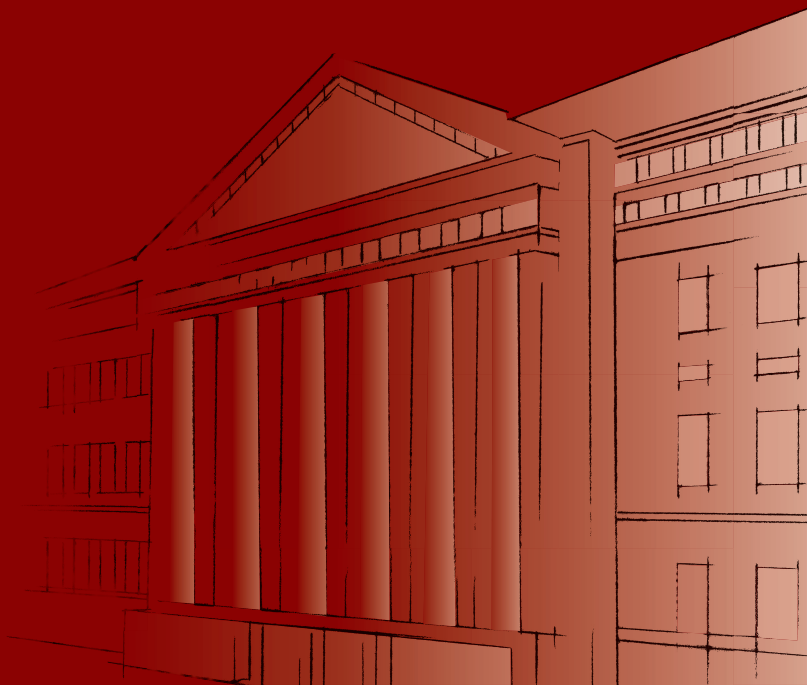TRIIN TODESK

Ogdžyk töd 'I do not know that well':
džyk as a degree expression
with verbs in Komi

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PREFACE

It is not without reluctance, but also with quite a bit of pride that I say that this topic has been a relevant part of my (academic) life for the past 11 or so years, ever since I started working on it for my master's thesis. The topic of *džyk* modifying verbs was introduced to me by Tõnu Seilenthal when I stopped by his office in search of a Finno-Ugric thesis topic, and for this I am deeply grateful to him. Although I might not have understood what I was getting myself into at the time, I was immediately charmed by the complex simplicity of *džyk* – that something so small, only four letters, can be such a diverse and multifunctional element. I also felt some allure and challenge in the fact that the element was for the most part under-researched. The fact that finishing this thesis took nine years (and two children) is certainly testament of the deep waters behind *džyk*'s sweet and simple façade. Luckily, I feel that these years have been well spent and *džyk* and I have become good friends by now. I very much hope that with this thesis I manage to at least partially pass on the fascination *džyk* has induced.

I owe a great deal of gratitude to my advisor Gerson Klumpp for being a teacher, friend, and on occasion a travel companion during the past nine years. Without your extensive knowledge on everything, your subtle advice, your understanding and patience while I took my time writing, and also your generous servings of tea and conversation, writing this dissertation would have been much more tedious. I also thank the advisors of my master's thesis, Nikolay Kuznetsov and Florian Siegl, who guided my first steps with this topic. To Kolja I am eternally grateful for past and present (and future) assistance with Komi, be it as a linguist or an informant. I thank Florian for his brotherly advice to a beginning linguist and for saying the words that pushed me towards sticking with the minor Uralic languages.

I want to thank the reviewers of this dissertation Jens Fleischhauer and Rogier Blokland for their valuable feedback and helpful suggestions. I am very grateful to Dr. Fleischhauer for his comments on the theoretical part of this dissertation that helped me improve and refine the final draft. I thank Rogier for bettering my work with detailed comments as a reviewer of this dissertation, but also for always showing interest in *džyk* and for inspiring me with different obscure bits of information over the years before this thesis began to take its final form. I also thank the preliminary reviewer Fedor Rozhanskij for his honest critique and support. I am very grateful to Uldis Balodis for going over my text and improving its readability swiftly and elegantly.

I also thank the financial sources that have supported my studies and travels: the Albert Hämäläinen Foundation of the Finno-Ugric Society, the Archimedes Foundation, the Estonian branch of Alfred Kordelin Foundation, the European Union (through the European Social Fund and the European Union Regional Development Fund), the University of Tartu Scholarship Fund, and PRG1290 "The grammar of discourse particles in Uralic". I would also like to thank Liina

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The aim of the thesis

The object of investigation of this thesis is the Komi comparison element *(-)džyk*[1] and its uses as an extent and degree modifier of verbs (1.1).

(1.1) *Oz=džyk*   *bytt'ö*   *i*   *skod'it...*
      NEG.3SG.PRES   as if   PAR   be suitable.CNEG
      '[It] would not be as suitable...' (Beznosikov 1977)

When *-džyk* appears as a suffix, it's primary function in Komi is forming the comparative degree of adjectives and adverbs, but when *džyk* appeas as an enclitic element, it also appears as an increaser of event frequency, an intensifier, or as a component of verbal comparison construction. This kind of use has been termed the *augmentative degree* in connection with comparison (Cypanov 1996; 2005), and *džyk*'s cross-categorical use as a degree expression has been noted in previous works (Bartens 2000: 133–138), but this phenomenon is otherwise quite under-studied.

    The aim of this study is to give a description of *(-)džyk* and its functions in the Komi literary language when combining with VPs. The study concentrates on two aspects which have previously not been sufficiently studied: a) the semantics of *džyk*, i.e., a systematic overview of the kind(s) of reading(s) *džyk* may have with verbs, and b) determining which kind of verbs combine with *džyk* and which do not. So far it has been stated that even though it can be used with verbs produc-tively, it does not attach to all VPs. Taking Cypanov's (2005) short overview and the list of verbs described there as a basis, I will follow the works of current studies on degree expressions (Löbner 2012; Fleischhauer 2013, 2016; etc.) and show that *džyk* is semantically a degree expression modifying for extent (quantity) and degree (intensity). Based on its semantics, it is clear that *džyk* is a degree expression and it also appears in similar contexts like degree expressions, fol-lowing the same limitations for its appearance. For understanding the scope of this phenomenon better, I will also introduce similar clitics in Udmurt and Mari and give an overview of any other cross-categorical or semantically similar affixoids/affixes in the Uralic languages.

    This thesis follows my previous works on the appearance of *džyk* with verbs (Todesk 2013, 2015), the preliminary notions of which are thoroughly amended here, but not without the merit of guiding the general direction of this study. For example, event structure and especially telicity were established as integral factors restricting the use of *džyk* to particular verbs (Todesk 2015: 40). In that respect I rely on Croft's (2012) detailed approach to *Aktionsart*, and the

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[1]   In the text, *-džyk* refers to use as a suffix, *džyk* to use as a degree expression, and *(-)džyk* refers to the element in general regardless of its use.

approaches of Löbner (2012) to sub-compositionality, and Fleischhauer (2016) to verb gradability.

This thesis consists of five chapters. In the first chapter I will give an overview of evaluative derivation in Uralic. I will also give an account of Udmurt *ges*/*gem* and Mari *rAk* which are both cross-categorical elements although primarily comparison elements similar to Komi *džyk*. I will introduce the element *(-)džyk* in more detail, including previous accounts of it in the literature and its formal distribution in the Komi literary language. I will show how *(-)džyk* appears in Komi dialects and as a borrowing in Udmurt and Khanty.

In the second chapter, I will introduce the terminology and background related to verbal gradation, *Aktionsart* and aspectual properties of events, with the greatest emphasis placed on the notions concerning degree expressions and quantifiers as well as verb gradability.

The third chapter presents the semantics of *džyk* by addressing each reading type, which the clitic has from the viewpoint of different *Aktionsart* classes, verbal semantics, and also event polarity. The main reading types are **extent gradation** (frequency, duration, and event quantity), and **degree gradation** which consists of high degree modification (intensity, tempo, quality), manner modification (tempo, quality) and moderation.

In the fourth chapter, a closer look will be given to the relevance of event structure (event and subject plurality, event complexity, telicity), scale structure (scalar and non-scalar verbs, scale types, open and closed scales), semantics of the event, and the type of modification when considering the possible restrictions the *džyk*-element has with Komi verbs. Komi *džyk* will be discussed in relation to the general context of verbal gradation. General conclusions will be presented at the end of Chapter 4.

The fifth and final chapter introduces the results of a linguistic assessment test carried out among young bilingual Komi-Russian speakers. The aim of the assessment test is to illustrate how young language users react to *džyk* in various linguistic contexts, special interest is in those instances that differ from the contexts *džyk* usually appears in. The assessment test complements the generalisations made based on examples from literature, which represent written and edited language use. First off, I will introduce the sociolinguistic background of the raters and present some correlation tests to find possible connections between the ratings of the assessment test and the background of the raters. The results of the assessment test will be presented in three groups according to the mean rating of the test item. The second part of the results is concerned with provided readings, i.e., the interpretations given to *džyk* by the raters. I will present both expected readings that are common with *džyk*, as well as readings not associated with *džyk* in the previous literature.

1.2. Komi

Komi belongs to the Permic branch of the Uralic languages together with Udmurt. Komi is divided into two main languages (or dialect groups in earlier works) – Komi-Zyrian and Komi-Permyak. In addition, Komi-Jaz'va is sometimes distinguished as an Eastern Permyak dialect, which differs phonologically (see Lytkin 1961). This thesis is based on Komi-Zyrian and thus the term *Komi* will denote Komi-Zyrian from here on, as is the usual practice. I will also not make a distinction between Komi-Permyak and Komi-Jaz'va, as they do not show significant differences relevant to the matter at hand. The Komi-Zyrian literary language has official status in the Komi Republic, while the literary standard of Komi-Permyak has no official status in the Perm Region where it is mainly spoken. (Kuznetsov 2022: 487)

According to the 2010 census, Komi is spoken by around 156,000 people and Komi-Permyak by around 94,400 people (RNC 2010). Komi-Jaz'va is spoken by a few hundred elderly speakers (Cypanov 2009: 210–211). By ethnicity, around 234,000 people consider themselves Komi, and 87.7% of them live in the Komi Republic (*ibid.*); others live mostly in the neighbouring areas in Russia, on the Kola Peninsula, and in western Siberia (Kuznetsov 2022: 487).

As is the case with other Uralic languages, Komi is an agglutinative language with a rich nominal and verbal inflectional morphology. Nouns are inflected for number (singular/plural) and case (16 to 23 cases[2], three of which are grammatical, compare Bubrikh 1949 and ÖKK), there is both non-possessive/absolutive and possessive declension; nouns are not inflected for gender. Komi has possessive suffixes which are used either to mark the number and person of the possessor, or to mark "definiteness, identifiability, uniqueness, a common ground for the hearer/reader as [the] addressee of a (virtual) conversation" (Kuznetsov 2022: 493). Komi has a large inventory of postpositions.

Komi verbs are conjugated for tense, mood, person, number (singular/plural), and polarity. The tenses include analytical present, future, and imperfect (or first past tense), and a number of synthetic past tenses which also have evidential reference (2nd to 6th past tense). Present and future tense forms are differentiated only in 3rd person forms, so some auxiliary verbs are also used to mark future reference (also called 2nd future tense or II будущее время). Indicative and imperative moods are expressed synthetically, while the optative and conditional are expressed analytically. Verbal aspect is expressed by non-finite verb forms and derivational suffixes.

When presenting relevant Komi examples, I use the scientific ISO 9 transliteration system and not the Cyrillic script of the literary language. The transliteration of Russian, including that of names, however, follows the 2013 ICAO system[3] of transliteration (ICAO 2013), which is used in Russian passports.

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[2] Depending on whether proximal locative cases and comparative -*s'a* are included (Kuznetsov 2022: 492).

[3] With the following exceptions: ICAO has й = i, ю =iu, я = ia, ъ =ie.

Table 1 illustrates the transliteration of specific characters from Komi and from Russian. In Komi, *e*, *jo*, *ja*, and *ju* mark the palatalness of the preceding consonants, while /'/ is used to the same effect. Both <i> (follows a non-palatal consonant) and <и> (follows a palatal consonant) will be marked by *i*; <i> will not be distinguished further, while with <и>, the preceding consonant will be marked with /'/ .

Table 1. List of symbols used in transliterations from Komi and from Russian.

Cyrillic	transliteration from Komi	transliteration from Russian
ё	jo	e
э	è	è
ж	ž	zh
ц	c	ts
ч	č	ch
ш	š	sh
щ	–	shch
з	z	z
ы	y	y
й	j	j
ь	'	'
ъ	–	–
я	ja	ja
ю	ju	ju
ö	ö	–

Note that this transcription is limited to transliterations of Komi from Cyrillic – I have not unified the transcriptions of examples presented from earlier works and for languages other than Komi if they have already been transcribed in a script based on the Latin alphabet.

1.3. Data

This thesis is based on both data extracted from text corpora and data elicited during field work. Both sets deal with written language, since the different sources of the texts (i.e., media texts, fiction (prose), poetry, folklore, etc.) feature the written variety of Komi, and also the items of the assessment test were sourced from written texts. In quite a few instances, the examples from fiction feature direct speech which imitates spoken language and reflects the specific author's use of *džyk*. Other than this "artificially" produced spoken language, I have not used sources of spontaneous speech or other spoken language, including dialectal varieties.

The data set itself consists of three main sections. The first portion of data was elicited with the help of an assessment test of 49 examples rated by 38 speakers of Komi, the second portion has been extracted from a smaller 3.8-million-word text corpus of media and fiction (not available online, see *1.3.2* for details), and the third portion has been extracted from a larger 30.5-million-word text corpus of written language (komicorpora.ru). Examples from each of these sources have different purposes in this thesis, and the data sets will be explained further below.

