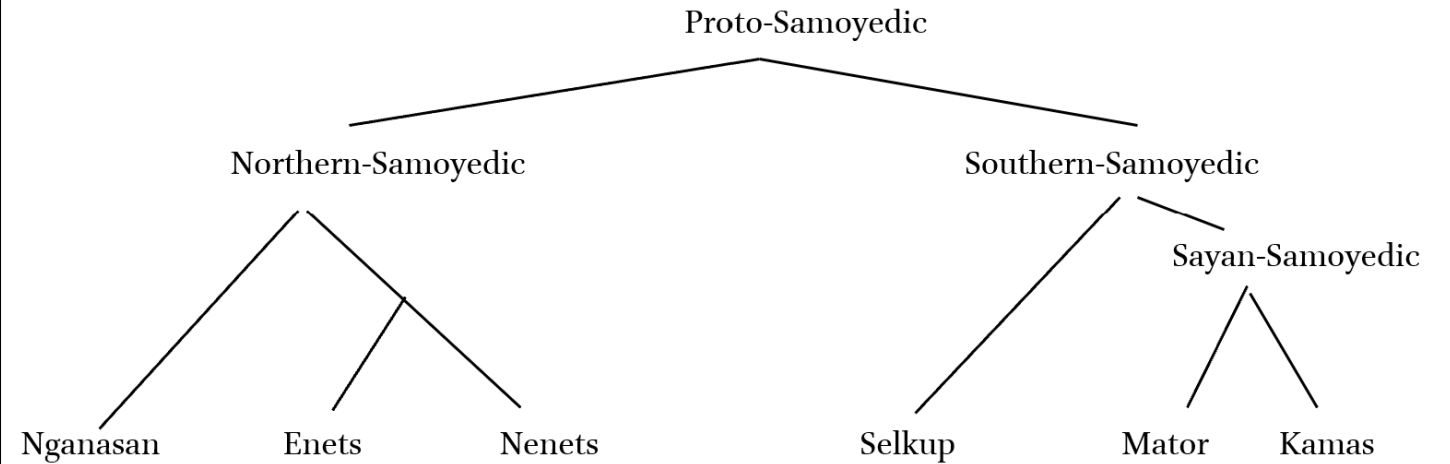
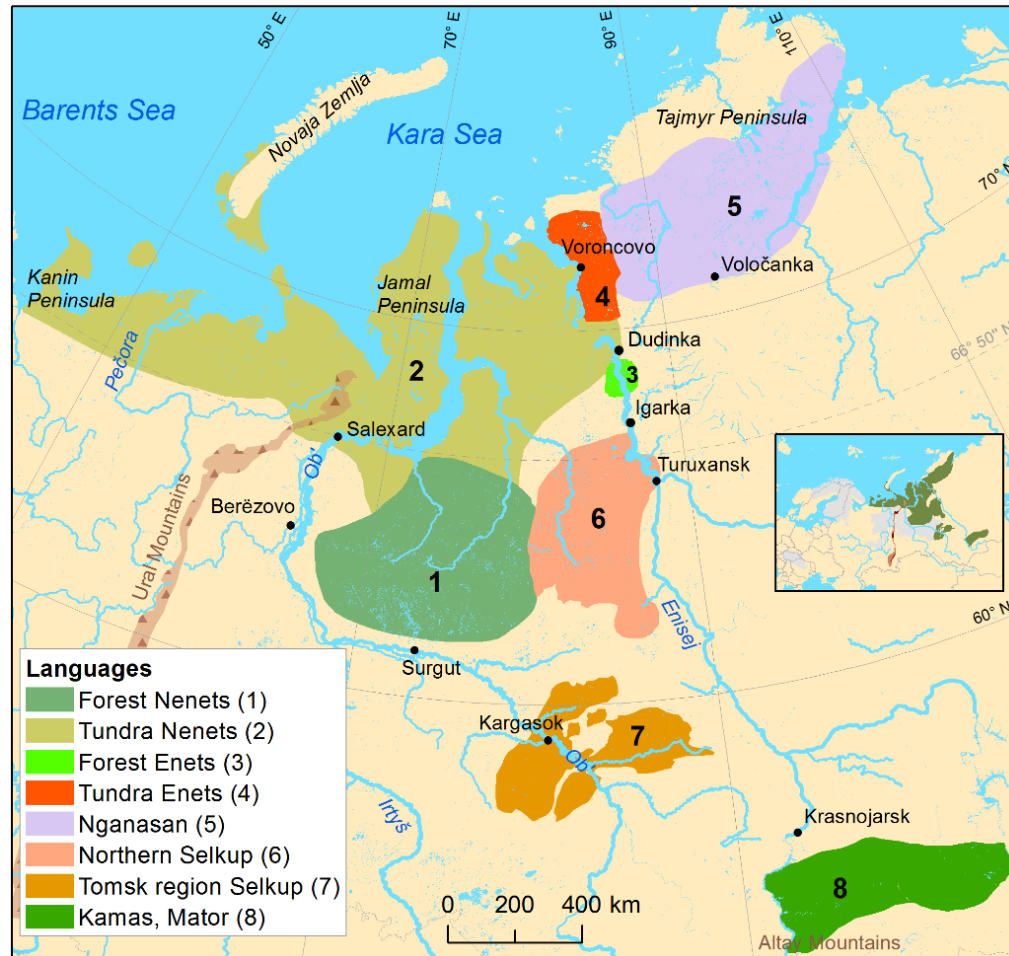


