distinction.

dialects of Tuvan, *bister* is used as the primary 1p pronoun, almost to the exclusion of *bis*. The 1p pronoun forms *bis* and *bister* both always indicate a true plural group consisting of [I and 1+ persons] or [the group to which I belong]. “Plurals of majesty” or “editorial we” forms that in fact denote a single individual do not seem to occur in natural Tuvan usage. In the Dukhan dialect (Ragagnin 2011:93), pluralized *bister* (*pister*) is said to differ from *bis* (*pis*) by the extent of the group: the more basic form *pis* is said to be “restrictive: referring to the speaker and his/her narrow group”, while *pister* is said to refer to an “extended group”. It is not quite clear what distinguishes between narrow and extended in this definition and whether it is likewise true of standard Tuvan. In the Tuvan literary corpus, cases can be found in which *bis* and *bister* are used in the same discourse stretch to refer to the same referents, as in the following example, where both pronouns are used in self-reference by two widowers:

(51) am bis-ke kiži aytir-ba-ŋar. öglen-ip erttir-ip al-gan-ivis ol-dur.
 now 1p-DAT person ask-NG-2p.IMV marry-CV pass-CV SBEN-PST.I-1p DISC

Aniyak kis-tar bis-ter iškaš dulguyak ašak-tar-ga kančap kaday bol-ur čüve-l.
 young girl-PL 1p-PL like widower man-PL-DAT how wife be-P/F AUXN-Q.WH

‘Don’t look for wives for us any more. We have been married already. How could young girls marry widowers like us [pl.]?’ (Aŋčī ugbališkī)

Like *bister*, the 2nd and 3rd person plural pronouns *siler* and *olar* were historically formed by the addition of the plural suffix /LAr/ to an older stratum of pronominal forms (Isxakov 1956: 210-213). The vowel and consonant variations are due to phonological processes and are not relevant to the morphological mechanism:

(52) 1 pl *bis-LAr → bister
 2 pl *siz-LAr → siler
 3 pl *o-LAr → olar

As for the deictic scope of these pronouns, both referential and social, the 2p pronoun *siler* is used both for addressing numerous people (true plural) and as an honorific that conveys

respect for and/or distance from a singular referent. This is Brown & Gilman's (1960) V form and stands in a dyadic relationship with 2s *sen*, which is the T form used to indicate either social solidarity with or power superiority to one's interlocutor. Most of the modern Turkic languages have a similar T/V distinction in their pronominal system, with Sakha/Yakut being a notable exception (Fedorova 2003:153). Although these are the general social deictic guidelines for using *sen* and *siler* in Tuvan conversation, the specific usage patterns are in some ways context-dependent and fluid, and therefore more complicated than the brief explanation above might lead one to believe. For example, two female interview respondents told me that as children, each of them went through stages when they addressed their mothers as *sen* (T), then switched for a time to *siler* (V), then reverted to *sen* (T). See section 3.2.2 below for a more detailed examination of the factors involved in T/V selection among the various Tuvan dialects.

The 3p form *olar* 'they' has not been found to function as a singular honorific in the same way as 2p *siler*, although the singular honorific usage of 3p pronouns does exist among the world's languages (Head 1978:162-163).

3.2.1 Repluralized pronouns

Although Tuvan is not an honorific-marking language to the same degree as Korean or Japanese,²⁵ its pronominal system does have an interesting extension beyond the simple two-

²⁵ For the purposes of this dissertation, I accept B&L's (1987:276) definition of honorifics – "direct grammatical encodings of relative social status between participants, or between participants and persons or things referred to in the communicative event." An honorific language can therefore be defined as one that encodes a major part of its social deixis forms in a systematic and well developed part of its grammar, with the obligatory choice of which social deictic to use present in a large part of utterances. East Asian languages such as Japanese and Korean can thus be called honorific languages because of their wide assortment of obligatory social deictic morphemes present on most verbs, both for referents and addressees. Tuvan, however, cannot be considered an honorific language according to the proposed definition, because its obligatory morphological encoding of social deixis is limited to only a few forms that do not constitute a part of the grammar much more robustly than the social deictic forms in many Standard Average European languages. The distinction between an honorific and non-honorific language

way T/V distinction. This is the use of repluralized pronouns that indicate a heightened level of formal politeness. The phenomenon of repluralization was described as follows by Head (1978: 161) in his cross-linguistic study of respect marking in pronominal systems:

In some languages, plural pronouns used formerly in polite address of individuals have acquired general usage in address, losing both their earlier social meaning and their original number, only to be repluralized later. The repluralized or new plural form may then come to be used like the original one was earlier: for showing greater respect or social distance than the opposing form ... When used in reference to individuals, repluralized forms always show greater respect or social distance than the earlier ones.

Repluralized pronouns correspond to what B&L (1987) call ‘super-V’ forms in Tamil and Braun (1988) calls V₂ pronoun forms.

The plural suffix /LAr/, which we saw in (52) above to have been productive in forming the plural personal pronouns of Tuvan at an earlier stage of the language’s history, has been reapplied by some Tuvan speakers to these pronouns so as to produce a third pronominal series of repluralized forms. Double plural marking also occurs with the proximal demonstrative pronoun *bo* ‘this one’. This yields a yet more complex pronominal paradigm:

Table 3.2 Three-way plurality distinction in Tuvan pronouns

	<u>Sg</u>	<u>Pl</u>	<u>V₂(Repluralized)</u>
1 st person	<i>men</i>	<i>bis/ bister</i>	<i>(bisterler ?)</i>
2 nd person	<i>sen</i>	<i>siler</i>	<i>silerler</i>
3 rd person	<i>ol</i>	<i>olar</i>	<i>olarlar</i>
Demonstrative	<i>bo</i>	<i>bolar</i>	<i>bolarlar</i>

(The form *bisterler* is attested in Isxakov & Pal’mbax (1961:216), but its actual existence is questionable. See below.)

probably comes down to a matter of degree: whereas the T/V pronominal system of some European languages can be considered ‘honorific’ when compared to the pronominal poverty of modern English, these languages pale in comparison to the rich system of obligatory pronominal distinctions made by a language such as Thai.

Although other types of Tuvan pronouns besides personal and proximal demonstrative pronouns can take plural marking, none of these have been found to naturally occur as repluralized forms. For example:

- (53) a. *indig-lar* ‘such (ones)’ BUT NOT **indig-lar-lar*
 b. *demgi-ler* ‘those (ones)’ BUT NOT **demgi-ler-ler*

The plural morpheme is used as a marker of social meaning in other parts of the Tuvan language as well. Certain pluralized honorific titles, such as the archaic *deergi mindaagilar* ‘your/their highness’, can be used to refer with heightened respect to an individual in either 2nd or 3rd person. To borrow B&L’s comment about Tamil honorifics, it seems that in Tuvan too, “it is the plurality itself that is the ‘honorific’ feature” (1987:200).²⁶

An honorific function for the plural morpheme is reported in other Turkic languages as well, e.g., Turkish and Uzbek:

- (54) Turkish: Beyefendi ne alır-lar?
 gentleman what have-PL
 ‘What would the gentleman have?’ (Zeyrek 2001:60)

- (55) Uzbek: Nazokat xonim bor mī-lar?
 N. madam EXS QU-PL
 ‘Is Mrs. Nazokat here?’ (lit. ‘Are Mrs. Nazokat here?’) (Ken Keyes, p.c.)

Likewise, Anderson & Harrison (1999:13, fn. ii) observe that double marking of the plural can occur on verbs in certain dialects of Tuvan:

- (56) olar amda biblioteka-da olur-ubušaan nomču-n-up olur-lar-lar
 3P still library-LOC sit-CV read-RFL-CV AUX-PL-PL
 ‘They are still sitting in the library reading’

²⁶ The exact cognitive path (or paths) by which the semantics of plurality comes to be associated with the pragmatics of deference in many languages is still disputed. Malsch (1987) argues, unconvincingly, that plurality is a symbolic displacement of the hearer that indicates the speaker’s unwillingness to impose on him or her, i.e., it is a device that mitigates threats to H’s negative face.

It is not certain whether this extra plural marking on the verb in example (56) has a social meaning or not. Being a non-standard form, its grammaticality has been questioned by some native speakers.

The pronominal system presented above in Table 3.2 reflects the extended pronominal pattern of standard Tuvan as found in the Republic of Tuva. According to Mawkanuli (1999:137), the Jungar dialect of Tuvan spoken in China has a somewhat different system that distinguishes the 2nd person pronouns more symmetrically along the axis of familiarity/politeness, and does not include a 1st person RP *bisterler* at all.

Table 3.3 Personal pronoun system of Jungar Tuvan

	<u>Sg</u>	<u>Pl/RP</u>
1	<i>men</i>	<i>bis, bister</i>
2 familiar	<i>sen</i>	<i>senner</i>
2 polite	<i>siler</i>	<i>sileler</i>
3	<i>ol</i>	<i>olar, olalar</i>

Note the more advanced grammaticalization of the forms *sileler* and *olalar*, which have both lost the final *-r* of the first plural suffix /LAR/ so that this segment is even harder to recognize as an original plural morpheme than in standard Tuvan. No indication is given by Mawkanuli (1999) of the existence of repluralized demonstratives in the Jungar dialect. Although it would be interesting to look at how Jungar Tuvan speakers use their repluralized forms in comparison to usage by speakers in the Republic of Tuva, this must be left outside of the scope of this dissertation due to the limited amount of Jungar Tuvan language data available.

Not much had been written in the extant Tuvan linguistic literature on the semantic and referential properties of these repluralized forms until recently. One Tuvan-Russian dictionary (Tenišev 1968) briefly explained that the demonstrative RP *bolarlar* indicates a heightened level of politeness or deference (*forma podčjorknutoj vežlivosti ili počitel'nosti*) in 2p reference,

while another (Monguš 2003) stated that *bolarlar* is used to politely substitute for both *siler* ‘you (pl)’ and *bo kiži* ‘this person’, i.e., it is an honorific for either 2nd or 3rd person referents. However, both dictionaries give the same explanations for the corresponding non-RP demonstrative pronoun *bolar*, and no difference in meaning is proposed between the RP and non-RP forms.

In Voinov (2010b), I demonstrated that the most frequent function of RP forms in Tuvan is extra-honorific, but that there is also a non-social meaning associated with certain RPs, which I called internal plurality (see 3.2.1.2). Here I summarize the findings and show that they have been confirmed by questionnaire and interview respondents.

In an earlier and somewhat smaller version of my Tuvan corpus, I found that RP forms stood out as marked in terms of a significantly lower frequency of tokens than that of ordinary plural pronouns. This is shown in the table below.

Table 3.4 Corpus lexeme frequencies of plural pronouns versus RPs

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	Demonstrative
plural	<i>bis</i> : 1087 <i>bister</i> : 68	<i>siler</i> : 585	<i>olar</i> : 733	<i>bolar</i> : 81
RP	<i>bisterler</i> : 0	<i>silerler</i> : 23	<i>olarlar</i> : 24	<i>bolarlar</i> : 7

It is clear that each of the available repluralized pronouns occurs much less frequently than its non-RP counterpart. This paucity of RPs is what one generally expects of more marked morphological forms (Greenberg 1966; Tiersma 1982). The inflectional productivity of RPs is also, for the most part, much smaller than the inflectional productivity of non-RP pronouns, as shown in the following table.

Table 3.5 Number of inflectional forms occurring with plural pronouns versus RPs

	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person	Demonstrative
plural	<i>bis</i> : 8 <i>bister</i> : 6	<i>siler</i> : 11	<i>olar</i> : 14	<i>bolar</i> : 10
RP	<i>bisterler</i> : 0	<i>silerler</i> : 4	<i>olarlar</i> : 4	<i>bolarlar</i> : 4

Even though the same wide array of inflectional forms is available in the Tuvan language for repluralized forms as for ordinary plural pronouns, and no ungrammaticality would be constituted by using a RP with any of these suffixes, in practice the RPs *silerler*, *olarlar*, and *bolarlar* are found in only the four most frequently-occurring forms in my corpus: the nominative, genitive, accusative and dative case. Other inflectional forms which occur widely with plural pronouns in the corpus, such as the ablative case (e.g., *bis-ten* ‘from us’) or possessed forms (e.g., *bo-lar-im* ‘these ones of mine’), are altogether absent from RPs.

We can note in the above tables that the pluralized form *bister* occurs much less frequently than the basic form *bis*, and also has less inflectional productivity. This indicates that 1p *bister* is patterning similarly to the 2nd and 3rd person RPs in terms of markedness.

It was intriguing to find that no tokens of the 1st person RP *bisterler* existed in my entire corpus (at that time sized a quarter of a million tokens), even though Isxakov & Pal’mbax (1961:216) claimed that such forms do exist in Tuvan. Increasing the size of the Tuvan corpus to over 430,000 tokens for this dissertation still failed to find a single token of *bisterler*. On one hand, there are many rare lemmas that constitute the “indefinitely long tail” of a language and may require a corpus of several million words to locate, according to the website for the Oxford English Corpus (<http://oxforddictionaries.com/words/the-oec-facts-about-the-language>). At the same time, one would not expect a pronoun to belong to the category of rare words, since pronouns are function words. Thus, the suggestion made by Tuvan writer Eduard Mižit (p.c.)

that Isxakov & Pal'mbax may have been mistaken about the existence of this pronominal form is possible. However, one of my consultants (Nikolay Kuular), when questioned about the possible sense of *bisterler*, was easily able to map an honorific meaning onto this pronoun. He said that even though he had never heard or seen this form used, it sounded to him like a form that aristocrats, or other people with a high opinion of themselves, might use in self-reference, whereas no such self-adulation function exists for *bister*. Thus, there may be dialectal pockets of Tuvan society in which the RP *bisterler* is regularly used with such a function, even though it has not made its existence known in the fairly small sample of literary Tuvan texts in my corpus.

3.2.1.1 Examples and interpretations of honorific RPs

Some corpus examples of these repluralized pronouns being used as extrahonorifics are provided below, with relevant comments included from questionnaire respondents and consultants.

2nd person *silerler*

In Q13 of my initial politeness questionnaire, an open-ended question asking why the RP *silerler* was used in a Tuvan literary text (reproduced partially in example 57 below, but with a larger co-text in the questionnaire), 32 out of 39 respondents indicated that they believed that *silerler* had an especially respectful function.

- (57) Silerler-ge tuskay ög-nü bolgaš aš-čem-ni beletke-p ka-an
 2RP-DAT separate yurt-ACC and food-ACC prepare-CV AUX-PST.I
 ‘A separate yurt and food have been prepared for you [RP] ...’ (*Buyan*)
 (spoken by early 20th century Tuvan political leader Buyan Badirgī to group of Soviet emissaries)

One telling comment about the above example from a questionnaire respondent was:

- (58) anaa-la inčaar xündüle-p tur-ar eves, ol orus čon-nu čook xündüle-p
 normal-EM thus honor-CV AUX-P/F NG 3s Russian nation-ACC close honor-CV
 ‘(the speaker) is not simply showing respect, he is showing deep respect to the Russian nation’

A similar example from the same literary text is given below:

- (59) Ol xural-ga silerler-ni čala-p kel-di-m
 DDEM council-DAT 2RP-ACC invite-CV come-PST.II-1s
 ‘I have come to invite you [RP] to that council.’ (*Buyan*)
 (spoken by a Soviet emissary to Tuvan political leader Buyan Badırgı)

In both (57) and (59), the speaker uses *silerler* to address the hearer even though S and H are social equals (representatives of separate nations). In other passages in the same novel, however, this pronoun is used by a superior to his subordinates, while these subordinates reciprocate with *silerler* and usually an honorific title, such as *xayıraatı* ‘sir, lord’. The honorific function of *silerler* may therefore be interpreted as having mainly to do with institutional formal politeness, not social distance or unequal power relations. This is confirmed by the fact that in contemporary Tuvan speech, these forms are typically only heard when a speaker is addressing an audience at a formal event, such as at a concert.

In colloquial Tuvan, however, the use of repluralized pronouns such as *silerler* sounds forced and unnatural to some younger speakers. One interview respondent said that he would use *silerler* to address someone only if he were being *aviyastig* ‘ingratiating, slippery’. Of the 26 interview respondents, only one person said that he would ever use the form *silerler* to sincerely address anyone with a heightened level of respect.

The honorific function can however be intentionally abused so as to accentuate impoliteness. In the following example from a play, the protagonist is angrily rebuking a subordinate (high degree of FTA), first using a 2s (T) form of address and a direct imperative, then switching to *silerler* (V₂) in an ironic use of the RP.

- (60) Baar čer-iŋ-ge bar! Silerler-bile mınča-p oyna-p tur-ar
 go.P/F place-2s-DAT go 2RP-COM do.thus-CV play-CV AUX-P/F
 šöleen čok, medee-xayaažok ulug ažił-dıg kiži men
 leisure NG.EX tremendously large work-ADJ person 1s

‘Go where you [sg] need to go! I don’t have time to play around with the likes of you [RP], I have a lot of important work to do.’ (*Döngür-ool*)

As Ide (2005:57) notes about Japanese, “if a high honorific is chosen inappropriately, that is in a context where a less polite honorific form is expected, it could imply ‘irony’, ‘alienation’, or any other number of other meanings.” This example can be categorized as a use of what Culpeper (2011) calls the conventional impoliteness strategy – an intentional mixture of a conventional politeness device in an obviously impolite context.

3rd person *olarlar*

About 1/3 of the tokens of *olarlar* in my corpus (early version) are used in honorific reference to a single individual:

(61) Buyan-Badīrgī-nī čüge boola-p šiit-ken-i-n bil-bes men. Bis-tiṅ
 B.-ACC why shoot-CV condemn-PST.I-3-ACC know-NG 1s 1p-GEN
 čerge olarlar-niṅ ad-i-n bezin ada-ar-i xoruglug tur-gan čüve.
 land-DAT 3RP-GEN name-3-ACC even name-P/F-3 forbidden be-PST.I AUXN

‘I don’t know why Buyan Badīrgī was condemned and shot. It was forbidden to even mention his [RP ‘their’] name in our land.’ (*Buyan*)

The other honorific tokens of *olarlar* are used to refer respectfully to plural entities:

(62) tiva čon-nuṅ ulug darga-lar-i ambīṅ noyan Kombu-Doržu bile
 Tuvan people-GEN great boss-PL-3 A. lord K. and
 güṅ noyan Buyan-Badīrgī apar-gan-nar. öske kožuun-nar-niṅ darga
 G. lord B. become-PST.I-PL other district-PL-GEN chief
 düžümet-ter-i olarlar-ni xündüle-er bolgaš olarlar-ga čagirt-i ber-gen-ner.
 functionary-PL-3 3RP-ACC honor-P/F and 3RP-DAT submit-CV AUX-PST.I-PL

‘... the Ambīṅ-lord Kombu-Dorzhu and Güṅ-lord Buyan Badīrgī became the foremost leaders of the Tuvan people. The leading functionaries of the other administrative districts showed them [RP] honor and submitted to them [RP].’ (*Buyan*)

In the above example, the RP *olarlar* is used to refer to the two main political leaders of Tuva after it became a protectorate of Russia. Some of the other plural entities referred to with *olarlar*

in the corpus with this function are Buyan Badırgı and another of his associates, a couple of personages from Tuvan mythical history, and the Soviet-era political leaders who were responsible for executing Buyan Badırgı. In light of the clear allegiance of this novel’s author to Buyan Badırgı, the last occurrence is hard to interpret as being motivated in any way by the author’s personal respect for these men; rather, it seems that he is linguistically marking them as being of greater than usual significance. This case too may be considered an institutional honorific use that bows to socially normative ways of talking about important people, even if one does not personally like them.

Demonstrative *bolarlar*

As already mentioned, this pronoun is used for extrahonorific reference to either a 2nd or 3rd person referent, whether singular or plural. In this, it differs from the honorific 3rd person RP *olarlar*, which in my corpus never substitutes for the 2nd person.

(63) Ča, toolču am tavaar bıdaala-p al-zın, ooŋ soonda
 OK storyteller now calmly eat.soup-CV SBEN-JUS 3s.GEN after

bolarlar-nıŋ tool-u-n dıŋna-ar bis.
 PDEM.RP-GEN story-3-ACC hear-P/F 1p

‘OK, let the storyteller eat his soup in peace, then we will hear his [RP ‘these ones’] story’(Aŋgır-ool)

(64) Bolarlar-nı köör-üm-ge, bo čer uluz-u eves=daa iškaš,
 PDEM.RP-ACC see-1s-DAT PDEM land people-3 NG=FOC like

idik-xev-iŋer=daa bis-tiin-ge dömeyleš-pes.
 clothing-2p=FOC 1p-ADJ-DAT resemble-NG.P/F

‘By your appearance (lit. when I look at these ones [RP]), you are not like the people of this land, and your (pl) clothing does not resemble ours’ (*Tanaa*)

The social connotations of *bolarlar* seem fairly close to the definitions proposed by the Tuvan dictionaries (3.2.1). Respectful awe figures prominently in the speakers’ minds in most cases. In

one case, however, the referent of *bolarlar* is a notorious drug-dealer and his entourage (*Kežik-kis*, p. 25). Though politeness to the referent, who is not present during the conversation, is unlikely to be intended in this case by the speaker (another drug dealer), awe of the referent's viciousness does appear to be prominent in the speaker's mind.

The degree of respect for the referent indicated by *bolarlar* appears to be greater than that indicated by the corresponding non-RP form *bolar*, although the non-RP pronoun too indicates respect when used to refer to an individual:

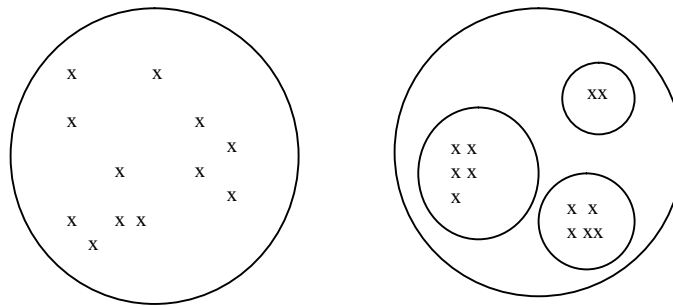
- (65) bo-lar ĩlap-la řin řugaala-y-đir
 PDEM-PL verily-EM true speak-CV-EVD
 'This person (honorific) is speaking the truth' (Salćak Toka, cited in Monguř 2003:275)

When *bolar* is used to refer to a group of people, however, it is usually socially neutral, but can sometimes connote animosity or derision, not respect, as in the following example, where punishment for a band of murderers is being discussed. In this, it differs from RP *bolarlar*, which is typically honorific even when used of a group.

- (66) Čo-ok, keř-i-n dirig-de soy-ar. Bo-lar aņaa đika xilinćekten-ip ۆl-ür.
 no-o skin-3-ACC live-LOC peel-P/F PDEM-PL there very suffer-CV die-P/F
 'No-o, skin them alive. These ones [dem. pl.] will die very painfully' (Aņći uębalařki)

3.2.1.2 Examples of non-honorific RPs

As mentioned in 3.2.1, not all repluralized pronouns have an honorific function in all cases. In a few contexts, the 3rd person RP *olarlar* has been found to encode internal plurality – the referent is portrayed as a group that consists of distinct subgroups. This is a non-social meaning of RPs that does not seem to have anything to do with politeness or honorifics. A possible schematization of this interpretation is offered below (with the symbol x representing individual members of the group):



3p *olar*

3 RP *olarlar*

Figure 3.1 Internal plurality distinction between *olar* and *olarlar*

In the following corpus examples of this function, the RPs are used to refer to a squadron of soldiers (67) and to a flock of mountain goats (68), each of which can be further subdivided into smaller constituent groups:

- (67) Saf ’yanov-tu kızıl šerig-ler üde-p çoru-ur, olarlar-niň araz-in-da
 S.-ACC red soldier-PL accompany-CV go-P/F 3RP-GEN among-3-LOC

Nepomnyaščiy baza bar dižir tur-gan.
 N. also EXS said be-PST.I

‘Safyanov was accompanied by Red soldiers, and it was said that Nepomnyashchiy was among them [RP].’ (*Buyan*)

- (68) Kodan te, čuňma-lar bolza, baza-la bir baštij-niň bol-ur,
 flock mountain.goat-PL TOP also-EM one leader-ADJ be-P/F

ol baštij-niň aay-in-dan olarlar ert-pes bol-ur.
 DDEM leader-GEN control-3-ABL 3RP pass-NG be-P/F

‘As far as a flock of mountain goats is concerned, they too have a leader and they [RP] submit to that leader’s will.’ (*Buyan*)

An honorific reading of *olarlar* in these two examples seems highly unlikely, especially in reference to the flock of mountain goats. Many of the questionnaire respondents were confused by this example and could not explain why the author of the text would refer to the goats with an RP. Some other tokens of *olarlar* in my corpus that could be interpreted as having

the internal plurality reading are used to refer to a contingent of merchants, travelers, and functionaries (*Buyan*, p. 88), and the various evildoers in the world (*Kežik-kis*, p. 76). In these cases as well, there seems to be no contextual support for an honorific reading of the RP.

The internal plurality interpretation of examples (67) and (68) was first suggested by Valeria Monguš (p.c.) and was later corroborated by some respondents in the initial politeness questionnaire (Q14-15). Thus, 11 respondents mentioned plurality, a large number, or several groups of goats in their answers, while 13 had a similar response concerning the soldiers. The majority of respondents in each case, however, did not indicate that these examples have anything to do with the constituency of the groups referred to by *olarlar*. Some could not offer any reason for what the author of the novel meant by using the repluralized forms, while others suggested that it might have been out of heightened respect for these referents, even the goats. Based on these mixed responses, I conjecture that the internal plurality reading is not part of the grammar of some segments of the Tuvan population, although no sociolinguistic patterns presented themselves from questionnaire responses for me to be able to determine where the lines of demarcation lie.

In principle, there may also be cases of semantic indeterminacy (Coates 1983) in which even the immediate context/co-text is not sufficient to disambiguate between the honorific reading and the internal plurality reading of *olarlar*. For instance, if the referent is a group of well-respected scholars that represent different disciplines (biologists, mathematicians, historians, etc.), both readings of *olarlar* could be co-present.

3.2.2 *Dialectal variation in T/V/V₂ pronoun use*

As B&L (1987:255) point out, “the analysis of the distribution of strategies for language use (even as crudely indexed by T/V pronouns) may indeed be a useful ethnographic

tool” that gives “an insight into the unreflective (non-exegetical) categories with which members actually operate”. Although *sen* and *siler* share the features of being respectively the T and V pronoun for address of individuals throughout the Tuvan language, the social aspects of when and to whom they are used are not entirely monolithic between different dialects of Tuvan, and may therefore shed light on sub-cultural differences within the overall Tuvan society. While living in Tuva, I frequently heard anecdotal evidence to the effect that speakers of the Southeastern dialect (Erzin, bordering with Mongolia) use V forms more frequently than do speakers from the rest of Tuva, and that they are in this respect more polite than others. Native speakers told me that, for example, a Tuvan child in Erzin usually addresses each of his parents with *siler*, the V form, while all other Tuvans regularly address their parents with *sen*. According to this report, Erzinian T/V usage focuses more on the unequal power relationship, while for other Tuvans, the intimacy or solidarity of nuclear family relations overrides power inequality. Perceptual dialectologists affirm the value of studying claims of such a folk linguistic nature: “As a part of a speech community’s set of beliefs about language and use, they are essential knowledge for an approach to linguistics which emphasizes societal and interactional context” (Preston 1989:3).

To empirically test these claims about Erzinian peculiarities in T/V usage, I ran a small-scale pilot study of Tuvan 2nd person pronominal usage, collecting data from speakers in the towns of Ak-Dovurak in western Tuva, Toora-Xem in Todzha (or Tožu), and Erzin in southeastern Tuva, which represent the three dialects of Tuvan apart from the central dialect (recall the map in Figure 1.2 of the first chapter). Similar studies, but much larger in scope than mine, have been previously conducted by researchers such as Lambert & Tucker (1976) and Braun (1988).

In order to minimize cross-dialectal contamination, I looked only at data from respondents who were still living in the same dialectal area where they grew up. Of the Tuvan speakers who participated in my 2012 politeness interview, 19 fit this criterion: 7 in Ak-Dovurak, 5 in Todzha,²⁷ and 7 in Erzin. Respondents were asked to press keys on my laptop in answer to a set of questions about which pronoun (*sen* ‘T’, *siler* ‘V’ or *silerler* ‘V₂’) they were most likely to use to each of 22 different addressees, including both relatives and non-relatives (with the order of addressees randomized for each respondent). Although this study is based on self-reporting as opposed to data “in the wild”, it serves as a first pass into this realm of research in Tuvan, showing speakers’ perceptions concerning which 2nd person pronoun is considered politic to which social relations.

Table 3.6 below lays out a summary of 2nd person pronoun usage reported by speakers of Western Tuvan (Ak-Dovurak), Northeastern Tuvan (Todzha), and Southeastern Tuvan (Erzin) in my pilot study. The numbers indicate how many respondents from each dialect said that they prefer using T, V or V₂ to a given addressee.

²⁷ Although I conducted more interviews than this with Tuvans in Toora-Xem (Todzha), many of the current residents of Todzha are *köšken xemčikter* ‘migrants from the Xemčik area of western Tuva’, as they are called by long-time natives of Todzha and the Kungurtug area, and therefore had to be excluded from this study so as to avoid dialectal contamination in the data.