1.3.1. Data from questionnaire

A portion of this dissertation is based on elicitation-work carried out in Syktyvkar, Komi Republic in autumn 2014. The questionnaire was an assessment test where 40 young bilingual Komis were asked to rate 49 sentences from 1 to 5, 1 being 'impossible' and 5 'very often used'. The test items were composed of sentences randomly chosen from media texts of the 2007 issues of *Komi Mu* 'Komi Land', *Zvezda* 'Star', and *Vyl' Tujöd* 'On a New Path', given that the sentences included verbs modified by degree or quantity adverbs with readings similar to those of the *džyk*-clitic. The adverbs were removed and *džyk* was added to the verbs. In addition to rating the items from 1 to 5, the acceptable sentences, i.e., those rated with 3 or higher, were also asked to be translated to determine the interpretations the clitic may have. The informants usually provided Russian translations, but in some instances paraphrasings into Komi were also preferred. A detailed account of the raters' sociolinguistic background was also collected with the help of LEAP-Q (Marian *et al*. 2007), a questionnaire designed to attain information about language acquisition and proficiency based on self-assessments (see more details on all aspects of the test in Chapter 5).

1.3.2. Semantic data set

The smaller data set consists of 313 examples extracted from an un-annotated text corpus of 3.8 million words. This corpus contains 81 works of fiction from the years 1939–2011, among them works by 39 Komi authors and 8 additional text compilations by various authors (see Table 2 for details), and also the 2007 issues of *Komi mu*, *Zvezda*, *Vyl' Tujöd*, and *Parma Gor*[4]'Sound of the Taiga'. The ratio of fiction to media texts leans heavily towards fiction, with 3.1 million tokens originating from fiction and 0.77 million tokens from media. The choice of texts in this case is random and simply reflects the availability of materials at the time of data collection. The examples from media texts are referred to by abbreviation for each source (km = *Komi mu*, zv = *Zvezda*, vt = *Vyl' Tujöd*, pg = *Parma Gor*)

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[4] Fiction texts were acquired from Ön'ö Lav during the early stages of compiling the database for komicorpora.ru, the online text corpus managed by FU-lab in Syktyvkar. Media texts from 2007 were gathered and made available to me by Nikolay Kuznetsov. To both sources I am eternally grateful.

and the date of the relevant issue. For fiction texts, the reference features the name of the author and the year of the publication, but the page numbers are not included since the corpus does not provide them.

Since the text corpus is not annotated and is in Cyrillic, I used the help of the AntConc corpus analysis toolkit (Anthony 2014) for collecting the language material by manually searching for each possible occurrence of verbs modified by *džyk*. Each example was retrieved with its preceding and following sentence for context. All the translations and interpretations have been checked by a native speaker, and the glossing was done with the help of the Komi morphological analyser available at morphologic.hu (Novák 2004). Note that as an attempt to conserve space with longer examples, the glossing is only done for the relevant clause including VP+*džyk*.

Table 2 illustrates the fiction portion of the corpora by giving the number of word-tokens and titles by decade, and also showing how many instances of verb+*džyk* were found per decade. The '*džyk*s per million' column helps to compare decades with different token sizes.

Table 2. Details for fiction texts.

decade	no. of tokens	no of titles	of which compilations	no. of *džyk*s[5]	*džyk*s per million
1930	39067	1	0	1	26
1940	343879	2	1	31	90
1950	245894	7	2	11	45
1960	320834	15	1	34	106
1970	431888	15	0	37	86
1980	563257	18	1	69	123
1990	539671	14	3	29	54
2000	443504	8	0	42	95
2010	188970	1	0	9	48
total:	3116964	81	8	263	

Although this is not exactly within the scope of this dissertation to investigate, there are authors whose works feature the comparison clitic construction more regularly and frequently than others. In Table 3, the authors are presented with the number of tokens (i.e., written words) per author, and also how many instances of verb+*džyk* their works include. By absolute figures, Aleksej Popov and Ivan Toropov are at the top, while by occurrences per million, Ivan Toropov is the most prolific, followed by Vasilij Juhnin and Vladimir Beznosikov.

For fiction texts, most are original Komi works, i.e., originally written in Komi, with the exception of four titles that are either partially or entirely trans-

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5   Rounded to the closest full figure; note that *džyk* refers only to instances of the clitic modifying VPs. The same applies to the following tables of this section.

lated from Russian into Komi. In this data set, these include the compilations "S'ylankyvjas" ("Songs") (1951), "Alöj dzor'idz" ("Blood-red flower") (1986), "Mort inödjas jylys' bydönly inana šyödčöm" ("Universal declaration of human rights") (1996), and the 1949 issues of the literary journal "Vojvyv kodzuv" ("North Star").

Table 3. Authors with the most tokens and/or occurrences of *džyk* in the semantic corpus.

	Author	no of tokens	no. of *džyk*s	*džyk*s per million
1	Popov, Aleksej	557904	47	84
2	Kodanjov, Ivan	230162	9	39
3	Lyjurov, Aleksandr	197119	17	86
4	Shahov, Petr	170960	3	18
5	Toropov, Ivan	168858	42	249
6	Beznosikov, Vladimir	139848	27	193
7	Izjurov, Ivan	134957	4	30
8	Rochev, Jakov	106306	3	28
9	Juhnin, Vasilij = Luzdor Vas'	99813	21	210
10	Ignatov, Mikhail	89056	14	157
12	Timin, Vladimir	70876	11	155

For media texts, it is difficult to estimate the ratio of translations from Russian to original Komi texts, but it is safe to assume that not all of the content is originally written in Komi. Table 4 illustrates the token sizes of the media publications as well as gives the number of instances of VP+*džyk* in each of these.

Table 4. Hits per media publication.

Publication	no of tokens	no. of *džyk*s	*džyk*s per million
Komi Mu	392226	34	87
Parma Gor	182607	12	66
Zvezda	81796	3	37
Vyl' Tujöd	110211	1	9
total	766840	50	

Altogether, this data set comprises 189 negative and 124 affirmative examples which were annotated morphologically (person and number of verb, tense, etc.), syntactically (VP complexity, etc.), and semantically (*Aktionsart* class of event, reading of VP+*džyk*). The annotations and especially the semantics of the example were checked with the help of a native speaker of Komi to ensure accurate interpretations. A detailed overview of the interpretations and readings of *džyk* presented in Chapter 3 is based on this data set.

1.3.3. General data set

The general data set consists of 1095 verbal predications modified by *džyk*, which have been extracted from *Korpus komi jazyka* ("Corpus of the Komi language") (KKJ), which contained nearly 30.5 million tokens during data collection in September 2016 (available at http://komicorpora.ru); currently, the size of the corpus exceeds 60 million tokens. While the site provides automatically produced ambiguous annotations that can be viewed online, the annotated examples cannot be downloaded, so the online source has been used only for acquiring the examples themselves without annotations. Table 5 illustrates the different subcorpora and the sizes of each type of texts. Unfortunately, I have no access to the information about the size of each subcorpus, so no claims can be made about distribution by text genre.

Table 5. Occurrences per komicorpora.ru subcorpus.

subcorpus	*džyk*s per subcorpus
newspaper	84
documentary prose	58
drama	42
scientific	39
main (i.e., prose)	730
translated fiction	73
poetry	45
folklore	14
other	16

The general data set was then manually annotated for person, number, and tense of VP, also for event semantics and the complexity of the event. The purpose of this data set is to provide a more general overview of *džyk*'s appearance with verbs in different persons and numbers and also with different verb types (see *1.3.1.1.3. Distribution of džyk*). The data set is also used to provide more examples and further explanations for the issues raised by the questionnaire and the semantic data set (see Chapter 5).

As during data collection, komicorpora.ru was the only suitably large corpus, my data-sources do not include Timofej Arkhangelskiy's Komi-Zyrian corpora (available at http://volgakama.web-corpora.net/) which were published in 2019 (Arkhangelskiy 2019). Arkhangelskiy's corpora consist of media and social media texts with automatically produced morphological annotations, around 3.5 million tokens in total, which I have used for general searches, although I have not systematically included the findings of verb+*džyk* from these corpora in my data set.

1.3.4. Restrictions to the data

Both affirmative and negative examples are included in the data set, and I have made no restrictions based on moods, i.e., imperative, optative, and conditional (the latter two are expressed using modal particles (Hamari 2015: 246)) all appear with *džyk* and are included in my analysis alongside those in the indicative mood. In both the optative and conditional, the negative construction follows the pattern of standard negation, i.e., tense is not distinguished and the *o*-stemmed negative auxiliary is used. In the imperative, the *e*-stemmed auxiliary and a bare lexical verb stem are used in the negative and thus the negated imperative form is identical to that of the negated 1st past form. (Hamari 2015: 246–247)

As for tenses, present, future (including analytic future, the so-called II future), and 1st past (imperfect) are represented, but the syntactic and nominal-like 2nd past is left out. The tense forms that Cypanov refers to as 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th past tense (ÖKK 2000: 254–261) have been excluded from my analysis due to being analytical. In addition, the latter two are not always considered proper tenses due to their aspectual or modal characteristics (Hamari 2015: 244). The exclusions are for the most part made for practical reasons – it is highly laborious to distinguish the predicate use the of 2nd–6th past tenses from their nominal uses as adjective-like participles when using an un-annotated text corpus. Furthermore, even a dissertation that investigates one single clitic has space limitations, and not all aspects of this phenomenon can be done justice within the space of this monograph.

Similarly, the other non-finite types of negation (e.g., negation of non-verbal clauses, constituent negation, negated forms of converbs and participles, etc.) are excluded from the analysis in this dissertation; this includes the negation particles *abu* and *ne/n'i*, which appear either in complex tenses or are part of an existential or possessive copula construction.

For the sake of semantic diversity, I have included negated verbal predicates, which appear in finite subordinate clauses in this analysis. I have also included subordinate clauses, which involve *ny*-infinitives and some *ig*-converbs (e.g., *-igön* and *-igad*) in the data set, but have not specifically aimed to include other non-finite subordinate verb forms (the participles *-ös'*, *-an(a)*, *-öm(a)*, *-töm*, the converbs *-mös*, *-mön*, *-ömön*, *-sön*, *-tög,* etc., see a fuller list in Kuznetsov 2022: 497–499), or instances where the clitic attaches to a non-finite form (except with infinitives). Firstly, the selection is made to keep the data set of this thesis sufficiently concise. Secondly, as was noted above, there are limited possibilities for acquiring relevant data, and distinguishing a reasonable number of adjectival participles from the non-finites forms, which form complex tenses would have been very time-consuming. I also do not expect that the use of *džyk* in simple tenses differs very much from its use in complex tenses, but this claim definitely needs more support through further investigation.

1.4. Augmentative marking in Uralic

In the following section, an overview is given about evaluative derivation in Uralic, i.e., augmentative and diminutive suffixes, most importantly those, which have cross-categorical use or which modify (mainly) verbs. This is followed by an introduction to the Udmurt and Mari comparison elements (*ges/gem* and *rAk*, respectively), which to my knowledge, are the only comparison elements in the Uralic languages (other than Komi *džyk*) that productively combine with categories other than adjectives and adverbs[6]. The final part of this chapter is devoted to the use of *(-)džyk* in Komi and its dialects, including a short overview of *džyk*'s distribution as a verbal modifier (based on the literary language).

1.4.1. Evaluative derivation

Morphologically, *džyk* is not a derivational suffix in its verb-modifying capacity, but since the notion of diminution/augmentation has been central to developing an understanding of *džyk*'s semantics, then evaluative derivation and diminution/augmentation will be discussed below. Semantically, the clitic *džyk* and its counterparts partially correspond to the concept of augmentation, i.e., deriving words referring to a large quantity or negative quality, while *kod'* and *moz*, and also some uses of *ges* are similar to diminution, i.e., deriving words referring to small size or a positive quality (see Körtvélyessy 2014: 296). For this reason, I will give a brief characterisation of both augmentation and diminution as part of evaluative derivation and point out whether other Uralic languages (apart from Udmurt, Mari, and Khanty already discussed above) have similar verbal or omni-based derivational suffixes that intensify or quantify verbs.

In the literal sense, diminutives express the concept of 'small', e.g., Du. *tafeltje* 'small table' < *tafel*, but also explicative readings that are derived from similar bases but possess a meaning beyond *item + small*, e.g., Du. *peukje* 'cigarette butt' < *peuk*. These reading may further be divided into evaluative and partitive meanings. Evaluative readings express **depreciation** (Du. *romannetje* 'insignificant novel'), **appreciation** (Du. *broertje* 'dear brother'), **approximation** (Du. *kilootje* 'roughly a kilo'), and **relativisation** (Du. *cadeautje* 'a small gift'). Partitive readings express a count noun derived from a mass noun, e.g., *chocolaatje* 'piece of chocolate' < *chocolade* 'chocolate'. Furthermore, a grammaticalised metasemantic reading may also be found, like in Du. *telefoontje* which stands for 'conversation over the telephone'. (Bakema and Geeraerts 2008: 1048–1049) Jurafsky's approach also distinguishes child/offspring (Tib. *dom* 'bear' > *dom-bu* 'bear cub'), female gender (Hebr. *mapa* (masc.) 'tablecloth', *mapit* (fem.) 'napkin'), imitation (Hung. *csillag* 'star' > *csillagocska* 'asterisk'), and intensity/

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exactness (Mex. Span. *ahora* 'now' > *ahorita* 'just now, right now') as cross-linguistic regularities of diminutive semantics (Jurafsky 1996: 536).

