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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 augmentative*²) 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 Cypanov (Цыпанов 1996 : 115) who presents a three-tier system of the grades of verbal comparison, consisting of diminutive, neutral and augmentative.

the clitic *-džyk* is to increase the intensity or strength of the action or to lend the event a better quality (Цыпанов 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 *džyk*-clitic diminishes the intensity of the action (Цыпанов 2005 : 253), and is translatable as 'less (so)', 'not so much', etc.

- (1) *daj vö-l-yd gort-lańyd vošlalö-džyk* (cf. Цыпанов 2005 : 253)
PAR horse-N.2SG home-APPR.2SG step/walk.PRS.3SG-CMPR
'And the horse too walks home faster/better (i.e. with a lighter step)'
- (2) *on-džyk gažtömöcy* (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 (Цыпанов 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. *povny* 'fear', *pomńitny* 'remember', *vermyny* 'can, be able to', *gögörvony* 'understand', etc. Existential verbs, verbs for events that could only take place once, and momentaneous verbs do not appear in the augmentative, e.g. *vövny* 'be', *lyjny* 'shoot', *pyrny* 'enter', *čužny* 'be born', etc. (Цыпанов 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 *džyk*-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 *džyk*-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 "Кoми му" and "Звезда" (year 2007). All sentences had originally contained a construction consisting of an adverb (like *ödjödžyk* 'faster', *burdžyk(a)* 'better', *undžyk* 'more', *jondžyka* '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 + *-džyk* form for the questionnaire (e.g., *ödjödžyk košmas > košmasdžyk* 'will dry.AUG'). This method allowed for obtaining grammatically correct sentences and minimising 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 + *-džyk* 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.

Table 1

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

Events from the sentences approved five or more times	
States (stative, atelic, durative)	
<i>olöny-džyk</i>	'they live-AUG'
<i>kolö-džyk</i>	'is necessary.3SG-AUG'
<i>pöturajtanny-džyk</i>	'you.PL are aware of-AUG'
<i>polis-džyk</i>	's/he feared-AUG'
<i>tödö-džyk</i>	's/he knows-AUG'
<i>tödan-džyk</i>	'you.2SG know-AUG'
<i>gögörvoö-džyk</i>	's/he is understanding-AUG'
<i>vicmas-džyk</i>	'will remain-AUG'
Activities (atelic, durative)	
<i>čöktöny-džyk burdödny</i>	'they order-AUG to heal'
<i>vöditéöny-džyk</i>	'they use land-AUG'
<i>tödödny-džyk</i>	'to point out, to accent-AUG'
<i>gižšis-džyk</i>	's/he did some writing-AUG'
<i>kutis³ munny-džyk</i>	'it starts to go-AUG'
Accomplishments (telic, durative)	
<i>kösmaš-džyk</i>	'it will dry-AUG'
<i>sotcö-džyk</i>	'it burns-AUG'

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 gižš-is-džyk, jört-ömaös kapt'orka-ö* (VT 7.07)
 but CONJ write-IPF.3SG-CMPR lock up-PERF.3PL store room-ILL
 'But to make the writing go better, (they) were locked into the store room'
- (4) *seššja öni tšökt-öny-džyk burdöd-ny udžal-yš*
 then now order to-3PL-CMPR treat/heal-INF work-PRS.PTCP
vojtyr-ös (VT 27.10)
 people-ACC
 'Then 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 *džyk*-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 olys-yd tatcössa-jas-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-šys sijö bať doršys myjlakö*
 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 (Цыранов 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 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.'
- (8) [---] *a zavtrak boryn köšm-yš körym-sö vöržödav-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 [---]'

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.