Das Ereignis GEBEN und BEKOMMEN in den samojedischen Sprachen

Beáta Wagner-Nagy

Samojedische Sprachen und Völker



Die Ereignisse GEBEN und BEKOMMEN

GEBEN

- *Der Junge gibt dem Teddy etwas.*

BEKOMMEN

- *Der Teddy bekommt von dem Jungen etwas.*

GEBER (G: Handelnder), **DING** (Th: Transferierter), **REZIPIENT**(R: Empfänger)

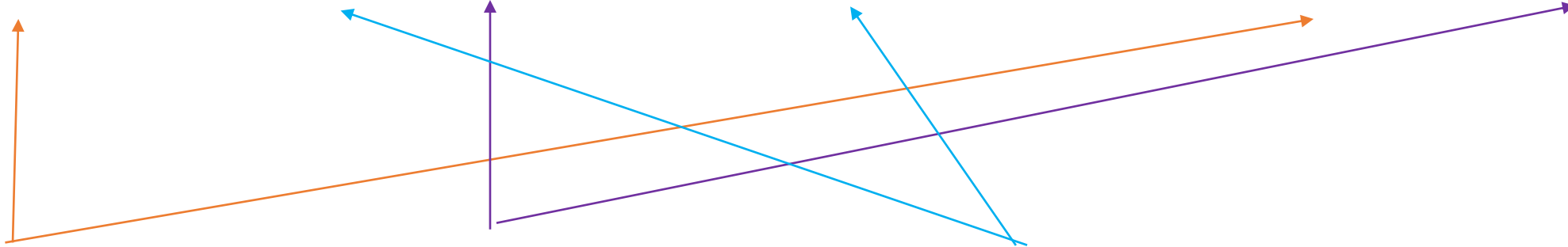
Die Ereignisse GEBEN und BEKOMMEN

GEBEN

- *Der Junge gibt dem Teddy etwas.*

BEKOMMEN

- *Der Teddy bekommt von dem Jungen etwas.*



GEBER (G: Handelnder), **DING** (Th:Transferierter), **REZIPIENT**(R: Empfänger)

Das Verb GEBEN: ist es universal?

- **Amele** (Papua-Neuguinea): zero-verb

(2) a. *Naus Dege ho ut-en.*
 Naus Dege pig 3SG.IO-3SG.SUBJ.PAST
 'Naus gave Dege the pig.' (Roberts 1987: 34)

b. *Ija dana leis sab al-ig-a.*
 I man two food 3DU.IO-1SG.SUBJ-PAST
 'I gave the two men food.' (Roberts 1987: 316)

(3) *Jo eu ihac-i-ad-ig-en.*
 house that show-PRED-2PL.IO-1SG.SUBJ-FUT
 'I will show that house to you (plural).' (Roberts 1987: 69)

Das Verb GEBEN: ist es universal?