Table 3.6 Speakers' politic use of T/V/V₂ pronouns to various social relations in three Tuvan dialects

Relation	Total, Western dialect (N=7)	Total, Northeastern dialect (N=5)	Total, Southeastern dialect (N=7)	Grand total for all areas (N=19)
Father	7T	1T/4V	7V	8T/11V
Mother	6T/1V	1T/4V	7V	7T/12V
Grandfather	3T/4V	1T/2V/2V ₂	7V	4T/13V/2V ₂
Grandmother	2T/5V	4V/1V ₂	7V	2T/16V/1V ₂
Maternal uncle	1T/6V	1T/3V/1V ₂	7V	2T/16V/1V ₂
Elder brother (<i>akiñar</i>)	7T	1T/4V	7V	8T/11V
Elder sister (<i>ugbañar</i>)	6T/1V	1T/4V	7V	7T/12V
Younger brother (<i>er duñmañar</i>)	7T	5T	7T	19T
Younger sister (<i>kis duñmañar</i>)	7T	5T	5T/2V	17T/2V
Spouse	7T	2T/3V	6T/1V	15T/4V
Son	7T	5T	7T	19T
Daughter	7T	5T	7T	19T
Teacher	7V	5V	7V	19V
Male classmate	6T/1V	4T/1V	5T/2V	15T/4V
Female classmate	6T/1V	5T	6T/1V	17T/2V
Male salesperson	7V	5V	1T/6V	1T/18V
Female salesperson	7V	5V	1T/6V	1T/18V
Male stranger (peer)	7V	1T/4V	1T/6V	2T/17V
Female stranger (peer)	6V/1V ₂	1T/4V	1T/6V	2T/16V/1V ₂
Bus driver	7V	5V	1T/6V	1T/18V
Head of local administration	7V	5V	1T/6V	1T/18V
Tuvan head of state	7V	4V/1V ₂	7V	18V/1V ₂

Looking at the similarities shared across dialects (Grand Total column), we see that all respondents use T to address their children as well as a younger brother. The vast majority also use T to address a younger sister; only two Erzinian women said that they use the V pronoun to a younger sister. Likewise, most respondents from each dialect use the T form to one's classmates of either gender, since these are equal in social power and typically high in solidarity

with the speaker. No one would use a T form to one's teacher or to the Tuvan head of state; both are much higher in power than the speaker. Only a small minority would use a T form to one's grandparents and maternal uncle; most would use the V form, and a few even a repluralized V₂ to their grandparents. The respondents were almost unanimous, apart from one outlier, in their use of the V form to the head of the local administration, who is also high in power. When addressing strangers, including a bus driver (almost always a man in Tuvan society), the overwhelming majority of respondents prefer to use a V pronoun. Only two respondents (one from Todzha, one from Erzin) would use a T form to a male or female stranger who seems to be a peer age-wise. Thus, there is a strong preference across the board for speakers to underline a politic social distance from strangers by using a V form even if there is no power difference.

As for T/V usage differences between dialects, the data provided by my respondents generally lines up with anecdotal native speaker assessments, but not completely. First, we see that Erzinians do in fact use the V form to address their parents, while Ak-Dovurakians prefer the T form. Most Todzhans are much closer to Erzinians in this respect. Erzinians, together with most Todzhans, also prefer the V pronoun for addressing their older siblings, while Ak-Dovurakians prefer the T form. As for addressing grandparents, Erzinians and Todzhans also for the most part use a deferential pronoun, while Ak-Dovurakians are split between T and V forms of address. In general, Erzinians seem to consider the relative age of the hearer as the conclusive factor for using a V form. For Ak-Dovurakians and some Todzhans, relative age is an important factor, but they also appear to give some weight to the relative closeness between S and H in determining which pronoun form is to be used. We may also note that Todzhans differ from both Erzinians and Ak-Dovurakians in how they address their spouse: three

Todzhan respondents use the V form, while only one of all the other combined respondents (an Erzinian woman) said that she uses the V form to her husband.

Descriptive statistics for aggregated subjects in each dialect area show that the Ak-Dovurak (Western dialect) respondents have the greatest use of the T form, preferring it to address an average of 11.3 out of the 22 social relations in the questionnaire, with a standard deviation of 1.98. In comparison, Todzhans and Erzinians preferred using the T form to an average of 7.8 social relations (standard deviation of 3.27) and 7.1 social relations (standard deviation of 3), respectively. Based on these findings, it might be more appropriate to say that it is the Western dialect that stands out in its greater and more homogenous use of the T pronoun, rather than saying that the Southeastern dialect stands out in its greater use of the V pronoun.

Looking across subjects, we also find that only 3 of the 19 total respondents (one from Ak-Dovurak, two from Todzha) said that they would use the V₂ pronoun in any of the social situations presented in the questionnaire prompts. The relations to whom this was said to be possible are all high in power or social distance: grandfather, grandmother, maternal uncle, the Tuvan head of state, and a female stranger.²⁸ This might confirm that the V₂ form is falling into disuse for Tuvan speakers in general, as suggested in 3.2.1.1; however, we did see in that section that this form may have acquired the highly marked status of ‘overpolite’, which was not fitting for the prototypical address situation asked about in my pronoun questionnaire.

Although these findings do shed some light on dialectal differences in the Tuvan perception of politeness, I forebear from making any sweeping claims about the dialectal peculiarities of Tuvan politeness devices, since the number of respondents at this stage of data

²⁸ The one male respondent from Ak-Dovurak who claimed that he would use the V₂ form *silerler* to female strangers may have responded so with tongue-in-cheek.

gathering was very small (no more than seven in each dialect area) and cannot realistically be considered representative. This area of research awaits a fuller examination in the future.

3.3 Terms of address

Apart from respectful pronouns, another important group face-based means of showing politeness to others in probably all human languages is the use of titles or other terms of address that are appropriate according to the social norms of the culture. By “appropriate”, I mean those titles that situate the referent in an acceptable or politic manner given the social status that s/he has achieved or been ascribed by society based on certain social dimensions. These dimensions vary from culture to culture, but often include such factors as age, sex, profession, caste, marital status, etc. Some cultures also accord importance to very specific factors in their address systems, such as those seen in the day-of-birth naming practice in Ghanaian society or the honorary title *Hajji* given to someone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca in Islamic cultures.

A sampling of traditional sociolinguistic works that have examined terms of address includes Brown & Ford (1961) on English nominal address forms, Ervin-Tripp (1972) on variation in address behavior in American English and several other languages, Hwang (1991) on Korean and English address terms, and Krouglov (1996) on post-Soviet changes to the systems of address terms in Russian and Ukrainian. Politeness researchers have naturally turned their gaze to forms of address in various cultures as well, e.g., Gu (1990) for Chinese; Sifianou (1992, section 3.5) for modern Greek; Horasan (1987) and Bayyurt & Bayraktaroğlu (2001) for Turkish. Among the Turkic languages spoken in the former Soviet Union, terms of address have been examined in Kazakh by Tamaeva (1992) and Savojskaja (2005), in Sakha/Yakut by

Fedorova (2003), and in Bashkir by Saljaxova (2004), as already mentioned in the introductory chapter.

In studying the use of address terms as they relate to politeness, we may begin by dividing them into kin terms and non-kin terms. A somewhat gray area is fictive kin terms, i.e., kin terms that are used to address someone who is mutually known by the interlocutors to not literally be a relative, but is fictively called such for the sake of in-group solidarity. Here these are grouped together with kin terms. Within each of these two general categories, the terms can be further subcategorized along the social dimension of relative social power. The three logical possibilities are: 1) $S \downarrow H$ (the speaker speaks down to the hearer, who is perceived to have less social power than the speaker); 2) $S \uparrow H$ (the speaker speaks up to the hearer, who is perceived as having more social power than the speaker); and 3) $S \leftrightarrow H$ (the speaker and the hearer are treated as equals in terms of social power).

The term “deferential” is frequently applied only to the second of these ($S \uparrow H$). Thus, O’Driscoll (2007:472) concisely defines deference as “conveying that the addressee is of higher status than the speaker”, while B&L tie deference to “the reflex of a great P[ower] differential” (1987: 77). However, it is important to remember that even in cases where the conversational dyad is asymmetric in power, there are typically social constraints that inform the higher/more powerful member concerning how s/he is supposed to act towards the lower/less powerful member. That is, society usually prescribes responsibility to anyone who exercises authority. For example, in the Tuvan address system, we can look at the dyadic terms *akiy* ‘older brother’ and *dunmay* ‘younger sibling’. The elder does not have only the socially endorsed right to rule over the younger, but is also expected to take care of, help, and protect the younger (recall the Tuvan age-related proverbs in 2.6). I believe that this factor should be included when

discussing deferential politeness. I therefore propose to broaden the definition of deference to the following: *properly appraising and abiding by prescribed roles (whether symmetric or asymmetric) within the culturally specific system of social norms*. In other words, deference according to this definition is not limited to S ↑ H cases, and merely becomes a short-hand term for abiding by group face demands in one’s interaction.

To explore this definition in context, in the following sections I first examine non-kin terms, then kin terms and fictive kin terms.

3.3.1 Non-kin terms

Some of the non-kinship-based titles used by Tuvans to address each other are listed below. They are arranged by the relative power status of S and H (↑, ↓ or ↔). This list makes no pretense of being exhaustive; it merely attempts to be modestly representative of some of the semantic areas touched on by this category of address terms in Tuvan.

The first group of address terms is used by the speaker when speaking up to the hearer (S↑H). These address terms usually collocate with the V pronoun *siler*, and sometimes with the repluralized V₂ form *silerler*.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (69) | a. <i>darga</i> | ‘boss, chief, head of organization’ |
| | b. <i>čagirikči</i> | ‘ruler’ |
| | c. <i>xayıraatı</i> | ‘lord (lit. merciful one)’ |
| | d. <i>deergi</i> | ‘master, lord, sir’ |
| | e. <i>baški</i> | ‘teacher’ |
| | f. <i>emči</i> | ‘doctor, physician’ |
| | g. <i>kirgan/irey</i> | ‘old one’ |

The honorific value of most of these titles of address is often intensified with a descriptive modifier such as *xündülüg* ‘honored, respected’ (e.g., *xündülüg baški* or *xündülüg deergi*.)²⁹

²⁹ Sakha/Yakut uses the cognate word *kündü* to intensify respect in address terms, but this Yakut term is typically translated as ‘dear’, not ‘honored, respected’, e.g., *kündü studennar* ‘dear students’ (Fedorova 2003:145).

Tuvans sometimes also use *darga* to jokingly address equals, similarly to how the English terms *chief* and *boss* are used in some American working-class dialects (e.g., New York City) between blue-collar laborers. The plural form *dargalar* is also often used contemptuously in everyday conversation about Tuvan political authorities, who are typically feared but not highly respected by the non-empowered majority due to the perception of pervasive corruption and self-seeking mismanagement of political affairs. Thus, the context in which this term is used is very important for determining whether it is a polite usage or an impolite one. As address terms, *čagirikči*, *xayiraatı* and *deergi* are somewhat archaic, although *deergi* can still be used in contemporary Tuvan to address a high official, e.g. *Deergi Prezident* ‘Lord President’ (Monguš 2003:568), or God – *Deergi Burgan* ‘Lord God.’ In the past, this category of address terms also included titles such as *xaan* ‘king’ and *noyan* ‘nobleman’; while these are still known by Tuvans today through their oral tradition and literature, they have gone out of actual use due to the fact that Tuva is no longer a feudal society. Professions that are highly respected among Tuvans include those of *baški* ‘teacher’ and *emči* ‘doctor’, and these designations are therefore used as honorific titles for people in these professions. The age-related terms *kirgan* and *irey* used to be felicitous in previous generations as polite appellatives to an elderly male hearer, as seen in literary works; the younger generations of Tuvans that live in Kyzyl today no longer use these terms for politely addressing elderly people.

In the second group of non-kin address terms, the speaker addresses the hearer as an equal in terms of power (S↔H). These terms typically collocate with the T pronoun *sen*. Whereas such terms of address do have the social indexing function of situating S and H as equals, some of them at the same time also have an added positive politeness function in that they highlight a specific component that is shared by S and H.

- (70)
- | | | |
|----|---------------------|--|
| a. | <i>attaš/aviday</i> | ‘namesake (alter with same name as ego)’ |
| b. | <i>čaŋgīs</i> | ‘alter from same hometown, region, or school-class as ego’ |
| c. | <i>eš</i> | ‘comrade, mate’ |
| d. | <i>eš-öör</i> | ‘mates, partners’ (collective) |
| e. | <i>kīstar</i> | ‘girls, ladies’ |
| f. | <i>nöger</i> | ‘friend’ (archaic/dialectal) |
| g. | <i>ool/aal</i> | ‘boy, lad, chap, bloke’ |
| h. | <i>ooldar/aldar</i> | ‘lads, guys’ |
| i. | <i>öŋnük</i> | ‘buddy’ |
| j. | <i>šuptu</i> | ‘everyone’ (collective) |
| k. | <i>tala</i> | ‘pal (lit. side)’ |
| l. | <i>yaa</i> | ‘chum’ (vocative) |

The singular terms of address in this list appear to be used primarily by males to other males. Only the plural/collective terms (*kīstar*, *ooldar*, *eš-öör*, *šuptu*) are used by women speakers as well. Whereas the singular term *ool/aal* ‘boy, lad’ can be used for solidarity-indicating positive politeness between men, this is not the case with the lexeme *kīs* ‘girl’, which can only be used as an address term when in the plural – *kīstar* ‘girls’. The highly colloquial expression *yaa* seems to be only used by boys and young men when calling their friends, and was explained to me by a middle-aged Tuvan man as being a contracted form of the interjection + vocative title *Ey, aal!* ‘Hey, bloke!’ According to one interview respondent (Aidiš Xovalig), *yaa* is considered by Tuvans to be demeaning if the addressee is not an acquaintance of the speaker. The finer distinctions between the terms referring to the addressee as ‘friend’, ‘buddy’, ‘chum’ and ‘pal’ are left for future research.

The address terms in the third group are used when the speaker is speaking down to the hearer (S↓H) and also usually collocate with a pronominal T form. The use of many such designations is typically seen as demeaning/insulting/abusive. The impolite force of such terms is often strengthened by intensifying modifiers. Since the topic of this dissertation is not words that cause offense, only a small sample of such expressions is given here so as not to put undue

focus on this part of the Tuvan language, which may grab the attention of the outsider linguist but is not very pleasant for Tuvans themselves to see in print.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|
| (71) | a. <i>kulugur / xugbay kulugur</i> | ‘scoundrel / accursed scoundrel’ |
| | b. <i>soyluk</i> | ‘scalawag, scoundrel’ |
| | c. <i>sek / končug sek</i> | ‘corpse/utter corpse’ |
| | d. <i>aamay</i> | ‘dummy’ |
| | e. <i>melegey/mugulay</i> | ‘stupid’ |
| | f. <i>tariygi</i> | ‘rascal, thief, villain’ |
| | g. <i>öödežok xey</i> | ‘useless good-for-nothing’ |
| | h. <i>ešpi / čirbak ešpi</i> | ‘wench, bitch / perforated wench’ (of women) |
| | i. <i>it / čidig it</i> | ‘dog/stinking dog’ |

These terms are obviously the opposite of deferential, since they make a point of disregarding group face norms of Tuvan politic interaction. As noted in 2.3.3, these expressions all belong to the category of *kadiğ söster* ‘hard words’, but not all of them are necessarily considered *bagay söster* ‘bad words/curse words’. According to several interview respondents, from this list only (h) and (i) would likely be considered ‘bad words’ by most Tuvans, while (a)-(g) are not highly offensive in a prototypical context of use. Respondents also pointed out that if a Tuvan speaker wants to be really offensive, s/he will switch to cursing in Russian.

In at least a few of these cases, one may redeem the negative address term based on its context or co-text. While the term *it* ‘dog’ used as a vocative by itself is an insult to H, the 1s possessed form *idim* ‘my dog’ can be used by adults to small children as a form of endearment (see below on Tuvan zoomorphic endearment terms). Personalizing a word with a 1s possessive suffix evokes greater solidarity between interlocutors. In the following example, a grandmother lovingly addresses her grandson with this term.

- | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------|------------|----------|---------|-------|--------------|
| (72) | Am | čerle | kort-payn | udu-y | ber | šive, | <u>id-im</u> |
| | now | totally | fear-NG.CV | sleep-CV | AUX.IMV | MIT | dog-1s |
| | ‘Now don’t be afraid of anything and go to sleep, my dear (lit. my dog)’ (Angir-ool 1) ³⁰ | | | | | | |

³⁰ In the narrative following this utterance (from the first volume of the novel *Angir-ool*), the grandson wonders why children are called “my dog” and “my puppy” when they are in fact people. The

Likewise, several interview respondents, both male and female, noted that the term *ešpi* ‘wench, bitch’ is sometimes used in banter between young Tuvan women without being taken by the interlocutors as truly offensive to each other. This function of this abusive address term in Tuvan is similar to the affectionate use of *bitch* as reported by Culpeper (2011:207) of conversation between British women (even between mothers and daughters!), or the in-group use of *nigger* by black males to each other in certain segments of African-American society.³¹ If the abusive address term comes from the lips of a speaker who is not part of the relevant in-group, it is very offensive, but if it comes from someone within the in-group, it may be taken by H as invoking solidarity (e.g., S trusts the strength of our relationship enough to know that I won’t get offended when s/he addresses me with that word). As Culpeper points out, “The recontextualisation of impoliteness in socially opposite contexts reinforces socially opposite effects, namely, affectionate, intimate bonds amongst individuals and the identity of that group” (2007:207).

Some S↓H address terms are not included in the list above (71) because they are not seen by Tuvans as impolite when used in a prototypical conversational situation. For example, the term *čolaačī* ‘chauffeur’ is regularly used to address someone employed to drive the speaker, who is therefore higher in power than the hearer in this case. Nevertheless, no face loss is incurred by H when addressed with this term, since it accurately reflects his professional

grandmother explains that dogs and puppies bravely defend the yurt settlement from wolves and are therefore valued members of the household. Even more significantly, she explains that malevolent spirits are also afraid of them. This resonates with the explanation that small children’s actual names were traditionally taboo in Tuvan culture because of widespread fear that the spirits might harm the child (see comments in 3.3.2).

³¹ In the introduction to his book *Nigger: The Strange Career of a Troublesome Word*, Randall Kennedy (an African-American author) writes tellingly about the potential for in-group use of *nigger*: “a black friend jokingly referred to me as a nigger in the presence of one of our white classmates. If he and I had been alone, I might have overlooked his comment or even laughed” (Kennedy 2002: xiv). He goes on to note that there is continued tension within the African-American community about intergenerational differences in the use of *nigger* or *nigga*, which is not considered derogatory by many in the hip-hop culture.

relationship to S. Gu (1990:250) mentions that in Chinese society as well, “most occupational titles can be used as address terms”. Of course, you would probably not want to address your father in this fashion when he is behind the wheel of the car, except in a joking manner, because this would impolitely indicate that his relationship to you is primarily characterized by his driving you, not by his being your father, i.e., a case of intense distancing which disregards the social norm that parents and children acknowledge each other as such. Another such S↓H term is *sidigenčik* ‘pisser’, typically used to address toddlers in an endearing way. However, if it is used to address an older child or teenager, this would likely be considered rude and demeaning, since it portrays the addressee as someone who has not yet mastered the basic skill of bladder control (see example 161 in 4.4.1.3). Once again, context of use is very important in determining whether the use of most address terms, whether S↑H, S↓H or S↔H, is perceived by interlocutors as offensive or not.

As for the term *xereežen* ‘woman’ that was introduced into Tuvan by Soviet linguists, it is part of the contemporary Tuvan address term system, but is seen by many Tuvans as still being a denigrating term of address for women, even though it is not as insulting as the older Tuvan word *xereežok* ‘worthless one’ that it was designed to replace. Thus, although the phonological form was changed, the semantic substance of the older abusive term has been to some extent carried over to fill the new term.³²

3.3.2 *Kin terms and polite name avoidance*

In the contemporary Tuvan language, there is still a strong tendency in some parts of society for avoiding the direct mention of certain persons’ given names (Kara-ool 2003:159),

³² Several consultants and interview respondents noted that the word *xereežen* ‘woman’ does not carry any negative connotations when it is used as an attributive, e.g. *xereežen kiži* ‘woman (lit. woman person)’. Its derisive semantics surface only when it occurs as a freestanding noun.

particularly when they fall under specific categories of kinship to the speaker. Thus, addressing such a person by their given name is impolite (in violation of a cultural taboo), while using a kin term to address this person is politic (in harmony with social norms). One of my consultants describes this practice in Tuvan society: “It is bad to call someone by name, and preferable to address a person by their status or role. Those who are younger are not even permitted to pronounce the name of the older, they have to say *ugbay* [‘older sister’], *akiy* [‘older brother’], etc.” (Anna Svanes [néé Monguš], p.c., translation from Russian mine). Some other Turkic languages, such as Bashkir, seem to have similar taboos on using given names to address relatives.³³ As for languages outside the Turkic family, B&L mention such a taboo in Tamil society: “in Tamil only juniors or status or caste inferiors may ever be addressed by name, and to others the choice of name instead of a kin term would encode insult” (1987:204), while Gu (1990:250) says that in Chinese society “The given name is an address term reserved between lovers and occasionally used by parents.”

The precise dimensions of Tuvan name taboos are not the same as in Tamil and Chinese, although there are certain significant overlaps. Thus, in Tuvan, as in many languages of the world, including English, children typically do not address or refer to their parents by their given names. In Tuvan, this taboo also applies to older relatives (grandparents, aunts, uncles, older brother/sister, etc.) as well as to non-relatives who are older than the speaker (Kara-ool 2003:144). Such name avoidance is practiced in the absence of the referent as well as when s/he is in the speaker’s presence.

³³ The following observation about Bashkir society is made on a website promoting Bashkir culture: “The Bashkirs have preserved traditional forms of address. They do not use names when addressing their relatives but the rather by term [sic] denoting the relationship” (<http://eng.bashkortostan450.ru/culture/culture-of-peoples/bashkirs/lang.html>, accessed 28 August 2012).

While relative age and social power are major factors in the Tuvan name taboo system, they are not the only factors. According to Kara-ool (2003), the relation of ‘spouse’ falls under the name taboo as well.³⁴ Thus, in traditional Tuvan culture (no longer universally adhered to by Tuvans), a wife does not call her husband by his proper name, but rather uses a designation such as one of the following, which signal various levels of politeness to the referent:

- (73) a. *ežim* ‘my friend/mate’
 b. *ašak* ‘old man, husband’
 c. *ööm eezi* ‘the master of my yurt’ (even if living in a house)
 d. *uruglarım adazi/ačazi* ‘my children’s father/dad’ or simply *ačazi* ‘their father’ (if they have children)

According to one Internet resource,³⁵ the Tatar culture also considered it taboo for a wife to address her husband by name until the early 20th century.

However, in Tuvan a husband avoids using his wife’s given name as well, preferring to call her one of the terms in (74) below. It cannot be merely asymmetric S↑H social power that determines this avoidance, since the husband reciprocates this practice even though the wife in traditional Tuvan society is less powerful than the husband.

- (74) a. *ežim* ‘my friend/mate’
 b. *kaday* ‘old woman, wife’
 c. *ööm išti*³⁶ ‘the inside of my yurt’ (even if living in a house)
 d. *köškün* ‘old woman’ (archaic)
 e. *xoočun* ‘old one, veteran’ (Mongolian dialects of Tuvan)
 f. *kuržak/kuržok* ‘beltless one’ (Mongolian dialects of Tuvan)
 g. *uruglarım iyezi/avazi* ‘my children’s mother/mom’ or simply *avazi* ‘their mom’ (if they have children)

³⁴ Examples of unrelated cultures said to have a similar taboo on addressing one’s spouse by given name include Bengali and Tamil (Malsch 1987:416) and the Orthodox Jewish Chabad-Lubavitch movement (http://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/273313/jewish/32-Whether-a-Husband-and-Wife-Should-Address-Each-Other-by-Name.htm , accessed 25 August 2012). The reasons underlying this taboo in Tuvan and each of these other languages/cultures are not necessarily the same.

³⁵ <http://www.disput.az/index.php?showtopic=141916%20on%2012%20november%202012> (accessed 29 November 2012).

³⁶ Tuvan consultant Aldınay Ondar said that she has recently heard some women in Kyzyl referring to their husbands as *ööm išti* ‘the inside of my yurt’, which she found somewhat bewildering. She interpreted it as a possible sign of increased feminist ideology among Tuvan women.

An example of the reciprocal usage of *ačazi* and *avazi* in conversation between a husband and wife is illustrated by the following excerpt from Tuvan literature (*Arzılay*, p. 24):

(75) Wife: Aray ozaldıg čer-že baar dep bar-gan eves ĩynaan sen, ača-zı?
bit dangerous place-ALL go.P/F CMPL go-PST.I NG possibly 2s father-3
'Isn't the place you're planning to go somewhat dangerous, Pop? ...'

[She proceeds to explain what the perceived danger is.]

Husband: Iye, bil-ir men, ava-zı.
yes know-P/F 1s mother-3
'Yes, I know, Mom'

This polite avoidance of spouse's name is still found widely in the spoken Tuvan language. One of my consultants (mid-40s, Todzhin dialect) uses the circumlocution *uruglarım avazi* when referring to his spouse even in Tuvan e-mail communication with me. When I questioned him about this, he responded that this is the "correct and respectful way to talk about one's wife". However, when he writes to me in Russian, he mentions his wife by name, not with a Russian translation of the Tuvan kin-based circumlocution, indicating that the circumlocution is language-specific. This expression is an example of a naming practice called *teknonymy* – designating parents by reference to their children. According to Malsch (1987:417), *teknonymy* is used with a deferential function in a number of different languages. In an early sociological interpretation of *teknonymy* that resonates with our understanding of group face, Parsons (1914) describes its function as follows:

"Calling a woman Mother of So-and-So, a man, Father of So-and-So lets you out just as do other kinship names from the embarrassing use of her or his personal name. Teknonymy is a means of concentrating attention upon kinship or status, diverting it, to the comfort of the family, from the individual to his or her position... Through the child the personality of the parent may be the better ignored."

In the English translation of example (75) above, the closest equivalent terms for the Tuvan address forms *ačazi* and *avazi* are respectively 'Pop' and 'Mom', as used by elderly

spouses to each other in some dialects of American English. The main difference is that in Tuvan, the 3rd person possessive marker *-zi* (*ačazi*, *avazi*) morphologically encodes the important information that the parenthood of the addressee stems from their relationship to a person other than the speaker, i.e., the common child of S and H. Thus, a husband would never address or refer to his wife as *avay* ‘mother-VOC’ or *avam* ‘mother-1s’, nor would a wife ever call her husband *ačay* ‘father-VOC’ or *ačam* ‘father-1s’.

In the same vein of name avoidance, Tuvan parents are much less likely to call their children by name than are Russian or American parents, preferring to address them as *oglum* ‘my son’ or *uruum* ‘my daughter’, according to consultant Anna Svanes (née Monguš). Historically, this may have to do with the belief that calling a child by his or her actual name will attract the unwanted attention of malevolent spirits who might harm the child (Aziyana Bayyr-ool, p.c.; also see fn. 8 above). Besides addressing their children and grandchildren with the kin terms ‘son’ or ‘daughter’, Tuvan adults sometimes address them with endearing zoomorphic or animal-derived titles:

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| (76) | a. <i>xunam</i> | ‘my kid (goatling)’ | (Kara-ool 2003: 145) |
| | b. <i>idiim/eniim</i> | ‘my dog/puppy’ | (Angir-ool 1) |
| | c. <i>kuškašpayim</i> | ‘my little bird dearie’ | (Angir-ool 1) |
| | d. <i>itsigbay</i> | ‘dog-like dearie’ | (Maatpadir) |
| | e. <i>xokaš</i> | ‘fawn’ | (Kara-ool 2003: 145) |
| | f. <i>ezir</i> | ‘eagle’ | (Kara-ool 2003: 145) |

Also see example (67) above. Similar zoomorphic terms of endearment for children (especially terms related to birds) are found in the Sakha/Yakut language as well, usually with the 1s possessive suffix *-m* (Fedorova 2003:24, 113) as in examples (71a-c).

The desire to avoid attracting the attention of the spirits to one’s children was also reflected in the previously common practice of giving them names or nicknames with negative

connotations.³⁷ However, these negative connotations were not considered truly detrimental to the face of the child, since everyone in Tuvan society understood the practical reason why a parent would give their children such names (to protect them, not to demean them). The following examples of such names were provided by Aziyana Bayyr-ool and Anna Svanes (p.c.):

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (77) | a. <i>Bagay-ool</i> | ‘wretched boy’ |
| | b. <i>Čidīg-ool</i> | ‘stinky boy’ |
| | c. <i>Kodur-ool</i> | ‘scabby boy’ |
| | d. <i>Tas-ool</i> | ‘bald boy’ |
| | e. <i>Tirtik-ool</i> | ‘crooked boy’ |
| | f. <i>Düley-kīs</i> | ‘deaf girl’ |
| | g. <i>Öktek-kīs</i> | ‘girl with diarrhea’ |
| | h. <i>Semdermaa</i> | ‘ragged one’ (girl’s name) |

Despite such negative-sounding names, or maybe to partially make up for them, adults use many positive designations to address children, even grown-up children, which soften the potential face threat of speaking down to them. These appellatives often involve the derivational (Adj → Noun) morpheme *-BAy* and the 1s possessive marker *-m*.

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| (78) | a. <i>sariī-m</i> | ‘my fair-colored one’ | (Kara-ool 2003:146) |
| | b. <i>sariğ-bay</i> | ‘fair-colored dearie’ | (Kara-ool 2003:146) |
| | c. <i>čassīg-bay-īm</i> | ‘my affectionate dearie’ | (Maatpadir) |
| | d. <i>ugaanniğ-bay-īm</i> | ‘my smart dearie’ | (Añčī ugbališkī) |
| | e. <i>čoldug-bay-īm</i> | ‘my fortunate dearie’ | (Angir-ool 1) |
| | f. <i>čaraš-pay-īm</i> | ‘my beautiful dearie’ | (Kežik-kīs) |

It must also be added that in more recent generations, it has become widely acceptable in Tuvan culture to give one’s child a name with a positive connotation, such as *Čaraš-ool* ‘handsome boy’ or *Omak* ‘happy’. This is possibly an indication of the fading force of naming taboos based on fear of the spirits in Tuvan society.