By definition, the augmentative expresses the concept of 'big' and deriving from that, the notions of evaluative exaggeration and intensification, (Bakema and Geeraerts 2008: 1045), as in Eng. *superstar* 'a very famous person' and Est. *ülitundlik* 'very sensitive, exaggeratedly touchy'. Similar examples can be found in other Germanic languages, but also in Greek, in Romance and Slavic languages, in Arabic, Chichewa (a Bantu language), etc. (see Grandi 2011). Augmentative derivation in general is less widespread in world languages and also less studied than its counterpart diminutive. More so – if a language possesses both diminutive and augmentative categories, the former is more varied in formation and also more frequent. (Bakema and Geeraerts 2008: 1046) Usually, when a language has augmentatives, it also has diminutives (cf. Körtvélyessy 2014: 312).

In general, both diminutives and augmentatives have two opposite readings – appreciative and depreciative. Diminutives tend to be more appreciative, while augmentatives more depreciative. When a diminutive modifies something small, it may have an augmentative reading instead, since it intensifies the object's smallness. (Bakema and Geeraerts 2008: 1049)

According to Nieuwenhuis (1985), apart from nouns, diminution (and for most part also augmentation) is possible also with adjectives, adverbs, numerals, personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, interjections and greetings, and verbs (1985: 64–73). Diminution of verbs yields a lower intensity of the action, e.g., Slovak *hrabat'* 'rake' → *hrabkat'* 'rake.DIM, but it also denotes repetitiveness, leisure, endearment in child-oriented language, e.g., Slovak *bežat'* 'run' → *bežkat'* 'run.DIM' (Böhmerová 2011: 19), or politeness in requests. Some iterative verbs may also denote diminution-pejoration, e.g., Latvian *skraidīt* 'run around.ITER' > *skraidelēt* 'run around.ITER.DIM' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 27). Derivationally, Latvian and Russian also have attenuative verbal prefixes *pa-* and *po-*, respectively, which denote the speaker's subjective attitude to the action, e.g., Lat. *palasīt* 'to read a little' (Horiguchi 2015: 235). A similar occurrence is present in Lithuanian, where the prefix *pa-* and suffix *-é-ti* are used simultaneously for a diminutive reading, e.g., *pa-bėg-ė-ti* 'to run a little' < *bėge-ti* 'to run' (Stundžia 2016: 3101)

Augmentative verbal affixes of a similar kind are rarer, e.g., Slovak has diminutive derivation, but not augmentative, although Körtvélyessy simultaneously considers the iterative reading of the Slovak diminutive suffix on verbs as augmentation (Körtvélyessy 2014: 307). Augmentatives usually express a negative effect of doing something excessively, e.g., English *over-* in *overdo*, Croatian *pre-* in *prepéći* 'overtoast' (Croatian Language Portal), or have a general negative undertone, e.g., Estonian prefixoid *üle-* in *ülekoormama* 'overburden' (Kasik 2015: 144), etc.

The term affixoid (and subsequently prefixoid/suffixoid) denotes a word that can both appear independently or as a word-forming element, like Ger. *Riese* 'giant' and *Riese(n)-* in *Riesenlärm* 'huge noise'. Semantically, affixoids are

more general in meaning than affixes, and the basic meaning is due to the other member of the compound. (Ascoop and Leuschner 2006: 244) Affixoids are often cross-categorical but may also have a restricted scope. Although there are also augmentative affixoids in German, they do not combine with verbs, while Swedish augmentative prefixoids do, and they yield an intensifying or quality-raising meaning, e.g., *fethaja* 'to comprehend something very well', *hårdbanta* 'to diet radically' (Ascoop and Leuschner 2006: 246). Note that based on the examples above, *džyk* is semantically more similar to Swedish augmentative affixoids than to the English, Croatian and Estonian elements that express negative effect. Also, affixoids are syntactically more similar to *džyk* than affixes, seeing as affixoids are often cross-categorical or multibased – German *-freundlich* 'friendly' and *-hungrig* 'hungry' appear with both nominals and verbs, e.g., *spielhungrig* 'longing to play', *kinderfreundliche Seife* 'child-friendly soap', etc. (Ascoop and Lauscher 2006: 248–249).

Among the Uralic languages, Samoyed languages are the only branch that have productive augmentative derivation (Kiefer and Laakso 2014: 492), while other Uralic languages have various suffixes that diminish or augment nominals. One of the Samoyed languages, Tundra Nenets has a number of multibased derivational suffixes/suffixoids with both diminutive and augmentative readings which are in that respect similar to the Komi, Udmurt, Mari, and Khanty clitics which will be discussed in the following sections. In Finno-Ugric languages, diminutive suffixes are frequently found with nominals, to a lesser degree with verbs and even then mostly as a secondary reading to an aspectual suffix; augmentative derivation is not found at all with verbs.

Below, a brief overview is given of relevant diminutive and augmentative derivational suffixes in the relevant Uralic languages. There are very few instances found of comparison elements being used with nouns, but since *džyk* is involved with verbal comparison constructions and verbal quantification, then relevant instances of comparative suffixes and frequentative derivation will be exemplified.

1.4.1.1. Samoyed

Tundra Nenets boasts a number of multibased (*omnibased* in Salminen 1998) suffixes that share similarities with both clitics and derivational suffixes – on one hand, in most cases they precede inflectional morphology but on the other hand they do not change the word-class of the modified word (Nikolaeva 2014: 123–124). Not all of these suffixes appear with finite verbs but many do, among them limitative, comparative, focus, polar, pejorative, and intensive suffixes. The latter occurs normally only with verb forms (Nikolaeva 2014: 139). With non-finite verbs, also affirmative, emphatic, moderative, diminutive, and augmentative suffixes may appear.

Below are examples of the Tundra Nenents suffixes that are semantically similar to Komi *džyk:* comparative, moderative, diminutive, augmentative, and intensive suffixes.

With adjectives, the Tundra Nenets **comparative** suffix *-rka* is reported to indicate comparison, e.g., *n'aŋosərka* 'thicker', while with adverbs, the meaning can also be 'approximately' or 'rather', e.g., *pon°rkah* 'rather (a) long (time)' (Nikolaeva 2014: 133). On finite verb forms, the reading denotes low intensity of the event, e.g., *s'ar°ner°rka* 'squeal from time to time' (Nikolaeva 2014: 134). Based on her fieldwork, Polina Berezovskaya refutes the comparison-component of the suffix and shows that instead, the suffix has a moderative meaning, e.g., *Tanya Katya-xad pirc'a-rka* (Tanya Katya-ABL tall-RKA) 'Tanya is a little taller than Katya' (Berezovskaya 2020: 121). It also derives from the fact that there is no overt marking of comparison on adjectives in Tundra Nenets (*ibid.*)

The **moderative** *-mpoy°h/-poy°h* indicates high degree of property with adjectives, e.g., *səwa* 'good' > *səwampoy°h* 'better', and with participles *səŋkowo-ta* 'heavy, difficult (heavy-IMPF.PART)' > *səŋkowo-ta-mpoy°h* 'heavier, more difficult (heavy-IMPF.PART-MODER)'. With adverbs the reading may also be moderative 'rather, fairly', e.g., *t'an'ompow°na* 'fairly little (i.e., a short time) (little.MODER.PROL) '. (Nikolaeva 2014: 135)

The **diminutive** suffixes (*-ko* and *-c'a* among others) can denote affection or diminution, e.g., *mən'kon°* 'poor little me (1SG.DIM)', *lad°weko* 'hit lightly (hit-PERF.PAR.DIM)'. Nikolaeva 2014: 136–137) Kiefer and Laakso (2014: 491) also report *-jbt'e/-jebt'e/-bt'e* as verbal diminutive-attenuative suffixes which denote a small degree, e.g., *je* 'be' > *je-jebt'e* 'be a bit ill'.

The **augmentative** suffix *-qya/-qya°* has an evaluative reading, expressing a large size (*wen'akoqya* 'big dog ~ bad dog (dog.AUG)') or negative attitude (*mən'° to-qyaŋa-d°m* (I come-AUG-1SG) 'I have come (although you do not like it)'. In addition to the evaluative meaning, the reading can also be one of high intensity with non-finite verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, e.g., *yamp°* 'long' > *yamp°qya* 'very very long'. (Nikolaeva 2014: 138–139)

The **intensive** suffix *-xəya* adds a high intensity to the finite verbs and converbs it modifies, e.g., *tənya-* 'to exist' > *tənyahəya* 'to really exist' (Salminen 1998: 542). Unlike most of the other abovementioned elements, *-xəya* has not been noted to appear with nouns (Nikolaeva 2014: 140).

As for the other Samoyed languages, Kamas seems to have a verbal derivational suffix in the form of *-r/-rə*, which forms augmentative-frequentatives (Künnap 1999: 31), as in *amorlam* 'I eat frequently' (Simoncsic 1998: 591); the suffix is considered non-productive in Kamas by Klumpp since it does not combine with Turkic loans (Klumpp 2022b: 835), but the suffix itself originates from Proto-Samoyed and is known to appear in all Samoyed languages (Wagner-Nagy and Szeverényi 2022: 662–663).

There are no similar multibased or verbal suffixes in other Samoyed languages, but there are both diminutive and augmentative nominal derivational suffixes in Nganasan (Wagner-Nagy 2002: 127–128), Forest Nenets (Sammallahti 1974: 96; 114), Forest Enets (Siegl 2013: 169–177), and Selkup (Kazakevič 2022: 806). In those instances, diminution refers to small size or familiarity/affection, while for augmentation, the reading is primarily pejorative (old, nasty, etc.) but may refer to large size. In Nganasan, the diminutive suffixes *-"ku/-a"ku/-aŋku/-*

ma″ku[7] and the augmentative suffixes *-″a/-ra″a/-rba″a* are not found with finite verb forms, but they are reported to attach to participles and non-finite verb forms, e.g., *nʲilytʲa″ku* 'the little living', *nʲilytʲa″a* 'the big living' (Helimski 1998a: 509).

Semantic similarities with *džyk* are found with some Selkup suffixes that attach to verbal adverbs and yield restrictive meanings, e.g., *iram* 'gets older' > *iramlä* 'getting older' > *iramlälååqy* 'getting a little older' (Helimski 1998b: 572–573).

However, it is worth pointing out that in Selkup, there is a comparative derivative suffix *-lå/-låqį* e.g., *somalåqį* 'better' < *soma* 'good' (Hajdú 1989: 141). Kamas also has a comparative suffix *-(a)rak*, which is the same Turkic suffix that is borrowed into Mari (see Section *1.4.2.2*).

Among non-productive augmentative-like suffixes in Forest Enets, Siegl also mentions *-ita* as a minimal augmentative with the reading of 'a little more X than usual', e.g., *agaita* 'a little bigger' (Siegl 2013: 176), and *-rka* with a comparative-like reading of 'a little more than X', e.g., *bu nođun' d'uđirka* 'he is a little younger than me (3SG 1SG.ABL young.AUG[8].3SG)' (Siegl 2013: 177).

1.4.1.2. Ugric

The Khanty verbal derivational suffix *-wAɣt/-pAɣt* has a wide range of meanings like low intensity, attenuation, weakness of the salient feature, or instantaneity and rapid completion of the action, e.g., *wer-wäɣt-äntä* 'work a little/a while' < *wer-tä* 'work/do' (Filchenko 2007: 221). There does not seem to be a general augmentative, other than the Komi element borrowed into some dialects which was discussed above.

There are two diminutive suffixes in Northern Mansi: *-risʲ/-rəsʲ* and *-kwe* (*-ke*)[9], both of which are very productive and may attach to any word with the exception of conjunctions, and toponyms for *-risʲ/-rəsʲ* (Bíró 2021: 83). The diminutive/laudative *-ke* can attach to nouns (*sāli-ke* 'little (good) reindeer'), numerals (*low-ke* 'ten good...'), and verbs (Plungian 2001: 675). When attaching to verb stems, *-kwe* (*-ke*) expresses positive stance and politeness or affection, e.g., *totiken!* 'bring some, dear (bring.DIM.2SG.IMP)', while *-risʲ/-rəsʲ* often expresses regret and pity or scorn, e.g., *totirisʲəm* 'I bring, poor me (bring.DIM.1SG)' (*ibid.*), it is also called a precative mood (Bradley et al. 2022: 919). The pejorative reading is not always present with nouns, and especially in the non-Northern dialects, the semantical difference between the suffixes is not that great.

There is no comparison suffix in Khanty (Honti 1986: 65–66). For example, the Tremjugan and Tromagan varieties of Surgut Khanty use a postposition borrowed from Komi to mark comparison: *wäłii łaɣʷ kiinʲtʲää nʲååɣəł* 'a reindeer is shorter than a horse (lit. reindeer hose compared.to short)' (Abondolo 1998: 368).

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[7] The Nganasan suffixes presented here are subject to vowel harmony and have a wide variety of phonetic forms.

[8] AUG₃ in the original to distinguish between the three different augmentative suffixes.

[9] Or *-ka*, *-kä*, *-kə* (Riese 2001: 73).

The borrowed postposition derives from Komi *kindzy/kinnya* (*kyndz'i*) 'except; with the exception of' which can be used in reduplication-constructions to mark intensity or degree, e.g., *bur kinnya bur* 'very good' (Shlyakhova 2013: 1330).

In the Eastern Mansi dialects of Middle Konda and Lower Konda, the comparison is expressed by the comparative suffix *-nyøw*, which attaches to adjectives and adverbs, e.g., *weernyøw* 'younger' (Forsberg 2007: 53–54).

In Hungarian, the comparison marker can also attach to nouns, e.g., *rózsánál rózsább* 'more of a rose than rose ('rosiger als eine Rose')' (Raun 1949: 244). With verbs, *-gAt* functions as an attenuative/frequentative suffix and in addition to marking something being done repeatedly or over a period of time, the suffix may also add the meaning of doing something without aim or purpose, e.g., *olvasgat* 'read in a leisurely manner', *nézeget* 'look about' (Rounds 2001: 63–64).