- Japanisch: hängt von dem sozialen Status ab

Der Sprecher identifiziert
sich mit dem GEBER

Der Sprecher identifiziert sich
mit dem REZIPIENTen

Keine Identifikation

<p>recipient is high status relative to giver</p> <p>↕</p> <p>recipient is low status relative to giver</p>	<div> <p><i>sashiageru</i></p> <p><i>o-age itasu/suru</i></p> <p><i>ageru/yaru</i></p> <p><i>yaru</i></p> </div>	<p>giver is high status relative to recipient</p> <p>↕</p> <p>giver is low status relative to recipient</p>	<div> <p><i>kudasaru</i></p> <p><i>kudasaru/kureru</i></p> <p><i>kureru</i></p> </div>	<p>recipient is high status relative to giver</p> <p>↕</p> <p>recipient is low status relative to giver</p>	<div> <p><i>sashiageru</i></p> <p><i>ageru/yaru</i></p> <p><i>yaru</i></p> </div>
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Die Verben GEBEN in den samojedischen Sprachen

- samojedische Sprachen

	'to give, to sell'	'to bring, to carry, to give'
Proto-Uralic	* <i>miye-</i>	* <i>toye-</i>
Proto-Samoyedic	* <i>mi-</i>	* <i>tə-</i>
Tundra Nenets	<i>m̥is-</i>	<i>taʔ-</i>
Forest Nenets	<i>m̥is-</i>	<i>taat-</i>
Tundra Enets	<i>mis-</i>	<i>teḏa-</i>
Forest Enets	<i>mis-</i>	<i>taʔ-</i>
Nganasan	<i>mis-</i>	<i>tətu-</i>
Northern Selkup	<i>mi-</i>	<i>tati-</i>
Southern Selkup	<i>me-</i>	<i>tat-</i>
Kamas	<i>m̥-</i>	<i>tet-</i>
Mator	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ta-</i>

the GIVE event involves caused possession
(‘x cause y to have z’),
the BRING event involves caused motion
(‘x cause z to be at y’).

Die Verben GEBEN in den samojedischen Sprachen

- Wonach entscheidet sich die Benutzung der Verben?
 - sozialer Status wie im Japanischen?
 - GEBER?
 - REZIPIENT?
 - oder etwas anderes?

- a. Th G
ajni-enžī-mī-ja
 child.GEN.POSS1SG-dowry-give-PRS.3SG
 ‘he gives the dowry of my child!’
 Helimski 1997: 305

b.	<i>omiu-da-tə</i>
	still-give-IMP.2SG
	‘Still give (me)!’
	Helimski 1997: 347

Nach GEBER: Waldenzisch

• 1 Person

... *nɔ-da*
to-OBL POSS3SG *miʔ-e-ńiʔ*
give-PL.O-1DU.NSG.O
'... we gave them to him.'
LD080818_OTKA.028

• 2 Person

		Th		R	(G)
	<i>a</i>	<i>čike</i>	<i>ańi</i>	<i>bunki-d</i>	<i>mi-ńi-r</i>
	but	this	and	dog-LAT	give-SBJ-2SG>SG
	'And this you give to a dog.'				
	AS_NI100713_RYB3_AS.086				

• 3 Person

Th (R) (G)
ti-đi-đuʔ
reindeer-DST.PL-PL.POSS3PL *miʔ-ubi-ʔ*
so give-HAB-3PL
'They gave them reindeer.'
AP_NNB970724_INT2_AP.138

REZIPIENT: 1 Person

Tundranenzisch

			Th (R)	G
... <i>ńa-w</i> ,	<i>sawo</i>	<i>ńaw</i> ,	<i>śar-da-mji</i>	<i>ta-ʔ</i>
...friend-CL	good	friend-CL	tobacco-DST-POSS1SG	give-IMP.2SG
[Taimyr] ‘... my friend, my good friend, give me [some] tobacco!’				
LEP_1977_YonggadaSyarmuj_flk.135				

Nganasanisch

	Th (R)	(G)
<i>bajkuəu</i> ,	<i>hingaʔa-tə-mi</i>	<i>təðu-ʔ</i>
old.man.EXCL	pillow-DST-POSS1DU	give-IMP.2SG
‘Old man, give us a pillow ...’		
ChZS_o8o212_Djajku_flkd.o13		

REZIPIENT: 2 Person

Tundranenzisch

		G	Th	R
<i>ńuda</i>	<i>ɲe-da-ńi</i>	<i>ńiśa-m'i</i>	<i>śim'i</i>	<i>ńa-nt</i>
small	be-PTCP.PRS-OBL.POSS1SG	father-POSS1SG	1SGPRO.ACC	to-OBL.POSS2SG
<i>ta-ʔ</i>	<i>ńi-śa-w.</i>			
give-CNG	NEG.AUX-INTER-3SG.EMO			
[Taimyr] 'When I was little, my father gave me to you, didn't he.'				
YaNM_1976_OldLamdiksSon_flk.158				

