
SPECIFIC FEATURES OF COMMUNICATIVE BEHAVIOR OF SIBERIAN PEOPLES: THE CASE OF KET

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

- Speech behavior pattern (SBP) (Gladrow & Kotorova 2017)
 - SBP (e.g., REQUEST, APOLOGY, THREAT or COMPLIMENT) includes a set of verbal (and/or nonverbal) actions covering everyday situations of interpersonal communication within a relatively short period of time. SBP is constituted by a set of elementary utterances expressing a common communicative purpose.
 - The utterances that constitute a SBP are organized according to the field principle which distinguishes a prototypical center and a gradationally formed periphery (the latter contains expressions ranging from ones that border the prototypical utterances to ones that are more marginal).
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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

- Up to now, the study of SBPs has been carried out exclusively on the data of majority languages, i.e., languages with well-developed rules of etiquette.
 - The beginning of comparative studies on SBPs was marked by the project "Requests and Apologies: A Cross-Cultural Study of Speech Act Realization Patterns" in the 1980s. It was based on the data of English, French, Danish, German, Russian, and Hebrew (Blum-Kulka / Olshtain 1984: 197).
 - Subsequently, the basic principles and methods developed within this project have been used in descriptive and comparative studies of other languages (see e.g. Kim 1995, Francis 1997, Gass / Houck 1999, Zborowski 2005, Felix-Brasdefer 2009, Brehmer 2009; Neuland 2011; Bhatti / Žegarac 2012; Wierzbicka 2012; Larreta Zulategui 2014, etc.).
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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

- Communicative behavior in minority languages differs significantly from that in majority language communities. At the same time, one can notice many similarities in the habitual behavior of native speakers of different minority languages.
 - The peculiarities of communicative behavior within the national culture are determined, on the one hand, by the corresponding linguistic means and, on the other hand, by the rules of using these means.
 - This study aims to identify and describe the similarities and differences in the implementation of SBPs by speakers of minority and majority languages. The preliminary analysis is based on the Ket language as well as on some other languages of the indigenous peoples of Siberia.
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LANGUAGES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

- Central and Eastern Siberia is home to a large and extremely diverse group of peoples whose languages belong to different language families:
 - Yeniseian (Ket)
 - Samoyedic (Nganasan, Nenets, Enets, Selkup, etc.)
 - Ob-Ugric (Khanty)
 - Tungus (Evenki)
 - Turkic (Dolgan, Chulym Turkic, Shor, Khakas, Tuvan)
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LANGUAGES OF INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

- The Ket language is currently the sole surviving member of the Yeniseian language family, one of the oldest language families in Siberia. The last remaining speakers of the Ket language reside in the north of Krasnoyarsk Province along the Yenisei River and its tributaries.

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 - At present, Ket is on the verge of extinction, with less than 30 speakers remaining.
 - The peculiarities of communicative behavior of the Ket people remain practically unexplored, and this study can be considered a first step in this direction.
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS

- All SBPs can be divided into three groups:
 - 1) Etiquette SBPs (e.g. GREETING, FAREWELL, GRATITUDE, APOLOGY, etc.)
 - 2) Informative SBPs (e.g., AGREEMENT, RESPONSE, REQUEST, WISH, etc.)
 - 3) Directive SBPs (e.g., REQUEST, ADVICE, WARNING, THREAT, etc.)
 - The purpose of the study is to identify the peculiarities of the implementation of SBPs in each of these groups in the languages of indigenous peoples of Siberia.
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

Etiquette SBPs

- Ket (as well as other Siberian languages) seems to lack any native verbal etiquette norms
 - Travelers emphasize such national features as taciturnity and restraint; stinginess for words, absence of speech ceremonies, including etiquette formulas of GREETING, FAREWELL, GRATITUDE (Khristoforova 2006: 82).
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