Table 3

Verbs from the sentences approved two to four times

States (stative, atelic, durative)	
<i>kutas jurgyny-džyk</i>	'it will begin to sound-AUG'
<i>kolö-džyk ćornitny</i>	'is necessary.3SG-AUG to speak'
<i>kutis ovny-džyk</i>	'started to live-AUG'
Activities (atelic, durative)	
<i>lydd'ö-džyk</i>	's/he reads-AUG'
<i>vidzödö-džyk</i>	's/he watches-AUG'
<i>velödöny-džyk</i>	'they teach-AUG'
<i>kolö ćornitny-džyk</i>	'is necessary.3SG to speak-AUG'
<i>kolö gižn-džyk</i>	'is necessary.3SG to write-AUG'
<i>kutam udžavny-džyk</i>	'we start to work-AUG'
<i>šeralasny-džyk</i>	'they will laugh at-AUG'
<i>otsalisny-džyk</i>	'they helped-AUG'
<i>addžyślöny-džyk</i>	'they meet, have meetings-AUG'
Accomplishments (telic, durative)	
<i>zil'öny eštödćyny-džyk</i>	'they try to finish-AUG'
<i>nuöny-džyk</i>	'they take-AUG (somewhere)'

Example (9) is interesting for its iterative reading and the interpretation the verb receives in the augmentative grade. *addžyślöny* 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) *öd bureš sek najö addžyśl-öny-džyk* [---] (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 dzońtalyś-jas zil'-öny eštödćy-ny-džyk* [---] (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 neccessive 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) [---] *myj otsögön radio kut-as jurgy-ny-džyk* (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 myj koljan voö vidz-mu*
 PN note-IPF.3SG what in the previous year agriculture
ovmöš kut-is ov-ny-džyk i šöm-ön (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-džyk sy jylyš šornit-ny da giž-ny* (VT 28.04)
 must-3SG-CMPR that PP.about talk-INF and write-INF
 '(they) must speak and write about it more'
- (13b) *kol-ö sy jylyš šornit-ny-džyk da giž-ny-džyk* (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 4

Verbs from the sentences approved once

Activities (atelic, durative)

<i>kolö mövpyštny-džyk</i>	'is necessary.3SG to think about-AUG'
<i>vusašny-džyk</i>	'to sell-AUG'
<i>boščis-džyk gižny</i>	's/he began-AUG to write'
<i>ošödö udžavny-džyk</i>	's/he tempts to work-AUG'

Accomplishments (telic, durative)

<i>voštödcyny-džyk gortö</i>	'to get-AUG home'
<i>vetlasny-džyk</i>	'they will go and return-AUG'
<i>puktyny-džyk šöm</i>	'to put-AUG money (into)'
<i>otsalö-džyk suvtny</i>	's/he helps-AUG to get up'
<i>puksisny-džyk</i>	'they sat down-AUG'

Achievements (telic, punctual)

<i>okota völi tödmavny-džyk</i>	'there was a wish to find out-AUG'
<i>börddzas-džyk</i>	's/he starts to cry-AUG'
<i>kol'öny-džyk</i>	'they remained-AUG'

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 *-džyk* with a complex predicate as was also noted above. In (14), *boščyny* is functionally

equal with *kutny* in that they both denote the beginning of an event, but semantically, the direct translation of *boštčyny* would be 'to take'. Even so, the latter is not as lexicalised as the auxiliary *kutny* and appears with the augmentative clitic *-džyk*, whereas, among the examples of the questionnaire, *kutny* never does. Example (14) is also noteworthy for the co-occurrence of the *džyk*-clitic with the degree adverb *nöšta* 'more', receiving the meaning 'even' when together with the augmentative.

