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THE VERBAL AUGMENTATIVE
AND THE INHERENT PROPERTIES OF VERBS IN KOMI

Abstract. The aim of this article is to discuss the functioning of the comparison clitic -džyk in forming the verbal augmentative or intensifying grade and its relation to the inherent properties of the event it modifies in literary Komi. The analysis of an assessment questionnaire proved telicity to be the most prominent factor in determining the gradability of an event. Two semantic types of gradation appeared — degree gradation and extent gradation. In the case of degree gradation (‘faster’, ‘better’, ‘stronger’), telicity determines the openness of the event’s scale. In the case of extent gradation (‘more’ or temporal duration), atelic events appear with either a cardinality reading or a temporal duration reading, while telic events appear with a cardinality reading only.

Keywords: Komi, lexical aspect, augmentative, telicity, degree gradation, extent gradation.

0. Introduction

In Komi, the clitic1 -džyk is a versatile element which has developed a wide cross-category usage forming the comparative grade not only with adjectives and adverbs, but also with nouns, pronouns, verbs and even adpositional phrases (Coates 1982). In this article, the main focus is on the appearance of the džyk-clitic with verbs (referred to as verbal augmentative2) and the application of the comparison clitic with different verb types. The next few paragraphs will give a brief overview of the formation and usage of the verbal augmentative.

Formally, the augmented or intensified verbs may appear in all persons, numbers and tenses, both in the affirmative and negative, or be in the infinitive (Coates 1982: 124—128). In the affirmative (1), the function of

1 Commonly, -džyk is referred to as a inflectional suffix due to its usual function as a comparison element. In a restricted number of cases, -džyk is also a derivational suffix, forming moderating adjectives. (Bartens 2000: 134—135) In the function discussed in this article, -džyk is a clitic due to its word-final position and cross-category distribution and for that reason will not be referred to here as a suffix.

2 The term augmentative grade is due to Jevgenij Cyranov (Цыранов 1996: 115) who presents a three-tier system of the grades of verbal comparison, consisting of diminutive, neutral and augmentative.
the clitic -дźyk is to increase the intensity or strength of the action or to lend the event a better quality (Цыпинов 2005 : 253). In translation it could be expressed by the adverbs ‘more (so)’, ‘faster’, ‘better’, etc. depending on the semantics of the verb. In the negative (2), the дźyk-clitic diminishes the intensity of the action (Цыпинов 2005 : 253), and is translatable as ‘less (so)’, ‘not so much’, etc.

(1) дай воль-ыйд горт-лаийд вошләлә-дźyk (cф. Цыпинов 2005 : 253)  
PAR horse-N.2SG home-APPR.2SG step/PRs.3SG-CMPR  
‘And the horse too walks home faster/better (i.e. with a lighter step)’

(2) on-дźyk гаътәмәсый (Попов 68)  
NEG.2SG-CMPR miss.CNEG  
‘You do not miss (smth) as much’

The most interesting fact about this phenomenon is that not all verbs appear in the augmentative. According to Cypanov (Цыпинов 2005 : 249), it is only possible for verbs with different grades of intensity to appear in the augmentative grade, i.e. situations which may be done faster or slower, more or less energetically, etc. For the different types of verbs appearing in the augmentative, verbs of movement, verbs of real actions, states, verbs expressing thought processes, and verbs which express the beginning or changing of quality are given by Cypanov, e.g. pоwны ‘fear’, помнитны ‘remember’, вержын ‘can, be able to’, гогорьон ‘understand’, etc. Existential verbs, verbs for events that could only take place once, and momentaneous verbs do not appear in the augmentative, e.g. вôme ‘be’, ыйны ‘shoot’, pyрны ‘enter’, ыуын ‘be born’, etc. (Цыпинов 2005 : 249). The aim of this article is to present the results of a questionnaire-based fieldwork inspired by the most recent literature on the дźyk-clitic and to further investigate the connection between the appearance of the augmentative grade and the inherent properties of the event referred to. The first part introduces the methods used and the relevant background, the second part presents the results of the questionnaire, the third part is a discussion based on the results, concentrating on the relationship between telicity and the readings of the дźyk-clitic, and the fourth part concludes the article.