Children have a smaller repertoire of conventional appellatives to choose from for politely addressing their parents. The most frequently heard are the kin terms *ača-y* ‘Dad-VOC’

³⁷ A general overview of Tuvan naming practices can be found in Harrison (1999).

and *ava-y* ‘Mom-VOC’. Consultants say that it is also possible to address one’s parents with the possessed forms *ada-m* ‘father-1s’ and *iye-m* ‘mother-1s’ but these are much more formal-sounding and do not convey the relational warmth of *ačay* and *avay*. In my corpus, these lexemes occur as vocatives only in the religious/philosophical terms *Čer-Iyem* ‘my Mother Earth’ and *Deer-Adam* ‘my Father Sky’ (*Sübedey*, Act 2, Scene 1). The warmer terms *ača-* and *ava-* frequently occur with the 1s possessive suffix as well (*ačam* ‘my dad’, *avam* ‘my mom’), but only in contexts of 3rd person reference. 2nd person address to one’s parents as *ačam* and *avam* is infelicitous. It is impossible to add the *-y* vocative ending to the lexemes *ada* and *ie* – **aday*, **iyey*. These lexemes are reserved for referential, not vocative, use in contemporary Tuvan, although records indicate that at the turn of the 20th century, *aday* was still being used as an address form (Kara-ool 2003:32, citing Jakovlev 1900). These form/meaning permutations are laid out in the table below.

Table 3.7 Felicitous Tuvan forms of address and reference to parents

	Kin term	-y (address)	-m (address)	-m (reference)
Informal	<i>ača-</i> ‘dad’	√	–	√
	<i>ava-</i> ‘mom’	√	–	√
Formal	<i>ada-</i> ‘father’	–	√	√
	<i>iye-</i> ‘mother’	–	√	√

It is possible to make some kin terms of address more endearing by adding the morpheme *-aa* to the vocative form. This morpheme is felicitous primarily for small children to use when speaking to their elder (S↑H) nuclear relations; this is probably the reason why it is never attached to the S↓H kin term *duymay* ‘younger sibling’ (79e), or to non-nuclear kin terms, such as *daay* ‘maternal uncle’ (79f) and *čaavay* ‘sister-in-law (older brother’s wife)’ (79g).

- (79) a. *ačay* ‘Dad’ → *ačay-aa* ‘Daddy (endearing)’
 b. *avay* ‘Mom’ → *avay-aa* ‘Mommy (endearing)’
 c. *akiy* ‘older brother’ → *akiy-aa* ‘older brother (endearing)’
 d. *ugbay* ‘older sister’ → *ugbay-aa* ‘older sister (endearing)’

e. <i>duŋmay</i> ‘younger sibling’	→	* <i>duŋmay-aa</i>
f. <i>daay</i> ‘maternal uncle’	→	* <i>daay-aa</i>
g. <i>čaavay</i> ‘sister-in-law’	→	* <i>čaavay-aa</i>

However, *-aa* also appears to be the morpheme that is attached to the term *öpey* ‘lullaby’ to produce the word *öpey-aa* ‘baby’, which seems to indicate that *-aa* has been semantically extended to include other concepts related to small children.³⁸ Other, less commonly used endearment morphemes are mentioned in Kara-ool (2003).

Whereas grandparents are usually called *kirgan-ačay* ‘grandfather’ (lit. old dad) and *kirgan-avay* ‘grandmother’ (lit. old mom), an interesting language shift in regard to these terms has occurred in some families due to bilingualism with Russian. Thus, a child might address his father and mother with the standard Tuvan terms *ačay* and *avay*, but his grandparents with the Russian kin terms *papa* and *mama*, which in Russian respectively mean ‘dad’ and ‘mom’. According to several interview respondents, this is due to the fact that when today’s adults were growing up in Soviet Tuva, many of their parents tried speaking mostly Russian to their children in order to help them better adapt to life within the Soviet Union. Once the Soviet Union collapsed and the Tuvans experienced a short-lived nationalistic movement in the early 1990s, speaking Tuvan at home once again became the norm. Thus, there are one or two generations of Tuvans (born between the 1950s and the 1980s) that grew up speaking Russian to their parents and address them as *papa/mama*,³⁹ but are speaking Tuvan to their own children. These children thus address their own parents with the appropriate Tuvan terms *ačaj/avaj*, but their parents’ parents with the same Russian terms they hear their parents using.

³⁸ It can also be noted that in this case *-aa* does not adapt to become a front vowel following *öpey*, indicating that it is not obeying vowel harmony and is thus acting as a clitic, not a suffix.

³⁹ According to Fedorova (2003:112,118), the Russian kin terms *papa / mama* are also currently used by many city-dwelling Sakha/Yakut children to address their parents, and Russian *babushka / dedushka* to address their grandparents. This may be an indication that Yakut is at a further stage of shifting to Russian than is Tuvan, at least among the urban population.

3.3.2.1 Fictive kin terms

In his article on politeness in modern Chinese, Gu (1990:250) notes that “some Chinese kinship terms have extended and generalized usage ... to address people who have no familial relation whatever with the addresser.” This practice is called fictive kinship in the anthropological literature and can to some degree be found across many societies in the world. Even in English, which is not known for having a well-developed fictive kinship address system, there are socially marked situations in which fictive kin terms are used, e.g., *Brother, can you spare a dime?* Malsch (1987:416) explains the use of kin terms for addressing both relatives and non-relatives as a “symbolic displacement” that situates the interlocutors “within well-defined social roles that bring to the speech event well-defined constraints on the behavior of the speaker”. In Tuvan as well, prescribed roles based on specific social factors are projected onto interlocutors by their use of fictive kin terms. We may recall the social roles prescribed according to the interlocutors’ relative age in 2.6.

The kin terms that are used fictively in address in Tuvan are presented below:

Table 3.8 Fictive kin terms in Tuvan

Speaking to Elder (S↑H)		Speaking to Younger (S↓H)	
a. <i>akīy</i>	‘older brother’	f. <i>duŋmay / inay / dam / dom</i>	‘younger sibling’
b. <i>ugbay</i>	‘older sister’	g. <i>oglum</i>	‘my son’
c. <i>kīrgan-ačay</i>	‘grandfather’	h. <i>kizim / uruum</i>	‘my daughter’
d. <i>kīrgan-avay</i>	‘grandmother’	i. <i>čeen / čeen ool</i>	‘nephew’ (not respectful)
e. <i>daay</i>	‘maternal uncle’		
j. <i>xa-duŋma</i> ‘brothers and sisters’			

The S↑H word *akīy* ‘older brother’ and *ugbay* ‘older sister’ are probably the most commonly used politic fictive kin terms for addressing both acquaintances and strangers. The symmetric S↓H term for such a dyad is *duŋmay* ‘younger sibling’, although in the Western dialect this is considered to be only a literary term and the actual colloquial terms used with this meaning are

inay/nay ‘little one-VOC’, its 1s possessed form *nam*, and the equivalent address term *dam*. The term *dom* is also found in my corpus with the same semantics. When the age difference between interlocutors is clearly more than one full generation, the respectful S↑H terms *kirgan-ačay* / *kirgan-avay* ‘grandfather/grandmother’ are often used, but care must be taken to not offend the hearer by implying that they look very old. The affectionate S↓H terms *oglum* ‘my son’ and *kizim* or *uruum* ‘my daughter’ are often used by elderly Tuvans when they are speaking to a non-relative who is of their children’s or grandchildren’s generation. The use of the word *daay* ‘maternal uncle’ as a fictive kin term seems limited to male speakers. Female interview respondents unanimously told me that this is a ‘hard’ word and that they would not use it to address anyone other than their literal maternal uncle. Some respondents explained that you would address a non-relative male as *daay* only if you were trying to ingratiate yourself with him for the purpose of getting a favor granted. The reciprocal term *čeen* / *čeen ool* ‘nephew’ is also not considered to be a truly polite way to address someone and is heard only in male speech. Several respondents, both male and female, called it ‘disdainful, contemptuous’. The collective term *xa-dujma* ‘relatives, brother and sisters’ is used for politely addressing a group of people without regard to their gender or age relative to speaker (whether elders or younger or both).

To my knowledge, all other Tuvan kin terms are reserved for a literal use and cannot be felicitously extended into the fictive realm. Thus, one cannot address or refer to an older person as *ačay/ačam* ‘dad/my dad’ or *avay/avam* ‘mom/my mom’. These kin terms can only be used to address/refer to one’s literal father or mother and are never used fictively in Tuvan.⁴⁰ The particular set of kin terms available for fictive use in Tuvan is somewhat different from the

⁴⁰ However, consultant Nikolay Kuular has pointed out a recent language trend according to which some Tuvan men address their mother-in-law with the term *avay* ‘mother-VOC’ as well. This may be a case of copying Russian-language usage, in which is considered respectful and warm to address one’s parents-in-law as *mama* ‘Mom’ and *papa* ‘Dad’. In any event, this extension is within the realm of literal kin relations.

fictive kin term set used in other Turkic languages. For example, in Sakha/Yakut, ‘mother’ and ‘father’ are used for fictive address of elders (Fedorova 2003:137), while in Turkish, ‘maternal aunt’ and ‘sister-in-law’ are also used fictively but ‘maternal uncle’ and ‘nephew’ are not (Horasan 1987:10).

The important role that fictive kin terms have in the Tuvan system of politeness is also reflected in the existence of several derived verbs that denote speech behavior characterized by politic use of these terms. Thus, Tuvan possesses verbs such as *ugbaylaar / ugbamaylaar* ‘to call someone *ugbay/ugbam* (older sister / my older sister)’, *akiylaar / akimaylaar* ‘to call someone *akiy / akim* (older brother / my older brother)’ and *dunmaylaar / dunmamaylaar* ‘to call someone *dunmay / dunmam* (younger sibling / my younger sibling)’.⁴¹ This set of verbs refers to the act of speaking to someone in a way appropriate for an addressee who stands in an “older brother”, “older sister” or “younger sibling” relationship to the speaker, and includes actually addressing this person as *akiy / akim*, *ugbay / ugbam* or *dunmay / dunmam*. The verbal encoding of this social deictic is similar to how some other languages have verbs denoting the specific 2nd person pronoun, T or V, that is used to address another person, e.g., French *tutoyer/vouvoyer* ‘address as *tu/vous*’ and colloquial Russian *tykat’/vykat’* ‘address as *ty/vy*’. A couple of corpus examples of these Tuvan verbs is provided below:

(80) Stepan Agbanovič katap-la “ugbamayla-p” egele-di
 S. A. again-EM call.older.sister-CV begin-3.PST.II
 ‘Stepan Agbanovich again began calling (me) ‘older sister’” (Tanđi keži)

(81) Xölčök evileŋ, akimayla-an, ežimeyle-en, čugaakir
 tremendously polite call.older.brother-PST.I call.friend-PST.I talkative
 ‘(He was) tremendously polite, talkative, and addressed others as ‘my older brother’
 and ‘my friend’ (Aŋgür-ool 1)

⁴¹ The specific distinction between the verb forms with and without the *-m* (e.g., *ugbaylaar / ugbamaylaar*) is hard to pinpoint, but may have to do with the social attitude conveyed by the speaker in using this form. Tuvan consultant Valeria Kulundary suggests that the verb form with *-m* (i.e., *ugbamaylaar*) may connote an added element of flattery to the referent.

In the latter example, note the explicit connection between using deferential address terms such as *akim* ‘older brother’ and *ežim* ‘my friend’ and being considered *evileŋ* ‘polite’.

Several interview respondents (all women) mentioned that they find it somewhat offensive when other Tuvans fail to use a deferential kin term in appropriate contexts, whether literal or fictive. One respondent said that she was hurt by and angered at her older sister for encouraging her young daughter to address her aunt by name only, without calling her *ugbay* according to social norms. Another respondent said that it offends her when her husband’s acquaintances call on the phone and ask to speak to her husband by name, without referring to him as Name + kin term (*akiy* or *duŋmay*).

The appropriate use of a fictive kin term softens many utterances by highlighting the in-group, family-like solidarity relationship between interlocutors. Thus, in a prototypical context when talking to an older woman, (82a) is less polite than (82b):

- (82) a. ma ‘Here you go (take this)’ [LESS POLITE]
 b. ma, ugbay ‘Here you go, older sister’ [MORE POLITE]

There is a fine but important pragmasemantic distinction that must be noted between kin terms that end with the morpheme *-y* and those that end with 1s possessive *-m*, e.g., *ugbay* versus *ugbam*. The *-y* ending found on many kin terms – *ača-y* ‘dad’, *ava-y* ‘mom’, *aki-y* ‘older brother’, *ugba-y* ‘older sister’, *duŋma-y* ‘younger sibling’ – is a remnant of a vocative morpheme that is no longer productive in contemporary Tuvan outside of the kinship sphere. In the above listed kin terms, it is detachable from the lexical root, as seen in other grammatical forms of these lexemes, such as *ača-m/ača-vis* ‘my father/our father’, *aki-m/aki-ŋar* ‘my brother/your (pl.) brother’ etc., and by freestanding adjectival forms with no *-y* ending such as

ava kiži ‘a mother (lit. mother person)’. In other kin terms, such as *daay* ‘maternal uncle’, the *-y* element seems to have become incorporated as part of the root.

However, even for some of the terms where *-y* is typically found in vocative contexts, there are also non-vocative contexts in which it occurs. Take *ugbay* ‘older sister’ in the following literary example:

(83) Kaday-īŋ-nī – ol buyannīg ugbay-nī kayī xire xilinčekte-p kel-di-ŋ?!
wife-2s-ACC DDEM kind older.sister-ACC how.much torment-CV AUX-PST.II-2s
‘How much suffering did you cause to your wife, that kind lady?!’ (Aŋčī ugbališki)

It is obvious that the *-y* ending of *ugbay* cannot have a vocative function in this context.

The literature on Kazakh (Tamaeva 1992) indicates that adding the affix *-y* (very likely cognate to the Tuvan vocative *-y* seen above) to Kazakh kin terms makes them more polite and respectful in reference to elders and allows them to be used fictively. Thus, kin terms with the *-y* ending “no longer indicate kin relations but merely the semantics of respect” (translation from Russian mine). When questioned about whether this is also the case in Tuvan, consultants and questionnaire respondents almost unanimously indicated that in kin terms where the *-y* morpheme is detachable from the lexical root, the choice between addressing/referring to a person with *-y* or with the 1s possessive *-m* (cf. Table 3.7 above) indicates a difference in the kin relationship that the speaker has to the addressee/referent. Thus, they said that the *-m* form can only be used about a literal kinsperson, while the *-y* form is used for addressing/referring to a non-kinsperson fictively. Thus in the above example, *ugbay-nī* ‘older.sister-ACC’ could only be a polite reference to a fictive kinsperson, while the minimally differing *ugba-m-nī* ‘older.sister-1s-ACC’ must be about the speaker’s literal older sister.

Although some scholars believe that “address behavior ... seems to be more accessible to an informant’s awareness than other types of language behavior” and that “informants are mostly capable of reporting which forms they use to collocutors in everyday situations” (Braun

1988:71), the Tuvan native speaker intuition about the *-y/-m* distinction does not completely correspond to the actual language data, which is somewhat more complicated than the native speaker explanation given above. Thus, we find cases in which the *-y* morpheme occurs on address forms to literal kin relations. In the following exchange from a play (*Sübedey*, Prologue), a young boy named Sübedey (S) addresses his older brother Čelmey (Č) with the *-y* address form, while the older brother reciprocates with the *-m* form.

(84) S: Sīgīr-ar sogun-nar-īm-bile ada-yn be, akī-y?
 whistle-P/F arrow-PL-1s-INS shoot-1s.PRP QU older.brother-VOC
 ‘Should I shoot my whistling arrows, older brother?’

[S. shoots and misses]

Č: ... Doraan-na düž-üp ber-bes čoor, duŋma-m
 immediately-EM give.up-CV AUX-NG.P/F no.need younger.sibling-1s
 ‘You shouldn’t give up so quickly, my younger brother’

Likewise, we find the 1s possessive suffix *-m* suffix used to address a non-relative fictively (in this case, a collective farm boss addressing his employee).

(85) Eleen olur-up čoru-y Eres: “Čoru-p bol-ur men be, darga?” – dep aytīr-gan.
 a.while sit-CV go-CV E. go-CV can-P/F 1s QU boss CMPL ask-PST.I
 ‘After sitting for a while, Eres asked, “May I go, boss?”’

“Aytīr-ar čüü boor. Čoru-ŋar, duŋma-m”...
 ask-P/F what be.P/F go-2p.IMV younger.sibling-1s
 “‘Why even ask? Go (2pl), my younger brother’” (Īržim buluŋ)

Based on usage data, a corrected formulation of Tuvan native speaker intuition on the referential properties of the *-y* and *-m* morphemes can be summarized as follows. When modifying kin terms that can be used for either literal or fictive kin relations,⁴² both the *-y* and *-m* suffixed forms can be used for 2nd person address of both categories of addressee. However,

⁴² This condition therefore does not apply to kin terms such as *ača-* ‘dad’ and *ava-* ‘mom’, which can only be used to address or refer to one’s literal parents and do not have a fictive extension, as we saw in 3.2.2.

in 3rd person reference to different categories of relations, *-y* can only be used of fictive kin while *-m* can only be used of literal kin.

Table 3.9 Collocation of *-y* and *-m* suffixes with literal and fictive kin terms in address and reference

Suffix	Kin type	Address (2 nd person)	Reference (3 rd person)
<i>-y</i>	literal kin	√	–
	fictive kin	√	√
<i>-m</i>	literal kin	√	√
	fictive kin	√	–

Focusing on the address column, in which both *-y* and *-m* can be used for either literal or fictive kin address, there does appear to be some distinction in the politeness implicature generated by using one or the other ending for various categories of addressees, as in Tamaeva’s (1992) claim about the Kazakh morpheme *-y*. Attempting to find out what this distinction is in Tuvan, I had my respondents answer a set of questions on my laptop in which they decided which form, *-y* or *-m*, is more polite (*artik eldee*)⁴³ for addressing each of six relations: older male relative/non-relative (*akī-*), older female relative/non-relative (*ugba-*), and younger relative/non-relative (*duŋma-*, not distinguished for gender). Table 3.10 below shows a summary of responses aggregated across all 25 subjects. Their responses are coded as follows: M – the respondent considered the *-m* suffix to be more polite for addressing the given interlocutor; Y – the respondent considered the *-y* suffix to be more polite for addressing the interlocutor; ND – the respondent did not perceive any difference in politeness level between

⁴³ Although the collocation *artik eldee* could in principle also be taken to mean “too polite”, discussion of this phrase with native speakers as used in the context of the politeness questionnaire showed that for the most part, Tuvans understood it to mean a comparison, “more polite” or “most polite”.

the $-y$ and $-m$ form for the given interlocutor. Although the data are not easy to interpret, a few generalizations can be made.

Table 3.10 Perceptions of which affix, $-m$ or $-y$, is more polite on Tuvan kin terms of address

Addressee	Total responses (N=25)
a. Older male relative (<i>akī-</i>)	5M, 19Y, 1ND
b. Older male non-relative (<i>akī-</i>)	6M, 18Y, 1ND
c. Older female relative (<i>ugba-</i>)	3M, 21Y, 1ND
d. Older female non-relative (<i>ugba-</i>)	2M, 23Y
e. Younger relative (<i>duŋma</i>)	12M, 12Y, 1ND
f. Younger non-relative (<i>duŋma</i>)	9M, 16Y

When looking at the grand total for responses, it appears that for addressees who are not relatives (b, d, f), the $-y$ form is considered more polite regardless of the relative age of the addressee. But for those who are relatives (a, c, e), the $-y$ form is considered more polite only for elders (a,c), while for youngers (e), there is no overall difference in politeness level between $-m$ forms and $-y$ forms. However, this is a misleading conclusion, since the aggregated figure in the grand total column blurs the striking dialectal differences in usage, as we shall see in Table 3.11 below.

The following table breaks down the aggregated figures in the previous table into respondents from the three dialectal areas (Western, Northeastern, Southeastern) as well as other respondents who could not be classified as belonging to any of these dialects (residents of Kyzyl and *köšken xemčikter*, see fn. 27 in 3.2.2)

Table 3.11 Perceived politeness of *-m* or *-y* affix in different dialects of Tuvan

Addressee	Total, Western dialect (N=7)	Total, Northeast dialect (N=5)	Total, Southeast dialect (N=7)	Total, Other dialects (N=6)
a. Older male relative (<i>aki-</i>)	1M, 6Y	5Y	7Y	4M, 1Y, 1ND
b. Older male non-relative (<i>aki-</i>)	2M, 4Y, 1ND	2M, 3Y	7Y	2M, 4Y
c. Older female relative (<i>ugba-</i>)	7Y	1M, 4Y	1M, 6Y	1M, 4Y, 1ND
d. Older female non-relative (<i>ugba-</i>)	7Y	1M, 4Y	7Y	1M, 5Y
e. Younger relative (<i>duŋma</i>)	6Y, 1ND	1M, 4Y	6M, 1Y	5M, 1Y
f. Younger non-relative (<i>duŋma</i>)	7Y	2M, 3Y	6M, 1Y	1M, 5Y

Upon examining the dialects separately, we see that in the Western dialect, *-y* forms are more polite across the board to both elders and younger, regardless of whether they are relatives or not. But in the Southeastern dialect, *-y* forms are more polite for elders (a-d) while *-m* forms are clearly more polite for younger (e-f). This is reminiscent of the dominant importance of relative age in the Southeastern dialect as already seen in the T/V pronoun choices made by Erzininans in Table 3.6 of section 3.2.2 The Northeast dialect is closer to the Western dialect in this respect, while the Other dialect responses vacillate between closeness to the Western dialect and closeness to the Southeastern dialect.

While no firm conclusions can currently be reached about the precise linguistic forces at play in the politeness distinction between *-y* and *-m* forms in kin/fictive kin address, it does appear that there is more to the story than currently meets the eye. Perhaps further research into this question, with tighter control of the factors of dialect, relative age, gender, and relational status, can better uncover the exact patterns in the future.

3.4 Interaction between polite pronouns and deferential address terms

To round off this chapter about group face-based politeness devices in Tuvan, we should note that polite pronouns and respectful address terms do not always present exactly the same social deictic information, and their specific collocation in an utterance can itself add to the social information conveyed. For example, if a speaker chooses to address an older non-relative with the fictive kin term *akïy* ‘older brother’, s/he can collocate this with either a T or a V pronominal form. In the following example, both utterances are semantically equivalent – “Where are you going, older brother?”:

- (86) a. Kaynaar baar-ïŋ ol, akïy? (T form)
 where.ALL go-2s DISC older.brother
- b. Kaynaar baar-ïŋar ol, akïy? (V form)
 where.ALL go-2p DISC older.brother

In both utterances, by addressing H as *akïy*, S is indicating a family-like solidarity relationship with him that is subject to Tuvan social norms and expectations. This fictive kin address term in both cases shows that S deferentially acknowledges H as the elder and recognizes this interaction as part of an S↑H relationship. The availability of a choice between T and V forms shows that there is still another component of the situation that needs to be discerned in order to have a truly politic or polite interaction. This is the element of personal distance between S and H. As we saw above (section 3.2.2), the choice of which pronominal form to use in such a case is available only in certain dialects of Tuvan; thus, in the Southeastern (Erzinian) dialect, social norms dictate that anyone in an *akïy* relationship to S, whether literal or fictive, close or distant, be addressed as *siler* (V form), so there is no real choice in the Southeastern dialect. In the Western dialect, however, if S feels that s/he and H have a close personal relationship (such as if this *akïy* is S’s literal older brother), then the T form of address is in order (as in example a).

But if there is social or emotional distance between S and H, then the V form (example b) is the more appropriate to use so as not to offend H by positioning oneself as being too close to him.⁴⁴

To better illustrate the relationship between several of these politeness devices in a single conversation, we may look at the following excerpt from Tuvan literature (*İržim buluŋ*). In this Soviet-era novel (part of which was already used in example 85 above), a young man named Eres is speaking with Mikhail Mizhitovich, the boss of the local collective farm where Eres works.

(87) “Üleger čugaa-nī končug-la ‘öy-ün-de’ ažigla-dī-ŋar, Mixail Mižitovič,”
 proverb-ACC very-EM time-3-LOC use-PST.II-2p M. M.
 ‘You (pl.) used that proverb right in tune with the occasion, Mikhail Mizhitovich,’

dep, Eres ayar čugaala-an.
 CMPL E. calmly speak-PST.I
 ‘Eres said calmly.’

Eleen olur-up čoru-y Eres: “Čoru-p bol-ur men be, darga?” – dep aytir-gan.
 a.while sit-CV go-CV E. go-CV can-P/F 1s QU boss CMPL ask-PST.I
 ‘After sitting for a while, Eres asked, “May I go, boss?”

“Aytir-ar čüü boor. Čoru-ŋar, duŋma-m” – dep,
 ask-P/F what be.P/F go-2p.IMV younger.sibling-1s CMPL
 ‘“Why even ask? Go (2pl), my younger brother,”’

kolxoz darga-zī eelde-e aažok čugaala-an.
 collective.farm boss-3 politeness-3 tremendous say-PST.I
 ‘said the collective farm boss with great politeness.’

In this dyad, Eres the worker is the lower member in terms of power, while Mikhail Mizhitovich is the higher, being the collective farm boss. Eres addresses his boss using his name + Russian patronymic (a Russian deferential address convention borrowed by the Tuvans) and uses a respectful V form to him. Both of these devices can indicate either social distance or power distance (i.e., one can find instances in which only social distance is present, other instances

⁴⁴ This specific aspect of the pragmatics of T/V usage appears to be tied more closely to individual face concerns than to group face concerns.

where only power distance is present, and yet other cases where both distance types are co-present). However, Eres also uses the address term *darga* ‘boss’, which is an explicit coding of power distance, and combines it with the modal verb *bolur* (see section 4.3.2) to ask permission, another sign of power distance.

Mikhail Mizhitovich responds by addressing Eres with the fictive kin term *duymam* ‘my younger sibling’. This term fuses the dimensions of warm solidarity (“we are members of the same fictive family”), power distance (“you should submit to my will since I am the elder”) and social responsibility (“I tacitly acknowledge my responsibility to care for your well-being”). The interesting thing is that Mikhail Mizhitovich collocates this address term with the V pronoun in the imperative verb *čoruŋar* ‘go (2p)’, which makes the pronominal forms used in this interchange symmetric V↔V (in literal kin uses, the term *duymam* is usually collocated with a T address form). We would expect that since Mikhail Mizhitovich is the boss, he could felicitously use the T form to his subordinate without threatening Eres’s face. So why does he use a V form? The V form cannot in this case be caused by Eres’s greater power on the collective farm, since Mikhail Mizhitovich is the boss. Rather, this use of the V form to address one’s subordinate appears to be accessing the social reality of Soviet-era Tuva, where the dominant ideology was that all workers are social equals, whether they be manager or laborer. Thus, by using the V form to Eres, Mikhail Mizhitovich indicates that he recognizes Eres to be as much of an autonomous agent as Mikhail Mizhitovich himself. This reinforces the point of the preceding sentence “No need to ask/ Why even ask?”. The V address encodes the ideologically-based power symmetry between boss and employes on a higher social level than that of the immediate collective farm hierarchy. If we look at Mikhail Mizhitovich’s response as a whole, we see that it is very deferential to Eres, and that the collocation of *duymam* with the V pronominal form molds the specific, situationally-dependent nature of this deference. The

author explicitly affirms that Mikhail Mizhitovich's words to Eres are 'very polite' (*eeldee aažok*).

In concluding this chapter, I stress that interlocutors' use of appropriate pronominal forms and address terms when talking to each other is a vital part of Tuvan politeness norms. While the use of incorrect forms may be excusable for foreign learners of Tuvan (outsiders), proper implementation of these elements, with all of their finely grained contextual distinctions, is imperative for native speakers to fit in to the collective expectations of Tuvan group face. Even minor violations of these norms of social indexing are likely to offend Tuvan hearers, many of whom can be, in my personal experience, quite sensitive to social positioning in conversation. Having examined how these linguistic elements reflect Tuvan group face concerns, in the following chapter I shift my attention to various politeness devices that are used to manage individual face in Tuvan interaction.

CHAPTER 4

TUVAN POLITENESS DEVICES BASED ON INDIVIDUAL FACE

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I investigate various manifestations of Tuvan politeness that, for the most part, cannot be considered to have their root in deferential politeness based on social indexing or group face concerns as described in chapters 1 and 3. Rather, these devices generate politeness by minimizing threats to the autonomy of individual interlocutors, as per Brown & Levinson's (1987) system. Some of the main areas of Tuvan grammar in which this type of politeness is seen are: constructions involving indirect speech acts, polite auxiliary verbs, and politeness-generating particles. Each of these areas of Tuvan is examined in turn in a separate subsection of this chapter: indirect speech acts in 4.2, polite auxiliaries in 4.3 and particles in 4.4.

4.2 Indirect speech acts

The notion of indirect speech acts, one of the central aspects of speech act theory as introduced by Austin (1962) and further developed by Searle (1975), is integral to the description of linguistic politeness in Brown & Levinson's (1987) account. It is a generally recognized fact that utterances do not have to be direct and explicit to carry out social actions (such as apologizing, requesting, threatening, complaining, etc.). Indirect approaches to performing some speech acts are in fact quite common in language.⁴⁵ Indirect speech acts were defined by Searle (1975:60) as “cases in which one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by

⁴⁵ This is not accepted by all philosophers of language. For example, Green (2007) argues in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* that “[i]ndirect speech acts are less common than might first appear” .

way of performing another”, i.e., the speech act is successfully carried out despite the speaker not explicitly encoding the illocutionary force of that act in the words used. In Gricean terms, the intended force of the words spoken is conveyed as an implicature rather than as an entailment. An example of the difference between a direct and indirect speech act in English is given below:

(88) a. I sincerely apologize for breaking your vase. (DIRECT APOLOGY)

b. Oh, I’m so clumsy, I didn’t mean to break your vase. (INDIRECT APOLOGY)

In (a), the act of APOLOGIZING is explicitly encoded in the performative verb *apologize*, whereas in (b), the same act is performed indirectly, by asserting two component parts of an APOLOGY (self-denigration for the action and an affirmation of non-intentionality) rather than the act itself.