1.4.1.3. Volga-Kama

In Komi-Zyrian, a verbal derivational suffix *-yšt* appears as an aspectual suffix that derives single or instantaneous events, but it also appears with verbs to denote a small measure of the event, e.g., *vesyštny* 'clean a bit' < *vesavny* 'to clean'. (Timushev and Kolegova 1961: 893) In Udmurt, *-št* can form momentative verbs, e.g., *n'ulyštyny* 'lick (once)' < *n'ulyny* 'lick' (Bartens 2000: 288). The diminutive reading, however, is less clear than in Komi.

According to Pengitov *et al.* (1961: 91–92), there are no diminutive or augmentative suffixes in Mari. However, there is a deverbal suffix *-al/-äl* which has a momentaneous and diminutive-affectionate reading, e.g., *muralaš* 'sing a bit' < *muraš* 'sing' (Alhoniemi 1985: 163), and the compound suffix *-al/-äl+-(e)št* can have a pejorative-like reading, e.g., *oškylalyštaš* 'walk dragging feet' < *oškylalaš* 'walk (affectionate use)' (Alhoniemi 1985: 161). According to Kiefer and Laakso (2014: 492), total reduplication is sometimes used to mark intensity in Mari (and in the Permic languages).

Augmentation is not within the scope of derivation in Mordvin and there are only nominal diminutive suffixes. In Erzya and Moksha, comparison is syntactic (Bartens 1999: 109) and does not use suffixes similar to its neighbouring Finno-Ugric languages. Comparison can be expressed by the standard in the ablative case, e.g., Erzya *kize t'el'ed'e paro* 'summer is better than winter (lit. summer winter.ABL good)' (*ibid.*) or by the ablative form of a *śe*-demonstrative pronominal *s'ed'e/s'äda*, e.g., *kona śada otśu, kona śada jombla?* 'which is bigger, which smaller (lit. which DEM.ABL big, which DEM.ABL small) (welcher ist grösser, welcher kleiner?)' (cf. Fuchs 1949: 172). There is however a comparative case *-ška* which has the meaning 'about the time of X', and which can be used with nouns, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, postpositions, quantors, and nominal verb forms but not with finite verb forms (Hamari 2021: 154).

1.4.1.4. Finnic and Saamic

There are a number of nominal and verbal derivational suffixes with a diminutive or moderative meaning that appear across the Finnic languages. Augmentation in not within the scope of derivation in the Finnic and most of the Saami languages (Rießler 2007), but some denominal suffixes may have a quantity increasing reading, e.g., Kar. *kalakaš* 'rich in fish' and Vot. *täikaz* 'full of lice' with the *-kkA + -s*[10] suffix (Laanest 1975: 144)

With verbs, there are originally momentaneous or frequentative suffixes that may also attribute a diminutive reading to the event. For example *-AhtA-* (Fin., Kar., Vps., Ing., Vot., EstS.)/*-ata-* (Est.) and *-AltA-*[11] form momentaneous events with a possible interpretation of doing something for a short while, e.g., Ing. *horjahtaa* 'waver for a moment' (Laanest 1975: 182–183), Vot. *laulaa > lau-lahtaa* 'start singing, sing a bit' (Ariste 1948: 128). *-ele*[12] and its derivate *-sk-+-ele-/-ske+-nt+-ele* (Laanest 1975: 183, Markus and Rozhanskij 2011: 215, 217) are frequentative suffixes with a possible reading of doing something in a small quantity or with low intensity, e.g., Est. *hüplema* 'lightly jump up and down' (Kasik 2015: 140), Fin. *kävelen* 'go, walk.1SG' (Laanest 1975: 183), Est. *tantsisk-lema* 'lightly, playfully dance around' (Kasik 2015: 141). In South Estonian Seto, *-hUt-* is a productive verbal derivational suffix which denotes a momentaneous situation and may also refer to diminution, e.g., *haugahutma* 'bark once', and *hel'ohutma* 'move (a bit)' (Saar *et al.* 2020).

In Finnic languages, comparison is formed by *-mpi/-m/-b/-p* (Laanest 1975: 119). The suffix may attach to lexicalised participles and some gerunds, but not to finite verb forms. Marginal examples of the comparison suffix used with nouns can also be found, e.g., in North Estonian Northeastern Coastal variety as *louna-m-a-sse* 'towards south (lit. south-COMP-GEN.VOWEL-ILL)' (Must 1987: 225), which is similar to the Finnish *syksy-mmä-llä* 'later in the autumn (lit. autumn-COMP-ADE)', although the latter is analysed as a comparative form of the adverb *syksy-llä* 'in the autumn (lit. autumn-ADE)' (VISK §684). An example in South Estonian can be found by the works of Artur Adson, who for example uses *viil enämb emämb* 'even more of a mother (*emä-mb* = mother.COMP)' (cf. Coates 1982: 122).

In Karksi, a variety of South Estonian Mulgi, the optative mood appears with an element which according to Pajusalu is clearly recognisable as the singular partitive form of the diminutive suffix[13] otherwise widely used in nominal deri-vation: *-kest < -ke(ne)*, e.g., *kor'gakest* '(DIM) pick', *süükest* '(DIM) eat', *meekest* '(DIM) go' (Pajusalu 1989: 142). Pajusalu also says that the diminutive optative marks a tender or flattering style or shows the intimacy between the interlocutors,

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[10]   Fin. *-kAs*, Kar. *-kAš*, Vps. & Vot. *-kaz*, Ing. *-gAz*, Est. *-kas*.

[11]   Fin. *-AltA*, Kar. *-AldA-*, Vps. *-alda-/-ouda-/-aada-*, Est *-alda*.

[12]   Fin. & Kar. & Ing. *-ele-*, Vps. & Est. *-(e)le-*, Vot. *-õlõ/-ele-*, Liv. *-lõ*

[13]   It is more likely the imperative marker *-k* which can be found in Mulgi runic songs (see Peegel 2006: 176–178).

which corresponds to the use of similar diminutive elements (Pajusalu 1996: 161). A similar example is found in Häädemeeste, a subdialect of the North Estonian Western dialect, where verbal and nominal meaning merge in *ei nutukest* '(DIM) don't cry' (*ibid.*). It should be noted that these forms are not in everyday use for modern speakers of Mulgi, but some speakers of the Karksi variety remember that the optative forms were used productively by the previous generation.[14]

Karksi's neighbouring sub-dialect Halliste also has forms where the diminutive formative is attached to the infinitive, e.g., *süvväkest taas* 'would like to eat a bit again' (*ibid.*) There is no agreement in person or number for this diminutive form, but it always attaches to the end of the stem. Lembit Vaba has proposed these instances to be an influence from Latvian, where the nominal diminutive suffix is applied to verbs in IMP.2SG, e.g., *nāc+iņ+ās* (DIM) come' < *nākt* 'come' (Vaba 1992: 161). In Latvian, this construction occurs only in nursery language (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 343), as is the case with South Estonian Mulgi. Pajusalu claims the idea of Latvian influence plausible (Pajusalu 1996: 161), as Finnic languages do not usually have an optative while Baltic languages do.

Kildin Saami, differing in that respect from other Saami languages as well from the Finnic languages, has an augmentative suffix which attaches to nouns. The most common suffix is *-p'ihk*[15], while the second augmentative suffix *-p'agka* has a more pejorative meaning; in his study on grammatical borrowing in Kildin Saami, Rießler is tempted to believe the latter to originate from *-pikenč*, which is actually a combination of AUG *-p'igk* and DIM *-enč* (Rießler 2007: 235). This development is an influence of Russian, the same kind of graded augmentative can be observed there, e.g., Ru. *dom* 'house' > *dom-išče* 'large house (house-AUG)' > *dom-iško* 'worthless/bad house (house-AUG.DIM)' (cf. Rießler 2007: 236). The origin of the Kildin Saami augmentative suffix is however obscure, it does not originate from Russian, as might be suspected. No augmentation of verbs is noted in Kildin Saami.

There is a deverbal diminutive suffix *-st* originating from the Proto-Saami *-stē*, e.g., *attestit* 'give a little bit' < *addit* 'give' (Sammallahti 1998: 82). A similar example can be found in Collinder 1960, where *luobbostâ-* means "spread (one thing after the other, or one part after the other) a little" (Collinder 1960: 227). Nieuwenhuis (1985: 73) claims the suffix to express short duration or suddenness, denote polite requests, or have a pejorative reading of mockery.

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14   P.c., Alli Laande, Kristi Ilves (10.10.2022)
15   Originating from the noun *pii´hk* 'piece', but not analysed as a compound when attaching to stems since it has lost its lexical meaning (Rießler 2022: 232).

1.4.2. Comparison elements in Udmurt and Mari,
and *džyk* in Komi dialects and Khanty

Both in Udmurt and in Mari, the comparison elements (*-ges*/*-gem* and *-rAk*, respectively) are reported by Bartens (2000) and Cypanov (2005) to have a similarly wide scope in the sense of not only modifying adjectives and adverbs, but also verbs and nouns. As a preface to Komi *(-)džyk*, a short overview of both is provided below. Other Uralic languages are not known to use the comparison element with nouns and/or verbs to such an extent (exceptions in North Estonian, South Estonian, Finnish and Hungarian were given in Section *1.4.1*).

1.4.2.1. *ges/gem* in Udmurt

In Udmurt, the comparison element appears as *ges*/*gem* (Cypanov 2005: 252). *gem* is believed to be Proto-Permic in origin; it functioned as a derivational suffix for moderative adjectives and gradually developed into a comparison element (Bartens 2000: 134). *ges* is common in almost all Udmurt dialects while *gem* is considered rare (Edygarova 2022: 513) and according to Kel'makov and Saarinen, it appears in Šošma, the eastern dialects, the Tilovaji, Lower-Čepca and Kil'mezi varieties; it is unknown in the Buj-Tanyp and Kukmor varieties (Kel'makov and Saarinen 1994: 109–110). In the central eastern dialects, both suffixes are used pleonastically *-gezgem > vekč'igezgem* 'even more thin' (Bushmakin 1965: 23, cf. Kel'makov and Saarinen 1994: 110).

The primary function for this element is forming the comparative degree, where *-ges/-gem* has a strengthening or intensifying meaning, e.g., *lapeg* 'low' > *lapegges* 'lower' (Kel'makov and Hännikäinen 2008: 129). With adjectives and adverbs, *-ges/-gem* may act as moderative derivational suffix, e.g., *čagyrges* 'light-bluish' (Kel'makov and Efremov 1997: 123). According to Kel'makov and Efremov, as a degree modifier, the element can refer to a degree of incompleteness (*ljabges* 'rather weak (слабовато)', or an insufficient degree of action (*uggem valas'ky* 'I do not understand at all (не совсем понимаю)' (Kel'makov and Efremov 1997: 124). Note that in comparative constructions, the reading of *-ges* is strengthening, e.g., *gondyr kuonles' kužmoges* 'a bear is stronger than a wolf (медведь сильнее волка)', while in non-comparative use, the reading is incompleteness of quality, e.g., *puny po kužmoges lulo* 'and a dog is quite a strong animal (и собака достаточное сильное животное)'. (Cypanov 2005: 246). This differs form *(-)džyk*, which has an intensifying reading regardless of whether it appears in a comparison construction (see Section *1.4.3*).

Kel'makov and Efremov report that the Udmurt comparison element appears most often with adverbs (55.6% of cases) (1.2a), next with verbs (15% of cases) (1.2b), and then with adjectives (11.5% of cases) (1.2c).

(1.2) a. *Doraz*   *Ivan*   *noš*   *ik*   *busmyges*   *vuiz.*
           home   PN   CONJ   DP   foggy.COMP   come.3SG.PST
           'Ivan came home again slightly tipsy (lit. foggy) (Домой Иван пришел снова
           слегка навеселе (букв. туманноватый))' (cf. Kel'makov and Efremov 1997:
           124)

       b. *Fal'šit'*   *karis'koges,*   *engek.*
           fake   do.1SG.PRS.COMP   EXPL
           'I fake a bit, damn it (Слегка фальшивлю, черт)' (*ibid.*)

       c. *Petyr*   *Mašales'*   *džužytges.*
           PN   PN.ABL   tall.COMP
           'Peter is taller than Masha.' (Edygarova 2022: 513)

With verbs, the appearance of finite and non-finite verb forms with *-ges/-gem* is
approximately the same, mainly converbs ending with *-sa* and *-tèk* are modified,
as are only those participles functioning as predicates. Negative and affirmative
forms are approximately equally represented. (Kel'makov and Efremov 1997:
121) The latter notion differs somewhat from Komi, where in the case of modi-
fication by *džyk*, negative forms exceed affirmative forms by about 2:1. However,
my data for Komi do not include statistics on participles and converbs which may
be the reason there is a difference between Komi and Udmurt.

    The Udmurt comparison element can be found in several Komi and Komi-
Permyak dialects. It appears as *-göm* in the Komi southern dialects of Luza-Letka
(e.g., *kurydgöm* 'bitterish (горьковатый)' (LL 1985: 56), Upper Sysola (e.g.,
ičötgöm 'smallish (маловатый)' (U-SY 1975: 93)) and in the Komi northern
dialect of Vym (Bartens 2000: 133), and as *-gèm* in the Komi northern dialect of
Ižma (e.g., *n'yygèm va* 'lukewarm water (тепловатая вода)' (IZH 1976: 60)) and
in the Komi central dialect of Upper-Vyčegda (e.g., *gyrdgèm čèri* 'slightly bloody
fish (крупноватая рыба)' (U-VY 1966: 90)), and the Upper-Kama dialect of
Komi-Permyak (Batalova 1975: 222). As a borrowing into Komi, the Udmurt
comparison element functions much like *-(d)žyk* does – it combines with nouns,
pronouns, verbs, adverbs as a degree expression, and derives moderative adjec-
tives, e.g., in LL *šomagöm* 'sourish (кисловатый)' (Cypanov 2005: 254), where
the adjectives modified by *-göm* express some incomplete quality. Fuchs also
reports *-göm* functioning as a diminisher in the Luza area, e.g., *posńidgem* 'quite
small or fine (ziemlich klein od. fein)' (cf. Fuchs 1949: 165).