1. Methods

The argumentation of this article is based on a 50-sentence written judgement questionnaire filled out by 9 native speakers of Komi, 5 female and 4 male all between 19 and 40 years of age. The questionnaire consisted of sentences randomly picked from Komi periodicals “Коми мә” and “Звезда” (year 2007). All sentences had originally contained a construction consisting of an adverb (like ӧддәжык ‘faster’, буруджык ‘better’, ӱнджык ‘more’, ӱндйжык ‘stronger’, etc.) and a verb. The adverbs represent two different dimensions that can be graded with verbs — the manner or intensity with which the event is conducted (e.g., ‘faster’, ‘stronger’, etc.) and the measurable dimension (e.g., temporal duration, length of path, or cardinality (Wellwood, Hacquard, Pancheva 2012); this will be addressed again in Chapter 3).

These constructions were then converted to a verb + -дźyk form for the questionnaire (e.g., ӧддәжык кошмас > кошмасдзык ‘will dry.AUG’). This method allowed for obtaining grammatically correct sentences and minimizing the
distractions informants might receive from the possibly incorrect language usage of a non-native researcher. The informant was to assess all the sentences in the questionnaire and give a simple yes-no answer to whether they thought the use of the verb + -dżyke construction in the given sentence to be possible or not. The informant was also given a chance to comment or correct each of the sentences.

The sentences were then grouped according to how many approvals they received from the informants. The verbs from the sentences were divided into typical (approved by 5 or more informants), non-typical (approved by 2—4 informants) and peripheral (approved by 1 informant) examples of the verbal augmentative. The fourth group consisted of the sentences which did not get any approvals and could not, according to those nine informants, appear in the augmentative grade. This grouping is helpful for a better overview of the common traits of the examples in each group.

Taking into account their specific context, all the verbs are analysed by their inherent properties and for that, the term event and situation are used synonymously to denote the inclusion of context in the event analysis. In this article, the term event is used as in generative and cognitive linguistics, i.e. to denote all lexical aspect classes (Croft 2012: 34). In classical descriptions of event or verb properties, the three oppositions of dynamic/non-dynamic (or stative), atelic/telic (or bounded/unbounded), and durative/punctual are used to compose the four basic lexical aspect classes: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements (Vendler 1967; Comrie 1976; Rothstein 2004; Van Valin 2005; Croft 2012).

Stative events do not involve change over time, while dynamic events do and can thus also be called processes. Durative events are extended in time, but punctual events mean an instantaneous change of state which only lasts for a single point in time. Telic (or bounded) events are bounded by a natural end-point or result, while atelic (or unbounded) events do not have an result state they must reach and they can last indefinitely. Table 1 gives the basic lexical aspect classes by their inherent properties.

| Lexical aspect classes by their inherent properties (cf. Croft 2012: 35) |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| State                       | stative          | durative        | unbounded        |
| Activity                    | dynamic          | durative        | unbounded        |
| Achievement                 | dynamic          | punctual        | bounded          |
| Accomplishment              | dynamic          | durative        | bounded          |

Van Valin (2005) also distinguishes another lexical aspect class, the active accomplishment, which is described as the telic use of activity verbs. In this article, the dynamic and durative telic verbs are all considered as accomplishments, regardless of whether they appear with an argument or not.

It should be kept in mind that even though each verb has some kind of an inherent aspectual reading, the final interpretation of each situation is still context dependent (Timberlake 2005: 286), i.e. when a verb is said to denote a state or to be atelic, then this classification actually applies to the entire situation and it means that in the analysed sentence, the verb was used as referring to a state or the situation it depicted was atelic.
2. Results of the questionnaire

In the following subchapters, examples of the verbs and situations belonging to each of the frequency-groups (i.e. typical, non-typical, peripheral examples, and the not approved examples) will be presented. The tendencies concerning lexical aspect classes and inherent properties of those situations will be brought out.

2.1. Typical verbs appearing in the augmentative grade

Out of the 50 sentences (see the full list in Todesk 2013), 15 received approvals from five or more informants, giving a list of 15 situations that may be considered as typical events in the augmentative grade. According to the lexical aspect classes, there are 8 states, 5 activities, and 2 accomplishments (see Table 2).