- (14) [---] *M. Lebedev nöšta na boštč-is-džyk giž-ny* (Z 16.10)
 PN more PAR take-IPF.3SG-CMPR write-INF
 '[---] M. Lebedev began to write even more zealously'

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

- (15) *otsal-ö-džyk suvt-ny kok 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

Verbs from the sentences which were not approved by the informants⁴

Activities (atelic, durative)	
<i>munny-džyk velödcyny</i>	'to go-AUG to study'
<i>daštysny-džyk</i>	'to prepare-AUG'
<i>setis mövpyštny-džyk</i>	's/he gave to think-AUG'
States (stative, atelic, durative)	
<i>kovmis-džyk pröjditny</i>	'is necessary-AUG to pass'
* <i>loas-džyk</i>	's/he will be-AUG'
* <i>ez vöv-džyk</i>	'it was-AUG not'
Accomplishments (telic, durative)	
<i>vajny-džyk</i>	'to bring-AUG'
<i>voštyny-džyk</i>	'to open-AUG'
<i>otsalisny vöcny-džyk</i>	'they helped to get done-AUG'
<i>vuras-džyk kiž</i>	's/he will sew-AUG a button'
Achievement (telic, punctual)	
<i>burdny-džyk</i>	'to recover fully-AUG'

⁴ 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 *mövpyštny* 'to think' among the peripheral examples. Nevertheless, (16) and (17) are not considered to be correct with the mentioned verbs appearing with the *džyk*-clitic.

In (16), the restriction may lie in *munny* composing a serial verb with *velödčyny*, 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) **najö otsal-isny sövet-ön kyttšö mun-ny-džyk*
 3PL help-IPF.3PL advice-INSTR where to go-INF
čeljad'-ysly velödčy-ny (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 *mövpyštny*.

- (17) **sodöd set-is mövpyšt-ny-džyk poselenie-sa*
 in addition give-IPF.3SG think-INF-CMPR settlement-ADJ
vešködlyš-jas-ly sy jylyš [---] (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 *vöčny* 'to get done, finish'. Since in (15), the *džyk*-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-ös kod'jas*
 PN-IN NEG.2SG find-CNEG.2SG person-ACC who.PL
eškö otsal-isny vöč-ny-džyk kolana udž-sö (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 *kovmyjny* '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) **kojm-öd kurs-sö sessja kovm-is-džyk pröjdit-ny*
3-ORD course-ACC then be required-IPF.3SG-CMPR pass/finish-INF
vo džynj-ön (VT 7.05)
year half-INSTR
'*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 (Цыпанов 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 Cypanov (Цыпанов 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 *džyk*-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 *-džyk*, 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 activities⁵ 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) *kykönnad udž-ys kut-is mun-ny-džyk* (Popov 73)
 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 medym gižs-is-džyk, jört-ömaös kap'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 böryñ köšm-yś körym-sö vöržödav-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 soté-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). Achievements did not appear with a quality reading among the analysed data, the same as accomplishments did not appear with an intensity-reading.

- (24) [---] *okota völi tödmav-ny-džyk, kodi lo-i*
 desire to be.3SG to find out-INF-CMPR who to be(FUT)-IPF.3SG
vermys-ön (Z 11.05a)
 winner-INSTR
 '[---] wanted (lit: there was a desire) to find out more quickly, who will be the winner'
- (25) *a sijö eštšö na börddz-as-džyk, i mort moz*
 but 3SG PAR PAR start to cry-FUT.3SG and human PP
syrkjal-ö (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 <i>džyk</i> -clitic		
	Tempo ('faster')	Quality ('better')	Intensity ('stronger')
activity (atelic)	open	open	open
state (atelic)	NA	open	NA ⁶
accomplishment (telic)	closed	closed	NA
achievement (telic)	closed	NA	open

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

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

As previously with degree gradation, the telicity of the event modified by the *džyk*-clitic does not determine whether the event can appear in the augmentative or not, but it does determine the reading the event may appear in. Table 7 illustrates how the cardinality reading is possible with both telic and atelic events, but only atelic events appear with a temporal duration reading. The 'rather'-reading is left out of this table because of its low frequency in the data and its higher grammaticalisation level, but its connection to event frequency is clear.