1.4.2.2. *rAk* in Mari

In Mari, the comparison suffix *-rak* (Eastern literary language) or *-rak/-räk*
(Western literary language) is primarily a comparison element with adjectives
and adverbs, e.g., *Joškar-Ola Volžsk deč kugurak* 'Yoshkar-Ola is bigger than
Volžsk' (lit. Joškar-Ola Volžsk PP.ABL big.COMP) (Riese *et al.* 2022: 99), but it
can also function as an intensity modifier (Alhoniemi 1985: 79; see also Bartens
2000: 137). *rAk* can also be used as a particle without a specific meaning, e.g.,
kuzerak? 'how.PAR' (Riese *et al.* 2022: 321).

The *rAk*-element is a Turkic loan traceable back to Chuvash -*rax*/-*rex,* and according to Cypanov, it is semantically a diminutive suffix (Chv. *jaka* 'smooth' > *jakarax* 'smooth-like') (cf. Cypanov 2005: 246), while Gabain's Old Turkic grammar refers to *raq/räk* as a "reinforcing word-formation element" and lists it as a particle (Gabain 1974: 154), probably due to its cross-categorical behaviour. In later sources, e.g., Erdal's grammar of Old Turkic, -*rAk* is described as a particle-like element which forms elatives and comparatives with adjectives and adverbs, but not with other word-classes (Erdal 2004: 150). It seems that the same kind of Turkic element -*(a)rak* is also used in Kamas as a comparative, e.g., *urgo* 'big' > *urgo-rak* 'bigger' (Klumpp 2022b: 835).

Primarily, *(-)rAk* is used to form the comparative degree, e.g., *motor* 'beautiful' > *motorrak* 'more beautiful'. In Mari (as in Chuvash), the *rAk*-element can also have a softening or moderating effect and may be used to express an incomplete quality, e.g., *udramaš tugaj... iziš puškydyrak, nečke* 'a woman is such... a bit soft, pleasant (lit. woman such... little soft.COMP, pleasant) («женщина такая... немного мягкая, нежная»)' (Cypanov 2005: 246), *tide šür šinćalanrak* 'this soup is a bit salty (lit. this soup salty.COMP)' (Riese *et al.* 2022: 98). A similar usage is noted with Udmurt *ges*/*gem*, while *džyk* does not seem to display similar behaviour in Komi, instead, *kod'* (and *moz*) can be used to that effect. As a multibased element, *rAk* has a narrower categorical range than its Komi and Udmurt counterparts, appearing with adjectives of different functions, with time and location adverbs, quantor phrases and pronouns, etc. (Kovedjaeva 1975: 87, cf. Cypanov 2005: 245), but not all verb forms.

There are actually few examples of *rAk* appearing with verb forms of any sort at my disposal. One of these instances can be with converbs like in Meadow Mari *Ergym, molan tyge ojlet? – lüdynrak peleštyš acaže.* 'My son, why do you speak like this? – said father, scared' (lit. 'my son, for what like this speak.2SG.PRS – scare.CVB.COMP said father.3SG') (Alhoniemi 1985: 80). In such uses, *rAk* has no semantical function and it adds no dimension of comparison. It has not been noted that the element attaches to other, i.e., finite, verb forms or to the infinitive.[16] As the semantic scope of *rAk* is narrower than the semantic scope of the Permic elements *džyk* and *ges*/*gem,* thus the Mari element is not quite what Bartens leads us to believe – according to her, *džyk* and *rAk* are "completely comparable" (Bartens 2000: 137); however, these examples show semantic differences as well as differences in modified categories.

1.4.2.3. *(-)džyk* in Komi dialects

The following two sections illustrate the distribution of *(-)džyk* in the Komi and Komi-Permyak dialects, and are followed with examples of *(-)džyk* being borrowed into Udmurt and Khanty.

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[16]   P.c., Jeremy Bradley (12.10.2014)

Formally, the *džyk*-element has some variation in the Komi Zyrian dialects: *-(d)žyk/-(d)žik/-(d)žig* etc., but less so in Komi-Permyak (*-(d)žyk*) and Komi-Jaz'va (*-džik*). In all varieties, this element acts as a comparative suffix for adverbs and adjectives as well as a comparison-like clitic that combines with nouns, pronouns, and verbs (Bartens 2000: 134–135). The third function of this element is derivational: in Komi dialects, the *(d)žyk*-element forms moderative adjectives, e.g., Ud. *pońidžyk* 'quite small (pienehkö)' (Fuchs 1949: 169).

1.4.2.3.1. Komi-Zyrian

Komi is divided into ten subdialects: Middle Sysola, Upper Sysola, Luza-Letka, Pečora (i.e., the *l*-dialects[17]), Prisyktyvkar (or Middle Vyčegda, which is spoken around Syktyvkar and is the basis for the standard language), Lower Vyčegda, Udora (i.e., the *v > l* dialects), Ižma, Vym, and Upper Vyčegda (the *l > Ø* dialects); the Upper Vyčegda area is divided between the three groups according to *l-v* alternation). See Klumpp 2022a: 472–473 for a concise overview of the dialect distribution of all Permic languages, as well as references to dialect grammars.

Table 6 illustrates the different formants of *(-)džyk* as they appear in Komi dialects. The *-džyk* formant appears in Udora (UD 1990: 73) and Ižma (IZH 1976: 59), both *-džyk* and *-žyk* appear in Prisyktyvkar (SYKT 1971: 99–100), Upper Sysola (U-SY 1975: 91–92; 140), Middle Sysola (M-SY 1980: 30), Lower Vyčegda (L-VY 1978: 42), and Pečora (PCH 1976: 29), *-(d)žyk* and *-džyg* appear in Luza-Letka (LL 1985: 55), *-džik* appears in Upper Vyčegda (U-VY 1966: 90; 119), *-džik/-džig* appears in Vym (VYM 57–58).

Table 6. Formants of *(-)džyk* in Komi dialects.

dialect	formant
Udora, Ižma	*-džyk*
Prisyktyvkar, Upper Sysola, Middle Sysola, Lower Vyčegda, Pečora	*-(d)žyk*
Luza-Letka	*-(d)žyk/-džyg*
Upper Vyčegda	*-džik*
Vym	*-džik/-džig*

As for possible semantic or distributional differences, there are too few relevant examples available in the literature to make any generalisations. However, since *džyk* appears as a verbal modifier in literary Komi, it should be safe to assume it also appears in the Prisyktyvkar dialect which is the basis for the literary

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[17] This refers to the phonetic criteria used to classify Komi dialects: **l-dialects** retain the syllable-final /l/ in all positions (*völ* 'horse' > *völtög* 'without a horse' and *völys* 'horse.3SG'), while in **v > l dialects**, the original syllable-final /l/ becomes /v/ (*vöv > vövtög*), but is retained when followed by a vowel (*völys*), and in **l > Ø dialects**, the syllable-final /l/ is dropped and replaced by the lengthening of the preceding vowel (*vöö*, *vöötög*, but *völys*). (Kuznetsov 2022: 487)

language. For other areas, examples from the Udora dialect appear frequently in the literature (e.g., Bartens' and Cypanov's works) and are found in Sorvacheva and Beznosikova's monograph on Udora, e.g., *tenyd mozdödžyk taja plat't'ös* 'this dress suits you better' (UD 1990: 73). Unlike in other dialect monographs, the clitic is identified as appearing with certain verbs to intensify their degree or state (UD 1990: 73–74). I have not found similar examples for other dialects.

1.4.2.3.2. Komi-Permyak

Komi-Permyak is divided into three main dialect groups, which are themselves divided into further subdivisions: **Northern** (divided into Kočjovo, Kosa-Kama, Mys, Upper Lupya), **Upper-Kama** (also called Zyuzdino), and **Southern** (divided into Oni, Lower In'va, Nerdva, and Kudymkar-In'va, which is the basis of the literary language) (Batalova 1975). For more details on Komi dialects see Lytkin 1955, Popova and Sazhina 2014, for Komi-Permyak dialects see Batalova 1975.

In Komi-Permyak, the clitic appears as *žyk* and more seldom as *džyk*, in Komi-Jaz'va also *džik* (Lytkin 1961: 74). In some cases, *džyk* is a result of affrication, e.g., with words ending with *-d/-t* and *-dz*, e.g., *učödžyk* 'less' < *učöt + žyk*, *odzdžyk* 'earlier' < *odz + žyk* (Batalova 1975: 61, 168). The *džyk*-variant is frequent in some areas of the Kosa-Kama dialect (Levičanskij, Puksibskij, and Čurakovskij varieties), infrequent in some areas of the Kočjovo dialect (Bol'šekočinskij, Kočevskij, Pelyskij, and Yuksejevskij varieties) and Upper-Lupya dialect, and is not found in some areas of the Kosa-Kama dialect (Gainsij and Isvaevskij varieties) and Mysy dialect (i.e., only the *žyk*-variant appears there).

It is known that at least in some Permyak varieties, the clitic also appears with events, e.g., KomiP *sija kužödžyk udžavny* '(s)he knows how to work better, harder (hän osaa paremmin, lujemmin työskennellä)'; *ogdžyk gögörvo* 'I understand less well (ymmärrän huonommin)' (Fuchs 1949: 166). This is confirmed in Batalova's account of Komi-Permyak dialects, where she states that in addition to adjectives, *(d)žyk* also attaches to adverbs, verbs, and postpositions (Batalova 1975: 167). Some examples have been provided in Batalova (1975) of *(d)žyk* attaching to negative auxiliaries, e.g., Kosa-Kama *ož̌žyk* 's/he less', Mysy *ozöžyk* 'they not as much', *ogžyk* 'I not as much', *tè ènžyk töd* 'you knew less', *ogžyk gögörvo* 'I understand less', *ozžyk töd* 's/he knows less'. *džyk* can also be found to appear with the existential predicate *èm*, and negative existential predicate *abu*, e.g., Kočjovo *èmžyk* 'is better/more', *abužyk* '(is) less, not as much', Mysy *èmžyk* 'more than', *abužyk* 'less than usually'. (Batalova 1975: 167–168)

Based on the examples provided by Batalova, *(d)žyk* is more frequent as a cross-categorical modifier in Kosa-Kama, Mysy, and Kočjovo dialects, all of which belong to the Northern dialect group of Komi-Permyak. Further clarification of the clitic's areal distribution as a verbal modifier in Komi-Permyak is not within the scope of this thesis.

1.4.2.4. *(-)džyk* as a borrowing in Udmurt and Khanty

As neighbouring languages, *(-)džyk* has also been borrowed into some of the Udmurt and Khanty dialects, mostly as a derivational suffix of adjectives.

According to Tepljashina, the *džyk*-element also appears in the Udmurt Lower-Chepca and central eastern dialects (as *džyk/ǯyk*), where it can attach to the stem as a comparative marker, e.g., Udm. *ćeberǯyk* '(more beautiful (красивее)' < *ćeber* 'beautiful' (Tepljashina 1970: 169). As is the case in Komi, *-džyk* can also derive moderative adjectives in Udmurt (*keźydǯyk* 'quite cold (kylmähkö)') or precede an adjective as an independent particle and give the same reading (*ǯyk keźyd* 'quite cold') (Tepljashina 1964: 144, cf. Bartens 2000: 135).

Kel'makov and Saarinen (1994) state that the *(-)džyk* element can be added to the regular Udmurt comparison element *(-)ges/(-)gem*. In the forms *-gezgem*, *-gezdžyk*, *-gemdžyk*, the comparative meaning is intensified (Kel'makov and Saarinen 1994: 110) with a reading is of an absolute superlative, e.g., *gördgezdžyk* 'the reddest' ('mitä punaisin') (Bartens 2000: 135).

Various sources give examples of the *džyk*-element having been borrowed into Khanty. According to Bartens (2000: 136) *džyk* appears in Northern Khanty as both a comparison element and a derivational element for moderative adjectives, e.g., *ūnə-šək* 'a little bit bigger (etwas grösser)', *aratel kińza jimšik* 'best of all (lit. better than all) (лучший из всех)', etc. (cf. Fuchs 1949: 170), while in Southern Khanty, only the derivational function is used. Examples from Southern Khanty can be found in Castrén's materials from 1849 where he lists words like *aiʒek* 'smallish (etwas klein)', *werdeʒek* 'reddish (rötlich)', and *čenkček* 'a bit hot (etwas heiss)' appearing in some dialects as adjectives formed with the suffix *-ʒek/-ček* which is also "common in many Tatar languages" (Castrén 1849: 72). Raun states that the Turkic diminutive *-čik/-ček* (< **čik*) could not be found in Khanty as *-šək/-tšək* due to consonant changes (Raun 1949b: 385), which implies his belief that the element was borrowed from Komi and not the neighbouring Turkic languages. This belief is shared by Fuchs (1949: 169) who lists the examples cited from Castrén as borrowings of *džyk* from Komi.

1.4.3. *džyk* in literary Komi

The primary function of *(-)džyk* in literary Komi is as a comparison suffix for adjectives (1.3a) and adverbs (1.3b). In addition, this element also combines with nouns (1.3c), pronouns (1.3d), verbs (1.3e), and adverbial/postpositional constructions (Coates 1982; Cypanov 1996, 2005), in which case the modification is not always comparison, but more often one of intensification or quantification. Nominals may in those instances be either in the nominative or other cases; with verbs, the element combines with both finite and non-finite forms. As a secondary use in some Komi dialects, the element functions as a derivational suffix and gives adjectives a moderative meaning, e.g Ud. *jöjdžyk* 'foolish (bolondos (närrisch))' (cf. Fuchs 1949: 169).