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States (stative, atelic, durative)</th>
<th>Activities (atelic, durative)</th>
<th>Accomplishments (telic, durative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olóny-dżyk</td>
<td>'they live-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koló-dżyk</td>
<td>'is necessary.3SG-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pótırjanny-dżyk</td>
<td>'you.PL are aware of-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polis-dżyk</td>
<td>'s/he feared-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tödó-dżyk</td>
<td>'s/he knows-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tödan-dżyk</td>
<td>'you.2SG know-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gögörvoo-dżyk</td>
<td>'s/he is understanding-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vicmas-dżyk</td>
<td>'will remain-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čıkòóny-dżyk burdódny</td>
<td>'they order-AUG to heal'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vòdítcióny-dżyk</td>
<td>'they use land-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tödödödny-dżyk</td>
<td>'to point out, to accent-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giżis-dżyk</td>
<td>'s/he did some writing-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutis₃ munny-dżyk</td>
<td>'it starts to go-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kòśmas-dżyk</td>
<td>'it will dry-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sòtći-dżyk</td>
<td>'it burns-AUG'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was expected to see activities appear in the augmentative, since these events have a presumed scale of intensity and can thus be graded, like in sentences (3) and (4).

(3) a medym giżis-is-dżyk, jört-ómäs kapt’oraka-ö (VT 7.07) but CONJ write-1PF.3SG-CMPR lock up-PERF.3PL store room-ILL

'But to make the writing go better, (they) were locked into the store room’

(4) ses’ja öni tśökt-ony-dżyk burdöd-ny udžal-ğer then now order to-3PL-CMPR treat/heal-INF work-PRS.PTCP people-ACC

'Vent now they are rather ordered to heal the working people’

₃ Although serial verbs with kutny refer to achievements in the neutral grade, in the augmentative they clearly denote an already ongoing state or activity and thus those predicates are assigned to the lexical aspect class of the main verb. This is also due to the position of the clitic — kutny as an auxiliary does not take the dżyk-clitic.
The high amount of states among the typical examples is also not surprising, since states can easily be graded due to their adjective-like quality of denoting a property of the subject, as examples (5) and (6).

(5) tani olûş-yd tatçössa-jus-tö töd-ö-džyk  (Popov 89)
here living-2SG local-PL-ACC know-PRS.3SG-CMPR
'A here-living-(person) knows the locals better'

(6) mam-sûs sijö baf dor-sûs mynlûkô
mother-ELA.3SG 3SG father PP for some reason
pol-is-džyk  (Popov 319)
fear-IPF.3SG-CMPR
'For some reason s/he feared mother more than father'

The two accomplishments in examples (7) and (8) are also expected to appear in the augmentative according to Cyranov (Cyranov 2005 : 253). He states that one of the functions of the džyk-clitic in the augmentative grade is to increase the quality of the event’s result. Since telic situations are processes leading to an end-result, it is expected that they appear in the augmentative. In (7), the situation ends or finishes (the wood burns to ashes), while in (8), there is a change from one state to another (wet hay becomes dry).

(7) no kos peskyd pó taj sotç-ö-džyk  (Popov 10)
but dry firewood PAR PAR.REP burn-PRS.3SG-CMPR
'But dry firewood is said to burn better.'

(8) [---] a zautкраk börûn kûsûn-ýş kûryûn-sø 'vøyòdav-ny
but breakfast PP after dry-PRS.UTCP fodder-ACC rake-INF
med kûsûn-as-džyk  [---] (VT 7.08)
so dry-FUT.3SG-CMPR
'[---] but after breakfast (they started to) rake the drying hay, so (it)
would dry faster [---]'

By inherent properties, the typical verbs appearing in the augmentative can be either dynamic (activities and accomplishments) or non-dynamic (states), but they are mainly atelic (the only exceptions being the two accomplishments), and durative only. The importance of duration is yet to be confirmed — even though most of the situations appearing in the augmentative were durative, there was an unproportional amount of punctual situations among the sentences of the questionnaire, so making any generalisations based on that would be premature.

2.2. Non-typical verbs appearing in the augmentative grade

The second group consists of 12 sentences which were approved by more than two and less than five (i.e. 2–4) informants. This composes a list of 14 events, of which 9 are activities, 3 are states and 2 are accomplishments. In comparison with the group of typical examples, the only similarity is the high number of activities. The number of verbs belonging to other lexical aspect classes differs considerably (see Table 3).

According to inherent properties, the verbs in this group are mostly dynamic, there are only three non-dynamic events referred to. As in the previous group, most of the non-typical events are also atelic (except the accomplishments). There are no punctual events in this group.
The Verbal Augmentative and the Inherent Properties...