- “The botanist and the geologist stretched out their stiff legs and looked around, hoping [...] to receive an invitation to enter the tent. But no one, except suspiciously sniffing dogs, paid them any attention. "The Samoyeds are not very hospitable, though," said the geologist, hopping from one foot to the other. "They don't even think of inviting us to their place" [...] Only later we learned that the Samoyeds even consider it indecent to invite a guest. It is a matter of course and there is always a cup of tea and a piece of reindeer meat for a guest. After standing in the cold for a while, the travelers followed their hosts without invitation [...]. The women quickly placed a low table on the boards in front of them and took out from the boxes saucers and cups wrapped with thin birch chips..." (Toboljakov 1930: 11-12).
 - “A Ket can walk into the house without knocking, take off his fur-coat, lay down on the floor by the door, lay down and say, ‘However, I’m going to sleep here.’” (Ljuba 1998: 205).
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

- Ket also lacks such verbs and etiquette formulas common to majority languages as *good morning, good day, goodbye, please, thank you, excuse me, invite, congratulate* etc.
- During the last decades these kinds of expressions have been borrowed from the Russian language
 - as foreign lexical loans, e.g. *spasibo* 'thank you'



SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

(1) GRATITUDE

ke spasibo tovinigij bes

qe spasibo [d⁸]-t⁵-o⁴-b³-in²-kij⁰ bes

big thank.you.RUS 1S⁸-TH⁵-PST⁴-3N.O³-PST²-say⁰ hare

“Thank you very much!” — said the hare’ (Dul’zon 1964: 139)



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 - During the last decades these kinds of expressions have been borrowed from the Russian language
 - as foreign lexical loans, e.g. *spasibo* 'thank you'
 - as semantic calques: *aqta qonoksi* 'good morning', *aqta i?* 'good day', *aqta bīsī* 'good evening', *asika donʔugin* 'goodbye!' (lit. 'when we see each other') (Verner 1993: 148)
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

- Verb **εj-t...bet** (Werner 2002, 1: 226) / **ej⁷-t⁵-a⁴-[I²]-bed~ked⁰** ‘forgive’ (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 486)
 - no examples with performative uses
 - as a performative, Kets use a Russian loan **prostit⁷-k⁵-a⁴-[I²]-bed⁰**

(2) APOLOGY

prostitboycollit

prostit⁷-bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-I²-ked⁰

forgive.RUS⁷-1SG.O⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-IMP²-ITER⁰

‘Forgive me!’ (Fieldwork 2020)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

- Verb **ej⁷-t⁵-a⁴-[l²]-bed~ked⁰** 'forgive' (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 486)
 - No examples with performative uses found
 - As a performative, Kets use the Russian loan **prostit⁷-k⁵-a⁴-[l²]-bed⁰**
 - Possibly related to the verb **ej⁷-t⁵-a⁴-b³-[l²]-ket⁰** 'leave in peace, do not touch' (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 485)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

- Etiquette SBPs can be realized actionally:
 - When a Selkup woman met her younger grandchildren who came to visit her on vacation, she sniffed the top of their head (Tuchkova & Korobeinikova 2017: 85).
 - The Kets usually do not express their gratitude verbally, but if they provide a service, they expect something in return. For example, if a Ket receives a bowl of food as a gift, it is not customary to return this bowl empty, they always put something in the bowl. Thus, the contents of the bowl replace the words of gratitude.

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_S

- In many situations, the etiquette clichés are replaced by a simple description of the speech situation

(3) GREETING:

ēni dληtəyin

ēn [d⁸]-dəŋ⁶-t⁵-ok⁰-in⁻¹

now 1S⁸-1PL.SS⁶-TH⁵-see⁰-S.PL⁻¹

‘Now we see each other.’ (Fieldwork 2020)

(4) GRATITUDE:

ū āt pɔsɔbatbɔɣɔlibɛt, tɛtɛ ēni āt uyasɪ lɔbɛt bilibɛtin

ū ād [k⁸]-posobad⁷-bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-l²-bed⁰

2SG 1SG 2S⁸-help.RUS⁷-1SG.O⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-PST²-ITER⁰

tete ēn ād u-as lobed [d⁸]-b³-il²-bed⁰-in⁻¹

well now 1SG 2SG-COM work.RUS 1S⁸-3N.O³-PST²-make⁰-S.PL⁻¹

‘You helped me, now I made work with you.’ (Fieldwork 2020)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: ETIQUETTE SBP_s