B&L proposed that indirect speech acts are “probably universal” (1987:132) among the world’s languages as a linguistic device for displaying politeness. In dealing with indirectness, B&L unambiguously assign it to the category of negative politeness. For them the politeness approach BE INDIRECT derives from the underlying strategy of minimizing the threat to H’s negative face – DON’T COERCE HEARER (1987:130). B&L explain this politeness tactic as S’s “redress to H’s want to be unimpinged upon” (1987:131) that accompanies the face-threatening act of requesting something.⁴⁶ Performing a speech act indirectly also potentially allows the speaker a way out of being accused of violating the hearer’s desire to be uncoerced, in that S can always claim that s/he did not intend the meaning that H thought was being implicated. As Goffman (1967:30) puts it, “Hinted communication is deniable communication.”

⁴⁶ As noted in ch. 1, some post-B&L politeness researchers have challenged the notion that the speech act of requesting is in any way inherently threatening to a hearer’s face apart from specific cultural norms regulating human interaction in a given society. Taking this concern into account, I here merely assume that requesting can threaten one’s face in prototypical interactional contexts in many societies, including that of Tuva.

Though B&L situate the indirectness strategy primarily in the sphere of negative politeness, they acknowledge (1987:270) that “the use of conventional indirectness ... has positive-politeness usages too”, although they are somewhat hard put to explain this fact, since for them, the “rational motivation [for indirectness] lies in redress to negative face”, whereas “positive and negative politeness are, to a large extent at any rate, mutually exclusive strategies”.

However, as we have seen, B&L’s interpretation of the precise relationship between indirectness and politeness has been challenged along with other facets of their model. Some scholars have pointed out that indirectness is not always necessarily associated with negative politeness cross-linguistically. In modern Greek, for example, although some cases of indirectness “may indeed be explained as individuals avoiding imposition on others” (Zeyrek 2001:49-50), indirectness can also be used to signal a particular closeness of relationship between interlocutors, i.e., solidarity. Sifianou (1997:168) writes that in Greek, “off-record requests are not used in order to minimize the imposition on the addressee’s freedom, but rather, to provide him or her with the opportunity to express generosity and solicitude by offering to perform a certain act before being directly requested.” Likewise, in Thai, indirectness is used in certain contexts to indicate irony instead of negative politeness (Srinarawat 2005). Blum-Kulka (1987) also pointed out that it is specifically conventional indirectness that is linked with politeness. Non-conventional indirectness, on the other hand, may in some cases be considered not especially high on the politeness scale because it conflicts with pragmatic clarity and thereby adds imposition on the hearer to determine the actual illocutionary force of the speaker’s indirect utterance.

Despite these caveats about the specific functions of indirectness among the world’s languages, it seems reasonable to affirm that even if indirectness does have other potential functions in some languages, it also has negative politeness as one of its functions (hence

B&L's assertion of universality for this feature). As far as I am aware, no linguists have yet claimed that languages have been found which *never* use some form of indirectness as a negative politeness strategy (except for those who claim that the very concept of negative face as defined by B&L is a mostly irrelevant category in their language, like Matsumoto 1988 and Ide 1989 do about Japanese). However, we must also be honest about the fact that the boundary between positive and negative face may at times be fairly fuzzy, contrary to B&L's categorical assertion about the mutual exclusivity of positive and negative politeness. As Wichmann (2004:1524, fn. 8) notes, "The distinction between positive and negative politeness is not always easy to uphold. There is sometimes a primacy of one with implications for the other, sometimes both seem to be involved in equal measure, and sometimes the distinction seems impossible to make."

It is also sometimes asserted that speech acts themselves cannot be the locus of politeness (e.g., Culpeper 2011:117-119), and the conclusion might be drawn that therefore indirect speech acts cannot be the locus of politeness either. However, this argument is somewhat wobbly, since indirect speech acts are not a TYPE of speech act (i.e., 'indirect' is not a member of the set of possible speech acts in the same way as are 'apology', 'threat', 'request', etc.) but rather the linguistic MANNER in which various speech acts can be performed. This manner (remember Grice's conversational Maxim of Manner) does appear correlated to a politeness implicature in at least certain situations in all languages.

Searle (1975:65) proposed six ways to form an indirect request in English: 1) ability condition frame; 2) "speaker's desire" frame; 3) future action frame; 4) "hearer's desire" frame; 5) reason frame; and 6) embedding frame. At least four of these frame types are used to conventionally implicate politeness in Tuvan: the future action frame, the reason frame, the

embedding frame and the ability frame. I look at the first three of these in 4.2 but leave the ability frame for a fuller examination in 4.3.

It is not the goal of this subsection to produce an exhaustive list of all available conventional indirect request constructions in Tuvan. Rather, I choose several common ones that I have personally encountered frequently in conversation and written texts, and show that they are quite similar to common conventional indirect request constructions in English with the same pragmatic effects. This supports B&L's assertion (1987:136) that "Most of these ways of making indirect speech acts appear to be universal, or at least independently developed in many languages", even though they realize that "only a subset of indirect speech acts are idiomatic in a language" (p.138). In my discussion of the three Tuvan constructions below, I show that one (future action frame/interrogative) is primarily concerned with negative face, while the second (reason frame/conditional plus evaluation) and third (embedded frame/conditional plus interrogative) include components of both negative and positive face. Tuvan indirect politeness devices therefore support the general reliability of the B&L face framework, while at the same time confirming the observation that indirectness can also be used to signal things other than negative politeness, such as solidarity or positive politeness. Hopefully, the language data presented here will add useful material for further refining B&L's theory instead of merely discarding it as some recent politeness researchers have suggested doing.

4.2.1 Interrogative instead of direct imperative (future action framed as question)

Four respondents to the Tuvan politeness questionnaire volunteered the judgment (without being prompted to do so) that if one wants to achieve a high degree of politeness in making a request, one can frame the request as a question about what the hearer is going to do instead of as a direct imperative.

- (89) a. Mejee ol nomnu körgüs
 1s-DAT DDEM book-ACC show.IMV
 ‘Show me that book’ (DIRECT IMPERATIVE, LESS POLITE)
- b. Mejee ol nom-nu körgüz-er sen be?
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-P/F 2s QU
 ‘Will you (please) show me that book?’ (QUESTION FRAME, MORE POLITE)

In fact, framing a request as a question was ranked by two of these respondents as of equal or greater politeness to the most polite of the other devices offered in the questionnaire prompt (imperative with *körem*, see Tables 4.2 and 4.4 for the specific politeness ranking of various linguistic devices in Tuvan).⁴⁷ This judgment was corroborated by one of my Tuvan consultants, Anna Svanes (neé Monguš), who, in response to my question about characteristics of an extra polite Tuvan, wrote, “In my opinion, an extra polite person catches the eye by using words such as: ‘*İnčap beer siler be?*’ [Will you (pl) do that?] or ‘*Čoruduptar siler be?*’ [Will you (pl) go?]”

We also saw in Valeria Kulunday’s commentary on politeness and impoliteness in Tuvan (section 2.8) that Ms. Kulunday preferred to use the question-instead-of-command construction to politely deal with strangers on the bus:

- (90) Bo aška-nī damčīd-ipt-ar siler be?
 this money-ACC pass.down-PFV-P/F 2p QU
 ‘Will you (please) pass this money down?’
- (91) Gagarina-ga turguz-upt-ar siler be?
 Gagarin.Str-DAT stop-PFV-P/F2p QU
 ‘Will you (please) stop on Gagarin Street?’

The pragmatic gist of the question-instead-of-command construction should be fairly familiar to English speakers, who regularly use a similar construction for politeness purposes.

- (92) a. Open the window (DIRECT IMPERATIVE, LESS POLITE)
- b. Would you open the window? (QUESTION FRAME, MORE POLITE)

⁴⁷ In Sakha/Yakut, although straightforward questions are also considered to be a polite way to form indirect requests, constructions in the subjunctive mood seem to be preferred as being even more polite (Fedorova 2003:55).

In Tuvan, unlike in English, no modal auxiliary, such as *would* in example (b), is necessary to felicitously employ a question-instead-of-command construction for politeness purposes (although an optional modal does strengthen the politeness implicature, see 4.3.2). All the Tuvan question does is asks the hearer whether or not s/he will perform the desired action in the future, with no additional modality. Thus, it fits well into Searle’s category of ‘future action frame’. And yet, it is not only the future verb form by itself that produces the politeness implicature in this construction; it is the combination of the future verb with the interrogative particle, both of which signal irrealis mood in contrast to the directive mood signaled by an unmediated imperative verb. This strong combination of irrealis markers lessens the face threat to a hearer’s autonomy by making it clear that S is not coercing H’s will to perform the desired action, i.e., negative politeness.

4.2.2 *Conditional + Evaluation instead of direct imperative (reason frame)*

Another of Searle’s subcategories of indirect requests that is implemented in Tuvan consists of utterances in which the speaker offers a reason for the hearer to do something instead of directly requesting that H do it. In English, indirect requests of this type include the ones in Column B below:

Table 4.1 Reason-instead-of-request strategy in English

Column A - Direct request	Column B - Indirect request by giving reason (underlined)
Leave immediately	You <u>should</u> leave immediately
Come by tonight	<u>It would be great</u> if you came by tonight
Stop here	<u>Why not</u> stop here?

(adapted from Searle 1975:66)

The sentences in column B are considered more polite to varying degrees for making a request than the corresponding direct forms in Column A because they verbally focus on the reason why an action is desirable instead of blatantly issuing the directive that H perform this action.

The reason-instead-of-request strategy appeals to both negative face and positive face to produce the effect of politeness. It is negatively polite in that it allows S to avoid wielding power over or imposing upon H's will by issuing unmediated commands. At the same time, this strategy explicitly aligns S's interests with those of H by showing that the requested action is in fact in H's interests, or at the least, not against H's interests. This well fits B&L's description of positively polite redresses to face-threatening actions as "communicating that one's own wants (or some of them) are in some respects similar to the addressee's wants" (1987:101). B&L themselves realized that giving a reason to implicate a request instantiates positive politeness (1987:128), but did not seem to make the connection to the fact that this is really also an indirect strategy (which they associate exclusively with negative face).

In Tuvan as well, a conventionalized form of the reason-instead-of-request strategy is a common way of showing politeness to the addressee, using elements of both positive and negative politeness. (Mixed strategies such as this are discussed by B&L 1987:230-232.) The specific convention involves framing the desired action as the protasis ('if' part) of a 2nd person conditional sentence followed by an apodosis ('then' part) that evaluates the action as 'good', as seen in the following examples from Tuvan plays (*Čirgilčinner* and *Subedey*):

NEG. POLITENESS

POS. POLITENESS

Protasis
(desired action)Apodosis
(reason/evaluation)

(93) Siler am bo doraan beer çedip keer bolzuñarza eki-dir
 2p now right.away here reach-CV come-P/F AUX-2p.CND good-COP
 ‘It would be good if you came here right away (lit. If you come here right away, it is good)’

(94) Boduñar tanižip, bilçip algan bolzuñarza, eki-dir
 selves-2p acquaint-RCP-CV know-RCP-CV SBEN-PST AUX-2p.CND good-COP
 ‘It would be good if you became acquainted and got to know each other’

In (93), the desired action is ‘come here right away’, while in (94) it is ‘become acquainted and get to know each other’. Each is framed as a conditional and is therefore unrealis, giving the hearer a face-saving way out if s/he does not want comply (B&L 1987:162-163 note that ‘if’ clauses are particularly productive for politeness purposes in English and Tamil, but not in Tzeltal.) Thus, the protasis accounts for the negative politeness in this construction. The apodosis is the same in both examples – *eki-dir* ‘it is good’, although in other texts it can also occur without the final copular particle *-dir*. This clause provides the reason for or the evaluation of the desired action. Thus, the apodosis of this construction is the part that accesses positive politeness by verbally approving of the action requested of the addressee. In effect, this construction makes a suggestion instead of a direct request.

In the following example of this construction from another play, there is a 2p pronoun present (*siler*), but interestingly, the conditional auxiliary verb itself is conjugated with a 3s person form (*bolza*) instead of the expected 2p form (*bolzuñarza*).

(95) Siler, kîrgannar, baza ižer bolza, eki-dir
 2p elders also drink AUX-3s.CND good-COP
 ‘You elders, it would be good if you drank also’ (Döngür-ool)

The reasons for this mismatch are not quite clear. According to one of my consultants, Nikolay Kuular, *ižer bolza* may have been intended by the play’s author as an impersonal form of the verb here (“if one were to drink”), in which case *siler, kīrgannar* ‘you, elders’ is in fact a dangling topic, not the grammatical subject.⁴⁸

No words other than *eki* ‘good’ have been found to occur in the evaluative apodosis when this construction is used to signal a polite indirect request. This may be a function of the high degree to which this expression is conventionalized in Tuvan. However, finding that such synonyms can occur would not be at all surprising, inasmuch as conversational implicatures (such as politeness) cannot be detached from the semantic content of an utterance by merely changing the surface form of the utterance (Grice 1975, Hirschberg 1985).

The analysis of this conditional construction as a politeness-indicating device is potentially complicated by the fact that it can also be found in contexts that are clearly impolite.

For example:

(96) Ey-ey, noyan! ... Sen noyan dužaal-iñ-nī bo kaday-ga
 Hey lord 2s lord title-2s -ACC this woman-DAT
 dūžü-p beer bol-zuñza, eki-dir. Bod-uñ ooñ idik-ter-i-n šidi-p
 cede-CV BEN AUX-2s.CND good-COP self-2s 3s.GEN shoe-PL-3s-ACC lace-CV
 ber-ip čor!
 BEN-CV AUX.IMV

‘Hey there, (my) lord! ... It would be good if you ceded your lordly title to this woman (why don’t you just cede your lordly title to this woman?) Go lace up her shoes yourself!’ (Añgīr-ool 2)

In the above utterance, taken from a Tuvan novel, a commoner is addressing a feudal lord with a total disregard for due respect, which makes the lord very angry. Impolite features in the address include the use of T forms (2s) instead of V forms (2p) to speak to the lord, and the use

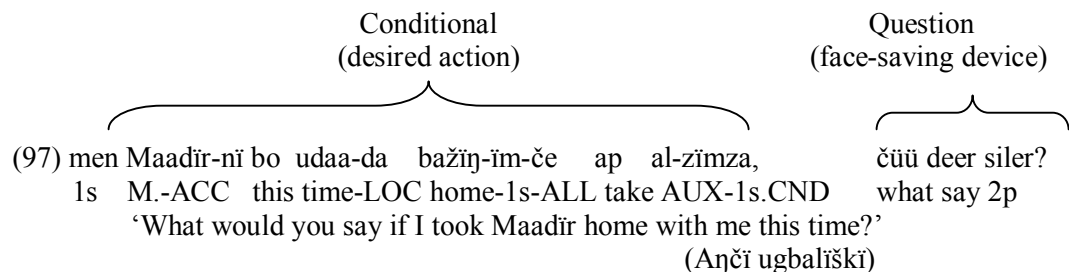
⁴⁸ An alternative hypothesis is that the speaker in the play from which this sentence is cited is being depicted as already partially drunk and mangling his grammar.

of an unmediated imperative. At the same time, we see that the speaker also makes use of the indirect reason-instead-of-request construction (*düžüp beer bolzuŋza, eki-dir*). It seems as though the speaker is openly mocking the lord in this passage; intentionally mixing deferential with non-deferential forms is a means of making his words sting harder (i.e., “I know that I should use polite forms when speaking to you, and am able to do so, but choose not to!”) Culpeper (2011:155) calls this type of impoliteness “convention-driven” in that it mismatches polite conventions with impolite forms to drive in the implication of impoliteness. The sarcastic use of this construction thus does not invalidate the prototypical politeness implicature that it has in other contexts.

4.2.3 *Conditional + Interrogative as polite negotiation (embedded frame)*

One more example is provided of how a potentially face-threatening speech act can be politely mitigated by using an indirect conditional, although this construction belongs to Searle’s ‘embedded’ frame rather than the ‘reason’ frame. In this construction, the desired action is framed as a conditional subordinate clause, while the main clause is framed as a question.

Take, for instance, the following sentence from a short story, spoken by the female protagonist (a pediatrician) who is asking some day-care workers for permission to take another family’s underprivileged toddler home for the weekend:



In this example, the speaker is in a somewhat awkward position. She wants to take the child home in order to care for him, but finds herself having to ask his temporary caretakers, since the child's parents are not around. She could use her authority as a respected doctor to perform the act bald-on-record by simply asserting "I am taking Maadir home with me" or commanding the day-care workers "Give me the child". But doing this could create conflict with the day-care workers because it fails to acknowledge their responsibility for taking care of the child (thereby threatening their face), and might also jeopardize their employment at the hospital if something bad were to happen to the child. At the same time, explicitly asking the day-care workers for their permission would harm the doctor's own face in that she would be positioning herself under their authority, and would also run the risk of them denying her request.

So the speaker uses the conditional/interrogative strategy to politely negotiate with the day-care workers. She makes her desire known to them, yet without either coercing their will or putting herself in a position in which a negative answer from them would put an end to the matter. The main clause question *čüü deer siler* 'what would you say?' allows the day-care workers to feel respected as decision-makers, not merely servants to the doctor, while at the same time leaving the door open for the negotiation to continue if their decision turns out to be different from what the doctor would like.⁴⁹ As in the two indirect constructions examined earlier, here too we see that strong direct illocutionary elements are replaced by hedging irrealis elements (conditional and interrogative moods) to perform relational face work that leaves both S and H satisfied.

⁴⁹ For readers who are eager to know how this turned out, the day-care workers were more than happy to turn the child over to the pediatrician because they wanted to attend a sporting event, which they would not be able to do if they had to stay to watch the child.

Another example of polite negotiation structured with this conditional/interrogative strategy is shown below:

(98) Men-den aŋġilan-ĭp al-zĩŋza kandĩg-ĩl?
1s-ABL separate-CV AUX-2s.CND what.kind-Q.WH
'How would it be if you separated from me? (Genesis 13:9)

In this verse from the Tuvan translation of the biblical book of Genesis, the Hebrew patriarch Abraham is politely suggesting to his nephew Lot that they part ways because there is not enough land/food for their herds to graze together. Although Abraham is the elder and has the right to tell Lot to go away, he does this respectfully, not as a unilateral decision or command but as a suggestion that can involve negotiation. The Tuvan translation of the biblical text here well captures this very delicate approach for defusing a potentially face-threatening conflict by using this indirect construction.

4.3 Polite auxiliary verbs

Another individual face-based phenomenon in Tuvan that deserves separate attention is the use of certain auxiliary verbs that produce a politeness implicature when used in directives (requests, commands, etc.) In the constructions mentioned in 4.2, the speech acts can be classified as indirect because the syntax of the utterances has been changed from an imperative or declarative to a different mood (interrogative or conditional) while maintaining their directive illocutionary force. With the polite auxiliary verbs, there can still be an unmediated imperative in the utterance, but an extra lexical component is added that shifts the imperative force away from the verb encoding the desired action onto the auxiliary verb. The additional semantics of the auxiliary verb are what makes the imperative less threatening to a hearer's face, and therefore more polite.

In what follows, I first present the general structure of Tuvan auxiliary verb constructions, then examine three polite auxiliary verbs in particular: *bolur* ‘can’, *kör* ‘see/try’ and *ber* ‘give/benefactive’. I chose these verbs because they all carry a high functional load and occur frequently both in spoken and written Tuvan. Whereas the first two are consciously recognized by Tuvans as sometimes being used for politeness purposes, the third is typically employed for politeness only below the level of conscious awareness for most Tuvan speakers (i.e., they do not point to *ber* and say that this verb is used for making one’s words more polite). A brief excursus is included after the section on *kör* that discusses the interesting cross-linguistic association of verbs that mean ‘see/try’ with a politeness implicature in directives.

4.3.1 Auxiliary verb constructions in Tuvan

The structure and semantics of auxiliary verb constructions (AVCs) in Tuvan and other south Siberian Turkic languages have been well described by Anderson (2004). The head verb comes final in the clause. If it is functioning as an auxiliary, it is immediately preceded by the lexically contentful verb, which bears a non-sentence-final ending $-(I)p$ or $-A/y$, called *converb*⁵⁰ endings in the literature on Turkic languages (e.g., Johanson 1995). All verbs that have auxiliary functions can also function as main verbs. For example:

- (99) a. *siler-niŋ čagaa-ŋar-ni al-gan men* (*al-* as main verb)
 2p-GEN letter-2p-ACC take-PST.I 1s
 ‘I received your letter’ (Tenišev 1968:56)
- b. *ol biži-y al-gan* (*al-* as auxiliary)
 3s write-CV AUX-PST.I
 ‘s/he was able to write’ (Harrison 2000:47)

⁵⁰ In Turkic and Mongolic linguistics, the term ‘converb’ indicates non-finite verbs that are used, among other purposes, for clausal coordination without a conjunction, i.e., a conjunctive verb.

- (100) a. Arga ištín-če kir-ip-ken (*kir-* as main verb)
 forest inside-ALL enter-PFV-PST.I
 ‘he went into the forest’ (Taṅđi)
- b. ažiłda-p kir-ipt-er (*kir-* as auxiliary)
 work-CV AUX-PFV-P/F
 ‘to get to work, begin working’ (Tenišev 1968:242)

In (99a), we see the verb *al-* functioning as a main verb, with the meaning ‘to take, receive’. In (99b), the same verb is an auxiliary that adds capability modality to the semantically contentful converb *bižiy* ‘write’. Likewise, in (100a) *kir-* as a main verb means ‘enter, go into’, while in (100b) it is an auxiliary that conveys inchoative aspect.

Auxiliary verbs are often stacked in Tuvan, i.e., more than one auxiliary verb can occur with a single lexically contentful verb, in which case the non-final auxiliaries also take a converb ending. In the literature on the structurally similar Korean language, this is called auxiliary ‘recursiveness’ (Martin 1992:230). A Tuvan example of recursive auxiliaries is provided below.

- (101) aṅna-p čoru-p tur-gan
 hunt-CV AUX-CV AUX-PST.I
 ‘S/he used to hunt’ (Isxakov & Pal’mbax 1961:322)

In this example, only the first converb, *aṅnap*, is a content word, while the two following words are both auxiliary verbs that provide grammatical information on the sentence’s tense and aspect.

4.3.2 *Auxiliary bolur and the ability condition*

Searle (1975) followed Austin (1962) in proposing that for any speech act, whether direct or indirect, to be successful, it must meet (or at least be believed by the hearer to have met) certain real-world conditions, known as felicity conditions. These include general

understandings such as the sincerity of the speaker when performing the speech act and the factual existence of entities involved in the act, as well as stipulations that are specific to each type of act. Felicity conditions are divided by Searle into four overarching condition types that are posited to exist for all speech acts: the preparatory condition, the sincerity condition, the propositional content condition and the essential condition.

The felicity condition that I focus my attention on here is the preparatory condition of Ability – for a request to be felicitous, the hearer must actually possess the ability to perform the request (Searle 1975:71). Thus, if S knows that H is NOT able to perform the requested Action (A), it would be foolish or malicious of S to request it anyway. As B&L nicely put it, “It is clearly infelicitous for me to ask you to shut the door if you are crippled, if the door is already shut or is about to shut itself” (1987:132).

A generalization about the preparatory condition of ability in English and some other languages is that “S can make an indirect request (or other directive) by either asking whether or stating that a preparatory condition concerning H’s ability to do A obtains” (Searle 1975:72, also see Gordon & Lakoff 1971). For example:

- (102) a. Give me that book. (request by direct imperative)
b. Can you give me that book? (indirect request by questioning of ability)

The framing of an indirect request as a question about ability carries with it extra information (a conversational implicature): S structured the utterance in this way to explicitly signal that s/he refuses to merely assume that H is capable of performing the requested action. Thus, when the preparatory condition of ability is questioned, the resulting utterance is by convention within many speech communities considered more polite than a semantically equivalent utterance in the imperative mood. This politeness implicature is generated by the fact that S leaves the door open for H to refuse the request by asserting his or her inability without

looking uncooperative (and thereby losing face). Thus, S verbally underlines his or her respect for H's autonomy as decision-maker in this matter.

In Tuvan as well, in a prototypical context (see the discussion in section 1.2.4.3 on the importance of default assumptions in conversational interaction) it is possible to make a request more polite through the indirect strategy of questioning ability. The modal auxiliary verb typically used in such cases is *bolur/boor*, preceded by the content word in an $-(I)p$ converb form. This construction is defined by Anderson (2004:149) as signaling capabilitative modality – ‘be able to’ – sometimes with a permissive connotation – ‘be allowed to’. The speaker can indirectly request that the hearer perform an action by asking whether H is able to do it. The following example was offered by one questionnaire respondent as a way of making a polite request of H (described in the question prompt as being of the same age S).

- (103) Meŋee ol nom-nu körgüz-üp bol-ur sen be?
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV can-P/F 2s QU
 ‘Can you show me that book?’

Several of my consultants point out that framing an indirect request as a question hedged by the ability modal is in fact quite official-sounding, even overpolite, and that it would felicitously be used only in very formal contexts. For making a request of a friend or acquaintance with whom one has a close relationship (i.e., low degree of social distance), it would typically be more appropriate to use the simple question construction without an ability modal as in 4.2.1.

Using an ability verb other than *bolur*, such as *šidaar* ‘be able to’, also generates politeness when framing a directive as a question. Thus, the following sentence (propositionally equivalent to 103 above) is also fully felicitous as a polite indirect request:

- (104) Meŋee ol nom-nu körgüz-üp šida-ar sen be?
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV be.able-P/F 2s QU
 ‘Are you able to show me that book?’

This interchangeability of specific verbs in this construction demonstrates that the politeness generated by accessing the ability condition in this way is a conversational implicature, not a conventional implicature, since changing the specific form does not detach or defease the implicature (Grice 1975:44-45, Hirschberg 1985). Compare this with the equivalent English constructions, in which changing the verb to something other than a small set of modals (*can, could, would, will*) does eliminate the politeness implicature, showing that in English the implicature of modal questions has more of a conventional nature. Thus, “Can you give me that book?” is considered politic or polite, while “Are you able to give me that book?” or “Are you capable of giving me that book?” are definitely not polite ways to request that the book be given to you. At best, these English utterances might be understood as a literal request for information about H’s ability; at worst, they may be taken as a challenge indicating that S believes H is NOT able to accomplish the action.

A speaker can likewise use the modal *bolur* to politely request permission to do something (105a,b). The verb phrase can be optionally left unmarked for the 1st person of the subject in a permission-requesting construction (c) (cf. B&L’s subject-deletion strategy for minimizing FTAs, p. 197).

- (105) a. Ol nom-nu kör-üp bol-ur men be?
 that book-ACC see-CV can-P/F 1s QU
 ‘Can/May I see that book?’
- b. Kir-ip bol-ur men be?
 enter-CV can-P/F 1s QU
 ‘May I come in?’
- c. Kir-ip bol-ur be?
 enter-CV can-P/F QU
 ‘May I/we come in? (lit. Is it possible to come in?)’

The typical response to such a request is simply *bolur* ‘Yes, go ahead (lit. It’s possible)’, which is sometimes reduplicated for emphasis. The following example comes from a conversational exchange in a Tuvan play (*Döngür-ool*).

- (106) A: Bol-ur be, darga? ‘May I (come in), boss?’
 can-P/F QU boss
- B: Bol-ur-bolur, kir-kir You may, you may, come in, come in’
 can-P/F-can-P/F enter-enter

In B’s response, we may note that the emphatic reduplication also extends to the bare imperative *kir* ‘come in’. Even though this is a bald-on-record strategy (typically heavily face-threatening to H), it should not be taken as impolite. As B&L show, such invitations are to the contrary polite because they “alleviate H’s anxieties by ... inviting H to impinge on S’s preserve” (1987:99). In being emphatic that A is to come in, B indicates that he does not at all consider A to be in any way bothering or interrupting him, which is in accord with A’s positive face want of being pleasing to B.

However, in speech acts of requesting permission, there is an asymmetry between modal *bolur* and *šidaar* ‘be able to’. Whereas *šidaar* is interchangeable with *bolur* in 2nd person requests, where it asks about the hearer’s ability, it is not felicitous to use *šidaar* to ask for permission to do something in the 1st person.

- (107) a. Kirip bolur men be? (POLITE INDIRECT REQUEST FOR PERMISSION)
 ‘Can I come in?’
- b. # Kirip šidaar men be? (DOES NOT REQUEST PERMISSION)
 ‘Am I able to come in?’

Tuvan consultant Nikolay Kuular said that question (107b) is definitely not a polite indirect request. Rather, it sounded to him like a covert threat (Russian *skrytaja ugroza*); since H can not be expected to know about S’s capability level, S must be saying this to affirm that s/he has the power to perform the action regardless of H’s wishes. Thus, we see that whereas *bolur* and

šidaar overlap in the semantic component of ‘ability’, they do not share the component of ‘permission’.

4.3.3 Auxiliary *kör-* and attemptive modality

Instead of either questioning or asserting the ability condition, as is done in English, Tuvan speakers have yet another linguistic strategy for invoking this condition as a means of producing polite requests. This involves the polysemous verb *kör-*. When serving as the semantically contentful matrix verb or converb of a sentence, this verb literally means ‘to see, look at’.