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs from the sentences approved two to four times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>States</strong> (stative, atelic, durative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kutas burgny-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koló-dżyk čornity</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kutis ovmy-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activities</strong> (atelic, durative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lyddö-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>vidzödí-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>velodőny-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koló šornity-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>koló giżn-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kutam udžavny-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šeralasny-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ofsalisny-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>addzyšlőny-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accomplishments</strong> (telic, durative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zilőny eštödčy-my-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuśmy-dżyk</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example (9) is interesting for its iterative reading and the interpretation the verb receives in the augmentative grade. *addzyšlőny* itself means 'to meet (briefly), to see smb' and would thus rather be interpreted as referring to an achievement, but in the augmentative, the verb can be interpreted as 'to meet more, to have meetings more often' according to which the event is an activity.

(9) *ód buretš sek najö addzyšlőny-dżyk* [----] (Z 29.05a)  
    yet exactly then 3PL.NOM meet-PRS.3PL-CMPR  
    'Yet exactly then they meet (with the villagers) more often [----]'

As among the examples of the previous group, the non-typical examples also include a few accomplishments. In this group, example (10) presents an interesting complex predicate, where the clitic is added to the infinitive, not to the finite verb, which is more after the fashion of auxiliary constructions (as in examples (11)—(13)) and which may also be responsible for its acceptability rate.

(10) *da i tuj dzoníalys-jaš zilőny eštödčy-ny-dżyk* [----] (VT 18.08)  
    and also road mender-PL try-3PL finish-INF-CMPR  
    'And the roadworkers also try to finish faster [----]'

An important difference between this group and the previous one is the receding amount of non-dynamic verbs. It is interesting that the number of states gradually drops among the non-typical and peripheral examples (as will be seen in the next subchapter) even though states were the most numerous class among the typical examples. The states of this group all appear as complex predicates either in an inchoative construction ((11) and (12)) or a recessive construction ((13a) and (13b)). The latter two are semantically the same sentence, but in (13a), the clitic is added to the auxiliary verb, and in (13b) to the main verbs.
(11) [---] muj otsögön radio kut-as jurgy-ny-dżyk (Z 24.08) what PP.with the help radio start-FUT.3SG to sound-INF-CMPR
'---] with the help of which the radio will begin to sound better’

(12) L.A. Perova pasj-is muj koljan voö vidz-mu PN note-IPF.3SG what in the previous year agriculture ovnäs kut-is ov-ny-dżyk i šöm-öñ (Z 26.10) economy start-IPF.3SG live-INF-CMPR also money-INSTR
'L. A. Perova noted, that in the previous year, the agriculture started to live better also financially’

(13a) kol-ö-dżyk sy jylış šorüit-ny da giž-ny (VT 28.04) must-3SG-CPMR that PP.about talk-INF and write-INF
'(they) must speak and write about it more’

(13b) kol-ö sy jylış šorüit-ny-dżyk da giž-ny-dżyk (VT 28.04) must-3SG that PP.about talk-INF-CMPR and write-INF-CMPR
'(they) must speak and write about it more’

2.3. Peripheral examples of the verbs appearing in the augmentative

The group of peripheral examples consists of the events from the 12 sentences which were only approved by one out of the nine informants. There are only dynamic events in this group, since no states appeared among the examples (see Table 4). By telicity, the majority of the verbs are telic — activities (4) are atelic, while accomplishments (5) and achievements (3) are telic. Achievements are referred to by the only punctual verbs in this group, since both activities and accomplishments are inherently durative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs from the sentences approved once</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities (atelic, durative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolö mòprajñny-dżyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vusasny-dżyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boščis-dżyk gižñy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>öšödö udžavnuy-džyķ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishments (telic, durative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voštödcnym-dżyk gortö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vtelasny-dżyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puktyny-dżyk šöm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otsalö-dżyk svtny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukisnyy-dżyk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements (telic, punctual)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okota võli tódmañny-dżyķ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>börzdzas-dżyķ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolöny-džyķ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most prominent feature of this group is the total absence of states. This suggests a tendency according to which non-dynamic verbs are more common to appear in the augmentative grade, seeing that their number drops among the peripheral examples.

Examples (14) and (15) illustrate the usage patterns of -dżyk with a complex predicate as was also noted above. In (14), boščĭny is functionally
equal with *kutny* in that they both denote the beginning of an event, but semantically, the direct translation of *boštěmy* would be 'to take'. Even so, the latter is not as lexicalised as the auxiliary *kutny* and appears with the augmentative clitic *-dźyk*, whereas, among the examples of the questionnaire, *kutny* never does. Example (14) is also noteworthy for the co-occurrence of the *dźyk*-clitic with the degree adverb *nóżta* 'more', receiving the meaning 'even' when together with the augmentative.