(1.3)   a. *ydžyd* 'big' > *ydžydžyk* 'bigger (lit. big.COMP)'

      b. *ödjö* 'fast (adv)' > *ödjödžyk* 'faster (adv) (lit. fast.COMP)'

      c. *tom*   *bat'*   *bat'džyk*
         young   father   father.COMP
         'young father [is] more of a father' (cf. Coates 1982: 124)

      d. *pestö*   *medžyk*   *kyskala*
         wood.ACC.2SG   1SG.COMP   fetch.1SG.FUT
         'it is mainly I who fetch the firewood' (*ibid.*)

      e. *tè*   *tödandžyk*
         2SG   know.2SG.COMP
         'you know more/better'

      f. *n'öžjön*   *kö*   *munan,*   *ylödžyk*   *voan!*
         steadily   if   go.2SG.PRS   far.COMP   arrive.2SG.PRS
         'if you go steadily, you'll get further!' (cf. Coates 1982: 126)

Etymologically, (-)*džyk* as a comparison element is believed to have developed from an adverb *žyk* or *žyk*, meaning 'more' or 'very' which was used to strengthen the preceding word, e.g., the imperative examples form Sysola[18] *tè ž. veţś* 'do more! (mache mehr!)'[19] and Luza *tè ž. užal!* 'you work.IMP.2SG more! (arbeite mehr!)' (Wichmann-Uotila 1942: 360). The source also cites a Komi Ižma example *oz džik* 'not as much, not much (nicht so sehr, nicht sehr)', where *džyk* follows a negative auxiliary and acts as a moderator. The latter use is very close to the phenomenon investigated in this thesis. Furthermore, these examples of an independent adverb/particle, as is also pointed out by Bartens, have not appeared in later works since Wichmann's materials on Komi dialects (Bartens 2000: 135), other than in the central eastern and Lower-Chepca dialects in Udmurt (see 1.3.2.1. below). From its use with negative auxiliaries, it is similar to the enclitical use this dissertation investigates; this clitic was also no longer used alone as an adverb at that time. This element should not be confused with *dz'ik* 'at all, absolutely' (see KÈSK 1970: 90–91), which is a maximiser and is also widely used in modern Komi.

    It should be clarified that in this dissertation, the *džyk*-element is considered a clitic and not a suffix when modifying nouns, verbs, and categories other than adjectives and adverbs. I base this on the notion that *džyk* is a cross-categorical element and in many ways corresponds to the properties attributed to clitics. For example, clitics do not appear alone and always require a host to attach to (Gerlach 2002), but unlike affixes which combine only with specific word classes (e.g., case suffixes), clitics are not categorically bound and combine with several word classes or even phrases (Bickel and Nichols 2007: 174–176). Furthermore,

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[18] This follows Wichmann-Uotila 1942, where Middle-Sysola and Upper-Sysola are not distinguished.

[19] With non-English sources, I will provide the original interpretation in parenthesis; also, the transcription follows the original as much as possible, even though this may result in different forms of the same element in the same paragraph.

when used as a degree expression, *džyk* follows all other endings, either derivational or inflectional, and attaches to the end of the word form[20], which is also characteristic of clitics and not affixes, since affixes do not freely combine with words, which already have clitics or other affixes (see Anderson 2005). This thesis does not in that respect follow most of the previous works which follow the Russian tradition and use the term *suffix* regardless of the function of the element (Timushev and Kolegova 1961; Coates 1982; Cypanov 1996; 2005; ÖKK; Kuznetsov 2022). Instead, similarly to Raija Bartens (2000), I use the term *clitic* when speaking about *džyk*'s use with verbs (and nouns).

When the clitic is used in a comparative construction, the same strategy of comparison standards is employed with both adjectives and verbs. The standard of comparison can either be in the elative case (1.4a) or be marked by the postposition *dorys'* 'from (lit. side.ELA)' (1.4b); Komi Luza-Letka, and the Upper and Middle Sysola dialects, as well as Komi-Permyak use the *s'a*-case (1.4c) – called the *preclusive* (U-SY 1975: 60; Bartens 2000: 137).

(1.4)   a. *Vanja*   *tödödžyk*   *Koljays'.*
              PN   know.3SG.PRS=AUG   PN.ELA

        b. *Vanja*   *tödödžyk*   *Kolja*   *dorys'*
              PN   know.3SG.PRS=AUG   PN   PP.from

        c. *Vanja*   *tödödžyk*   *Koljas'a.*
              PN   know.3SG.PRS=AUG   PN.PRECL
              'Vanja knows better/more than Kolja' (examples and interpretation cf. Cypanov 1996: 113)

1.4.3.1. *(-)džyk* in previous sources

The following section introduces previous studies on verbal comparison in Komi, gives an overview of the appearance of the comparison clitic in Komi dialects and as a borrowing in Udmurt and Khanty. As an original contribution, some frequency data for the distribution of *džyk* in Komi will be presented, the purpose of which is to give a better idea of how unique or common some instances of verbal modification with *džyk* may be in written literary Komi.

Although examples of *džyk* appearing with verbs can already be seen in works of fiction since the 19th century, for example in Ivan Kuratov's works (Cypanov 2005: 247), the grammars of that time provide little to no information on the clitic, especially with verbs. Uotila's chrestomathy of Komi presents *(-)džyk* as a component of adverbs (e.g., *jondžika* 'more (mehr) (*jon-džyk-a* strong-COMP-ADV)' (Uotila 1938: 87)), but gives no information about comparison as a grammatical category. Wiedemann's grammar of Komi (1884: 139–140), Lytkin's grammar of modern Komi (1955: 167–169), and Žilina and Baraksanov's monograph on literary Komi and the Syktyvkar dialect (SYKT 1971: 99–100) all describe the comparison of adjectives but give no examples of nouns and verbs.

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[20]   Apart from when followed by other clitics, see Section *1.4.3.3* about the stress particles *-tö* and *-sö* attaching to *džyk*.

An in-depth account is given by Bubrikh 1949, who states that *(-)džyk* is not restricted only to adjectives, but also appears with nouns, pronouns, and verbs (Bubrikh 1949: 70–71). He also adds that *džyk* can function as a diminisher when attaching to negative particles or auxiliaries, e.g., *abudžyk lös'yd* 'less convenient (менее удобно)', *èzdžyk kösjyny drugas'ny syköd* '(they) wanted to be friends with him less (меньше хотели дружить с ним)' (Bubrikh 1949: 71). According to Bubrikh, *džyk* can also appear without a clear reference to comparison, e.g., *Oškys kytidžyk kurččalöma?* 'Where did the bear bite (more)? (Медведь где (где больше) покусал?)', and *Kutšömdžyka olan, Kuz'm'ič*? 'How are you doing (lit. living), Kuz'mich? (Каково поживаешь, Кузьмич?)' (Bubrikh 1949: 71). Bubrikh's account gives a good idea of *džyk* as a cross-categorical element and provides valuable and interesting examples.

Rédei describes both the comparative and superlative degrees and also gives examples of -*džyk* with both adjectives and adverbs, e.g., *una* 'a lot (sok)' > *unǯik* 'more (több)', and *bura* 'well (jól)' > *burǯika* 'better (jobban)' (1978: 64–65). Rédei also gives examples of the clitic attaching to the negation word *abu*, e.g., *me abuǯik na pẹt* 'I am not quite full yet (még nem vagyok egészen jóllakva)' (Rédei 1978: 65).

Collinder (1957) gives an example of Komi-Zyrian *uǯalisǯyk* 'he worked more' (Collinder 1957: 301). He introduces it in the section on comparison and states that the comparison ending may even be attached to finite verb forms.

In the grammar section of the 1961 Komi-Russian dictionary (Timusheva and Kolegova 1961), the uses of *(-)džyk* with nouns, adverbs, verbs and negation word *abu* are presented. The examples given there make a regular appearance in later sources, e.g., *görd platt'öyd syly munödžyk* 'the red dress suits her more (красное платье ей больше идёт)' and *abudžyk miča* 'less beautiful (менее красивый)' (Timushev and Kolegova 1961: 860, see also Coates 1982: 126). The degrees of verbal quantification (along with *kod'* and *moz* that will be presented below in some more detail) are presented as secondary uses of the comparison elements.

A more comprehensive overview is given by Coates (1982) who describes the uses of *(-)džyk* with adjectives and adverbs, but also with nouns. Coates reports *džyk* appearing with finite and non-finite verbs and negation verbs, e.g., *öt'i vokys velalödžyk* 'One of the brothers learns more easily' (cf. Coates 1982: 126). Other than that, Coates also provides a number of informative examples where *(-)džyk* appears with various word classes and gradable contexts.

A detailed account of the clitic is given by Bartens (2000: 133–134), who describes the comparison element in both varieties of Komi and also Udmurt. She gives examples of *(-)džyk* appearing with adjectives, adverbs, nouns, pronouns, and both finite and non-finite verb forms. Information and examples of modified verbs cited in Bartens 2000 come mainly from Evgenij Cypanov who has gone most in depth into the question of *džyk* appearing with verbs (Cypanov 1996; 2005; ÖKK). The following section gives an overview of the comparison clitic with verbs based on Cypanov's monograph on the grammatical categories of Komi verbs (2005).

1.4.3.2. Cypanov's degrees of verbal intensity

Cypanov's works (1996, 2005) are definitely the most detailed accounts on *džyk* with both finite and non-finite verbs. He describes the morpho-syntactic as well as semantic side of the phenomenon and gives a short description of the types of verbs, which do not combine with the clitic. Cypanov approaches *džyk* as part of the degree of verbal intensity system together with two other clitics that modify the verbs: *kod'* and *moz*, both of which Cypanov states give an attenuative/ diminutive reading for verbs (*a bit*, *a little*, *sometimes*), while *džyk* gives an augmentative reading (*a lot*, *more*, *better*) (see Table 7).

Table 7. Degrees of verbal intensity following Cypanov (2005: 248).

diminutive	*-kod'*	*polökod'*	hurt a little
	-moz (rare)	*polömoz*	
neutral	–	*polö*	hurt
augmentative	*-džyk*	*polödžyk*	hurt a lot

Both *kod'* and *moz* are originally postpositions meaning 'like', which are used with a comparative meaning, e.g., *Vanya oš kod' jon* 'Vanja is as strong as a bear' and *Vanya vetlödlö oš moz* 'Vanja goes like a bear' (Cypanov 2005: 250).

(-)kod' is a moderator for adjectives and adverbs (e.g., M-SY *s'ökydkod'* 'heavyish' (M-SY 1980: 39) and a modifier of incompleteness or approximation for negation words (*èz kösjy* 'he did not promise' > *èzkod' kösjy* 'he did not quite promise', *s'öm abu n'in* 'there is no money anymore' > *s'öm abudžyk n'in* 'there is almost no money anymore' (Timushev and Kolegova 1961: 916). According to Cypanov (2005: 251), for finite verbs, the reading can be either lessened intensity or resultativity of the event, e.g., *menam pervojsö morösyn yrkmunlikod'* 'at first my chest got a little cold', or there can be an added modality *no mortyd povz'iskod'* 'but the person seemed a little scared'.

In Komi, *kod'* does not attach to infinitives and future tense forms (Cypanov 2005: 252). In the Lower-Inva dialect of Komi-Permyak *kod'* appears frequently with present 3SG forms like *munökod'* 'almost goes' (почти идет) and *kydökod'* 'hears a little' (немного слышит) (Batalova 1975: 228).

In the Komi literary language, *(-)moz* is extremely rare and according to Cypanov (2005: 250), it appears mostly the dialects and spoken language, and its function is to lessen the intensity or resultativity of the event. In addition to finite verbs, *moz* may attach to gerunds ending in *-ig*, as in *s'eraligmoz šuny* 'say (while) laughing, joke (*s'eral-ig-moz šu-ny* laugh-CNV-DIM say-INF)' (Timushev and Kolegova 1961: 899), *uz'igmozym kyla* 'hear while sleeping (through my sleep) (*uz'-ig-moz-ym kyl-a* sleep-CONV-DIM-1SG hear-1SG.PRS)' (LL 1985: 92), where it has a similarity reading.

While the distribution of the three clitics is in many respects similar, only *džyk* lies within the scope of this thesis and neither of the diminutive clitics will feature in the subsequent analysis. Furthermore, in the glosses of this thesis, I will refer

to *džyk* as an augmentative element, like in my previous works (Todesk 2013; 2015), but in the text I will usually refer to *džyk* as a degree expression or comparison element or clitic.

As for the interpretations of *džyk*, according to Cypanov (2005: 252–253), the reading of *džyk* is conveyed by context, i.e., it is not overtly expressed, but it relates to the degree of intensity, strength, or effectiveness of the event. In the affirmative, the clitic intensifies the activity expressed by the verb (1.5) in comparison to its neutral degree.

(1.5)   *Konoplev   gögörvois,   myj   vyvtialis=džyk*
        PN   understand.3SG.IPF   CONJ   overdo.3SG.IPF=AUG
        doprosnas.
        interrogation.INSTR.3SG
        'Konoplev understood that he went a bit too far with the interrogation. (Коноплев понял, что немного переборщил с допросом.)' (cf. Cypanov 2005: 252)

In negation, Cypanov says that the general negative meaning is amplified (1.6), so *džyk* is paraphrased by *(not) as much*. With some events, the original negative meaning is decreased and the modified event approaches the affirmative (1.7). (Cypanov 2005: 252–253)

(1.6)   /---/   *Med   rualis   s'inmyd,   da   èz=džyk*
                that   fog up.3SG.IPF   eye.2SG   and   NEG.3SG.IPF=AUG
                kov   jandys'ny.
                be necessary.CNEG   be ashamed.INF
        '/---/ so [their] eyes got blurry, and it was not as necessary to be ashamed. (Чтобы в глазах поднялся туман да не очень-то надо было стыдиться.)' (cf. Cypanov 2005: 252)

(1.7)   *Zonov   èz=džyk   ud'it   vony.*
        PN   NEG.3SG.IPF=AUG   manage.CNEG   come.INF
        'Zonov almost managed to come (lit. by a bit did not manage to come) (Зонов чуть-чуть не успел прийти/почти что успел)' (cf. Cypanov 2005: 253)

Cypanov also notes that when using the clitic, the speaker always adds some sort of an evaluation to the situation expressed by the verb, so he suggests *džyk* may also be interpreted as a means of expressing modality in Komi. In the present tense, this may refer to evaluating the ongoing event, in the past tense to the achieved result, and in the case of the future tense or future reference, the speaker may express certainty of the event taking place after the moment of speech. (Cypanov 2005: 248)

A detailed account of the readings *džyk* may have when modifying verbs will be presented in Chapter 3. There, I will systematise Cypanov's general claims, which are context-dependent and derived from the verb the clitic modifies, and also introduce *džyk* as a verbal quantifier.