Nganasanisch

		Th (R)	(G)
<i>maa</i>	<i>huj-ɲi-ɲ</i>	<i>tərədi-ǰə-m-tə</i>	<i>təǰu-sutə-muʔ</i>
what.ACC	want-INTER-2SG	such-DST-ACC-OBL.POSS2SG	give-FUT-1PL
'Whatever you want, we'll give it to you.'			
TKF_o61105_FoxFosterling_flk.437			

REZIPIENT: 3 Person

Tundranenzisch

	R	(G) (Th)
<i>ńama-da,</i>	<i>wesako-n</i>	<i>m̃i-ŋa-da.</i>
take-3SG>SG	old.man-LAT	give-CO-3SG>SG

[Taimyr] 'He took it and gave it to the old man.'

YaVD_1976_OldKhantysSon_flk.098

Nganasanisch

R	(G) (Th)
<i>kobtûâ-tə</i>	<i>mid'-i-ʔi-č̣i</i>
girl-LAT	give-EP-CO-3PL>PL

'(S)he gave them to the girl.'

JSM_o8o217_ThreeGirls_flkd.171

Kamassisch

- GEBEN: fast nur mit dem *m*-stamm
- BRINGEN: nur mit dem *t*-Stamm

Kamas Th R G
 a. *ipek* *dĩ-zen-də* *mĩ-lie-l*
 bread this-PL-LAT give-PRS-2SG
 'You give them bread.'
 PKZ_1964_SU0208.PKZ.133

b. *dĩ* *inə-bə* *tep-pi*
 this bow-ACC.POSS3SG bring-PST.3SG
 'She brought his bow.'
 AA_1914_Raven_flk.022 (001.024)

G R:1Person
de-ʔ *măna* *ipek*
give-IMP.2SG 1SGPRO.DAT bread
'Give me some bread.'

Imperativ

PKZ_196X_DaughterAndStepdaughter_flk.008

Th R (G)
i *süt* *măna* *mĩ-lie-t*
and milk 1SGPRO.DAT give-PRS-3SG>SG
'And it gives me milk.'
SAE_196X_SU0231.SAE.135

<i>qälik</i>	<i>näl'a-m-ti</i>	<i>Ičakičika-nti</i>	<i>mi-si-ti.</i>
Nenets	daughter-ACC-POSS2SG	Ichakychika-LAT	give-PST-2SG>SG
[Taz] 'The Nenets gave his daughter to Ichakychika.'			
KVM_1977_IchaAndNenets_flk.021			

<i>ima-sä</i>	<i>šinti</i>	<i>mi-ntɔ:-mit!</i>
wife-INSTR	you.SG.ACC	give-FUT-1PL

'We'll give you a wife!' [BEP_1977_Itja3_flk.020]

siehe auch Wagner-Nagy & Szeverényi (2013: 32)

Zusammengefasst

	Rezipient		
	1 Person	2 Person	3 Person
Tundranenzisch	<i>taʔ-</i>	<i>taʔ-</i>	<i>mʲis-</i>
Waldnenzisch	<i>taat-</i>	<i>taat-</i>	<i>mʲis-</i>
Tundraenzisch	<i>teða-</i>	<i>teða-</i>	<i>miʔ-</i>
Waldenzisch	<i>taʔ-</i>	<i>taʔ-</i>	<i>mis-</i>
Nganasanisch	<i>tətu-</i>	<i>tətu-</i>	<i>mis-</i>
Selkup	<i>tat- /mi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>mi-</i>
Kamas	<i>mĩ- /det-</i>	<i>mĩ- / det-</i>	<i>mĩ- /det-</i>
Mator	<i>ta-</i>	<i>no data</i>	<i>mĩ</i>

Das Ereignis BEKOMMEN und die Verben

	English		Finnish		French		Turkish	
	Source-based	Goal-based	Source-based	Goal-based	Source-based	Goal-based	Source-based	Goal-based
<i>Dynamic meaning:</i>								
Causative	give	take	antaa	ottaa	donner	prendre	vermek	almak
Inchoative		get		saada				
State	have		Locational possessive		avoir		Genitive schema	