(14) [----] M. Lebedev *nóżta na boště-is-dźyk giż-ny* (Z 16.10)
    more PAR take-IPF.3SG-CMPR write-INF
    '[---] M. Lebedev began to write even more zealously'

The accomplishment *otsavny sutny* 'to help to get back on one’s feet' in (15) was also approved by one informant, but only after transferring the *dźyk*-clitic from the infinitive *sutny* to the finite verb *otsalõ* as appears below.

(15) *otsal-ö-dźyk sutlı-ny kôk jylö* (Z 15.06a)
    help-PRS.3SG-CMPR rise / get up-INF foot PP.onto
    'Helps to get back on one’s feet faster'

2.4. Examples which were not approved by the informants

This group is comprised of 11 sentences that did not get any approvals from the informants. Among the activities and accomplishments of this group (see Table 5), unexpectedly, there are some verbs which express movement, real actions and thinking. Not only do those situations correspond quite directly to the verbs that Cypanov proposed to appear in the augmentative grade (Цыпанов 2005), but these would be the verbs which one might intuitively assume to possess semantic gradability, i.e. for these verbs, intensifying the action they express seems quite normal, e.g. 'to go or bring faster', 'to do or sew better’, 'to think more intensely’, etc.

*Table 5*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities (telic, durative)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>munný-dźyk velôdêmy</td>
<td>‘to go-AUG to study’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daštysny-dźyk</td>
<td>‘to prepare-AUG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setis möqyqyśny-dźyk</td>
<td>‘s/he gave to think-AUG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States (stative, atelic, durative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kovmis-dźyk prôjdiśny</td>
<td>‘is necessary-AUG to pass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*loas-dźyk</td>
<td>‘s/he will be-AUG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ez vûw-dźyk</td>
<td>‘it was-AUG not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishments (telic, punctual)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vajny-dźyk</td>
<td>‘to bring-AUG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vosłny-dźyk</td>
<td>‘to open-AUG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otsalísny vôćny-dźyk</td>
<td>‘they helped to get done-AUG’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuras-dźyk kîź</td>
<td>‘s/he will sew-AUG a button’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement (telic, punctual)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burdny-dźyk</td>
<td>‘to recover fully-AUG’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The events marked with an asterisk (*) in Table 5 are excluded from the analysis since the sentences they appeared in were ungrammatical or illogical due to human error. It is unclear what motivated the informant’s answer. When preceding example sentences, the asterisk marks ungrammaticality as usual.*
Furthermore, this group is interesting because it includes verbs that have already appeared in examples which were approved by the informants. For example munny 'to go' appeared among the typical examples and mővyṣṭny 'to think' among the peripheral examples. Nevertheless, (16) and (17) are not considered to be correct with the mentioned verbs appearing with the dźyk-clitic.

In (16), the restriction may lie in munny composing a serial verb with velōdćyny, and since neither is really an auxiliary to the other, the choice of placement for the clitic on either of the verbs might be problematic. The matter of serial verbs appearing in the augmentative is, to the author’s knowledge, very much under-researched.

(16) *najō otsal-isan sōvet-ôn kyttšō mun-ny-dźyk
   3PL help-IPF.3PL advice-INST where to go-INF
   cēljad'-ysly velōdćyny (Z 2.06)
   children-DAT.3SG study-INF
   *They helped with advice on where it would be better for the children to go to study’

   In example (17), the problem may also lie in the construction of the predicate. Firstly because based on the examples of this questionnaire, the comparison clitic is added to the finite verb, and secondly because according to one of the informants, setny 'to give' is semantically unsuitable to form a serial verb in this context and should be replaced by a verb meaning 'order to', etc. The informant did not elaborate on whether replacing the verb would make it possible to use the comparison clitic in a construction including mővyṣṭny.

(17) *sodōd set-is mővyṣṭ-ny-dźyk poselenie-sa
   in addition give-IPF.35G think-INF-CMPR settlement-ADJ
   veškōdlyś-jas-ly sy jylyś [----] (VT 14.04)
   leader-PL-DAT this PP.about
   *In addition, (he) gave the leaders of the settlement (an order) to think more about this [----]’

   The verb otsavny 'to help' was also one of the verbs which appeared more than once. It appeared among the non-typical examples as a simple predicate, while among the peripheral examples (see (15)) it appeared as a serial verb with suvtny 'to get up'. In (18) it also appears as a serial verb, but this time with vōćny 'to get done, finish'. Since in (15), the dźyk-clitic was added to a finite verb, but in (18) to the infinitive form, the reason for the latter not being approved might lie in the positioning of the clitic and not in the lexical aspect of the verb.