- (108) a. düž-üm-de seni kör-dü-m
dream-1s-LOC 2s.ACC see-PST.I-1s
‘I saw you in my dream’ (Arzılaŋ)
- b. örü deer-že kör-üp-keš
above sky-ALL see-PFV-CV
‘Having looked up at the sky above ...’ (Aŋgür-ool 1)
- c. üš börü-nü kör-üp tur sen be?
3 wolf-ACC see-CV AUX 2s QU
‘Do you see the three wolves?’ (Börülerni)

Kör- can also serve as a modal auxiliary verb in Tuvan. Thus, when preceded by an *-(I)p* converb, the meaning of this auxiliary is ‘try, attempt’.⁵¹ Anderson (2004:181) calls this construction the attemptive modal. The following examples of this use of *kör-* are adapted from Tenišev (1968).

- (109) a. bo xem-ge balikta-p kör-dü-vüs
this river-DAT fish-CV AUX-PST.II-1p
‘we tried fishing in this river’

⁵¹ The auxiliary *kör-* can also be preceded by a lexical converb of the *-A/j* type, e.g., in phrases like *ilga-j kör-* ‘discriminate’. In this case, the auxiliary does not convey attemptive modality, but rather seems to maintain its main verb semantics of visual perception.

- b. karandaš-bile biži-p kör
 pencil-INS write-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘try writing with a pencil’

The semantic development from ‘see’ to ‘try/attempt’ may have been facilitated by an intermediate cognitive step, in which *kör-* means ‘experience personally’ (see Voinov 2013 for greater detail). This meaning is seen in expressions such as the following:

- (110) a. xilinček köör
 suffering see.P/F
 ‘suffer (lit. see suffering)’
- b. dīš köör
 rest see.P/F
 ‘rest (lit. see rest)’

According to this explanation, ‘attempting an action’ is construed in the Tuvan conceptual network as ‘experiencing an action’, which itself is a grammatical metaphor (Heine et. al 1991) for ‘seeing an object’.

The auxiliary function of *kör-* as attemptive modality can co-occur with verbs that encode the meaning ‘try/attempt/exert effort’ lexically, such as *oraldažir* (111) and *kizar* (112). In cases like this, the modal reinforces the meaning of the lexically contentful verb.

- (111) uduur-un oraldaž-īp kör-dū-m, duza=daa čok, uygu kel-bes
 sleep-ACC try-CV AUX-PST.II-1s help=FOC NG sleep come-NG
 ‘I tried to sleep, but it was useless, sleep would not come to me’ (Börülerni)
- (112) Užuraž-īn kīz-īp kör
 meet-ACC try-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘Try meeting with him’ (Döŋgür-ool)

When used to frame directives, the auxiliary verb *kör-* carries an implicature of politeness. In fact, the politeness implicature is listed in several Tuvan dictionaries (e.g., Tenišev 1968, Anderson & Harrison 2003) as the primary meaning of this auxiliary, while attemptive modality, if indicated at all, is given as a non-primary meaning (Tenišev 1968). The

following sentences from Tuvan literature provide examples of how *kör* is used to make directives more polite, in both imperatives (113) and propositives (1st person imperatives, ex. 114).

- (113) a. Oy, ež-im, Borbaanay, örše-ep kör
 oh friend-1s B. forgive-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘Oh, my friend Borbaanai, please forgive (me)’ (Čirgilčinner)
- b. inčalza-daa büzüre-p kör-ünjer⁵²
 but believe-CV AUX-2p.IMV
 ‘But please believe (me)’ (Arzilaj)
- (114) a. sümele-ži-p kör-eeli
 consult-RCP-CV AUX-PL.PRP
 ‘Let’s consult with each other (about this)’ (Tanaa-Xerel)
- b. Am demgi balıkči-lar-ivīs-tiŋ dugayın ulamčila-p kör-eeli
 now DEM fisherman-PL-1P-GEN about continue-CV AUX-PL.PRP
 ‘Now let’s continue (our story) about those fishermen of ours’ (Taŋdı)

In the Tuvan politeness questionnaire, respondents consistently indicated that directives with auxiliary *kör-* were more polite than unmediated imperatives in a socially unmarked context – asking an acquaintance who is the same age as you to give or show you a book that is lying on the table. Of the 27 respondents who provided a relative ranking between the expressions ‘bare imperative’ and ‘imperative + *kör*’ in Q4, 26 ranked ‘IMV + *kör*’ as more polite than ‘bare IMV’, while 1 ranked them as equally impolite. No one ranked ‘bare IMV’ as more polite than ‘IMV + *kör*’.

- (115) a. mejee ol nom-nu ber/körgüs [BARE IMV,
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC give.IMV/show.IMV LESS POLITE]

⁵² The 2nd person plural form of *körüŋer* also occurs in the contracted form *körger*. According to Tuvan consultant Nikolay Kuular, this is a colloquial form. Seven tokens of this form are found in my literary corpus, all of them in texts written in the 1960s. A similar form of the 2pl ending occurs regularly in the dialect of Tuvan spoken in China as described by Shimin (2000); for example, *gel-ger* ‘come-2pl’ instead of standard Tuvan *kel-iŋer*.

b. meŋee ol nom-nu ber-ip/körgüz-üp kör [IMV + *kör*,
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC give-CV/show-CV AUX.IMV MORE POLITE]

In Q6, the result was similar.⁵³ 25 respondents ranked ‘IMV + *kör*’ as more polite than ‘bare IMV’, while 2 respondents reversed this ranking, indicating that to them ‘IMV + *kör*’ is less polite than ‘bare IMV’.

- (116) a. bis-ke čugaala [BARE IMV, LESS POLITE]
 1p-DAT tell.IMV
- b. bis-ke čugaala-p kör [IMV + *kör*, MORE POLITE]
 1p-DAT tell-CV AUX.IMV

The politeness implicature in directive utterances with *kör-* is generated by S’s refusing to simply assume that H is able to perform the directive, cf. B&L’s (1987:172) strategy DON’T ASSUME HEARER IS WILLING/ABLE TO DO ACTION. This gives H a way out in case s/he does not really want to perform the request. But whereas in English and many other languages, this is accomplishable only by questioning the ability condition, as seen in 4.3.2, in Tuvan it can also be done by hedging the directive via attemptive modality. The pragmatic effect of S using the hedging verb *kör-* ‘see/try’ is to implicate something like the following to H: “In order to allow you a face-saving way out of fulfilling my request, I speak as though it is unclear whether the requested action is within your capability.”

At the same time, the comment was sometimes made, both by questionnaire respondents and by my Tuvan consultants, that directives with *kör-* are not merely polite, but also connote that S is ‘implored’ H to perform the requested action. The metalinguistic use of the concept ‘implore’ (Russian terms used for this in the politeness questionnaire and by consultants included *umoljat* ‘entreat, implore’ and *nastojčivaja pros’ba* ‘insistent request’) to

⁵³ No social context for the directive expressions was explicitly provided in the prompt to this question, but it is reasonable to assume that respondents would still have in mind the same unmarked context that was provided for the preceding two questions in the questionnaire: the interlocutors are acquaintances and of the same age.

describe this additional connotation may indicate one of several things: it might be underlining that S feels a heightened level of urgency in making the request, or highlighting that the power distance between S and H is very great, or showing that the requested action is believed by S to be a particularly large imposition on H. It still remains to be explored which of these factors, or possibly another, conditions this semantic connotation of *kör-* imperatives in Tuvan.

In directives, no attemptive modality or politeness reading is possible with *kör-* when the auxiliary is negated, even though it is fully possible to negate *kör-* when the imperative is a content verb meaning ‘see, look’ (117) or when *kör-* occurs as an auxiliary in a non-directive utterance (118):

(117) men-če inčaar kör-be-ŋer
 1s-ALL thus look-NG-2p.IMV
 ‘Don’t look at me like that’ (Tanaa-Xerel)

(118) čaŋgīs=daa katap aš-tir-ip kör-be-en ulug maadir
 single=FOC time defeat-PSV-CV AUX-NG-PST.I great hero
 ‘a great hero who has not been defeated even once’ (Sübedey)

It should be noticed that in (118), although negated *kör-* is an auxiliary, it does not produce an attemptive modality reading; rather, the semantics of *körbeen* are limited to ‘personal experience’ here. The verb phrase *čaŋgīs-daa katap aštirip körbeen* could be translated ‘has not experienced a single defeat’, but could nowise be translated ‘has not tried to be defeated even once’. Thus, it appears that in standard Tuvan, negative polarity cannot co-occur with attemptive modality.

This limitation produces a syntactic asymmetry between making positive and negative polite requests with *kör-*: To politely request that someone not do an action, the negative morpheme must be on the converb that indicates the semantic content of the action (119a), not on the auxiliary *kör-*. In other words, attemptive modality has scope over negative polarity. Placing the negative morpheme on polite *kör-* produces an ungrammatical utterance (119b).

- (119) a. meni buruudat-pa-yn kör-üñer
 1s.ACC blame-NG-CV AUX-2p.IMV
 ‘please don’t blame me (please forgive me)’
- b. * meni buruudad-ıp kör-be-ñer
 1s.ACC blame-CV AUX-NG-2p.IMV
 ‘please don’t blame me (please forgive me)’

The reason for this is not clear, since in some other Turkic languages, as well as non-standard dialects of Tuvan, it is possible to negate a cognate of auxiliary *kör-* and still get an attemptive modality reading. Take the following sentences from Tatar (120) and Dukhan, a dialect of Tuvan spoken in Mongolia (121) :

- (120) libretto yaz-ıp kür-mə-gən
 libretto write-CV see-NG-PTCP.PST
 ‘one who has not tried writing a libretto’
 (example provided by Teija Greed, p.c., from a work by Tatar writer Musa Dzhilil)

- (121) iβə sa-ap gör-βe-en sen
 reindeer milk-CV see-NG-PST.I 2s
 ‘You have not tried to milk a reindeer’ (Ragagnin 2011:63, glosses adapted)

It is also possible to negate Tuvan *kör-* when it serves as an auxiliary verb preceded by an –A/y converb, with a non-attemptive modality meaning (see fn. 51 above):

- (122) yadıı-samdar dep kiži ilga-y kör-be-s eki urug čüve
 poor-ragged CMPL person discriminate-CV AUX-NG-P/F good girl AUXN
 ‘She is a good girl who does not discriminate against people because they are indigent’
 (Anğır-ool 1)

The significance of this asymmetry is left for future research.

Although auxiliary *kör-* is prototypically used to signal politeness in direct requests, it also occasionally has this function in indirect ones. The following example of this was provided by an anonymous questionnaire respondent:

- (123) meñee ol nom-nu körgüz-üp köör sen be?
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV AUX.P/F 2s QU
 ‘Will you try to show (i.e., please show) me that book?’

In the above sentence, we see several politeness devices interacting with each other. First, the directive is framed as a question about the hearer's future action instead of as an unmediated imperative. Second, this is augmented by the addition of the auxiliary *kör-* which accesses the ability condition via attemptive modality as described above. The *kör-* device appears to be felicitous here specifically because the illocutionary force of this question is still in fact directive. This combination of devices for making a directive more polite was offered by the questionnaire respondent as being on par with framing the request as a question with the auxiliary verb *bolur* (see 4.3.2):

- (124) mejeç ol nom-nu körgüz-üp bol-ur sen be?
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV AUX-P/F 2s QU
 'Can you show me that book?'

As discussed by Coates (1983) in relation to semantic indeterminacy, situations exist in language in which even the local context/co-text is insufficient to disambiguate between the meanings of polysemous words, including modals. The question thus arises whether or not there exist such contexts for Tuvan directives in which a native speaker would not be able to distinguish between auxiliary *kör-* as signaling attemptive modality or as signaling politeness. Since politeness is an implicature of auxiliary *kör-* in directives, there must exist certain felicity conditions that need to be satisfied in order for the implicature to be activated. If these conditions are not satisfied, the implicature will not work and only the more basic meaning of attemptive modality will remain.

My hypothesis is that the semantic interpretation of auxiliary *kör* depends on the ease and desirability of performing the action that S is requesting. Thus, if the requested action is obviously within the power of H to accomplish (e.g., opening the window), the *kör* auxiliary will likely be taken by H as a politeness device, since it does not make much sense for S to request H to merely attempt to do something that is clearly easy to do. If the requested action is

possible but potentially difficult for H to do (e.g., lifting a heavy box), then it will likely be taken by H as attemptive modality. If S requests an action that is obviously impossible for H to accomplish, or obviously harmful and undesirable, then H is likely to take the *kör* auxiliary as an impoliteness device, since the negative result of attempting this action outweighs the face benefits of making the request in a non-imposing way, i.e., if S is using this device in an impolite context, s/he must be doing this with an impolite intention (cf. Culpeper's (2011:155) convention-driven impoliteness). However, if it is not quite clear to H whether the requested action is difficult or not, then, according to this logic, the meaning of the *kör* auxiliary would remain indeterminate between an attemptive modality reading and a politeness reading. However, this hypothesis has yet to be tested empirically with Tuvan speakers.

4.3.3.1 EXCURSUS: 'See/try' as a politeness marker cross-linguistically

Since the association of 'seeing' with 'trying' and politeness may seem somewhat unusual for readers whose mother tongue is English or Russian, it is worthwhile to make a brief excursus here to show that Tuvan is not the only language that uses an attemptive modality morpheme derived from the verb 'see' for signaling politeness in requests. This subsection discusses the co-lexification of these concepts in other languages, following Voinov (2013).

The correspondence of 'see' main verb semantics to a 'try' auxiliary verb function is robust in several of the Turkic languages besides Tuvan, which is best explained as a reflex of genetic affiliation (shared retention of this feature from proto-Turkic). Anderson (2004:180-183) mentions the Sayan Turkic languages (Altai, Khakas, Shor, Tofa) and Turkmen, a western Turkic language, as encoding attemptive modality in the auxiliary verb *kör-/gör-* 'see'. For example:

(125) Shor: pal-lar-ba oyna-p kör-ze-ŋ
 child-PL-INS play-CV AUX-CND-2s
 ‘try playing with the kids’ (adapted from Anderson 2004:182, citing Nevskaja 1993:30)

(126) Turkmen: otur-ık gör-mek
 sit-CV AUX-INF
 ‘to try sitting’ (adapted from Anderson 2004: 183, citing Hansar 1977:168)

Other Turkic languages that are attested by dictionaries as associating ‘see’ with attemptive modality are: Chagatay, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, and Yakut. Examples are provided below:

(127) Chagatay: tap-a kör an-ï
 find-CV AUX.IMV it-ACC
 ‘try to find it’ (Eckmann 1966:144)

(128) Karakalpak: šeg-ıp kör
 smoke-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘try smoking’ (Baskakov 1958:337)

(129) Kyrgyz: kıl-ıp kör
 do-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘try to do it’ (Judakhin 1965:428)

(130) Yakut: keten kör
 put.on AUX.IMV
 ‘try to put on (clothes)’ (Sleptsov 1972:180)

It will be noticed that unlike in Tuvan, the lexically contentful verb preceding the auxiliary ‘see’ is encoded with the –(I)p converb in only a subset of these languages; for example, Chagatay and Yakut do not use an –(I)p converb in this context.

A directive becomes more polite when it co-occurs with the auxiliary ‘see/try’ in at least two Turkic languages besides Tuvan, namely Bashkir and Tatar (in both of which the ‘see’ verb is *kür-*):

(131) Bashkir: haqlan-a kür
 be.careful-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘please be careful’ (Uraksin 1996:318)

- (132) Tatar: bar-a kür
 go-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘please go’ (Ganiev 1998:199)

Although the dictionaries consulted for Bashkir and Tatar did not indicate that the auxiliary use of ‘see’ in these languages also has the more basic meaning of attemptive modality, this fact was corroborated for me by scholars working with these two languages. It seems that the dictionary compilers simply missed the attemptive function when writing their entries. An example of *kür-* signaling attemptive modality can be seen in the following Tatar example:

- (133) Tatar: libretto jaz-ıp kür-mə-gən
 libretto write-CV AUX-NEG-PTCP.PST
 ‘one who has not tried writing a libretto’
 (example provided by Teija Greed, p.c., from a work by Tatar writer Musa Dzhilil)

As for Bashkir, example (131) above was confirmed as having the more literal meaning ‘try to be careful’ by Bashkir writer Gulnara Mustafina in email correspondence.

Looking beyond the Turkic family to its more distant genetic relatives in the proposed Altaic macro-family, we find ‘see’-derived auxiliaries signaling attemptive modality in the Mongolic languages Mongolian and Kalmyk, as well as in Korean and Japanese, which are believed by many scholars to belong to macro-Altaic, although this is a hotly contested point (see Georg et al. 1999 for a good overview of the issue).

- (134) Mongolian: xelž üz!
 speak AUX
 ‘Try to speak!’
 (Hangin 1986:572) (*üz-* ‘see’)
- (135) Kalmyk: kütsədž üz-x (*üz-* ‘see’)
 accomplish AUX-FUT.PTCP
 ‘try to accomplish (it)’
 (Muniev 1977:547)
- (136) Korean: i chayk ilk-e po-a (*po-* ‘see’)
 DEM book read-INF AUX-IMV
 ‘Try to read this book’
 (Lee 1993:249-250)

(137) Japanese: tabe-te mi-ru (*mi-* ‘see’)
 eat-NMLZ AUX-NPST
 ‘try eating’⁵⁴
 (Henderson 2011 [1945]:286)

Of these languages, at least Korean and Japanese also have the added politeness implicature when using the ‘see’ auxiliary as a directive. Lee (1993:249) says that in Korean, using the *po-* auxiliary (as in ex. 136 above) makes the directive mild and indirect and thereby “leaves some room or options for the addressee to choose.” Likewise, in Japanese, sentences such as (137) have a “softening effect, especially in the polite imperative form” (Henderson 2011 [1945]:286). This shared co-lexification could possibly be used to make a supporting argument for the genetic relationship of these languages with Turkic (see François 2010 for the idea that semantic isomorphisms could be used to aid in language reconstruction), but this is not a strong argument, since this co-lexification is also present in language groups that are not genetically related to Turkic or Altaic (see below).

Figure 4.1 summarizes the languages in the Altaic macrofamily that have been found to associate ‘seeing’ with ‘trying’ and/or politeness in making a request.

⁵⁴ According to Lee (1993:245), in Korean, the ‘see’ auxiliary is ambiguous between two readings: ‘try to see if one has the ability to carry out the action denoted by the verb’ (ability not presupposed, e.g. “I tried to walk”) and ‘try doing something to see the results or consequences of the action or process’ (ability presupposed, e.g. “I tried walking”). Japanese appears to not share this ambiguity, with only the presupposed ability reading possible, according to Jeff Witzel (p.c.). If this is in fact the case, it is unclear how Japanese *mi-* could be using the ability condition to generate politeness, since the explanation proposed in this dissertation is that the speaker produces the politeness implicature by conventionally failing to assume the hearer’s ability to perform the requested action.

		'See'		
		Attemptive	Polite directive	
MACRO ALTAIC	TURKIC	Altai	√	
		Bashkir	√	
		Chagatay	√	
		Karakalpak	√	
		Kazakh	√	
		Khakas	√	
		Kyrgyz	√	
		Shor	√	
		Tatar	√	
		Tofa	√	
		Turkmen	√	
		Tuvan	√	
		Yakut	√	
		MONGOLIC	Kalmyk	√
			Mongolian	√
Korean	√			
Japanese	√			

Figure 4.1 Shared similarities in attemptive modality and polite directive use of 'see' verbs in macro-Altaic languages

It is likewise possible that some or all of the languages listed above as having the attemptive modal function of 'see' also have a polite implicature which was missed by the dictionary compilers, but this requires further research.

The 'see' verb, or a morpheme historically derived from the 'see' verb, is likewise associated with attemptive modality in some languages and language families that have no demonstrated genetic affiliation with Turkic or Altaic. These include the Papuan languages, the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages in India, Ewe in West Africa, and English. See Voinov (2013) for examples, as well as for the cognitive mechanism proposed as responsible for this co-lexification. Of these languages, at least English has a politeness implicature associated with using 'see' in the frame 'see if you can'. Thus, in a prototypical context in

which such a request could be made, it is more polite to say to someone *See if you can pick up that box and bring it over here* (i.e., ‘Try to do this’) than to say bald-on-record *Pick up that box and bring it over here*. It is not clear whether politeness is also signaled by using the ‘see/try’ morpheme in requests in any of these other languages, but this would not be at all surprising, since the politeness implicature flows out of not assuming the Ability condition that is presumably universal to human experience throughout the world.

4.3.4 Auxiliary *ber-* and benefactivity

Besides the use of *bolur* ‘can’ and *kör-* ‘see/try’ to signal politeness in Tuvan, there is at least one other auxiliary verb that also carries a politeness implicature. This is the verb *ber-*, which means ‘give’ when it is the main verb (138a), but has benefactive meaning when serving as the auxiliary to an *-(I)p* converb (138b).⁵⁵

- (138) a. *oglum-ga xlep-ten ber-gen men* (*ber-* as main verb)
 son-1s-DAT bread-ABL give-PST.I 1s
 ‘I gave some bread to my son’
- b. *ogl-um-ga xlep-ten kez-ip ber-gen men* (*ber-* as benefactive auxiliary)
 son-1s-DAT bread-ABL cut-CV BEN-PST.I 1s
 ‘I cut up some bread for my son’ (adapted from Anderson 2004:202)

Anderson (2004:200) calls this category of meaning Object Version or Benefactive Voice, and says that it “is used in constructions placing emphasis on the fact that the action was performed to the benefit of, or otherwise significantly affecting, a non-subject.” Thus, in example (b) above, the auxiliary verb *bergen* indicates that the bread was cut up not for the benefit of the agent who did the cutting, but for that person’s son. It does not convey that the bread was given to the son after being cut up (it may or may not have been).

⁵⁵ The Tuvan auxiliary *ber-* can also have inchoative meaning, but in this case, the lexically contentful verb that precedes it is marked with a different class of converb endings (Harrison 2000:44), namely the *-a/j* converb ending. This construction is not relevant to the discussion at hand.

We find that the Tuvan auxiliary *ber-* carries a politeness implicature when used in a directive construction. This is illustrated by the following pair of minimally differing directives. The contrast is between an unmediated imperative in (139a) and a more polite form (139b) that uses the *ber-* auxiliary:

- (139) a. meŋee ad-iŋ čugaala (LESS POLITE)
 1s.DAT name-2s tell.IMV
 ‘Tell me your name!’
- b. meŋee ad-iŋ čugaala-p ber (MORE POLITE)
 1s.DAT name-2s tell-CV BEN.IMV
 ‘(Please) tell me your name’ (adapted from Tenišev 1968:132)

The reason for this implicature of greater politeness in (139b) appears to be as follows: explicitly framing a requested action as beneficial to the requester makes the addressee feel less of a face threat from being asked to perform the action. The same type of implicature is found attached to the Korean verb *cwu-*, which like the Tuvan *ber-* means ‘give’ in its main verb use but ‘benefactive’ in its auxiliary use (designated as “compound form” in the following citation): “The compound form is polite because it indicates that the addressee’s action will constitute a favor to someone else. This contrasts with the simple form which simply imposes some action on the addressee.” (Lee 1993:130) This is illustrated in Korean by the following minimal pair:

- (140) a. anc-ala
 sit-IMV
 ‘Sit down!’
- b. anc-a cwu-ela
 sit-INF give-IMV
 ‘Sit down please’ (examples adapted from Lee 1993:130)

This is an instantiation of B&L’s positive politeness strategy – speak to hearers in such a way as to make them feel valued and appreciated (as favor-granters) so as to minimize the verbal face threat that you are performing (telling them what to do). In a certain respect, using the benefactive auxiliary for the purpose of being polite, without any other contextual reason for

invoking benefactivity, could be considered an example of linguistic parasitism: in this context, politeness takes over as the primary motivation for using a specific form (auxiliary *ber-*) that is in other contexts associated with another function (benefactive semantics).

Tuvan consultant Nikolay Kuular confirmed that using the *ber-* auxiliary in framing imperatives as in example (139b) raises them a notch above unmediated imperatives on the politeness scale. This judgment was corroborated by relative politeness rankings in Q6 of the politeness questionnaire, which compared the politeness implicature strength of directives meaning ‘Tell us’ using an unmediated imperative (141a), an imperative with the *ber-* auxiliary (141b), an imperative with the *kör-* auxiliary (141c), and an imperative that stacks the two auxiliaries (141d).

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (141) | a. biske čugaala | (Bare IMV) |
| | b. biske čugaala-p ber | (IMV + <i>ber</i>) |
| | c. biske čugaala-p kör | (IMV + <i>kör</i>) |
| | d. biske čugaala-p ber-ip kör | (IMV + <i>ber</i> + <i>kör</i>) |

The following table shows how respondents ranked the politeness strength of each of these devices in relation to each other. Due to the fact that not all respondents answered each question on the questionnaire, a different number of total respondents was available for each pairwise comparison.

Table 4.2 Pairwise comparisons of relative politeness level
in requests using *ber-* and *kör-* auxiliaries

Constructions compared	Total # of respondents	# of respondents providing relative ranking
Bare IMV // IMV+ <i>ber</i>	26	21: IMV+ <i>ber</i> > bare IMV 4: IMV+ <i>ber</i> < bare IMV 1: IMV+ <i>ber</i> = bare IMV
Bare IMV // IMV+ <i>kör</i>	27	25: IMV+ <i>kör</i> > bare IMV 2: IMV+ <i>kör</i> < bare IMV
IMV+ <i>kör</i> // IMV+ <i>ber</i>	26	22: IMV+ <i>kör</i> > IMV+ <i>ber</i> 4: IMV+ <i>kör</i> < IMV+ <i>ber</i>
Pairs with IMV+ <i>ber+kör</i>	37	33: IMV+ <i>ber+kör</i> > all other options 3: IMV+ <i>ber+kör</i> = IMV+ <i>kör</i> and politer than other two options 1: IMV+ <i>ber+kör</i> < IMV+ <i>ber</i> but politer than other two options

We see that of the 26 respondents that provided a politeness ranking between an unmediated imperative and an imperative with a *ber-* auxiliary, 21 people found ‘imperative + *ber-*’ to be more polite, 4 people found ‘imperative + *ber-*’ to be less polite, and one person ranked them as generating an equally low level of politeness. In comparison, 25 out of 27 people found ‘imperative + *kör-*’ more polite than a bare imperative (already discussed in example 116 above). More tellingly, we also see that 22 people ranked ‘imperative + *kör-*’ as more polite than ‘imperative + *ber-*’, as compared to 4 who provided the opposite ranking. Thus, attemptive modality appears to be a stronger politeness device than benefactivity in Tuvan. Directives that stacked the auxiliaries *ber-* and *kör-* to hedge the imperative force of the content verb were ranked by 33 out of 37 respondents as being more polite than constructions that used only one of these auxiliaries or the bare imperative. I.e., stacking *kör-* and *ber-* together is widely recognized by Tuvans as making an utterance more polite than when using only *kör-* or only *ber-*. This finding resonates with B&L’s observation that “the more effort S expends in face-

maintaining linguistic behaviour, the more S communicates his sincere desire that H's face wants be satisfied" (1987:93).

The general impression these numbers produce is that *ber-* does augment the politeness of an utterance, but that its politeness implicature is weaker than that the implicature generated by the auxiliary *kör-*. Although the figures available for this set of pairwise comparisons do not allow us to speak with certainty about how the four constructions relate to each other in the overall system, the relative politeness ranking that would likely be extrapolated is:

$$(142) \text{ Bare IMV} < \text{IMV+ber} < \text{IMV+kör} < \text{IMV+ber+kör}$$

A tentative conclusion about Tuvan politeness can be drawn from this: in a prototypical context, positive politeness (generated by accessing benefactivity of an action) is less important for Tuvans than is negative politeness (generated by accessing the Ability condition and thereby not coercing the hearer), although both constitute part of the Tuvan politeness system.

4.4 Particles

Another widespread linguistic device for expressing politeness in Tuvan is the use of particles. As B&L (p.146) note, in some languages particles are frequently used to hedge illocutionary force, but are given little theoretical attention in the linguistic literature – “they are just the kind of thing that tends to escape the net of the grammarian and the lexicographer” (p. 273). The particles I examine in this subsection are *-(A)m* (used in directives), *iyin* (in declaratives), *irgi* (in interrogatives), *īnar/añar/moonar* (not limited to a specific mood), the *šive* group of particles (mostly in directives), and *čügle* (technically an adverb, but with a particle component; contributes to politeness in requests). Dictionaries and previous studies of Tuvan (e.g., Monguš 1998, Bayyr-ool 2009) have mentioned some of these particles as having a politeness effect, but no in-depth work has been done on why they have this effect or on how

they interact with other elements of the Tuvan politeness system. I argue here that some of these particles carry a conventionalized negative politeness implicature, i.e. they soften the force of an utterance by reducing its imposition on the hearer, while others invoke deferential politeness, i.e., they ascribe a socially valued status to H. Because of this, the latter particles might also be placed in the previous chapter on deferential politeness, but are included here to maintain the structural connection of different particles, even though their function and place in the overall politeness system differs somewhat from the negative politeness particles. This section is based primarily on a corpus-based study of the particles in question, although the questionnaire data and my consultants' judgments also figure in the discussion.

4.4.1 *-(A)m* in directives

This is a high frequency particle that, when occurring following an imperative or propositive verb, softens the illocutionary force from command to request. It is not clear whether cognate forms of this particle occur with such pragmatics in other Turkic languages as well, although it is attested in the Dukhan dialect (Ragagnin 2011:159). I first examine this particle's structure and distribution, then look at its politeness effect in discourse. To conclude my treatment of *-(A)m*, I examine its relationship to the homonymous intensifying particle *am*.

4.4.1.1 *Structure and distribution*

In sentences that convey the illocutionary force of directive, the morpheme *-(A)m* attaches onto the right edge of sentence-final verbs in the imperative or propositive mood. It obeys the laws of Tuvan vowel harmony and thus occurs in the form [am] following VC-final words in which V is a back vowel (143), in the form [em] following VC-final words in which V is a front vowel (144), and simply as [m] following V-final words (145).