Table 7

The appearance of the lexical aspect classes
with different extent gradation readings of the *džyk*-clitic

	cardinality ('more')	temporal duration	spatial length
activity (atelic)	+	+	NA
state (atelic)	+	+	NA
accomplishment (telic)	+	–	NA
achievement (telic)	+	–	NA

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—atelic, 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 *džyk*-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

1, 2, 3 — person, **ACC** — accusative, **ADJ** — adjectiviser, **APPR** — approximative, **AUG** — augmentative grade, **CMPR** — comparison clitic, **CNEG** — connegative, **CONJ** — conjunction, **DAT** — dative, **ELA** — elative, **FUT** — future, **ILL** — illative, **IN** — inessive, **INF** — infinitive, **INSTR** — instrumental, **IPF** — imperfect, **NEG** — negative auxiliary, **NOM** — nominative, **ORD** — ordinaliser, **PAR** — particle, **PAR.REP** — repetitive particle, **PERF** — perfect, **PL** — plural, **PN** — proper name, **PP** — postposition, **PRS** — present, **PRS.PTCP** — present participle, **SG** — singular.

Роров — А. П о п о в, Повесьтъяс да висътъяс, Сыктывкар 2008; **Z 11.05a** — Н. К о ю ш е в а, Бара на вермис Зинаида Елизарова. — Звезда 11.05.2007; **Z 29.05a** — И ѳтувъялуныс отсалӧ. — Звезда 29.05.2007; **Z 29.05b** — Н. К о ю ш е в а, Быд во пасйӧны кыпыда. — Звезда 29.05.2007; **Z 2.06** — А. А в г у с т и н о в и ч, Уна дзюлюкӧс мездӧс кулӧмысь. — Звезда 2.06.2007; **Z 15.06a** —

А. Г и л е в а, Отсалö öдйöджык сувтны кок йылö. — Звезда 15.06.2007; **Z 15.06c** — О. Г у д ы р е в а, Шыбитöм дорысь музейö вайöй. — Звезда 15.06.2007; **Z 24.08** — Кутас юргыны «Коми йозкостса радио». — Звезда 24.08.2007; **Z 16.10** — Чужтис комилысь аскылом. — Звезда 16.10.2007; **Z 26.10** — А. Г и л е в а, Э. П и м е н о в, Видз-му овмöс сöвмöдöм — тöдчана сёрни. — Звезда 26.10.2007; **VT 14.04** — Н. К а л и н и н а, Уджтас вылö эм нин надей. — Выль туйöд 14.04.2007; **VT 18.04** — Н. Л е о н и д о в а, Удораса мифология. — Выль туйöд 18.04.2007; **VT 28.04** — Ю. Я к о в л е в, «ЭЖÖР-ВЕЖÖР». — Выль туйöд 28.04.2007; **VT 7.05** — Б. П е т и е в, Петис верöс сайö... фронт вылын. — Выль туйöд 7.05.2007; **VT 7.07** — Л. В а н е е в а, «Коми книга»... — Выль туйöд 7.07.2007; **VT 1.08** — Б. П е т и е в, Ышöданаыс дзоля көшын на. — Выль туйöд 1.08.2007; **VT 7.08** — А. К р а с н о я р о в, Бур удж вочо мортон. — Выль туйöд 7.08.2007; **VT 18.08** — Б. П е т и е в, Междуреченскын помалисны, сэсся кутчысясны Косланын. — Выль туйöд 18.08.2007; **VT 27.10** — Л. А л е к с а н д р о в а, Öтувья сёрниыс артмис. — Выль туйöд 27.10.2007.

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ТРИЙН ТОДЕСК (Тарту)

**УВЕЛИЧИТЕЛЬНАЯ СТЕПЕНЬ И ВНУТРЕННИЕ СВОЙСТВА ГЛАГОЛА
В КОМИ ЯЗЫКЕ**

В статье обсуждается сравнение роли клитического суффикса *-джык* 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); непредельные ситуации связаны либо с кардинальностью, либо с временной продолжительностью, тогда как предельные ситуации проявляются только в связи с кардинальностью.