(18) [----] *Meždurečensk-yn on addzy vojtyr-ōs kodʒas
   PN-IN NEG.2SG find-CNEG.2SG person-ACC who. PL
   eškō otsal-isan vōć-ny-dźyk kolana uđ-šō (VT 1.08)
   PAR help-IPF.3PL help-INF-CMPR necessary work-ACC
   ‘[----] *You cannot find that person in Meždurečensk who would help to get the necessary work done faster’

Example (19) presents an event similar to (13a), where the predicate involves a modal auxiliary. The difference here lies in the semantics of the
auxiliary verbs, because even though they both express an epistemic modality, they are not synonymous in these examples. The verb *kovny* 'need' in (13a) and also in (13b) expresses a general necessity for doing something, but *kovmny* 'needed by, required' in (19) expresses a requirement which is put upon the agent by someone other than the agent itself. Also, in (13), the infinitives in the construction refer to activities, while in (19), the infinitive denotes an achievement.

(19) *(k0jm-öd kurs-sö sessja kovm-is-dżyk pröjdit-ny)
    3-ORD course-ACC then be required-IPF.3SG-CMPR pass/finish-INF
    vo dżyńj-ön (VT 7.05)
    year half-INST

 '*The third course was then required to be finished faster, within half a year.*

The last four examples from (16) to (19) indicate that the appearance of the augmentative grade with at least some events is dependent on the context they appear in and that the lexical aspect class of the situation does not necessarily ensure the verb's appearance in the augmentative grade.

2.5 Results of the questionnaire

As the preceding section showed, there is no strict and clear-cut distribution according to lexical aspect classes to explain the appearance or non-appearance of the augmentative grade in Komi. It should be noted though, that according to how many approvals different situations received from the informants, the lexical aspect classes can be divided into more typical and less typical classes that appear in the augmentative grade. For example the states and activities that were approved had an average approval rate of 5.5 and 2.84 times respectively. Thus they are more likely to appear in the augmentative than, for example, accomplishments, which were on average approved only 1.77 times and can be regarded as less typical (but still acceptable) situations to appear in the augmentative.

The high approval rate of states shows that this is the most typical lexical aspect class to appear in the augmentative. It is an important result, because according to the definition, the verbal augmentative appears with verbs which have an inherent scale of activity (Цыцанов 2005 : 249), so it should be activities and accomplishments that are the most typical lexical aspect classes in the augmentative grade, but instead, in this set of data, they are approved less frequently than states.

Besides these general statements about the lexical aspect classes of the verbs discussed, the analysed material shows some interesting tendencies of how the inherent properties change across the typical and non-typical verbs appearing in the augmentative. Two of these tendencies, dynamicity and duration, are in this paper left aside from closer inspection for different reasons.

The dynamics of the event proved to play no significant role in determining the appearance of the augmentative grade, since both dynamic and stative events received an equally high approval rate. Following Цыцанов (Цыцанов 2005 : 249), the duration of an event is more relevant than its dynamics in that respect, but since in this set of data punctual events were strongly under-represented, the role of duration will not be discussed further.
in this article. Instead, the following section will discuss the importance of the most prominent feature which influences the appearance of the augmentative grade — telicity.

The importance of telicity is supported by the distribution of the atelic and telic events of the questionnaire on the scale of frequency — the events receiving two or more approvals are mostly atelic with a ratio of 23 atelic to 4 telic situations. The number of telic events rises among the peripheral examples (8 telic to 4 atelic situations) while among the examples which were not approved, the amount of telic and atelic events is about the same (5:6 respectively). Neither of the two other properties, dynamics and duration, appeared with such differences in their frequency on the typical-peripheral scale.

3. Telicity and the dźyk-augmentative

Observing the results of the questionnaire, it becomes apparent that telicity is the property which is closely involved in determining the gradability of the situation (Fleischhauer 2013 : 149) and also for determining the scale of comparison available for the event. This chapter shows the relation between telicity and the two semantically different types of gradation — degree and extent gradation (after Bolinger 1972). Degree gradation is related to the gradable property of the event and expresses measures (size, price, etc.), while extent gradation is related to verbal quantification and expresses event frequency and duration (Fleischhauer 2013 : 126).