- (143) a. ačīlad=am (Following VC, V is a back vowel)
lend.IMV=POL
'please lend (it)'
- b. bar-aal=am
go-PRP=POL
'let's (please) go'
- (144) a. ber=em (Following VC, V is a front vowel)
give.IMV=POL
'please give (it)'
- b. kōr-eel=em
see-PRP=POL
'let's (please) see/try'
- (145) a. čugaala=m (Following V)
speak.IMV=POL
'please speak'
- b. sōgle=m
say.IMV=POL
'please say (it)'

This morpheme is likely an enclitic, not an affix, because in the speech of many speakers, it often does not bear stress, which typically occurs on the final syllable of a word. However, other speakers do place stress on this morpheme, which may indicate that they are treating it like a suffix, not an enclitic.

The syntactic position of *-(A)m* is similar to that of the polar question particle *be*. These two particles do not co-occur, indicating that they both fill the syntactic slot of Illocutionary Force in an utterance, with scope over the entire proposition: *be* marks Interrogative while *-(A)m* marks Polite Directive. That this is the slot the particle is occupying is also confirmed by the fact that it never occurs after a converb (non-final verb), but only following sentence-final verbs. Thus, *-(A)m* can only attach onto the final verb in sentence (146a), not onto the converb in sentence (146b).

- (146) a. ol nom-nu a-p al-gaš, olur=am (Sentence-final)
 DDEM book-ACC take-CV SBEN-CV sit.IMV=POL
 ‘Please take that book and sit down’
- b. * ol nom-nu a-p al-gaš=am, olur (Non-sentence-final)
 DDEM book-ACC take-CV SBEN-CV-POL sit.IMV
 ‘Take that book please and sit down’

Anderson & Harrison (1999:52) mention that this politeness particle occurs in colloquial Tuvan with common imperative singular verb forms. The present corpus investigation has shown that *-(A)m* also occurs fairly frequently in literary Tuvan (see Table 4.3 and discussion below), and that many of these tokens of *-(A)m* occur on plural imperatives (147) and plural propositives (148) as well as on singulars.

- (147) a. kör-üp kör-üner=em, ool-dar
 see-CV AUX-2p.IMV=POL boy-PL
 ‘Please take a look, lads’ (Taᅇdi keži)
- b. xol-uᅇar ködür-üner=em
 hand-2p raise-2p.IMV=POL
 ‘Please raise your hands’ (İržiᅇ buluᅇ)
- c. elekke čönüy ber-be-ᅇer=em
 prematurely grow.decrepit-CV AUX-NG-2p.IMV=POL
 ‘Please don’t grow old and feeble prematurely’ (Döᅇgür-ool)
- (148) a. ooldar, barip tudup al-iiᅇi-ᅇar=am
 boy-PL go-CV catch-CV AUX-PRP-2p=POL
 ‘Let’s go and catch it, lads’ (Taᅇdi keži)
- b. če, urug-lar, čarištir-aali-ᅇar=am
 OK child-PL have.race-PRP-2p=POL
 ‘Alright, children, let’s have a horse race’ (Ččeᅇen čugaalar)

Typically, *-(A)m* occurs on positive verbs. Example (147c) above is the only token of it attached to a negative verb in my corpus.

The range of verbs that take *-(A)m* in my Tuvan corpus is fairly broad. This morpheme occurs on a total of 231 imperative/propositive verbs, both main and auxiliary, which are comprised by 32 different lexemes.

Table 4.3 Corpus frequency of lexemes co-occurring with *-(A)m* particle in imperatives/propositives

Rank	Lemma ⁵⁶	# of tokens of each lexeme	Percentage of total
1	<i>kör-</i> ‘see; try; polite auxiliary’	168	72.7%
2	<i>kel-</i> ‘come; cislocative auxiliary’	10	4.3%
3	<i>ber-</i> ‘give; benefactive/inchoative/polite auxiliary’	7	3.0%
4	<i>al-</i> ‘take; self-benefactive’	5	2.2%
5	<i>ekkel-</i> ‘bring’	4	1.7%
6,7	<i>balikta-</i> ‘fish’ <i>bar-</i> ‘go’	3	2.6%
8-13	<i>čugaala-</i> ‘speak’, <i>čoru-</i> ‘go’, <i>sal-</i> ‘put’, <i>or/olur-</i> ‘sit’, <i>kag-</i> ‘perfective auxiliary’, <i>diyna-</i> ‘hear’	2	5.2%
14-32	<i>yari-</i> ‘say’, <i>irla-</i> ‘sing’, <i>inča-</i> ‘do thus’, <i>šap-</i> ‘quick perfective action’, <i>čarištir-</i> ‘race’, <i>čaš-</i> ‘sprinkle’, <i>čat-</i> ‘spread out’, <i>tivala-</i> ‘speak Tuvan’, <i>tur-</i> ‘stop/stand’, <i>turgus-</i> ‘make stand’, <i>sögle-</i> ‘say’, <i>oyna-</i> ‘play’, <i>maйна-</i> ‘run’, <i>ködür-</i> ‘raise’, <i>badir-</i> ‘sing’, <i>bat-</i> ‘go downstream’, <i>ačila-</i> ‘lend’, <i>aytir-</i> ‘ask’, <i>agaarla-</i> ‘take walk’	1	8.2%

It is clear from the above table that most tokens of *-(A)m* on imperatives and propositives in the corpus occur on only a small set of lexemes. Thus, *-(A)m* is found on the verb *kör-* ‘see/try/polite’ (in forms such as *körem*, *körüñerem*, and *köreelem*) 168 out of 231 times, or almost 73% of the time. The top five verbal lexemes co-occurring with *-(A)m* – *kör*, *kel*, *ber*, *al*, and *ekkel* – constitute 194 tokens, or 84% of corpus occurrences of polite *-(A)m*, while the top thirteen lexemes make up 212 tokens, or almost 92%. However, we also see that about 8% of *-(A)m* tokens on imperative/propositive verbs are constituted by the remaining 19

⁵⁶ In corpus linguistic terminology, *lemma* refers to the citation form or headword that is chosen to represent a *lexeme*, which itself frequently consists of more than one concrete form of the word.

lexemes in the list (rank 14-32 in the table), each of which is found only once in the entire corpus. So polite *-(A)m* does collocate with a wide range of verbs, although the relative frequency of such collocations is low. It does not appear to have any specific restrictions based on the semantics of the verb that it can attach to, provided that the form of the verb is imperative or propositive.

4.4.1.2 Politeness effect

As noted above, the use of the particle *-(A)m* in a sentence with an imperative or propositive verb is a common way of raising the conventional politeness level of the directive in Tuvan. Ragagnin (2011:159) mentions that in the Dukhan dialect of Tuvan spoken in Mongolia, the particle *-(A)m* is used to “tone down the command a bit, making it more polite”. It is recognized by all speakers of standard Tuvan consulted as having such a function as well. In Q4 of the politeness questionnaire, all 28 of the 28 respondents that provided a relative ranking rated the construction ‘imperative+(A)m’ (149b) as more polite than an unmediated imperative (149a) when addressing an acquaintance of the same age as the speaker.

- (149) a. mejeɛ ol no m-nu körgüs [BARE IMV, LESS POLITE]
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show.IMV
 ‘Show me that book’
- b. mejeɛ ol nom-nu körgüz=em [IMV + (A)m, MORE POLITE]
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show.IMV=POL
 ‘Please show me that book’

When the interlocutors do not possess the same relative social status, the particle *-(A)m* can be used bi-directionally to signal politeness. Thus, a less powerful person can use it up to a more powerful person (↑, ex. 150), or a more powerful person can use it down to a less powerful one (↓, ex. 151).

(150) *dıŋna-ŋar=am, xündülüg baški* ↑
 hear-2p.IMV=POL honored teacher
 ‘Please listen, honored teacher’ (Arzılaŋ)

(151) *èt-ten düł-üp kör-em, kaday* ↓
 meat-ABL boil-CV AUX-POL wife
 ‘Please boil some meat, wife’ (Aŋgür-ool 2)

Besides modifying main verbs, the particle *-(A)m* frequently co-occurs with the polite auxiliary *kör* and strengthens the politeness implicature of the utterance. Thus, out of 28 respondents that provided a ranking between ‘imperative + *kör-*’ and ‘imperative + *kör* + (A)m’, all 28 indicated that ‘IMV + *kör* + (A)m’ is more polite than ‘IMV + *kör*’.

(152) a. *mejee ol nom-nu körgüz-üp kör* [IMV + *kör*,
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV AUX.IMV LESS POLITE]
 ‘Please show me that book (lit. Try to show me that book)’

b. *mejee ol nom-nu körgüz-üp kör=em* [IMV + *kör* + (A)m,
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV AUX.IMV=POL MORE POLITE]
 ‘Please (try to) show me that book’

As we have already seen with the stacking of *ber-* and *kör-* auxiliaries in 4.3.4, this too instantiates the general property that politeness devices have of reinforcing each other’s implicatures. It is conceivable that different cognitive paths of producing politeness might come into conflict and defeat each other’s politeness implicatures, but there is no evidence for any such conflict in the Tuvan data.

The politeness strengths of ‘imperative + (A)m’ (153a) and ‘imperative + *kör*’ (153b) in relation to each other are not as clear, however.

(153) a. *mejee ol nom-nu körgüz=em* [IMV + (A)m]
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show.IMV=POL
 ‘Please show me that book’

b. *mejee ol nom-nu körgüz-üp kör* [IMV + *kör*]
 1s.DAT DDEM book-ACC show-CV AUX.IMV
 ‘Please show me that book (lit. Try to show me that book)’

The responses to this pair of devices in Q4 of the questionnaire show that of 27 respondents, 16 considered *-(A)m* more polite than *kör-* in a directive to an acquaintance of one's own age, while 11 felt *kör-* to be more polite than *-(A)m*. No one ranked them as conveying an equivalent level of politeness, but this is most likely because the prompt to Q4 did not give this type of response as an option. Given the null hypothesis that *kör* and *-(A)m* have an equal politeness-generating strength, we would expect half the respondents to choose *kör* as the more polite while the other half chooses *-(A)m*. A two-tailed Chi-square test showed that there is no significant difference between the number of respondents that chose *kör* as more polite than *-(A)m* (11 people) and the number that chose *-(A)m* as more polite than *kör* (16 people), $\chi^2(1, N=27)=.926, p=.336$. In other words, these figures fit the interpretation that there was no general agreement between respondents concerning how to rank one device as more polite than the other, because they are equally polite.

However, in light of the already mentioned observation that *kör-* also has a connotation of 'imploring', not shared by *-(A)m*, it is possible that the TYPE of politeness produced by these two devices is somewhat different semantically, even though both use the general mechanism of negative politeness and do not conflict with each other. This too must be left for future research.

These three pairwise comparisons involving *-(A)m* presented above are laid out in the following table for ease of reference.

Table 4.4 Pairwise comparisons of politeness level in directives using particle *-(A)m* and auxiliary *kör*

Constructions compared	Total # of respondents	# of respondents providing relative ranking
Bare IMV // IMV+ <i>(A)m</i>	28	28: IMV+ <i>(A)m</i> > bare IMV
IMV+ <i>kör</i> // IMV+ <i>kör</i> + <i>(A)m</i>	28	28: IMV+ <i>kör</i> + <i>(A)m</i> > IMV+ <i>kör</i>
IMV+ <i>kör</i> // IMV+ <i>(A)m</i>	27	16: IMV+ <i>(A)m</i> > IMV+ <i>kör</i> 11: IMV+ <i>(A)m</i> < IMV+ <i>kör</i>

A potentially interesting development has taken place with the combination of auxiliary *kör* and particle *-(A)m*: in certain contexts, the word *körem* appears to have become grammaticalized as a freestanding politeness word (akin to the English word ‘please’) even in sentences where it is not syntactically functioning as an auxiliary verb.

- (154) buruulug bol-du-m körem
 guilty be-PST.II-1s POL
 ‘I’m sorry’ (anonymous questionnaire respondent)

The primary indication that grammaticalization has occurred is the fact that *körem* in this example is not preceded by an *-(I)p* converb ending, but instead by a finite verb form, *boldum*. Stacked finite verbs typically do not occur in Tuvan grammar. In the following example of this usage of *körem* from Tuvan literature, the word is obviously not functioning as an imperative verb, since it does not agree with the plurality of the subject, whereas number agreement is a central part of subject/verb agreement in Tuvan (Harrison 2000:33).

- (155) Xomuda-vas siler körem, ool-dar
 be.offended-NG 2p POL boy-PL
 ‘Please don’t be offended, guys’ (Yozulug Er, p.18)

If this word was truly functioning as an imperative verb here, it would be expected to have the form *kör-üñer-em* ‘see-IMV.PL-POL’.

According to Traugott’s (2003:644) model, this can be seen as an early stage of grammaticalization, in which the auxiliary verb + particle have bonded (the morphological boundary between them has been erased) and the auxiliary verb has been structurally decategorized. It is no longer an auxiliary verb but has rather become a politeness particle in its own right.

Examples of this usage are too few to be certain, but if this interpretation of the data is correct (it is supported by the native speaker intuition of two of my consultants),⁵⁷ it shows that the grammaticalized *körem* can now occur in utterances that are not explicitly directive, since (154) is overtly an apology, not a command or request. Nonetheless, it is also possible that *körem* in this case is itself actually introducing a semantic element of politely requesting, so that the apology is now framed as a request for forgiveness.

The particle *-(A)m* also co-occurs regularly with the benefactive auxiliary verb *ber-* to strengthen the politeness of a directive, as we already saw in table 4.4. For example:

- (156) a. Ak-ool, oyna-p ber=em
 A. play-CV BEN=POL
 ‘Ak-ool, please play for us’ (Xün-xürtünüň xürtüzü)
- b. mejece bodu-ŋ-nuŋ töögü-ŋ čugaala-p ber=em
 1s-DAT self-2s-GEN story-2s tell-CV BEN=POL
 ‘Please tell me your story’ (Sübedey)
- c. siler maŋaa čangïsta-p xarııla-p ber-iŋer=em
 2p this.DAT count.by.ones-CV answer-CV BEN-2p=POL
 ‘Please answer (these questions) one by one for me’ (Aŋgır-ool 2)

However, in my corpus, this is a much less frequent collocation than that of the auxiliary *kör* with *-(A)m*. There are only seven tokens of the construction ‘IMV+ber+(A)m’, distributed over four texts, compared to 100 tokens of ‘IMV+kör+(A)m’ spread out over fifteen texts.

4.4.1.3 Disambiguation from intensifying *am*/*-(A)m*

Discussion of polite *-(A)m* is complicated by the fact that Tuvan also has an intensifying particle *am*, apparently homophonous with polite *-(A)m*. This intensifying particle occurs in

⁵⁷ An alternative interpretation is that the full form of this apology includes the complementizer *dep* – *buruulug boldum dep körem* ‘Please see that I’m sorry’ – and that the complementizer has been dropped. Complementizer dropping does occur occasionally in colloquial Tuvan. However, my consultants did not feel that there was any semantic element of ‘seeing’ still present in the utterance *buruulug boldum körem*, which argues against the complementizer-drop analysis.

utterances where the verb is in a mood other than imperative/propositive, such as declaratives (157,158) and jussives (159,160).⁵⁸ Although Tenišev (1968:56) and Monguš (2003:121) do not describe this particle as having such a function, Tatarintsev (2004:71) suggests that in certain cases (specifically, with directive particles, see below), *am* intensifies or strengthens the force of the proposition. Graphically, it is sometimes written attached to the verb and sometimes separately from it.

- (157) čaagay=la taraa-đır am
pleasant=EM bread-COP INT
‘This is very delicious bread’ (Tenišev 1968:56)
- (158) Iyi čıl burungaar, Kızıl magalıg=la turgan am
2 year ago K. wonderful=EM be-PST.I INT
‘Two years ago, Kyzyl was very beautiful’ (İržim buluŋ)
- (159) ĩndıg=la bol-zun=am, ođl-um
thus=EM be-JUS=INT son-1s
‘May it be so, my son’ (Sübedey)
- (160) Burgan=na örşee-zin am
God=EM show.mercy-JUS INT
‘May God have mercy’ (Taŋdı)

One consultant (Aldınay Ondar) told me that she would never say the expression in example (160) in this exact form; rather, she would say *Burgan-na örşeezinem*, with the particle fully cliticized onto the final verb and adapted in terms of vowel harmony. Although jussive sentences might be considered (from an etic perspective) to be directives just like imperatives and propositives, they are not seen as such by Tuvan speakers. Thus, Tuvan consultants say that jussive forms feel more like a wish than a request, and that jussives with *-(A)m* as in (159) and

⁵⁸ There are several other cases in Tuvan of a high-frequency function morpheme being analyzed as actually multiple homonymous morphemes. For example, /-LA/₁ as emphatic, /-LA/₂ as equative (Harrison 2000:188) and /-DIR/₁ as emphatic copula, /-DIR/₂ as evidential (Harrison 2000:49).

(160) feel like a very strong wish. The particle *-(A)m* in these jussives intensifies the wish, but does not add a politeness implicature to the utterance, since one of the felicity conditions for *-(A)m* to trigger such an implicature is that the verb be imperative or propositive in form (a prototypical directive).

Besides the mood of the verb in the sentence, an additional marker that often helps to disambiguate between polite *-(A)m* and intensifying *am/-(A)m* is the emphatic particle /-LA/ elsewhere in the sentence, as seen in examples (157)-(160) above in the forms *-la* and *-na*. The intensification produced by *-(A)m* in such sentences is frequently accompanied by emphasis on one of the other elements in the utterance.

The above analysis of the distribution of polite versus intensifying *-(A)m* raises the question of whether or not this intensifying particle can also occur with directives when they are not expressed as overt imperatives or propositives. The answer appears to be yes. In the following example, an angry government official is accusing a boy of lying to him:

(161) Kīmñī megelep olur sen, sidigenčik? Čüü didir sen? Am baza-m!
 who-ACC deceive-CV AUX 2s pisses what say 2s now again-INT
 ‘Whom are you lying to, pisses? What are you saying? (Say it) again!’ (Aŋgır-ool 2)

The morpheme *-(A)m* attached onto the adverb *baza* ‘again’ at the end of the example appears to have an intensifying function; it is hard to see how it could be generating politeness in this context. Tuvan consultants confirmed that the speaker was not being polite here. This final sentence with *baza-m* has directive force, even though there is no imperative verb present.

Likewise, *-(A)m* frequently cliticizes onto several particles in Tuvan that have a directive force, such as *àdir* ‘hold on, wait’ and *kay* ‘give; come on (persuasion)’.⁵⁹ In such

⁵⁹ There are 34 tokens of *àdir=am* and 26 tokens of *kay=am* in my corpus. If the function of *-(A)m* in these cases is in fact politeness, then these two particles would be the second and third most common lexemes to co-occur with polite *-(A)m* in my corpus, immediately following the most frequently occurring lexeme *kör* (see Table 4.4 above in 4.4.1.1).

cases, it is not fully clear whether *-(A)m* generates a politeness implicature or intensifies the directive force. Work with Tuvan respondents and consultants did not provide a conclusive answer to this question. I gloss it INT (intensifying) in the following examples, but it might very well be POL (polite). In the following sentences, the (a) examples have the unaugmented directive particles, while the (b) examples show the directive particle augmented with *-(A)m*.⁶⁰

- (162) a. *àd̄ir*, *bičii man-av̄it*
 hold.on little wait-PFV
 ‘Hold on, wait a bit’ (Tenišev 1968:38)
- b. *àd̄ir=am*, *àd̄ir=am...* *čok, š̄inap-la tan̄i-vas-t̄ir* *men*
 hold.on=INT, hold.on=INT no, truly-EM recognize-NG.P/F-COP 1s
 ‘Hold on, hold on ... no, I really don’t recognize (them)’ (Čirgilčinner)
- (163) a. *kay*, *beer kel=em*
 come.on here come.IMV=POL
 ‘Come on, please come over her’ (Aŋḡir-ool 2)
- b. *kay=am*, *beer kel-geš*, *kör-üp* *kör=em*
 come.on=INT here come-CV see-CV AUX=POL
 ‘Come on, please come over here and take a look’ (Sübedey)

That *àd̄ir* and *kay* are actually particles and not verbs is demonstrated by the fact that they cannot occur with verbal morphology, such as person marking (164a) or tense marking (164b).

- (164) a. * *àd̄ir* *men/sen/bis/siler* / * *kay* *men/sen/bis/siler*
 hold.on 1s/2s/1p/2p come.on 1s/2s/1p/2p
- b. * *àd̄ir-d̄i* / **kay-d̄i*
 hold.on-PST.II come.on-PST1.II

Intensifying *-(A)m* can even cliticize onto the deferential politeness particle *iŋar* (see section 4.4.4 below), provided that this particle is in a directive utterance (in this case signalled by *àd̄ir*):

⁶⁰ Tatarintsev (2004:71) notes that *kay* and *àd̄ir* can occur with the *-(A)m* particle, but does not assign the latter any politeness function, rather saying that *-(A)m* in these cases might be a strengthening/intensifying particle.

- (165) àdir ijar=am, meeŋ uruu-m-nu xarın alir siler iyin, baški
 hold.on POL=INT 1s.GEN daughter-1s-ACC really take 2p SFT teacher
 ‘Hold on, teacher, you (pl.) will definitely have my daughter’ (Döŋgür-ool)

We may note that in example (163b), the directive particle *kayam* co-occurs with the imperative verb *körem*, which bears what is undoubtedly the polite *-(A)m*. This may be an argument in favor of taking the *-(A)m* on *kayam* to be polite instead of intensifying, but it is not conclusive.

4.4.2 Iyin in declaratives

Like the directive politeness particle *-(A)m*, the particle *iyin* also occurs at or close to the right edge of a sentence, although it is prosodically a separate word, not a clitic or affix. In contrast to *-(A)m*, *iyin* occurs only in utterances in the declarative mood, never in questions or commands/requests. Isxakov & Pal’mbax (1961:433) call *iyin* a “softening particle” (Russian *častitsa smjagčenija*) and categorize it as a modal. Watts (2003:185) lists several other designations for this type of modifier as used by linguists for describing various languages, including *hedge*, *downgrader*, *compromiser*, *downtoner*, *weaker*. Monguš (2003:583), however, labels *iyin* merely as a particle used for asserting or confirming.

Tenišev (1968:204) concurs with Isxakov & Pal’mbax on the softening function of this particle, and adds that it is usually translated into Russian by intonation or word order, i.e., that it does not have a direct lexical equivalent in Russian. Tenišev provides the following two sample sentences:

- (166) bo čilin düžüt čaagay iyin
 this year harvest good SFT
 ‘This year the harvest is good’

- (167) bis düün=ne čedip kelgen bis iyin
 1p yesterday=EM arrive-CV AUX-PST.I 1p SFT
 ‘We arrived yesterday’

As in Russian, so in English, no lexical equivalent easily comes to mind to translate the semantic force of this particle.

Etymologically, *iyin* appears to have been derived from the Old Turkic verb *erken* (*er-* ‘be’, *-ken* ‘past tense gerund’) and to be genetically related to the modal word *eken~iken~ekan* in other Turkic languages (Bayyr-ool 2009:112). Its relation to politeness is well encapsulated in the following description by Aziyana Bayyr-ool in her dissertation on Tuvan particles derived from existential verbs:

“the speaker uses the particle *iyin* in conversation, adding it to the end of a sentence in order to soften its categorical nature. For this reason, *iyin* also obtains the meaning of an assertion that is weak rather than strong. In conversation, categorical assertions without *iyin* or without an appropriate intonation may sometimes be taken as a sign of disrespect or rudeness to one’s conversational partner.” (Bayyr-ool 2009:115, translation from Russian mine)

The following anecdotal example of how this particle is used comes from a conversational exchange that I (V) had with a Tuvan woman (W) several years ago in a mix of Tuvan and Russian. Only the italicized sentences were spoken in Tuvan, while the metadiscourse parts provided here in English were originally spoken by us in Russian.

(168) V: *Ol sejee inak-tir*. [‘He loves you (strong assertion)’]

W: Don’t say it like that. Rather, say “*Ol sejee inak iyin*”. That’s softer.

What my conversational partner was reacting to was the use of the emphatic copular particle – *tir* in my utterance (see Anderson & Harrison 1999:89). She felt that I was asserting my mind on this issue too forcefully by using this particle, and suggested that I replace it with the particle *iyin*, which would make my assertion less forceful, and thereby more polite.

Why exactly is this considered by Tuvans to be more polite? At first glance, it may seem strange to think that a simple declaration or assertion can even be made more or less polite. B&L’s concept of negative face once again serves as a plausible explanation for this

phenomenon. By using the strong assertion particle *-tir* in the above example, I was in effect imposing my will on my conversational partner by stating as a given something that may in fact still be an undecided or unacceptable point for her. In doing this, I was threatening her right to determine her own opinion on this matter, i.e., attacking her negative face or desire not to be imposed on. Whereas in other cultures, such as Western English-speaking ones, the declarative speech act is typically not consciously recognized as potentially face-threatening,⁶¹ general assertions appear to be clearly seen as such by Tuvans, hence their need for a conventionalized way of softening categorical assertions, even in utterances that might seem innocuous to speakers of other languages. B&L (1987:160-161) discuss similar force-weakening particles in Tamil declaratives.

Ragagnin (2011) proposes an explanation along slightly different lines for the particle *iyen* in the Dukhan dialect of Tuvan in Mongolia. She calls it a “stance particle” which allows the speaker to show “a clear cognitive or emotional dissociation from the narrated event. The speaker thus, basing himself or herself on personal deduction or other evidence, disclaims any responsibility about the uttered sentence” (p. 181). Ragagnin thus considers the underlying semantics of *iyen* to be epistemic/evidential, which may be the case in standard Tuvan as well. If this is so, then this particle is another example of how politeness is parasitic on other grammatical categories in a language (in this case, evidentiality).

The frequency of *iyin* in my Tuvan corpus is more than three times as high (775 times) as that of the directive politeness particle *-(A)m* (231 times), with all tokens of *iyin* occurring in

⁶¹ Of course, there are devices for mitigating declarative face threats in English as well, but these have not been as thoroughly conventionalized as in Tuvan. In English, polite softeners typically accompany an assertion only when the degree of threat is particularly high; for example, when breaking bad news to someone. Thus, in dealing with a client whose portfolio is doing poorly, a stockbroker might say “You know, I think your stock may have been among the many others that didn’t do so well last Friday” instead of asserting “Your stock lost 90% of its value in last Friday’s market crash” bald-on-record.

speech between literary characters.⁶² This is possibly due to the fact that declaratives may be in general a more common mood in speech than are directives. However, it is still interesting that Tuvans feel it necessary to pepper their assertions with this politeness device; this frequency observation confirms the high level of importance that Tuvan culture places on negative politeness, even in declarative statements.

4.4.3 Irgi in interrogatives

The word *irgi*, historically derived from the Old Turkic verb *er-* ‘be’ just like the particle *iyin*, is also called a ‘politeness particle’ by Isxakov & Pal’mbax (1961:433). Its main distributional difference from *-(A)m* and *iyin* is that it usually occurs not in directives or declaratives, but in questions, both real and rhetorical (Monguš 1998:133).

- (169) a. kažan kel-ir irgi?
 when come-P/F POL
 ‘When will you/he/she come?’
- b. Am kanča-ar irgi men?
 now do.what-P/F POL 1s
 ‘What am I to do now?’ (both examples from Monguš 2003:592)

However, its function is not to mark interrogative illocutionary force in an utterance, i.e., it is not a question particle; it always co-occurs either with a wh-question word, as in the above two examples, or with the general polar question particle *be* as below.

- (170) èt dül-üp ka-an irgi be?
 meat boil-CV AUX-PST.I POL QU
 ‘Has the meat boiled yet?’ (Aṅgīr-ool 1)

⁶² In texts outside of my corpus, such as in Tuvan epic, the particle *iyin* also occurs in authorial narrative outside of reported dialogue. It also occasionally co-occurs in such texts with the particle *am*, as in lines 2298-2299 of the epic *Boktug-Kiriš, Bora-Šeeley* (Orus-ool 1997): *arga-sayaa uglup-čaštap turgan cüveŋ irgin iyin am* ‘the forest collapsed’. However, in such cases, the particle *am* is almost certainly not functioning with a politeness meaning but rather with its intensifying semantics (see section 4.4.1.3 above). The final four words of line 2299 cited above – *cüveŋ irgin iyin am* – are all particles that are very difficult to translate, but that seem to be aggregated together here as a discourse-level marking strategy in the Tuvan storytelling genre.

Although both *iyin* and *irgi* come to the right of the verb in the predicate phrase, in my corpus texts *irgi* always comes before the person-marking clitic (1s *men* in the following examples), whereas *iyin* always comes after the person marker.

(171) Čünü=le köör irgi men?
 what.ACC=EM see.P/F POL 1s
 ‘What will I see?’ (Aŋgür-ool 1)

(172) men am=daa eki bil-beyn čoru-ur men iyin
 1s now=FOC good know-NG.CV go-P/F 1s SFT
 ‘I still do not understand (this) well’ (Aŋgür-ool 2)

However, several consultants have affirmed that *irgi* can also grammatically stand after the person marker with no difference in meaning, although according to them, this only occurs in literary texts, not in colloquial Tuvan.

(173) Kažan kel-gen siler irgi?
 when come-PST.I 2p POL
 ‘When did you (pl.) come?’

This may mean either that *irgi* can occupy different syntactic positions in the sentence or that *irgi* has come to be perceived as a suffix on the verb in contemporary Tuvan speech while more archaic literary Tuvan considered it a moveable clitic in the verb phrase.