Viberg 2010

Das Ereignis BEKOMMEN und die Verben

Mansi

Dynamic meaning
causative
inchoative
state

Source based	Goal based
<i>mi-</i>	<i>wi-</i>
<i>ōńś-</i>	

Khanty

Dynamic meaning
causative
inchoative
state

Source based	Goal based
<i>mă-</i>	<i>wu-</i>
<i>taj-</i>	

(*tan*) *tōnt tax ōs akw*

(they) then PTCL PTCL one

Buran-əl

Buran-ISTR

‘Then they got [=were given] one more new Buran.’

mi-w-et.

give-PASS-3PL

R-Passivizierung

BEKOMMEN in den Wörterbücher

	form	‘take’	‘catch’
Tundra Nenets	<i>ńǎʔmǎ-</i>	✓	✓
Forest Nenets	<i>ńaʔma-</i>	✓	✓
Tudra Enets	<i>noʔo-</i>	✓	✓
Forest Enets	<i>noʔɔ-</i>	✓	✓
Nganasan	<i>kəmə-</i>	✓	✓
	<i>kəməđü-</i>	—	✓
Selkup	<i>ii-</i>	✓	—
Kamas	<i>i-</i>	✓	—

Das Ereignis: BEKOMMEN

- BEKOMMEN ist NEHMEN
- BEKOMMEN ist BRINGEN
- BEKOMMEN ist GEBEN

- Nganasan

pensi

pension

‘I get [my] pension’

KSM_080717_MyLife.071

kə müðü-ndü-m

catch-CO-1SG

əə

uh

‘Uh, she didn’t get the money yet?’

MVL-JSM-090808_Current_conv.090

bad’a-čü

money-ACC.PL.POSS3SG

kə mə-mə tumaʔa

take-ABES.3SG

- Enets

səburegu

five

bəse

iron

nəʔə-da-d

catch-FUT-2SG

‘One would get five rubles.’

• Selkup

Northern Selkup

täpä-t *čoti* *təp* *ii-si-ti* *tissa-p*
squirrel-GEN for 3SGPRO take-PST-3SG>SG thousand-ACC

‘He received one thousand rubles for the squirrels.’

SE, 2019

Northern Selkup

na *šii-tqo* *(polučī-k-sa-p)* *ii-za-p* *qomdä-p* *ton* *salkwa-p*
this sable-TRL get-VBLZ-PST-1SG>SG take-PST-2SG>SG money-ACC hundred ruble-ACC

[Taz] ‘For these sables, I got money, 100 rubles.’

SGP_196X_Hunting_nar.007

• Kamas

bie? *nagur* *i* *sumna* *akt'a*
ten three and five money

‘She gets thirty-five roubles [a month].’

PKZ_197008_09342-2bz.PKZ.140

i-lie-t
take-PRS-2SG>SG

- Selkup: impersonale Konstruktion

Northern Selkup

mäka

1SGPRO.DAT

tulta-lti-so-t

bring-DRV-PST-3SG>SG

kñiga-p

book-ACC

ama-n-non

mother-GEN-from

‘I got the/a book from my mother.’

SE, 2019

Central Selkup

meka

1SGPRO.DAT

tortinagri-p

book-ACC

awe-m-nando

mother-POSS1SG-ABL

‘I got the/a book from my mother.’

KIA, 2019

tademba-det

bring-3PL>SG

- Th-Passivisierung

Nganasan

(R) Th

kiribaʔkü-ǰə-mə

bread-DST-POSS1SG

‘I got bread from the boss.’

MVL_o8o226_TwoHorses_flks.426

tətu-ru-bata-ǰə

give-PASS-INFER-3SG.MD

GEBER

ɲuəntəə-tə

boss-LAT

Enets

nabe

new

‘They were given new clothes.’

LD1o0713_UPR.o25

page-zi-ziʔ

outerwere-DET.PL-POSS3DU

mi-l-e-zʔ

give-PASS-MD-3PL.MD

BEKOMMEN ist GEBEN oder Bringen oder NEHMEN

	bring	take/catch	Th-passivization
Nenets	—	✓	✓
Enets	—	✓	✓
Nganasan	—	✓	✓
Selkup	✓	✓	—
Kamas	—	✓	—

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Vielen Dank!