3.1. Degree gradation and telicity

Since degree gradation involves measuring events, there has to be a set of linearly ordered degrees which represent measurement values of a certain dimension, like size, price, intensity of feeling, etc. (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 351), and which form a scale (Fleischhauer 2013 : 126). The gradability of an event is dependent on whether the event has an open or a closed scale. Open scales have no maximal value and the events can be modified indefinitely, while closed scales have a minimal and/or maximal value and the events could only be modified until the minimum or maximum is reached (see Kennedy, McNally 2005). The telicity of the situation sets the openness of the verbal scale — durative atelic events are associated with open scales, but durative telic events, on the other hand, have a closed scale (Caudal 2005).

In the case of degree gradation readings of the Komi clitic -dźyk, the above-mentioned is true for a tempo reading (‘faster’) as in (20) and (8), repeated here as (22), and a quality reading (‘better’), as in (3) repeated here as (21), and (7), repeated here as (23). In the first two examples, the activities may be done even faster or better, but the accomplishments in (22) and (23), after they have finished, may not be sped up or done better, since the end-point has already been reached. This is in correlation with the openness of the scales — (20) and (21) have an open scale while (22) and (23) have a closed scale.

\[(20)\text{̄} k̄ȳk̄ǔ̄n̄d̄ ūd̄z̄-ȳs̄ k̄ūt̄-īs̄ m̄ūn̄-n̄ȳ-d̄ź̄ȳk̄ (P̄ōp̄ōv̄ 73)\]
\[\text{two of us together work-3SG begin-IPF.3SG go-INF-CMPR}\]

'With the two of us together, the work began to go faster'

5 States also have an open scale of measure, yet in this set of data, they appear with a quality, but not with a tempo or an intensity reading.
(21) a medyn giž-s-is-džyk, jõr-t-ömaós kapt’orka-ö (VT 7.07)
but CONJ write-IPF.3SG confine-PERF.3PL closet-ILL
‘But in order for him to write better, he was confined in the storage
closet’
(22) [---] a zavtrak börym köšm-ys körvm-sö vorzödav-ny
but breakfast PP.after dry-PRS.PTCP fodder-ACC rake-INF
med köšm-as-džyk [---] (VT 7.08)
so dry-FUT.3SG-CMPR
‘[---] but after breakfast (they started to) rake the drying hay, so (it)
would dry faster [---]’
(23) no kos peskyd pö taj sotc-ö-džyk (Popov 10)
but dry firewood PAR PAR.REP burn-PRS.3SG-CMPR
‘But dry firewood is said to burn better’

When it comes to punctual telic events, i.e. to achievements, they have
a closed scale in the augmentative with a tempo reading (24), but an open
scale with an intensity reading (stronger, more intensely), as in (25). Achieve-
ments did not appear with a quality reading among the analysed data, the
same as accomplishments did not appear with an intensity-reading.

(24) [---] okota völö tödnav-ny-džyk, kodi lo-i
desire to be.3SG to find out-INF-CMPR who to be(FUT)-IPF.3SG
vermyš-öö (Z 11.05a)
winner-INST
‘[---] wanted (lit: there was a desire) to find out more quickly, who
will be the winner’

(25) a sijö eštö na bôrddz-as-džyk, i mort moz
but 3SG PAR PAR start to cry-FUT.3SG and human PP
syrkejal-öö (VT 18.04)
shake-3SG
‘But (s)he starts to cry even stronger, and shakes like a human being’

As the examples above suggest, telicity (as a parameter influencing the
openness of the events’ scale) does not restrict the appearance of the
augmentative in Komi, but it does restrict the different readings the event
may have with the džyk-clitic and thus also narrows down the contexts
the augmented telic events may appear in (compared to atelic events). Table
6 summarises the readings the džyk-clitic may have with the lexical aspect
classes and also presents whether the events appear with an open or a
closed scale with those readings.

Table 6

The openness of lexical aspect classes
with different degree gradation readings of the džyk-clitic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity (atelic)</th>
<th>Tempo (‘faster’)</th>
<th>Quality (‘better’)</th>
<th>Intensity (‘stronger’)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>state (atelic)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accomplishment (telic)</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>achievement (telic)</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Not applicable is used to refer to the non-appearance of the reading in question
among the analysed data, and is used to avoid making too extensive generalisations
on a restricted set of data.
3.2. Extent gradation and telicity

The other main reading for the džyk-clitic is more and this falls under extent gradation (Bolinger 1972). Extent gradation refers to verbal quantification, so the event frequency and duration are modified (cf. Fleischhauer 2013:126). In the case of extent gradation, telicity determines the scale of comparison available for the event, meaning that for atelic events, the reading of more might be either cardinality, temporal duration, or length of spatial path, but for telic events, the reading of more may only be cardinality (Wellwood, A., Hacquard, V., Pancheva 2012:215—218).