- Lack of etiquette words and clichés that mark politeness:

(5) REQUEST

qomtəŋ āri usitaq, bilida kəmnatij

qomtəŋ ād us⁷-d¹-aq⁰ bilida k⁵-o⁴-b³-n²-a¹-tij⁰

money 1SG R⁷-1SG.O¹-give⁰ all TH⁵-PST⁴-3N.S³-PST²-TH¹-end⁰

‘Give me money, all is over.’ (Fieldwork 2020)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: INFORMATIVE SBP_s

Informative SBPs

- Informative SBPs are often actional in their realization, in particular, they can be realized with the help of rituals:
 - “A person who wants to order a shaman’s ritual comes to the shaman's tent and silently hangs a shawl or a piece of cloth on the back wall of the tent (facing the entrance), necessarily a brand new one, with a paper banknote (1-3 rubles) hidden in the corner. They talk at the same time about unrelated things. If the shaman cannot perform a ritual on the same day for some reason, he silently takes off the shawl and returns it to the person who brought it; it is not allowed to question the shaman about the reasons of refusal.” (Anuchin 1914: 27).
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: INFORMATIVE SBP_s

- Native words that realize informative SBPs include affirmative and negative interjections: *e?* ‘yes’ and *bən* ‘no’, as well as some particles and adverbs with similar meaning: *tè* ‘well, okay’, *até* ‘of course’, *tateŋam* ‘okay’.

(6) AGREEMENT (Performative utterance)

ū abiŋa anuksi kiksɛbɛsi – ɛ? āt ukuŋa diksɛbɛsi

<i>ū</i>	<i>a-baŋa</i>	<i>anoks</i>	<i>k⁸-ik⁷-s⁴-bes⁰</i>
2SG	1SG-1SG.DAT	tomorrow	2S ⁸ -here ⁷ -NPST ⁴ -move ⁰
<i>e?</i>	<i>ād</i>	<i>u-kuŋa</i>	<i>d⁸-ik⁷-s⁴-bes⁰</i>
yes	1SG	2SG-2SG.DAT	1S ⁸ -here ⁷ -NPST ⁴ -move ⁰

‘Will you come to me tomorrow? – Yes, I’ll come to you.’ (Fieldwork 2020)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: INFORMATIVE SBP_s

- Native words that realize informative SBPs include affirmative and negative interjections: *eʔ* ‘yes’ and *bən* ‘no’, as well as some particles and adverbs with similar meaning: *tè* ‘well, okay’, *até* ‘of course’, *tateŋam* ‘okay’.

(7) AGREEMENT (Performative utterance)

ēk akšj kɛ:bdɔn? – tɛ, addəq, ēt dɛ:bdɔn

ēk *aks* *k⁸-a⁴-b³-do[b]⁰-n⁻¹*

1SG what *2S⁸-NPST⁴-3N.O³-drink⁰-PL⁻¹*

tɛ *at⁷-[j²]-daq⁰* *ēt* *d⁸-a⁴-b³-do[b]⁰-n⁻¹*

yes *pour⁷-IMP²-MOM⁰* 1PL *1S⁸-NPST⁴-3N.O³-drink⁰-PL⁻¹*

‘Will you drink it? – Okay, pour it, we’ll drink it.’ (Kotorova & Porotova 2001: 20)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: INFORMATIVE SBP_s

- Verbs denoting speech actions, such as *agree*, *reject*, *report*, *promise*, etc. are not used performatively, they occur only in statements (constative utterances)

(8) AGREEMENT (Constative utterance)

bū bilida tatəŋitaba aksi āt diŋa dassanuksiya

bū bilda tateŋ⁷-i⁶-t⁵-a⁴-b³-a⁰

3SG all straight⁷-3F.S⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-TH³-R⁰

aks ād diŋa d⁸-assan⁷-u⁶-k⁵-s⁴-ka⁰

what 1SG 3F.DAT 1S⁸-speak.ANOM⁷-3F.O⁶-TH⁵-NPST⁴-speak⁰

‘She agrees with everything that I tell her.’ (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 653)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: INFORMATIVE SBP_s

- Performative constructions with corresponding performative verbs are usually borrowed from other (usually majority) languages (i.e., Russian)