As previous works (Cypanov 1996; 2005; ÖKK) have established for *džyk* and as is the case with other verbal modifiers, not all verbs or *Aktionsart* classes

combine with them freely. For *džyk* (and also *kod'*), the verbs that allow for different degrees of intensity are said to be eligible for modification. According to Cypanov, this includes verbs of movement, specific actions (*glagoly konkretnogo dejstvija*), states, and thinking verbs, change-of-state verbs and quality-inception verbs (*izmenenija i vozniknovenija kachestva*), e.g., *pomn'itny* 'remember', *povz'yny* 'be frightened', *vermyny* 'be able to', *gögörvony* 'understand'. On the other hand, *džyk* and *kod'* do not combine with verbs of existence, momentaneous verbs, and once-only verbs, e.g., *vövny* 'be.PST', *lyjny* 'let out', *pyrny* 'stop by', *čužny* 'be born'. (Cypanov 2005: 249)

The latter statement about combining and not combining with *džyk* will also be approached in Chapter 3 and discussed in Chapter 4 based on cross-linguistic notions of degree expressions and verbal gradation. For example, findings from literature show that *vövny* actually occurs quite frequently with *džyk*, and that *pyrny* and *čužny* can also be modified in a suitable context. Cypanov's account of the clitic's distribution is based mainly on verbal semantics and is not sufficiently concerned with the fact that the same verb may belong to several structurally different contexts, i.e., aspectual classes. As a result, *džyk*'s distribution should be investigated by considering event structure in combination with verbal semantics.

1.4.3.3. Distribution of *džyk* with verbs

As earlier sources have commented on the distribution of *džyk* with verbs, but not really elaborated on this in any detail, in this section, I will therefore present some raw data about the verb forms with which *džyk* most commonly appears. This includes information on the polarity, person and number, and tense of these forms. I will also present some of the most common verbal stems that appear with *džyk*.

Polarity and number

The phenomenon of V+*džyk* is quite regular and *džyk* attaches to finite verb-forms in all persons and numbers, but most frequently the forms are in 3SG, very frequently in 3PL (Cypanov 2005: 247). Table 8 illustrates this notion based on a corpus of 1095[21] examples sourced from a nearly 30.5-million-token text corpus (see *1.2. Data* above for more details on the text corpus). By estimation, 1095 occurrences makes up about 1.4% of all instances of word-final *džyk*, which gives an idea of *džyk*'s marginality with finite verbs. Of these examples, almost 2/3 are in negation, that is 701 (64%) negative vs 394 (36%) affirmative. Also, 3rd person is the most frequent, followed by 2SG and then 1SG, and only then 1PL and 2PL.[22]

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[21]   Note that this refers to present, future and imperfect only; complex past tenses were not included in the search.

[22]   These frequencies correspond only partially to the absolute frequencies of the verb forms, due to the fact that while 3SG seems to be the most frequent (127138 instances) and 1PL the most infrequent (16091) form in the corpus, 2SG (78031 instances) is actually more frequent than 3PL (52687), 2PL (58476), and also 1SG (32619) (based on Arkhangelskiy's Komi-Zyrian corpus, accessed 11.10.2022).

Table 8. Distribution of examples in the negative and affirmative by person and number.

person/number	negative	affirmative	total
3SG	471	283	754
3PL	149	58	207
2SG	46	21	67
2PL	3	3	6
1SG	23	20	43
1PL	9	4	13
INF	–	5	5
total	701	394	1095

In affirmative examples, the clitic follows the personal ending of the verb-form (Table 9).

Table 9. *džyk* **in the affirmative in present tense with the verb** *tödny* **'know' (Cypanov 2005: 247).**

person	SG	PL
1	*tödadžyk*	*tödamdžyk*
2	*tödandžyk*	*tödannyddžyk*
3	*tödödžyk*	*tödönydžyk*

In the negative, the clitic attaches to the negative auxiliary which expresses person and tense, while subject number is marked on the lexical verb. In the present tense, the negative auxiliary is formed from a stem element *o-* and a person marker, followed by the lexical verb in its connegative form, which is the stem for the singular, the stem + -*ö(j)* for 1PL and 2PL, the stem + -*ny* (= infinitive) for 3PL. For 1ˢᵗ past, the construction is similar, just the stem of the negative element is different (*e-*). (Hamari 2015: 242) Table 10 presents the negation paradigm of the augmented verb *kužny* 'know how' in present tense.

Table 10. *džyk* **in the negative with the verb** *kužny* **'know how' in present/future tense (Cypanov 2005: 247).**

person	SG	PL
1	*ogdžyk kuž*	*og(ö)džyk kužö(j)*
2	*ondžyk kuž*	*on(ö)džyk kužö(j)*
3	*ozdžyk kuž*	*ozdžyk kužny*

In Table 10, the 1PL and 2PL negative auxiliaries are marked as being either *og*/*on* or *ogö*/*onö* (*eg*/*en* and *egö*/*onö* respectively in 1ˢᵗ past), the former is more common in the literary language – out of 12 1/2PL cases, *ogö* and *egö* each appear only once. In this data set, the connegative form always ends with -*öj*, regardless of the form of the negative auxiliary, e.g., *ègdžyk uditöj* 'we did not have as much time' (Fedorov 1952).

<center>Tense</center>

As for the future tense in Komi, it may also be expressed by analytical means which use auxiliary verbs like *kutny* 'catch, grab; hold; start', *mödny* 'set out; start', or *pondyny* 'start' (see instances of that further below). In that case, the *o*-stemmed negative auxiliary is used and the lexical verb remains in its infinitive form, e.g., *on kut udžavny* 'you will not work' (Hamari 2015: 243). In all those instances, it is the negative auxiliary that takes the augmentative element, never the auxiliary verb and almost never the lexical verb. In fact, in my data set, there is only one instance where *džyk* attaches to the connegative form and not the negative auxiliary: *Sidz teč / Undžyk biö pesjas: myvkyda jöz, / Oz-ö özjavnydžyk kut?* 'So add more firewood to the fire: smart people, Would it not burn better?' (Kuratov 1979). In this example, the negative auxiliary is already marked with the question particle -*ö* and so the lexical verb takes the clitic instead.

džyk is said to appear in all tenses (Cypanov 2005); in the affirmative, the most frequent morphological form is the non-past 3SG, followed by the future tense 3SG, and then other persons in the present tense. Table 11 illustrates distribution by tense in the affirmative. Note, that the row *future* is mainly 3SG and 3PL, since only these forms are morphologically distinguishable from the present, while the row *non-past* is 3SG present forms and all other persons in the present and future tense. In the negative, the present *o*-stem is modified more often than the imperfect *e*-stem. Since *o*-stemmed negative auxiliaries may express both the present and future tense, I do not give an overview by tense for negation, instead Table 12 features distribution by negative auxiliary type.

Table 11. Distribution of examples in the affirmative by tense.

tense	no of *džyks*
non-past	291
past	37
future	66
total	394

Table 12. Distribution of examples in the negative by negative auxiliary type.

stem type	no of *džyks*
o-stem	435
e-stem	266
total	701

The clitic also combines with non-finite verb forms – with participles in complex tense forms, non-finites in complex VPs, and of course with participles and gerunds. With infinitives, the clitic follows the infinitive ending *-ny*, but its placement is not restricted to the finite or non-finite member only – both *kolödžyk vöčny* 'is more necessary to do' and *v'iččys'nydžyk kolö* 'is necessary to wait more' are possible depending on which of the verbs is meant to be modified.

As explained above, participles and most gerunds will not be part of this thesis' scope, not even when part of a syntactic tense, but modified non-finite forms, when either part of a complex VP or a single verb, will be included. Table 13 illustrates the distribution of non-finite verb forms in the negative and affirmative. In total, modified infinitives appear in 127 instances (11.6% of all examples); these make up 9.8% of the negated examples, and 16% of the affirmative examples.

Table 13. Infinite verb forms with *džyk* in the negative and affirmative.

	negative	affirmative	total
finite + infinitive	69	78	147
V_{fin}=*džyk* + V_{inf}		36	
V_{fin} + V_{inf}=*džyk*		39	
single infinitive	–	5	5

The finite+infinitive constructions often seem to be auxiliary constructions. 17 of the affirmative instances are analytic future tenses with the auxiliary verbs *kutny*, *pondny* and *mödny* in the future tense. Only two such instances were V_{fin}=*džyk*+V_{inf}; more commonly, the clitic attached to the lexical verb. In negation, 48 instances involved *kutny*, *pondyny* and *mödny*. Other auxiliaries include *kovmyny* 'be needed' and *kovny* 'be necessary; want' (5 in the affirmative, 7 in the negative), *poz'ny* 'be possible' (4 in the affirmative). In most of these examples, the infinitive was modified.

Other types of complex VPs include compounds, serial verbs and phrasal verbs. V+V compounds appear several times with *kužny* 'be able to, know how' and *vermyny* 'overcome, win; be able to', e.g., *kužönydžyk pörjödlyny* 'they know better [how] to deceive' (Toropov 2003) and *ozdžyk vermy terp'itny* 'is not able to endure as much' (Belykh 2005). In the affirmative, *lösjavny* 'suit' is also more frequent, e.g., *lösjalödžyk komi kyvjön n'imtyny* 'suits better to name/call [reindeer] in Komi' (Terentjev 2010). In the negative, *udajtčyny* 'succeed', *lys'tny* 'dare', and *tyrmyny* 'suffice' are more frequent, e.g., *ozdžyk na tyrmy šyl'ydasö s'yvny* 'it does not quite suffice to sing harmoniously' (Toropov 1982).

There are also several instances of paired verbs; these represent a very productive strategy in Komi and involve synonymous or semantically similar verbs (Kuznetsov 2022: 504), e.g., *ozdžyk v'is'-jukav* 'does not hurt-ache as much' (Gamsa 2007) and *ozdžyk važ moz šymyrtly-l'ičkyvly* 'it does not twist-squeeze as much as it used to' (Vaneev 1964). Semantically more distinct verbs are separated

by a comma, e.g., *ozdžyk ljučk'i èrdödny, jasydmödny* 'they do not quite reveal, emerge that well' (Latysheva 1996).

The modified finite verb may be followed by several semantically more distinct non-finites separated by *da* 'and', e.g., in *kužandžyk muder'itnytö da dzebsjas'nytö* 'you know [how] to outsmart and hide better' (Toropov 1982). Note that the non-finites are also marked by the contrastive focus particle -*tö*, deriving from the 2SG.INSTR possessive suffix. Similarly, another stress particle -*sö* (from the 3SG.INSTR possessive suffix) may also attach to the non-finite verb form, as in *sijön i polödžyk gorts'ys petavnysö* 'with him/her he/she also fears going out of the house more' (Jushkov 1988). These instances are not serial verbs or compound verbs in their form and meaning (especially the pairs separated by *da* or comma), instead, reduplication is often used in the Permic languages to intensify the expressed meaning (Kiefer and Laakso 2014: 484).

Frequent stems

Only about 1/3 of the modified verbs in this data set occur more than once – there are 359 different modified stems, of which 122 (34%) appear at least twice, while 237 stems (66%) are hapax legomena. 19 stems occur 10 times or more and these 19 stems account for 46.1% of all examples, i.e., 505 examples feature one of the stems from Table 14. The reason for 19 stems accounting for a relatively large number of all instances of VP+*džyk* does not seem to be related to the absolute frequency of these verbs in Komi but rather to there being some contexts where VP+*džyk* is a more or less a fixed expression. Among the stems that appear more than 30 times, *kutny* and *vövny* often appear in a complex VP, while all others like *artmyny*, *lösjavny*, etc. express success, suitability, etc. – properties that associates well with *džyk*'s comparative reading.

Table 14. Re-occurring stems with *džyk*, and the number of occurrences.

stem	no of occurrences
artmyny 'come out, succeed, etc.'	55
tydavny 'be seen'	52
lösjavny 'approach, come close'	50
tyrmyny 'suffice'	38
kutny 'catch, grab; hold; start'	35
kaž'itčyny 'seem; like'	32
vövny 'be.PST'	32
kužny 'know how'	24
lony 'be.NON-PST'	22
kovny 'be necessary; want'	21
tödny 'know'	21
tödčyny 'be noticeable	19

stem	no of occurrences
vermyny 'win'	19
vony 'arrive, come'	19
mörččyny 'bump into; go in'	13
povny 'be afraid; fear'	12
gögörvony 'understand'	11
mudzny 'get/become tired'	10
munny 'go'	10
pondyny 'start'	10
total:	505

Semantically, the stems in Table13 are mainly related to being successful or sufficient, perception (*tydavny* 'be seen', *kaž'itčyny* 'seem; like', *tödčyny* 'be noticeable', etc.), existence (*vövny* 'be.PST', *lony* 'be.NON-PST'), or cognitive events (*tödny* 'know', *gögörvony* 'understand', etc.). Verbs appearing as auxiliaries are also frequent (*kužny* 'know how', *pondyny* 'start', etc.). The general types of verbs modified by *džyk* will be discussed further in Section *4.4.2.*

1.5. Summary

The aim of the thesis is to give a detailed overview of the use of Komi *džyk* with verbs. Special emphasis is on a) the semantics of the clitic, i.e., which readings *džyk* adds to the modified predications, and b) which semantic types of verbs combine with *džyk* and whether there are other factors that restrict *džyk* from combining with all verbs. The thesis is based on a) data from a linguistic questionnaire filled out by bilingual Komi-Russian speakers, b) data collected from literature and media texts; examples are annotated morphosyntactically and semantically, and c) a general data set consisting of around 1100 examples from literature and media texts, sourced from komicorpora.ru.