According to the questionnaire, the Komi augmentative grade follows the above-mentioned rule and the only telic event appearing among the data which receives a cardinality reading with the džyk-clitic is presented in (26).

(26) [----] pyr kol'-öny-džyk vojna kad-sja jort-jas [----] (Z 29.05b)
still remain-IPF.3PL war time-PL friend-PL

'[----] the more the war-time friends remain (i.e. the more there remains war-time friends) [----]'

All the other situations with the reading of 'more' were atelic events, referring to cardinality or temporal duration, but not to length of spatial path.

There is also a semantically close reading to 'more', where the džyk-clitic is used with a telic predicate to express the preference of the subject to do what the verb expresses, rather than doing something else, like in example (27), where the subject prefers to or would rather take the items to the landfill than, say, to the museum. This kind of use is not frequent, appearing only twice among the approved examples and once among the disapproved examples of the data. The 'rather'-reading is connected to cardinality, since it refers to the frequency of the event, so (27) could also be interpreted as 'they more often take the items to the landfill'.

(27) [----] vőditć-öm pu l'ibö kört köluj-sö pó nu-öny-džyk
use-PRS.PTCP wood or iron item-PL-ACC PAR take-3PL-CMPR
šyblas kिštal-an-in-ö [----] (Z 15.06c)
waste pour-PTCP-place-ILL

'[----] used wood or iron items are rather taken to the landfill [----]'
4. Summary

This article presented the results of a preliminary study carried out among native speakers of Komi. The main aim was to gain a better understanding of the verbal augmentative grade and to clarify how the general lexical aspect classes and the specific inherent properties of the event referred to influence the appearance of the augmentative.

Out of the three oppositions of dynamic—stative, durative—punctual, and telic—ateletic, telicity proved to be the most prominent factor in determining the appearance of the augmentative, since it showed the greatest differences on the frequency scale — among the events approved more than once, there were 24 atelic and only 4 telic events. Telicity also proved to be an integral factor in determining the semantic reading of the дзык- clitic. Two semantic types of gradation appeared — degree and extent gradation.

When the augmentative had a degree gradation reading (‘faster’, ‘better’, ‘stronger’), then the telicity of the event interacted with the openness of the event’s scale and atelic events appeared with an open scale, while from the telic events, accomplishments appeared with closed scales, and achievements with open scales with an intensity reading, but closed scales with a tempo reading. Among the analysed data, states did not appear with a tempo or an intensity reading, accomplishments with an intensity reading, and achievements with a quality reading.

With an extent gradation reading, an event described in the augmentative could have either a cardinality reading (‘more’) or refer to temporal duration. With atelic events, the augmentative reading could be either cardinality or temporal duration, while with telic events, it could be only cardinality. A few achievements also had a cardinality-related reading, which expresses preference and is more grammaticalised than the other readings.

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Abbreviations

Popov — A. Поповъ, Повстьяс да висьтъяс, Сыктывкар 2008; Z 11.05a — Н. Коюшева, Бара на веримс Зинапда Елизарова. — Звезда 11.05.2007; Z 29.05a — И отувъялусь отсаля. — Звезда 29.05.2007; Z 29.05b — Н. Коушева, Быдъ во пасъоны къылъыда. — Звезда 29.05.2007; Z 2.06 — А. Августинович. Уна дзолюкъос мездис кулыми. — Звезда 2.06.2007; Z 15.06a —
ТРИЙН ТОДЕСК (Тарту)

УВЕЛИЧИТЕЛЬНАЯ СТЕПЕНЬ И ВНУТРЕННИЕ СВОЙСТВА ГЛАГОЛА В КОМИ ЯЗЫКЕ

В статье обсуждается сравнение роли клитического суффикса -дэък в образовании увеличительной степени глагола и ее отношения к особенностям события, определяемого ими, в коми письменном языке. Анализ опроса показал, что предельность — это самый существенный фактор в определении градуировки ситуации. Представлены два семантических типа градации — степень и размер. В первом случае ("быстрее", "лучше", "сильнее") предельность определяет открытость шкале ситуации, во втором — показания градации размера ("более" или временная продолжительность); непределые ситуации связаны либо с кардиальностью, либо с временной продолжительностью, тогда как предельные ситуации проявляются только в связи с кардиальностью.