Irgi can follow either a nominal or verbal predicate. If it occurs following a verb, the verb form is always of the ‘participle’ type – /-GAn/, /-BAs/, /-Ar/ – that takes an enclitic (Class-II) person marker (Bayyr-ool 2009:121). Neither in my corpus nor in any other source of written Tuvan have I encountered a single token of *irgi* following a finite verb with a Class-I person suffix *-di-m*, *-di-ŋ*, *-di-ŋar* etc. (For the difference between Class-I and Class-II inflectional markers, see Anderson & Harrison 1999:39; Harrison 2000:35.) This supports the analysis that *irgi* has come to be analyzed by speakers as a suffix on the verb rather than a

separate word. Nonetheless, Tuvan consultants again affirm that sentences in which *irgi* follows a Class-I finite verb form are fully grammatical:

- (174) Kažan kel-di-ŋer irgi?
when come-PST.II-2p POL
'When did you (pl.) come?'

The variance between corpus findings and consultants' intuition on the syntactic position and morpheme type of *irgi* (verbal suffix or verb phrase enclitic) therefore requires more research.

How exactly is it that using *irgi* generates politeness? Ragagnin (2011:182), writing on this particle (spelled by her as *eryə*) in the Dukhan dialect of Tuvan spoken in Mongolia, says that it "conveys rhetorical and skeptical nuances of the question which can be paraphrased as 'I wonder if...', rendering thus the question more polite". In effect, *irgi* communicates to H that S is not demanding a response, but leaving it open to H whether to answer or not answer. This is why *irgi*'s primary function is to mark rhetorical questions – it signals that no answer is expected. But parasitic politeness borrows this softening function of *irgi* and transposes it into genuine questions where S really would like to get an answer from H. Putting this in the B&L framework, we can say that this linguistic decision too stems from the desire of S to not coerce H's will, and situates *irgi* as yet one more negative politeness device. According to their mutual knowledge, both S and H are aware that S really would like an answer but is speaking as though the question were rhetorical so as to 'make a bow' to H's negative face. However, as Bayyr-ool (2009:6) points out, using *irgi* also indicates that H has an equal or higher status than S. We therefore have in *irgi* a particle that at once accesses both negative politeness (individual face-based) and deferential politeness (group face-based).

Monguš (1998) and Bayyr-ool (2009) likewise note that *irgi* questions asking about the actions of the addressee are often politely framed as though s/he were a 3rd person subject. Thus,

in the following conversational turn, A is asking about the actions of B, a cattle-herder, in B's presence:

(175) A : Malčīn kaynaar čora-an irgi?
herder where.ALL go-PST.I POL
'Where did the cattle-herder go?'

B: Dištan-īp čor-du-m
rest-CV go-PST.II-1s
'I went for a rest' (Bayyr-ool 2009:120)

This is yet one more conventionalized distancing strategy, according to which the addressee is treated merely as a bystander, without necessarily being responsible for responding to the question. In the above example, B obviously understands that the question is addressed to him, since he responds to it. Replacing 2nd person with 3rd person is also seen in various other languages as an honorific device, e.g., *May the king live forever!* when addressing the king himself. B&L (1987:203) call this type of device "you-avoidance". Nevertheless, such person-skewing is not obligatory with *irgi*, since we also find *irgi* questions in which the 2nd person subject (always 2pl in my corpus) is used explicitly:

(176) Kayī čer čurttug irgi siler?
which place resident POL 2p
'Where do you live?' (Tanaa-Xerel)

4.4.4 Īḡar/aḡar and moonḡar

The somewhat archaic particle *īḡar* (with a dialectal variant *aḡar*)⁶³ also occurs at or near the rightmost edge of an utterance, even to the right of illocutionary force particles such as *be* 'QU' (contrast the position of *irgi*, which precedes the question particle *be*). The function of *īḡar* is given by Tenišev (1968:598) as follows: "highlights speech as official in tone; also adds an ironic nuance of affected politeness". Isxakov & Pal'mbax (1961:433) call *īḡar~aḡar* a

⁶³ The initial *ī~* a variation is also witnessed dialectally in other words (such as *īndig~andig* 'such'). Tenišev (1968) confirms that *aḡar* as a variant of *īḡar*. In my corpus, *aḡar* (57 times) has a higher frequency than *īḡar* (10 times).

politeness particle. Some sample sentences provided by Tenišev to illustrate this particle's usage are:

(177) eki be iñar
 good QU POL
 'Greetings!' (lit. 'Is it good?')

(178) nom-um-nu kanča-p-kan-iñar ol iñar?
 book-1s-ACC do.what-PFV-PST.I-2p DISC POL
 'What did you do with my book?'

The particle is likely historically derived from the distal demonstrative *ol/o/i* with the 2nd person plural possessive suffix *-iñar*, so its etymological meaning could be translated as “that one of yours (pl.)”, although the physical deictic meaning component is no longer present in this particle in contemporary Tuvan. The politeness implicature (deferential-based) appears to be triggered by the use of the 2pl (V) form, which, as we saw in section 3.2, serves as a pronominal honorific. A somewhat close lexical equivalent in contemporary English would probably be the archaic word *prithie*, which also has connotations of formality and over-the-top affected politeness.

We see from the above examples that the particle can be the only piece in the utterance that marks deferential address to H, as in (176). Alternatively, it can co-occur with other deferential forms, like the 2p marker on the past participle *kančapkan*ī*ñar* in (177) to strengthen their politeness implicature.

This particle can occur in interrogatives, as in the examples above (177, 178), declaratives (179, 180), or directives (181), including those with the probably intensifying particle *-(A)m* (182, 183).

(179) men daarta siler-ge čed-ip kel-iyn, darga. šin-dir iñar
 1s tomorrow 2p-DAT arrive-CV AUX-PRP chief true-COP POL
 'Let me come to you tomorrow, chief. That's the truth' (Döngür-ool)

- (180) Aksï-bosk-um=daa kurga-p kat-kan kiži-dir men añar
 mouth-throat-1s=FOC dry-CV AUX-PST.I person-COP 1s POL
 ‘My mouth and throat are parched’ (Aņgïr-ool)
- (181) dïņna-p kôr-üņer añar
 hear-CV AUX-2p POL
 ‘Please listen’ (Aņgïr-ool)
- (182) àdir iñar=am, meeņ uruu-m-nu xarïn alïr siler iyin, baškï
 hold.on POL=INT 1s.GEN daughter-1s-ACC really take 2p SFT teacher
 ‘Hold on, teacher, you (pl.) will definitely have my daughter.’ (Döņgür-ool)
- (183) adïr=am añar
 hold.on=INT POL
 ‘Hold on, please’ (Aņgïr-ool 2)

The original function of *iñar* seems to have been sincere overpoliteness, a very high level of formal politeness that is not interpreted by either S or H as inappropriate to the context (the genuine function of overpoliteness is likewise pointed out by Haugh 2006:301 and Culpeper 2011:101). Although this straightforward ultradeferential use of *iñar* is primarily found in Tuvan texts prior to the late 20th century (e.g., examples 179-183 above), it can still be found in some more recent texts. The following example is taken from the children’s novel *Tanaa-Xerel* (written in the early 2000s), in which S is sincerely addressing H with heightened deference:

- (184) Bagay kadarčï meni örše-ep kôr-üņer ... At-sïv-iñar-nï
 lowly shepherd 1s.ACC show.mercy-CV AUX-2p.IMV name-2p-ACC
- dïņna-aš, kayga-ar-ïm at-tïg bol-du iñar
 hear-CV be.amazed-P/F-1s name-ADJ was-PST.II POL
- ‘Please forgive me, a lowly shepherd ... When I heard your name, it was a name that amazed me.’

However, in most recent texts *iñar/añar* generally signals “mock politeness”: the use of polite forms goes beyond what is appropriate to the conversational context in which they occur, leading to the implicature that the speaker is not serious about trying to be formally polite

(Culpeper 2011:103). In the following extended example from a novel (*İržim buluŋ*), a young woman, Dolaana, has just brought her boyfriend Eres home to meet her mother and knows that he is very nervous. When her mother steps out for a minute, Dolaana decides to lighten Eres’s mood by jokingly imitating the formal interview that he dreads with her mom:

(185) Ava-zī ün-e beer-ge, Dolaana ün-ü-n öskert-ip al-gaş,
 mother-3 go.out-CV AUX-DAT D. voice-3-ACC change-CV SBEN-CV

baštaktan-gıla-an: “Mında čüge kel-di-ŋer iŋar?”
 joke-ITER-PST.I here why come-PST.II-2pPOL

Čüve-niŋ užur-u-n bil-ip ka-aš, Eres xülümzüre-en:
 thing-GEN essence-3-ACC know-CV AUX-CV E. smile-PST.I

“Mında tanıž-ım kīs čurtta-p tur-ar čüve iyin”
 here acquaintance-1s girl live-CV AUX-P/F AUXN SFT

‘When her mother went out, Dolaana changed her voice and began joking: “Why have you (pl.) come here *iŋar*?” Realizing what was going on, Eres smiled: “A girl I know lives here.”’

Dolaana’s change of voice, her switch to a distant V form (*keldiŋer*) in addressing her boyfriend, with whom she otherwise always uses reciprocal T forms, and the use of the particle *iŋar* all signal to Eres that Dolaana is play-acting the role of her mother or another family member.

Dolaana (D) continues to “lay it on thick” to Eres (E), stacking a large number of politeness devices together in her following speech turns as she fully exploits the strategy of overpoliteness for its comic effects. The politeness devices she employs are underlined:

(186) D: Tanıž-iŋar kīs-tiŋ ad-i kīmīl deerzin
 acquaintance-2p girl-GEN name-3 who CMPL.ACC

silerler-niŋ buyannīg setkil-iŋer-niŋ čöpšeerel-i-n yozugaar
 2.RP-GEN kind soul-2p-GEN permission-3-ACC according.to

dīŋna-p a-p bol-ur irgi men be?
 hear-CV AUX-CV can-P/F POL 1s QU

‘May I, with the permission of your (RP) kind soul, hear what is the name of the girl that you know?’

E: Dolaana deer čüve iyin.
D. say-P/F AUXN SFT
'Her name is Dolaana.'

D: Meni buruudat-payn kör-üñer, siler-niñ čaagay setkil-iñer-ni bičii
1s.ACC blame-NG.CV AUX-2p 2p-GEN good soul-2p-ACC a.little

xomudad-ir apaar-ım-ni baš udur medegle-p tur men, iñar.
offend-P/F must.P/F-1s-ACC in advance announce-CV AUX 1s POL

indig attig kis düün čaa ašak-ka bar-ıp al-gaš, bo xooray-dan
such named girl yesterday new man-DAT go-CV SBEN-CV this city-ABL

coru-y bar-gan.
leave-CV go-PST.I

'Please forgive me, I am telling you ahead of time that I have to offend your (pl.) good soul a bit. A girl with that name just got married and left town yesterday.'

In her first turn in this example, Dolaana again uses the deferential V form (*tanižiñar*) to Eres but goes even further over the top by then addressing him with the repluralized (V₂) pronoun *silerler*, only appropriate in contexts of institutional formality (see section 3.2.1.1). She employs positive politeness in complimenting him as having a *buyannig setkil* 'kind soul', and then employs three more negative politeness devices – 1) the ability auxiliary *bolur* 'can/ may', to ask Eres's permission to pose her question; 2) the explicit lexicalized reference to getting his permission in the circumlocution *čöpšeerelin yozugaar*, 3) the particle *irgi*, to soften the question as though it is rhetorical and does not demand an answer (see 4.4.3). Eres responds very briefly with the requested information, framed by the polite softener *iyin*.

In her second turn, Dolaana continues to address Eres with a V form. She first apologizes (*meni buruudatpayn körüñer*) for the face-threatening act that she is about to perform by bearing bad news. The apology is dragged out by polite circumlocutions that keep on delaying the actual FTA. These include another compliment, *čaagay setkiliñer* 'your good soul'; the scalar hedge *bičii* 'a bit' in *bičii xomudadir* 'offend a bit'; the hedging verb *apaarımni*

‘I have to’ which indicates that circumstances are forcing her to be a bearer of bad news; and the explicit pre-emptive warning *baš udur medeglep tur men* ‘I am telling you ahead of time’, which likewise signals that material with a potentially disconcerting content is about to come and that the speaker is trying to politely prepare the hearer for the bad news. This profusion of polite forms is rounded off with a repetition of the deferential particle *iñar* for good measure.

Several consultants confirm that the particle *iñar~añar* is archaic-sounding and is not part of the active lexicon of younger generations of Tuvan speakers. However, there is a related word *moonjar* – consisting of *bo* ‘proximal demonstrative’ + *-jar* ‘2pl’ – which carries a similar affected politeness function in the Tuvan language, including the variety spoken by the younger generations. The following sentence was provided by Aldınay Ondar (early 30s) as an example of how she might jokingly compliment her niece when the little girl draws a beautiful picture or says something intelligent to her mom or grandma:

(187) šoru čüve evespe moonjar
 laudable thing isn’t.it PDEM.2p
 ‘Isn’t it nice, that thing of yours (2pl)’

Whereas *iñar* is a sentence-final particle disassociated from any referential function, *moonjar* is still felt by some speakers to possess its original function as a demonstrative. In the sentence above, it could actually be taken to be the subject of the sentence that has been postposed to follow the predicate. However, based on the frequency of such postposed uses of *moonjar*, this word seems to be well on its way to developing as an affected politeness particle on par with *iñar*.⁶⁴ In my corpus, there are 67 tokens of *iñar/añar*; in comparison, there are 32 post-predicate tokens of *moonjar* (with a 33rd token that is pre-predicate and not functioning as a politeness device).

⁶⁴ The 2sg (non-honorific) version of this possessed demonstrative word, *moŋ* ‘this thing of yours (2s)’, is also frequently found in postposed position at the right edge of Tuvan sentences, but does not serve a politeness or affected politeness function.

In the example given by Aldınay Ondar above, her usage of *moonar* in this context is obviously affected, a form of teasing (“I compliment you as though you were someone who receives the honorific V form of address from me”), since she does not use the V form to address her young niece regularly. Ms. Ondar followed up by saying that in her family, teasing each other verbally like this is usually acceptable as a demonstration of tender feelings: “*Čassıdarım ol-dur iyin*” ‘It shows affection’. Outside of this close-knit context of solidarity, however, Ms. Ondar admits that “this would be a very arrogant thing for me to say to someone.”

4.4.5 *Šive/šüve/šijme/šüjme*

These four particles also occur at the right edge of sentences, and seem to be etymologically derived from the hypothesized verbs /ši-/ , /šü-/ , /šij-/ , /šüj-/ ending with the negative imperative form /-BE/. No such verbs exist elsewhere in the lexicon of contemporary Tuvan, indicating that they dropped out of use after crystallizing as these particles. Alternatively, since the particles do not seem to differ at all in meaning, these may be different vowel harmony-based allomorphs of only two verbs /šI-/ and /šIŋ-/ , or conceivably even historically derived from a single verb /šI(ŋ)-/ in two forms, one with a velar nasal, the other without. Only three of these particles were found in my corpus – *šive* (27 tokens), *šüve* (18 tokens) and *šijme* (5 tokens), but according to interview respondent Sıldis Kalbak-kıs, the form *šüjme* is also used by Tuvans in the town of Sarıg-sep and possibly elsewhere in Tuva. It is possible that the four forms are dialectal variants.

The Tuvan-Russian dictionary gives the translation equivalent of *šüve* and *šijme* as *ladno* ‘alright’, a word used in Russian tag questions, with the following example:

- (188) bo nom-nu nomču šüve
 PDEM book-ACC read.IMV alright
 ‘Read this book, alright?’ (adapted from Tenišev 1968:583)

However, *šüve* is not a question particle, since it occurs usually in directives and occasionally in declaratives. Rather, the above sentence is a directive (the verb’s mood is clearly imperative) with a mitigated force, leading the dictionary to suggest a tag question as a Russian equivalent that also softens directive force. In their discussion of Tamil illocutionary force weakeners, B&L (1987:160) also talk about certain sentence-final particles as though they marked tag questions, even though B&L explicitly acknowledge that this descriptive label may not fit as well for Tamil as it does for English. For the sake of not proliferating too many morphemes with the identical gloss of POL (polite), I will gloss these softening particles as MIT (mitigation) below.

In spoken Tuvan, one frequently hears a particle from the *šüve* group when a passenger is making a request for the bus to stop. For example:

- (189) Vokzalda bar šüve
 terminal-LOC EXS MIT
 ‘Please stop at the bus terminal (lit. There is (a stop requested) at the terminal)’
 (spoken by passenger to driver on bus in Ak-Dovurak)

Saying *Vokzalda bar* without the extra particle *šüve* is perfectly grammatical, and many passengers do ask for the bus to stop using this shorter form (see Valeria Kulundary’s comments on this in ch.2). However, interview respondents say that it is “softer” (negative politeness) to make such a request with the particle following the directive. David Harrison (p.c.) said that while living in Tuva, he often heard this particle used by mothers addressing their children. The following examples of the *šüve* particles in directives are provided from Tuvan literature, softening the force of imperatives (190a,b), propositives (191), and jussives (192):

- (190) a. sen ulus-ka sögle-ve šüve
 2s people-DAT say-NG MIT
 ‘Please don’t tell people (about this)’ (Angir-ool 1)

b. čügŕe eki čemnen-ip tur šüve
 only well eat-CV AUX.IMV MIT
 ‘Just please eat well’ (Arzilaj)

(191) baštaj seeŋ bažiŋ-iŋ kör-e ka-apt-al šiŋme
 first 2s.GEN house-2s see-CV AUX-PFV-PRP MIT
 ‘First let’s see your house’ (Nogaan ortuluk)

(192) bo öör-üŋ tur-up kel-zin šüve
 PDEM friends-2s stand-CV AUX-JUS MIT
 ‘Let these friends of yours get up’ (Tanaa-Xerel)

It should be noted that V (2pl) forms of the directive never occur with these particles in my corpus. This may indicate that these particles occur primarily or solely when the speaker is socially equal to (S↔H) or higher than the hearer (S↓H). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the negative imperative form of the particles has crystallized as singular (T) in form, not plural (V) as would be expected if H were higher than S.

More rarely, the particle occurs in a declarative statement. The force of the particle in such a context was harder for native speakers to explain. My present hypothesis is that it functions similarly to *iyin* (4.4.2) in mitigating the categorical force of a strong assertion.

(193) öglen-ip al-gaš, aalda-p keer-iŋer-ge, beer men šive
 marry-CV SBEN-CV be.guest-CV come-2p-DAT give.P/F 1s MIT
 ‘When you get married and come for a visit, I will give (it to you)’ (Angir-ool 1)

The *šive* group of particles never co-occurs with any other politeness particles, such as *iyin* or *-(A)m*, in my corpus. One consultant (Nikolay Kuular) commented that this would be “going overboard” with politeness. However, he did provide a felicitous sentence in which *šive* co-occurs with the polite auxiliary *kör*.

(194) sen mĩnča-p kör šive
 2s do.thus-CV AUX.IMV MIT
 ‘Please do this’

4.4.6 Čügġe

This hedge word is a delimiter that can usually be translated ‘only, just’. Unlike the other morphemes examined in this section, this word is an adverb rather than a particle (it precedes the element it modifies rather than following it, unlike the other politeness devices looked at in 4.4); however, it appears to be derived from *čüg* ‘feather (??)’ followed by the emphatic particle –LA, which is why it is included in this section. This word can modify either the entire proposition or a specific component of the proposition. Its contribution to politeness in making requests is that it frames the request as though the imposition on H is minimal (cf. B&L’s fourth strategy for negative politeness, 1987:176-178).

(195) čügġe čaŋġis dile-em bar, čugaala-p bol-ur men be?
just one request-1s EXS speak-CV can-P/F 1s QU
‘I have just one request, may I speak?’ (Sübedey)

(196) čügġe bičii mana-p kör-üŋer!
just little wait-CV AUX-2p.IMV
‘Please wait just a little/Please just wait a little’ (Nogaan ortuluk)

In this subsection on particles, I have listed only some of the more prominent function words and morphemes that are frequently used to generate politeness implicatures in Tuvan. There are several more particles – such as *daan/-den* (e.g., *dijna daan / körüŋerden*) and *če/čee* (e.g., *bariŋar če/ kančaar irgi čee?*) – that could and should be examined in the future to give a fuller picture of the intricacies with which Tuvans verbally manage face wants, face threats, and social indexing in their language.

My examination of various Tuvan politeness devices in this chapter has shown that the etic concept of individual face (both negative and positive) is just as relevant to Tuvan conversation as is that of group face. In speaking politely to each other, Tuvans find it important to linguistically encode their respect for each other’s autonomy, and this encoding is reflected by politeness devices in diverse parts of the morphosyntax. Although group face concerns may

sometimes make it acceptable for a Speaker not to mitigate threats to a Hearer's individual face (such as when S has significantly more social power than H), in general it is a very good idea for S to do so if s/he wants to avoid giving possible offense and to maintain harmonious relations with H.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of findings

It should be clear to the reader who has made it this far that my findings on Tuvan linguistic devices expressing politeness are by no means either exhaustive or the final word on the matter. Rather, I have merely made an initial systematic foray into some of the more common items of the lexicon, morphology and syntax that are used by Tuvans to manage the politeness level in conversation. However, there is considerable value in examining this wide array of linguistic devices in a single work: Tuvan politeness is treated as a discrete, pragmatically governed linguistic subsystem that uses diverse grammatical resources to accomplish a Speaker's relationship management goals. The various formally unrelated linguistic devices are like "iceberg tips" that have been shown to actually be unified by a single communicative goal under the surface of the water.

The following summary table lays out (in English alphabetical order) the Tuvan politeness devices discussed in the dissertation; their formal type and politeness type; what, if anything, they are parasitic on; an example; and which section they are discussed in. As far as linguistic parasitism is concerned, it was pointed out several times in chapter 4 that a specific verbal device used to generate a politeness implicature is in fact making use of a linguistic item whose more basic function is something other than politeness. This is the "parasitic" approach to generating politeness, and appears to be fairly widespread in Tuvan. For example, we saw in section 4.4.3 that the particle *irgi* in the first place signals that a question is rhetorical and not

meant to be necessarily answered, but it is also parasitically used by speakers in non-rhetorical questions in order to politely lessen the addressee's perception of being imposed on by the question. In the "Parasitic on" column, I suggest that many of the other Tuvan politeness devices discussed in this dissertation also have a parasitic relationship to various parts of the Tuvan grammar. This composite table (after necessary simplifications for use by laypeople) may be useful as a pedagogical tool for directing the study of politeness by learners of Tuvan as a foreign language. It will also let native speakers see at a single glance how rich their language is in terms of politeness.

Table 5.1 Overview of Tuvan politeness devices discussed in dissertation

Device	Formal type	Parasitic on	Politeness type	Example	Section
<i>Aldin söster</i> 'golden words'	formulaic expression	–	Social norm observance	<i>bayırlig</i> 'goodbye'	2.5
<i>Algiš</i> 'blessing'	–	–	Positive, social norm observance	<i>oruk čaagay bolzun</i> 'may (your) road be pleasant'	2.5
<i>-(A)m</i>	particle/clitic	–	Negative	<i>mejee ol nomnu körgüzem</i> 'Please show me that book'	4.4.1
<i>ber</i>	auxiliary verb	benefactive voice	Positive	<i>mejee adij čugaalap ber</i> '(Please) tell me your name'	4.3.4
<i>bolar</i>	deferential pronoun	plurality	Deferential	<i>bolar ilap-la šin čugaalay-dir</i> 'This person is speaking the truth'	3.2
<i>bolarlar</i>	V ₂ pronoun	plurality	Deferential	<i>bolarlarniň toolun diňnaar bis</i> 'we will hear his story'	3.2.1
<i>bolur</i>	auxiliary verb	capabilitative modality	Negative	<i>ol nomnu körgüzüp bolur sen be?</i> 'Can you show me that book?'	4.3.2
<i>bolza ... eki</i>	indirect syntactic construction	conditional mood	Negative, positive	<i>ižer bolzuŋza, eki-dir</i> 'It (would be) good if you had a drink'	4.2.2
<i>čügle</i>	delimiting adverb	adverbial modification	Negative	<i>čügle bičii manap körüñer</i> 'Please wait just a little'	4.4.6
Fictive kin terms	address term	genuine kinship address	Deferential, solidarity, social norm observance	<i>akij</i> 'older brother'	3.3.2.1
<i>iñar/añar/moňar</i>	particle	deferential pronouns	Deferential overpoliteness	<i>adiram añar</i> 'Hold on, please'	4.4.4
<i>irgi</i>	particle	rhetorical questions	Negative	<i>Kažan kelir irgi?</i> 'When will s/he come?'	4.4.3
<i>iñin</i>	particle	epistemic modality	Negative	<i>Ol sejee inak iñin</i> 'S/he loves you'	4.4.2
Kin terms	address/reference terms	–	Deferential, solidarity, social norm observance	<i>ačay</i> 'Dad'	3.3.2

Table 5.1 - *Continued*

Device	Formal type	Parasitic on	Politeness type	Example	Section
<i>kör</i>	auxiliary verb	attemptive modality	Negative	<i>biske čugaalap kör</i> ‘Please tell us’	4.3.3
Name avoidance	avoidance behavior	–	Social norm observance	<i>uruglarim avazi</i> ‘my children’s mother’	3.3.2
Non-kin terms	address/reference terms	–	Deferential	<i>baški</i> ‘teacher’	3.3.1
<i>olarlar</i>	V ₂ pronoun	plurality	Deferential	<i>olarlarniž adin bezin adaari xoruglug turgan</i> ‘It was forbidden to even mention his name’	3.2.1
Question- instead-of- command	indirect syntactic construction	interrogative mood	Negative	<i>Bo aškani damčidiptar siler be?</i> ‘Would you pass this money up, please?’	4.2.1; 2.7
<i>siler</i>	V pronoun	plurality	Deferential	<i>kažan kelgen siler?</i> ‘When did you (pl.) come?’	3.2
<i>silerler</i>	V ₂ pronoun	plurality	Deferential, institutional formality	<i>silerlerni čalap keldim</i> ‘I’ve come to invite you (repl.)’	3.2.1
<i>šive/šüve/ šünme/šünme</i>	particle	?	Negative (?)	<i>Vokzalda bar šüve</i> ‘Please stop at the bus terminal’	4.4.5
1st sg <i>-m</i>	suffix	–	Positive (solidarity), personal involvement	<i>it/ idim</i> ‘dog/my dog’ <i>čettirgen/čettirdim</i> ‘thanks/ I thank you’	3.3.1; 3.3.2; 2.5

Looking beyond the language-specific description of Tuvan politeness devices that I have presented, this dissertation also makes a contribution to the broader field of Turkic studies. As mentioned in the introduction, my hope is that this Tuvan material will be useful to other Turkic scholars who want to compare and contrast politeness strategies across the Turkic languages following the lead of Tenišev (2001). Tenišev made one of the first attempts to systematically examine politeness expressions for a single speech act – thanking – across the spectrum of Turkic languages. Among other findings, he showed that Turkic thanking formulas could be distinguished based on a universal/situational distinction. Although I did not delve deeply into the pragmatics of Tuvan thanksgiving here, my analysis of the greeting and leave-taking formulas in ch. 2 made a distinction similar to Tenišev’s between expressions that can be uttered in most situational contexts and those that depend on a specific context to be felicitous. Although the number of Turkic languages in which politeness has been systematically analyzed is not yet great, it is steadily growing. Bashkir, Kazakh, Sakha/Yakut, Tatar, and Turkish have now been joined by Tuvan, and the invitation is extended to other Turkic scholars to add research in their language to this list.

What does my analysis of the Tuvan data have to offer scholars who are interested in theorizing about linguistic (im)politeness in general? First of all, my dissertation demonstrates that real-language descriptive politeness research can profitably make use of widely divergent theoretical models simultaneously. It is counterproductive to throw out the classical, utterance-based models of politeness and focus only on the latest insights produced by discursive approaches; it is better to take each approach for what it’s worth, recognizing both its advantages and its disadvantages, and profit from how each can help the researcher to better understand a given language’s politeness phenomena. In this, I side with Terkourafi (2005) and Grainger (2011), who believe that the various theories are complementary, as mentioned in the

introduction. My presentation of the material demonstrates that both native-speaker emic (politeness₁) and researcher-centered etic (politeness₂) categories need to be taken into account in order to give a fair sketch of politeness in Tuvan. It is not sufficient to look at only expressions that are consciously recognized by speakers as being polite, such as the Tuvan emic categories of ‘golden words’ or ‘soft words’; as we have seen, there are many other politeness devices in Tuvan that may be below the level of consciousness for many speakers, e.g., the benefactive auxiliary verb *ber-* and particles such as *iyin* that are parasitic on other functions of the grammar in producing a conventional politeness implicature. Etic categories used by linguists, such as ‘force mitigators’ and ‘negative politeness devices’, are also crucial for better understanding certain devices and thereby producing a full picture of the system of politeness in a language. But employing etic categories without accessing an emic, native-speaker point of view on politeness would produce a lopsided (and somewhat tedious) portrait. Knowing the value-laden, prescriptive, and sometimes conflicting judgments of Tuvan speakers themselves on politeness in their mother tongue adds an entire dimension to politeness research that cannot be accessed merely by applying the standard data gathering procedures typically used in linguistic analysis. Politeness researchers would therefore do well to have both emic and etic politeness categories included in their research agendas.

Secondly, the approach I have taken to structuring my description of Tuvan politeness devices has consciously framed both group face concerns and individual face concerns as being very relevant to the overall Tuvan system of politeness. Tuvan has strong elements both of deferential politeness based on social indexing and of politeness based on the speaker’s desire to not impose on the hearer. I have shown that even within a single grammatical category, such as the potpourri Tuvan category of particles, some elements (e.g., *irgi*, *iyin*) soften the imposition of an utterance on the hearer and therefore access individual face, while others (*iŋar*, *moonar*)

elevate the hearer's social status and therefore have to do with group face concerns. If placed on the theoretical scale that ranks a language for the weightiness of group face concerns and individual face concerns (see Figure 1.3 in the introductory chapter), Tuvan would probably be fairly close to the center, not because Tuvan politeness devices are wishy-washy in this respect, but rather because the individual face-based devices are very strong on one side of the spectrum while the group face-based ones are equally strong on the other, balancing out the scale right in the middle. Becoming a truly tactful speaker of Tuvan means learning how to perform this balancing act without disregarding either the social norms of the group or the personal desires of the individual.