(9) APOLOGY

āt ukunja sēli tbiłbet, ū qān enkunsiŋ, prōstitboγolliet

ād u-kunja sēl d⁸-b³-il²-bed⁰ ū qān en⁷-ku⁶-n²-soŋ⁰
1SG 2SG-2SG.DAT bad 1S⁸-3N.O³-PST²-make⁰ 2SG OPT R⁷-2SG.S⁶-PST²-forget⁰
prostit⁷-bo⁶-k⁵-o⁴-l²-ked⁰
forgive.RUS⁷-1SG.O⁶-TH⁵-PST⁴-IMP²-ITER⁰

‘I did bad to you, may you forget, forgive me.’ (Fieldwork 2020)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: DIRECTIVE SBP_s

Directive SBPs

- In majority languages, communicative-pragmatic factors such as age, social status and social distance have a significant impact on the realization of directive SBPs.
 - The influence of these communicative-pragmatic factors on the SBP realization in the languages of the Siberian peoples is not attested.
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: DIRECTIVE SBP_s

(10) REQUEST

balna baria rε bisε:pdan̄a: bo:γεnε batn

balna	bada	da=biseb-dan̄a	bok ⁷ -a ⁴ -n ² -a ⁰	batn
B.	3M.say	M.POSS=sibling-M.DAT	fire ⁷ -NPST ⁴ -IMP ² -MOM ⁰	1SG.for

‘Balna told to his brother: “Make a fire for me”.’

(Krjukova & Glazunov 2011: 187)

(11) REQUEST

Bal̄na ra q̄iba:tdan̄a baria: “bajyin q̄o:l̄iq̄inε!”

balna	da=qibba:d-dan̄a	bada	b=ajkin	qol ⁷ -q ⁵ -n ² -a ⁰
B.	3M.POSS=father.in.law-	3M.say	1SG.POSS=wound	heal ⁷ -CAUS ⁵ -IMP ² -MOM.TR ⁰

‘Balna said to his father-in-law: “Heal my wound!”’

(Krjukova & Glazunov 2011: 197)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: DIRECTIVE SBP_s

- In most cases, directive SBPs are implemented by means of imperative constructions.
 - A peculiar feature of the realization of directive SBPs is the lack of constructions with modal verbs.
 - To express deontic modality in Ket, one uses the Russian borrowing *nado / nada*
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SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: DIRECTIVE SBP_s

(12) WARNING

leska avεskej bōn nara

les-ka abeskej bōn nada

forest-LOC stray.ANOM NEG need

‘There is no need to stray in the forest.’ (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 75)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: DIRECTIVE SBP_s

(13) ADVICE

ukuŋa tu:nitɛt nada

u-kuŋa tukunted nada

2SG-2DAT comb.ANOM need

‘You need to comb yourself.’ (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015: 386)

SPEECH BEHAVIOR PATTERNS: DIRECTIVE SBP_s

- Verbs denoting a speech action, as in the case of REQUEST, are usually not used in performative constructions.
- Exceptions are probably due to the influence of the Russian language:

(14) REQUEST

āt (t)sijaq ɔqɔŋa i:busɛsjaŋ

ād [d⁸]-si⁷-aq⁰ ək-aŋa iqu^s-esaj

1SG 1S⁸-ask⁷-MOM⁰ 2PL-DAT room-for

‘I’m asking you for a (free) room’ (Kotorova & Porotova 2001: 85)

SPECIFIC FEATURES OF SBPs IN SIBERIAN LANGUAGES: CONCLUSIONS

- In most cases, etiquette SBPs in Ket, as well as in other Siberian languages, are implemented actionally, not verbally. Often they are absent altogether.
 - There are practically no native politeness formulas in Ket, instead of them spontaneously formulated statements, questions or etiquette clichés borrowed from Russian are used.
 - As a rule, verbs denoting speech actions are not used performatively.
 - Informative SBPs can be implemented both verbally (with the help of interjections, adverbs, etc.) and actionally.
 - Implementation of directive SBPs in Ket does not seem to be influenced by such communicative-pragmatic factors as age, social status and social distance.
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THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION

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