5.2 Suggestions for future research

As is probably the case with any broad field of study, the list of what still needs to be researched about Tuvan politeness is longer than the list of what has already been examined. For starters, the list of potential topics for future research in this vein includes:

- The prosody of politeness in Tuvan. Many questionnaire and interview respondents, as well as consultants, repeatedly pointed out that the same sentences can have diametrically opposed pragmatics if said with different intonational patterns. Almost no work has yet been done on Tuvan intonation, so this is a ripe field for enquiry.

- Tuvan kinetic signals of politeness and impoliteness. Although these are technically not verbal, they are still part of the communicative system of meaningful signs that constitute human language, and are highly relevant to (im)politeness. For instance, in some cultures, looking straight into a person's eyes when speaking with them constitutes a face threat in many situations and is therefore impolite. This kinetic signal would definitely affect the interpretation of any words that were spoken during a conversation, as a sort of suprasegmental tier of meaning. Also, certain gestures tend to collocate with certain expressions; for example, the

Tuvan formula *amirgïn-na be?* ‘Is everything peaceful?’ is often spoken as a greeting during the Shagaa festival (Lunar New Year), and this is accompanied by a greeting gesture in which the interlocutors touch hands, with the older person’s palms on top (facing down) and the younger’s palms on bottom (facing up).

- Politeness in other Tuvan speech acts, such as thanking, apologizing, complementing, disagreeing, etc. Work was begun on some of these in my politeness questionnaires, but was laid aside for the time being.

- A detailed examination of Tuvan impoliteness. Frameworks exist for classifying categories of impolite speech, such as the one found in Culpeper (2011), but have up to now been applied primarily to the English language. Are they also applicable to languages in a significantly different cultural environment such as that of Tuva?

- Vocabulary replacement appears to function in Tuvan, as in many other languages, as a means of being polite to addressees, referents or bystanders. For example, to show respect to someone who has died and their family, one could say the softer verb *möčüür* ‘pass away’ or the euphemistic *čok apaar* ‘lit. become not’ instead of *ölür* ‘die’, similar to the euphemistic use of ‘pass away’ instead of ‘die’ in English. Likewise, eating and drinking are referred to with the compound verb *aštanir-čemnenir* when being tactful, while the more literal compound verb *ižer-čiiir* is said by many Tuvans to be harsher sounding and less polite. Pinpointing the exact areas of the lexicon where such vocabulary replacement occurs for the sake of politeness would potentially open a new window on Tuvan social cognition, and would allow for comparison with the lexical areas in which other languages practice vocabulary replacement.

- How do the given name, family name, patronymic and various combinations of these address forms function pragmatically in Tuvan? Fedorova (2003:161-162) briefly discusses the corresponding Sakha/Yakut forms and combinations. In Tuvan, there seems to be some overlap

with the Russian patterns of name address, but also certain pragmatic differences which may be interesting to explore further, building on Harrison's (1999) and Suvandii's (2004) work on Tuvan naming practices.

- More in-depth work could and should be done on gender, age and dialectal differences in Tuvan politeness behavior. I have briefly touched upon each of these areas in the dissertation, but this is only the tip of the iceberg for each factor.

- There are likewise more particles that generate politeness in Tuvan than the ones dealt with in this dissertation, as noted at the end of chapter 4.

- Looking at politeness beyond the utterance level in Tuvan would also be a very promising area of research. The techniques of conversational analysis could fruitfully explore (im)politeness in turn-taking, conversational repair, and positioning of self and others in dialogue. The main hindrance to such research remains the lack of a corpus of spoken Tuvan. Hopefully, such a component will with time be added to the Tuvan National Corpus that is currently under construction (see Bayyr-ool & Voinov 2012).

The list could probably go on for several more pages. The surface of Tuvan linguistic politeness has been scratched; the next step is to expand the investigation and begin probing both more deeply and more broadly. Such research is sure to give language scholars a better insight into the sociocognitive and worldview structures reflected by the Tuvan politeness devices discussed in the present work.

APPENDIX A
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DISSERTATIONS
ON THE TUVAN LANGUAGE
WRITTEN IN RUSSIAN

Listed in this appendix are the Russian-language dissertations partially or completely devoted to the Tuvan language that were written during the past half-century, beginning with the early 1960s. To the best of my knowledge, this is a fairly full listing of Russian dissertations focusing on the Tuvan language since that time, although it is quite possible that there are extant dissertations that I failed to find and include in this list. The subject areas include Tuvan phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax, lexical semantics, dialectology, anthropological linguistics and historical/comparative linguistics. Dissertations devoted to Tuvan literature were not included in this list unless they seemed promising from the vantage point of linguistic research (such as Čamzyryn 2004 on ethnopoetic features of Tuvan children's prose). Many of these dissertations, especially those written since the mid-1990s, are available as a computer file and can be downloaded for a fee from the website <http://www.dissercat.com>. In some cases, I was not able to recover parts of the bibliographic data, such as the specific research institution at which the dissertation was defended, because the Russian system of references frequently does not require this information to be included in bibliographies and I was not able to get a hold of a physical copy of the dissertation in question. Since the Russian higher education system distinguishes between a Candidate of Science dissertation and a Doctor of Science dissertation, the specific dissertation category is indicated for each entry. If the dissertation was subsequently published, this information is included as well.

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APPENDIX B
STAGE 1 QUESTIONNAIRE

[ORIGINAL RUSSIAN VERSION]

Вопросник о вежливости в тувинском языке
(Ответы можно писать либо по-тувински либо по-русски)

1) По Вашему мнению, какие качества должны быть у человека, чтобы его назвать «эвилең-ээлдек»?

2) Есть ли какая-нибудь смысловая разница между составными частями слова «эвилең-ээлдек»? Т.е., если о ком-то сказать, что он или она «ээлдек чаңныг кижии», тоже ли это самое как сказать, что этот человек «эвилең чаңныг кижии»?

3) Какими еще тувинскими словами можно выразить понятие «вежливости» или «вежливого человека»?

4) Вы беседуете со знакомым ровесником. Если Вы хотите вежливо попросить этого человека показать Вам книгу, лежащую на столе, какими бы словами Вы это выразили? Оцените следующие предложения – наименее вежливое (1), более вежливое (2), еще более вежливое (3), самое вежливое (4).

- ___ Меңээ ол номну көргүзем
- ___ Меңээ ол номну көргүс
- ___ Меңээ ол номну көргүзүп көрөм
- ___ Меңээ ол номну көргүзүп көр

5) На другой день, Вы хотите попросить этого знакомого рассказать вам о чем-то, что недавно произошло. Вы можете ему сказать просто «Болган чүүл дугайында тоожу» но хотите быть более вежливым. Будет ли более вежливо добавить слово «бер» к Вашей просьбе, как в предложении «Болган чүүл дугайында тоожуп бер»? (Обведите Ваш ответ кругом)

а) ДА, ЭТО БОЛЕЕ ВЕЖЛИВО

б) НЕТ, ЭТО ТОЖЕ НЕ ОЧЕНЬ ВЕЖЛИВО

в) ЭТО БУДЕТ БОЛЕЕ ВЕЖЛИВО ТОЛЬКО ЕСЛИ _____

6) Оцените следующие предложения по их уровню вежливости – наименее вежливое (1), более вежливое (2), еще более вежливое (3), самое вежливое (4):

- ___ Биске чугаалап бер
- ___ Биске чугаала
- ___ Биске чугаалап берип көр
- ___ Биске чугаалап көр

7) Вы когда-нибудь слышали, как кто-либо употребил слово «четтирген» чтобы выразить свою благодарность другому человеку? (Обведите Ваш ответ кругом)

ДА НЕТ

Если да, то какие люди употребляют это слово?

МОЛОДЫЕ ПОЖИЛЫЕ И МОЛОДЫЕ И ПОЖИЛЫЕ

8) А Вы лично употребляете слово «четтирген» чтобы выразить свою благодарность другим людям? (Обведите Ваш ответ кругом)

ДА НЕТ

Если да, то благодарите ли Вы следующих людей этим словом?

- своих родителей?	ДА	НЕТ
- своих бабушек и дедушек?	ДА	НЕТ
- своих братьев и сестер?	ДА	НЕТ
- своих друзей?	ДА	НЕТ
- своих учителей?	ДА	НЕТ
- продавцов в магазине?	ДА	НЕТ
- других незнакомых людей?	ДА	НЕТ
- детей?	ДА	НЕТ
- мужчин?	ДА	НЕТ
- женщин?	ДА	НЕТ

9) Оцените уровень вежливости каждого из следующих тувинских слов как ответ продавцу, который Вам что-то дал (1 – наименее вежливое, 5 – средней вежливости, 10 – наиболее вежливое):

Садыгжы: *Ма, ап алыңарам*

Харыыңар: <i>Четтирдим</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Четтирген</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Если для Вас есть разница в уровне вежливости между этими словами, то как Вы думаете, из за чего эта разница? (Ответ можно писать либо по-тувински либо по-русски)

10) Можно ли на тувинском языке вежливо выразить благодарность следующими словами?

(Обведите Ваши ответы кругом)

четтирген мен ДА НЕТ

четтирди ДА НЕТ

11) Кратко опишите ситуацию, в которой Вы сказали бы следующее другому человеку (Ответ можно писать либо по-тувински либо по-русски):

- а) буруулуг болдум
- б) өршээп көрөм
- в) буруудатпайн көрөм

12) Каким выражением Вы попросили бы прощение у человека в следующих случаях? (Обведите Ваши ответы кругом)

- Вы извиняетесь перед незнакомым ровесником, с которым Вы случайно слегка столкнулись на улице

- а) буруулуг болдум в) буруудатпайн көрөм
- б) өршээп көрөм г) Другим выражением: _____

- Вы извиняетесь перед своим начальником за то, что на пять минут опоздали на работу

- а) буруулуг болдум в) буруудатпайн көрүңерем
- б) өршээп көрүңерем г) Другим выражением: _____

- Вы извиняетесь перед своей мамой, за то что пообещали помыть ее машину но забыли

- а) буруулуг болдум в) буруудатпайн көрөм
- б) өршээп көрөм г) Другим выражением: _____

- Вы извиняетесь перед своим соседом на даче, за то что Ваша собака раскопала посаженную им картошку

- а) буруулуг болдум в) буруудатпайн көрүңерем
- б) өршээп көрүңерем г) Другим выражением: _____

- Вы извиняетесь перед двоюродным братом, что не смогли присутствовать на его дне рождения

- а) буруулуг болдум в) буруудатпайн көрөм
- б) өршээп көрөм г) Другим выражением: _____

Прочитайте следующие отрывки из книги «Буян-Бадырғы» М.Б. Кенин-Лопсана и ответьте на вопросы (ответы можно писать либо по-тувински либо по-русски).

13) Хемчик чону шаг-төөгүден чугаа-сооттуг, эптиг-эвилен болгаш кайгамчык хүндүлээчел. Хемчиктин Даа кожууннуң хүндүлүг нояны Буян-Бадырғы ырак черден келген орус кижилерни узун чугааның соонда дыштандыра бодаан.

— Даштын өгге хонуп алыңар. Ырак черден келген улус могаан боор силер. Силерлерге тускай өгнү болгаш аьш-чемни белеткеп каан. Даарта аьттаныңар - деп, гүң ноян Буян-Бадырғы чазык-чаагай чугаалаан.

Обратите внимание на местоимение «силерлерге». По Вашему мнению, почему Буян-Бадырғы здесь пользуется этим местоимением а не просто «силерге»?

- а) ПОНЯТИЯ НЕТ!
 - б) ПОТОМУ ЧТО
-
-

14) Чанар куштар, дуруяалар-даа болза, бир-ле баштыңныг болур. Ол баштыңы кайнаар углаар болдур, ынаар өске дуруяалар шууштур ушкулаарлар ... Кодан те, чунмалар болза, база-ла бир баштыңныг болур, ол баштыңының аайындан оларлар эртпес болур.

Обратите внимание на местоимение «оларлар». По Вашему мнению, почему автор здесь пользуется этим местоимением а не просто «олар»?

- а) ПОНЯТИЯ НЕТ!
 - б) ПОТОМУ ЧТО
-
-

15) Хемчик урнунга тываларның ырынга кирген Экендей азы Иннокентий Георгиевич Сафьянов дээрзин Минусинск хоорайның ажылчыннар, тараачыннар болгаш шериглерниң Соведи Таңды Тывазынче бир бөлүк баштадып чоруткан деп сураг база дыңналган Сафьяновту кызыл шериглер удеп чоруур, оларларның аразында Непомнящий база бар джир турган, Михаил Минаевич Терентьев деп кижиниң сураа база бар болган.

Обратите внимание на местоимение «оларларның». По Вашему мнению, почему автор здесь пользуется этим местоимением а не просто «оларның»?

- а) ПОНЯТИЯ НЕТ!
 - б) ПОТОМУ ЧТО
-
-

Личные данные

Возраст: 18-30 31-50 51-70 71-90

Пол: Мужской Женский

Где (в каком городе, поселке) Вы родились? _____

Где (в каком городе, поселке) Вы сейчас живете? _____

Высший уровень образования, который Вы достигли: _____

Кроме тувинского и русского, какими еще языками Вы владеете или изучали?

Родной язык матери: _____

Родной язык отца: _____

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION]

Questionnaire on politeness in the Tuvan language
(You can write your answer in either Tuvan or Russian)

- 1) In your opinion, what characteristics must a person possess to be called “*evileŋ-eeldek*”?
- 2) Is there any meaning difference between the two parts of the word “*evileŋ-eeldek*”? That is, if a person is said to have an “*eeldek* personality”, does this mean the same as saying that s/he has an “*evileŋ* personality”?
- 3) What other Tuvan words could be used to express the meaning of “politeness” or “a polite person”?
- 4) You are talking to an acquaintance who is about the same age as you. If you wanted to politely ask this person to show you a book that is lying on the table, which expression would you use? Evaluate the following sentences – least polite (1), more polite (2), even more polite (3), most polite (4).

- _____ *Meŋee ol nomnu körgüzem*
- _____ *Meŋee ol nomnu körgüs*
- _____ *Meŋee ol nomnu körgüzüp körem*
- _____ *Meŋee ol nomnu körgüzüp kör*

- 5) On another day, you want to ask this acquaintance to tell you about something that happened recently. You could say simply “*Bolgan cüül dugajynda toožu*” [Tell me what happened] but you would like to be more polite. Would it be more polite to add the word *ber* to your request, as in the sentence “*Bolgan cüül dugajynda toožup ber*”? (Circle your answer)

- a) Yes, this is more polite
- b) No, this too is not really polite
- c) This would be more polite only if _____

- 6) Evaluate the following sentences according to their level of politeness – least polite (1), more polite (2), even more polite (3), most polite (4).

- _____ *Biske čugaalap ber*
- _____ *Biske čugaalap berip kör*
- _____ *Biske čugaala*
- _____ *Biske čugaalap kör*

- 7) Have you ever heard anyone use the word *čettirgen* to express gratitude to people? (Circle your answer)

- a) YES b) NO

If yes, then what kinds of people usually use this word?

- a) YOUNG PEOPLE b) OLD PEOPLE c) BOTH YOUNG AND OLD PEOPLE

8) Do you yourself ever use the word *čettirgen* to express gratitude to people? (Circle your answer)

a) YES b) NO

If YES, then do you use it when talking to:

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----|----|
| - your parents? | YES | NO |
| - your grandparents? | YES | NO |
| - your siblings? | YES | NO |
| - your friends? | YES | NO |
| - your teachers? | YES | NO |
| - salespeople in stores? | YES | NO |
| - other strangers? | YES | NO |
| - children? | YES | NO |
| - men? | YES | NO |
| - women? | YES | NO |

9) Evaluate the level of politeness of each of the following Tuvan words as a response to a salesperson who just gave you something (1 – least polite, 5 – medium politeness, 10 – most polite):

Salesperson: *Ma, ap alyŋaram* [Here you go, take it]

Your response: <i>Čettirdim</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Čettirgen</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

If there is a difference in politeness between these two words for you, why do you think this is?

10) Can the following words be used to politely express gratitude in Tuvan? (Circle your answer)

<i>cettirgen men</i>	YES	NO
<i>cettirdi</i>	YES	NO

11) Briefly describe a hypothetical situation in which you might say the following to another person.

- a) *buruulug boldum*
- b) *öršeeep körem*
- c) *buruudatpayn körem:*

12) Which expression would you use to apologize to a person in the following circumstances? (Circle your answer) [*Another version of this questionnaire replaces these circumstances with more serious offenses, indicated here in square brackets*]

- You are apologizing to a stranger your age whom you accidentally lightly bumped into on the street [whose car you smashed into with your car]

i) *buruulug boldum* ii) *öršeeep körem*
 iii) *buruudatpayn körem* iv) Another expression _____

- You are apologizing to your boss for being five minutes [four hours] late to work

i) *buruulug boldum* ii) *öršeeep körem*
 iii) *buruudatpayn körem* iv) Another expression: _____

- You are apologizing to your mother for forgetting to wash her car [to take her to the hospital for an operation] even though you promised

i) *buruulug boldum* ii) *öršeeep körem*
 iii) *buruudatpayn körem* iv) Another expression: _____

- You are apologizing to your neighbor in the garden plot district because your dog dug up his potatoes [bit his child]

i) *buruulug boldum* ii) *öršeeep körem*
 iii) *buruudatpayn körem* iv) Another expression: _____

- You are apologizing to your cousin because you weren't able to attend his birthday party [his wife's funeral]

i) *buruulug boldum* ii) *öršeeep körem*
 iii) *buruudatpayn körem* iv) Another expression: _____

Read the following excerpts from the book *Buyan-Badyrgy* by M.B. Kenin-Lopsan and answer the following questions (you can respond in either Tuvan or Russian):

13) Хемчик чону шаг-төөгүден чугаа-сооттут, эптиг-эвилен болгаш кайгамчык хүндүлээчел. Хемчиктин Даа кожуннуң хүндүлүг нояны Буян-Бадырғы ырак черден келген орус кижилерни узун чугааның соонда дыштандырап бодаан.

— Даштын өгге хонуп алыңар. Ырак черден келген улус могаан боор силер. Силерлерге тускай өгнү болгаш аыш-чемни белеткеп каан. Даарта аъттаныңар - деп, гүң ноян Буян-Бадырғы чазык-чаагай чугаалаан.

Note the pronoun *silerlerge*. In your opinion, why did Buyan-Badyrgy use this pronoun instead of simply “*silerge*”?

- a) NO IDEA
 b) BECAUSE _____

14) Чанар куштар, дуруяалар-даа болза, бир-ле баштыңныг болур. Ол баштыңы кайнаар углаар болдур, ынаар өске дуруяалар шууштур ушкулаарлар ... Кодан те, чуңмалар болза, база-ла бир баштыңныг болур, ол баштыңының аайындан оларлар эртпес болур.

Note the pronoun *olarlar*. In your opinion, why did the author use this pronoun instead of simply “*olar*”?

- a) NO IDEA
- b) BECAUSE _____

15) Хемчик урнунга тываларның ырынга кирген Экендей азы Иннокентий Георгиевич Сафьянов дээрзин Минусинск хоорайның ажылчыннар, тараачыннар болгаш шериглерниң Соведи Танды Тывазынче бир бөлүк баштадып чоруткан деп сураг база дыңналган Сафьяновту кызыл шериглер удеп чоруур, оларларның аразында Непомнящий база бар джир турган, Михаил Минаевич Терентьев деп кижиниң сураа база бар болган.

Note the pronoun *olarlarnyŋ*. In your opinion, why did the author use this pronoun instead of simply “*olarnyŋ*”?

- a) NO IDEA
- b) BECAUSE _____

Personal data for each respondent

Age: 18-30 31-50 51-70 71-90

Sex: Male Female

Where (what town or village) were you born? _____

Where (what town or village) do you currently live? _____

Highest level of education attained: _____

Besides Tuvan and Russian, which other languages do you know or have studied?

Mother’s native language: _____

Father’s native language: _____

APPENDIX C
STAGE 2 QUESTIONNAIRE/INTERVIEW

[RUSSIAN/TUVAN ORIGINAL]

Пол: Возраст:
Место нынешнего проживания:

Место рождения:
Главный домашний язык:

Interview questions (oral)

- 1) Как фразы употребляют тувинцы чтобы:
 - а) приветствовать кого-то? На пр. Экии! ...
 - б) попрощаться с кем-то? На пр. Байырлыг! ...

- 2) Есть ли вежливые выражения, которые применяются в тувинской культуре, хотя нет параллельного выражения в русской культуре? На пр. по-русски говорится «С легким паром» когда кто-то выходит из душа, но такое не возможно сказать на английском языке.
Другой пример: когда кто-то чихает, по-русски говорят «Будь здоров». А по-английски – «Bless you» (Да благословит тебя Бог). Говорят ли что-нибудь тувинцы в таком случае?
Что бы Вы сказали чтобы проявить вежливость и в других ситуациях?

- 3) Есть тувинское выражение “улугну улуг кылдыр, бичиини бичии кылдыр хүндүлээр”, которое учит о том, как проявлять воспитанность, вежливость. Есть ли также другие поговорки или высказывания народной мудрости по этому поводу?

- 4) Вежливо ли обратиться к своей маме со словом “авакым” вместо “авай”? Можно ли также сказать “иеким” вместо “ием”? Вежливо ли обратиться к своему папе со словом “ачакым” вместо “ачай”? К старшему брату “акакым” вместо “акым”?

- 5) Как Вы считаете, в нынешнем тувинском обществе люди в основном вежливые друг другу?

- 6) Расскажите мне о случае, когда Вы чувствовали, что кто-то с Вами по-тувински говорил невежливо, или когда Вы сами с кем-то по-тувински говорили невежливо. Какие конкретные моменты в разговоре сделали его невежливым?

- 7) Как Вы думаете, влияет ли сегодня современная технология (на пр. сотовые телефоны) на вежливость в тувинской речи?

Questions administered by laptop/DMDX software

I. Айтырыгларның бирги бөлүүнге, силер янзы-бүрү кижилер-биле чугаалажырда, ажыглаар сөстү шилип алыр силер. 1-ги, 2-ги азы 3-кү кнопкаларның чүгле чаңгызын базып болур.

Бир эвес кижиге черле СЕН деп чугаалаар болзунарза, 1 деп кнопканы базыптыңар. Кижиге черле СИЛЕР деп чугаалаар болзунарза, 2 деп кнопканы базыптыңар. Кижиге черле СИЛЕРЛЕР деп чугаалаар болзунарза, 3 деп кнопканы базыптыңар.

- Ачаңарга чүү дээр-дир силер? (1) сен (2) силер (3) силерлер
- Аваңарга
 - Кырган-ачаңарга
 - Кырган-аваңарга
 - Акыңарга
 - Угбаңарга
 - Эр дунмаңарга
 - Кыс дунмаңарга
 - Башкыңарга
 - Эр чаңгыс классчыңарга
 - Кыс чаңгыс классчыңарга
 - Садыгда эр садыгжыга
 - Садыгда кыс садыгжыга
 - Танывазыңар хар-назыны чажыт эр кижиге
 - Танывазыңар хар-назыны чажыт кыс кижиге
 - Тус черниң чагырга даргазынга
 - Автобус чолаачызынга
 - Тываның чазааның даргазынга
 - Ашааңарга/Кадайыңар
 - Оглуңарга
 - Кыс урууңарга
 - Даайыңарга

II. Дараазында айтырыгларга артык ээлдек, хүндүлээчел вариантызын (хевирин) шилип алыр силер.

- Силерден улуг эр төрелиңерни кый дээр деп турар болзунарза, кандыг вариант (хевир) артык ээлдегил?

- 1) Акый! 2) Акым! 3) Ээлдек талазы-биле ылгал чок.

- Силерден бичии төрелиңерни кый дээр деп турар болзунарза, кандыг вариант (хевир) артык ээлдегил?

- 1) Дунмай! 2) Дунмам! 3) Ээлдек талазы-биле ылгал чок.

- Төрелиңер болбас улуг херээжен кижини кый дээр деп турар болзунарза, кандыг вариант (хевир) артык ээлдегил?

- 1) Угбай! 2) Угбам! 3) Ээлдек талазы-биле ылгал чок.

- Төрелинер болбас бичии кижини кый дээр деп турар болзунарза, кандыг вариант (хевир) артык ээлдегил?

1) Дуңмай! 2) Дуңмам! 3) Ээлдек талазы-биле ылгал чок.

- Силерден улуг херээжен төрелинерни кый дээр деп турар болзунарза, кандыг вариант (хевир) артык ээлдегил?

1) Угбай! 2) Угбам! 3) Ээлдек талазы-биле ылгал чок.

- Төрелинер болбас улуг эр кижини кый дээр деп турар болзунарза, кандыг вариант (хевир) артык ээлдегил?

1) Акый! 2) Акым! 3) Ээлдек талазы-биле ылгал чок.

[ENGLISH TRANSLATION]

Interview questions (oral)

Gender: Age: Birth place:
Current residence: Primary home language:

- 1) What are typical phrases that Tuvans say to someone:
 - a) When greeting them? E.g., *Ekii!* ...
 - b) When taking leave of them? E.g., *Bayırlıg!* ...

- 2) Can you think of any common polite expressions that are used in Tuvan culture that are not used in Russian culture? For example, in Russian we say *s legkim parom* after someone takes a bath, but this is not said in American English culture. Another example: in Russian when someone sneezes, people say *bud' zdorov* 'be healthy', while in America people say *bless you*. Do Tuvans say anything in this case?
What other situations would you say something to another person to be polite?

- 3) One Tuvan saying that teaches how to deal politely with other people is *ulugnu ulug kildir, bičiiini bičii kildir xündüleer*. Can you think of any other sayings or proverbs that also teach people what it means to be polite?

- 4) Is it polite to address one's mother as *avakim* instead of *avaj* ? *Ijekim* instead of *ijem*? Is it polite to address one's father as *ačakim* instead of *ačaj*? *Adakim* instead of *adam*? Is it polite to address one's older brother as *akikim* instead of *akij*?

- 5) Do you think that people in Tuvan society nowadays are in general polite to each other?

- 6) Please tell me about a time that you've felt that someone has spoken to you rudely in Tuvan, or that you spoke rudely to someone in Tuvan. Which specific elements of the interaction do you think made this impolite?

- 7) Do you think that the use of new technology (such as cell phones) in any way affects how politely Tuvans speak to each other nowadays?

Questions administered on laptop/DMDX software

I. In this set of questions, you will choose which pronoun you would typically use to address various people when speaking to them in Tuvan.

Press the 1 key if you would usually say sen to this person.

Press the 2 key if you would usually say siler to this person.

Press the 3 key if you would usually say silerler to this person.

The only keys you can use are 1, 2, and 3.

What would you say to: (1) sen (2) siler (3) silerler
- your father?

- your mother?
- your grandfather?
- your grandmother?
- your older brother?
- your older sister?
- your younger brother?
- your young sister?
- your teacher?
- your male classmate?
- your female classmate?
- a male salesperson?
- a female salesperson?
- a male stranger?
- a female stranger?
- the head of the town administration?
- a bus driver?
- the president of Tuva?
- your husband/wife?
- your son?
- your daughter?

II. In the next set of questions, you will choose the answer that is more polite.
The only keys you can use are 1, 2, and 3.

- If you want to call an older man who is your relative, which of the following is more polite?
1) Akij! 2) Akim! 3) They are equally polite.

- If you want to call an older man who is NOT your relative, which of the following is more polite?
1) Akij! 2) Akim! 3) They are equally polite.

- If you want to call an older woman who is your relative, which of the following is more polite?
1) Ugbay! 2) Ugbam! 3) They are equally polite.

- If you want to call an older woman who is NOT your relative, which of the following is more polite?
1) Ugbay! 2) Ugbam! 3) They are equally polite.

- If you want to call a younger person who is your relative, which of the following is more polite?
1) Duñmay! 2) Duñmam! 3) They are equally polite.

- If you want to call a younger person who is NOT your relative, which of the following is more polite?
1) Duñmay! 2) Duñmam! 3) They are equally polite.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Vitaly Voinov immigrated to the U.S.A. from Leningrad, USSR (now St. Petersburg, Russia) as a young boy. He earned a B.A. in Linguistics and Classics at the University of Virginia, and completed a Master's program in Biblical Exegesis and Linguistics at Dallas Theological Seminary. He joined the Institute for Bible Translation in Russia/CIS in 1998. For the next eight years, Vitaly, his wife, and their children lived in Tuva (south Siberia), where he worked with a team of native Tuvan speakers to produce the first-ever translation of the Bible into the Tuvan language. The full Tuvan Bible was published in 2011. Vitaly likewise coordinated the translation and publication of several children's books into Tuvan, including a collection of stories by Hans Christian Andersen and the first three books of the Chronicles of Narnia, and took part in the Tuvan Machine Translation Project to create an online English/Tuvan translator through the Microsoft Translator Hub. Besides his work with the Tuvan language, Vitaly also served as the exegetical editor for the translation of an illustrated Children's Bible into the Gagauz language of Moldova. He has done freelance translation work between Russian and English and has published articles on linguistics and Bible translation in journals such as *Turkic Languages*, *Russian Linguistics*, *Language Documentation and Conservation*, *Language and Cognition*, *International Journal of Language Studies*, and *The Bible Translator*. Unfortunately, writing a dissertation on politeness has not yet made Vitaly noticeably politer in any language.