Semantically, the use of *džyk* with verbs shares only some similarities with augmentative derivation, since *džyk* is not used to express negative attitude or doing something in excess. Instead, the suffixoids found in e.g., Swedish and Tundra Nenets are syntactically more similar as they show cross-categorical behaviour and occur more often with an intensifying reading similar to that of *džyk*. In general, other Uralic languages do not have similar cross-categorical enclitic elements, only Tundra Nenets has multibased suffixes/suffixoids, and Northern Mansi has a cross-categorical diminutive suffix. Nganasan, Forest Nenets, Forest Enets, Selkup, and Kildin Saami have nominal diminutive and augmentative suffixes, while South Estonian Mulgi has diminutive optative forms. In North Estonian, South Estonian, Finnish, and Hungarian the comparison suffix can sporadically appear also with nouns.

The phenomenon of comparison elements modifying verbs has areal distribution, seeing as it appears in literary Komi and Komi Udora dialect, the Northern dialect group of Permyak, and also in Udmurt and Mari (< Chuvash). The Udmurt element *ges*/*gem* appears to have almost identical use to *džyk*, while the Mari *rAk* has semantic differences and does not combine with finite verbs. *(-)džyk* has also been borrowed into some Udmurt dialects as a comparison element or moderator, and into Khanty as a comparison element, although its use with verbs is currently unattested.

The final part of this chapter introduced *džyk* as a cross-categorical comparison element in literary Komi. *džyk* is applied to events as a quantifier and a degree modifier, and in broad terms, it combines with predications that are quantifiable or associated with a gradable degree. Combining with verbs is moderatively frequent for *džyk* and it seems to be morphosyntactically unrestricted – it appears with all numbers and persons, in all tenses, and in both the negative and affirmative. The most typical instance is negation 3SG in present tense, preferably with a simple verb.

2. DEGREE GRADATION AND GRADABILITY OF VERBS

The following chapter will address the relevant issues of grading and comparing events. First, I will begin with a general introduction to extent and degree gradation, i.e., the two central notions of verb gradation which correspond to the two basic reading types that *džyk* has. I will then give examples of verbal comparison which relates to the syntactic expressions of comparing events, since *(-)džyk* is also involved with verbal comparison constructions – in the affirmative, *džyk* corresponds to the comparative degree forms of degree modifiers, i.e., *more*, *better*, etc., while in the negative, *džyk* corresponds to the (negative) equative degree, i.e., (not) *as much*, (not) *as well*, etc.

Since telicity and stativeness of events are relevant properties when discussing degree expressions and the gradability of events, a section will be dedicated to an overview of lexical aspectual classes and inherent properties of events. This will be followed by a cross-linguistic introduction to degree expressions and other modifiers which are semantic and functional equivalents of the multiple readings of Komi *džyk*. Lastly, I will introduce the types of gradable and quantifiable verbs, and the types of scales with which gradable verbs are associated.

2.1. Gradation, quantification, comparison

Based on examples and earlier literature, verb modification by Komi *džyk* follows the two main types of verb gradation: verbal quantification (extent gradation), and degree intensification (degree gradation). These modification types may appear in a verbal comparison construction, but this seems to be a functional and not a semantic difference. For this reason, I explain extent and degree gradation in more detail and will touch upon verbal comparison constructions only briefly, although more will be said about quantification in connection with comparison.

2.1.1. Extent and degree gradation

As has been noted, one of the main topics of this thesis is gradation of verbs. GRADATION is "the linguistic process of comparing two (or possibly more) degrees" (Fleischhauer 2016: 16), and these processes may include comparison of equality or inequality, measure constructions, vague degree expressions, etc. This definition of gradation is true for all languages that have degree morphology, and for all expressions that combine with degree elements (e.g., *tall : taller* does allow degree modification, while *dead : *more dead* does not) (Fleischhauer 2016: 13). In broad terms, if a gradable expression (NP, VP, etc.) allows a degree element, it also allows comparative constructions (Bolinger 1967).

Gradability is not only a property of adjectives, but also nouns, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions (Bolinger 1972, Doetjes 1997, Kennedy and McNally 1999, Hay *et al*. 1999, Tsujimura 2001, etc.), which makes the properties of scales, degrees, etc. also relevant in terms of the degree gradation of verbs. This parallel also allows making assumptions and generalisations about verb gradation based on what is known about adjective gradation. Most works agree that following Bolinger 1972, two types of verb gradation have to be distinguished: extent and degree gradation (contemporary terms from Löbner 2012). This distinction is also relevant for the semantic and compositional analysis of *džyk* in the later chapters.

In broad terms, EXTENT GRADATION (Bolinger's extensibility (1972: 162)) relates to verb quantification (Fleischhauer 2013: 126) or quantity specification, meaning that the verb is modified for frequency (*(more) often*, *a lot*, *more*), duration (*longer*, *for a longer distance/period of time*), or temporal proportion (*a lot*, *more*) (Löbner 2012: 231), I refer to the latter as quantity degree. Bolinger applies the term *extensibility*, which is the intensification of the 'amount' of the denoted event, e.g., the amount of whispering in *I wish they wouldn't whisper so* (Bolinger 1972: 162) 'I wish they would not whisper so much'.

Tsujimura (2001: 32) uses the term *extensibility* more or less in the same sense as Bolinger and also gives examples like *Taro read a lot (of linguistics books)* and *Taro ate a lot (of sushi)* as cases of extent gradation. It has been argued that the latter kind of use of *a lot* and other similar modifiers, e.g., French *beaucoup* 'a lot', is actually degree modification relating to the quantity degree of the VP and not quantification of the VP itself (Doetjes 2006). Bosque and Masullo (1998) have discussed this as a sub-type of 'verbal quantification' based on examples from Spanish. According to them, this is 'argument quantification' and instead of the verb, the implicit or unexpressed argument of the verb is quantified (1998: 27–28).

Although semantically the outcome is the same, the difference is structural – quantity degree of the argument (volume, weight, etc.) is also scalar and specifies a degree on a quantity scale (Fleischhauer 2016: 24). In this thesis, the term *extent gradation* (e.g., in Fleischhauer 2013) is preferred to *extensibility* (Bolinger 1972; Tsujimura 2001) and in my division of *džyk*'s readings, extent gradation consists of frequency and temporal duration[23], while frequency further distinguishes cumulative quantity (with mass-like atelic events) and frequency-proper (with count-like telic events). The cases exemplified by Tsujimura, and Bosque and Masullo will be considered as part of the degree modification of the volume scale (see *2.4.2.1. Types of scales*).

According to Wellwood *et al.* (2012), the quantifier *more* combines only partially with atelic IMPF-HAB events, and telic perfective events refuse modification by *more*, while perfective- and progressive-marked atelic events are not restricted. This notion also applies broader to extent modification: Löbner (2012: 232) comments that extent gradation requires an atelic verb phrase which is either an activity or a state, leaving telic events out of the scope of this type of modi-

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23   Length of spatial path appears not to be in the semantic scope of Komi *džyk*.

fication. Based on my Komi data, telic verbs can be involved with extent grada-tion if the event consists of telic re-occurrences of some situation, or if the telic occurrences have a habituality reading, although these verbs may then have an atelic reading. I will discuss this later in *4.1* with examples from Komi but suffice it to say here that even in such cases, the modification of those verbs is restricted to frequency only, as is with habitual atelic verbs when combining with *more*.

In case of DEGREE GRADATION (Bolinger's **inherent intensification** (1972: 162)), the gradable property of the verbal expression is modified (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 351; Fleischhauer 2013: 126). This includes instances like *sing well*, *like a lot, run fast*, *not succeed as well*, etc. A general definition of what constitutes a gradable property has only recently been provided by Fleischhauer, who offers that a property is gradable if two different entities hold the same property and it can be said without coercion that for one, the degree of property is higher than for the other (2016: 18).

According to Fleischhauer, extent and degree gradation are distinguished from each other by the source of the modified property: with extent gradation, an eventive property is modified (i.e., frequency or duration), while with degree gradation, a property of the predication is modified (i.e., intensity of feeling or action, etc.). In some languages, it is different expressions that modify extent (Ger. *viel* 'a lot') and degree (Ger. *sehr* 'very, a lot'), but cross-linguistically, this is not necessarily the case (Fleischhauer 2016: 20–21; 52).

Degree modification requires the situation to have a scale – it is needed that the values of the gradable property (or dimension) are ordered. For adjectives and verbs alike, a SCALE is formed from a linearly ordered set of **degrees** which re-present measurement values. According to Caudal and Nicolas there are two main types of degrees since there are two main types of degree modifiers (2005: 280): QUANTITY and INTENSITY. Predicates noted to be interpreted with QUANTITY are characterised by measuring the event described, as in (2.1a), while the INTENSITY interpretation does not allow such patterns, as in (2.1b) (examples from Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 280):

(2.1)   a.   *The high wall of the sitting room is half painted.*
          → Half the high wall of the sitting room is painted.

          b.   *The man was half-awake, as if under the effects of some sort of drug.*
          → *Half the man was awake.

The degrees follow along some DIMENSION that indicates the kind of property measured (cost, temperature, speed, volume, height, etc.) (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 349). Monotonic properties like volume and weight are relevant for verb quantification and modifying quantity degree (as pointed out in Wellwood *et al*. 2012), since non-monotonic properties like temperature and colour cannot be quantified but can be intensified, while monotonic scales like volume can be quantified but cannot be intensified.

The third parameter which is significant for distinguishing scales is an ordering relation. This is relative with antonym pairs like *tall/short* and *expensive/cheap*

where *tall* and *expensive* are on the positive side of the scale and *short* and *cheap* are on the negative side. However, the dimensions and degrees are different – *tall* and *short* are on the scale of [length], while *expensive* and *cheap* are on the scale of [cost]. (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 351) Adjectives sharing the same dimension could construct complex comparisons (2.2a), while adjectives with different dimensions (2.2b) are incompatible in the same construction (Klein 1991, Kennedy 1999) (examples cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 352):

(2.2) a. *They call him 'The Bus' because he's kind of as wide as he is tall.*

   b. **They call him 'The Bus' because he's kind of as wide as he is punctual.*

In the domain of verbal comparison, similar instances may occur, when the construction calls for a dimension which is not present in a particular event. For example, in (2.3a), two verbs of emotion follow a similar dimension of [intensity of emotion], while in (2.3b), the stative verb *to love* is unsuitable for modifying for [tempo], while the activity *to run* has no such restrictions.

(2.3) a. *She loved Duran Duran as much as he despised Justin Bieber.*

   b. **She loved Duran Duran as fast as he ran.*

Although this does not mean that *to love* is always incompatible with a tempo modification (*love fast, live hard*, for example) and that *love* and *run* could not form a comparison construction with some other modifier (*She loved Duran Duran as eagerly as he ran (marathons)*, for example) but it is a valuable observation that some semantic types or event structures do not combine with all modifiers, since they do not entail the required dimension features.

2.1.2. Comparison

Based on Kline (1991), there are four degrees of comparison: positive (2.4a), equative (2.4b), comparative (2.4c), and superlative (2.4d) (Kline 1991: 674), whereas equative and comparative are also referred to as comparisons of equality and inequality, respectively (e.g., Schwarzschild 2008). It will become apparent later that Komi *džyk* is concerned with equative/equality comparison in negation (*A is not as tall as B*) and with comparative/inequality comparison in the affirmative.

(2.4) a. A *is tall*

   b. A *is as tall as* B

   c. A *is taller than* B

   d. A *is the tallest of the children*

The adjectival examples from above also relate to nouns and verbs, as there are three types of comparatives: adjectival (2.4a), nominal (2.4b), and verbal (2.4c) (Wellwood *et al.* 2012: 207). The two latter types have many parallels which makes describing them helpful for understanding the behaviour of verbal comparatives.

(2.5) a. *The student is **more intelligent** than the professor.*

b. ***More students** than professors came to the party.*

c. *The student **ran more** than the professor did.*

Only in the past decades it has been argued that both nominal and verbal comparatives incorporate measure functions the same way as adjectival comparatives (Kennedy 1999; Hackl 2001; Bale 2008, etc) in which the measure function relates to individuals or degrees. The ordered set of degrees forms a scale onto which entities are mapped based on how high or low they rank in comparison to each other. For example, in *John is happier than Mary*, John is mapped higher on the scale of happiness than Mary is (Wellwood *et al.* 2012: 208) (see more in 2.4.2.1. *Types of scales* below).

This relates to the standard of comparison, which in broad terms could either be RELATIVE, i.e., context-dependent (2.6) (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 349), or ABSOLUTE, i.e., not context-dependent (2.7) (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 356):

(2.6) a. *Michael Jordan is tall.*

b. *The Mars Pathfinder mission was expensive.*

(2.7) a. *The baby is awake.*

b. *The door is open.*

Relative adjectives (2.6) refer to a property of the argument which depends on context for the interpretation to be true. Absolute adjectives (2.7), on the other hand, require their argument to take only a minimal step from non-zero level to represent the property they carry, there is no need to surpass some contextually determined standard, e.g., the door is considered open as soon as it is not closed, etc.

Verbs are similar to adjectives in this respect since they too have two types of standards. In (2.8a), *like* is associated with a relative, context-dependent standard, since the sentence is true even if Peter dislikes both women, while (2.8b) with *love* is only true if Peter loves both women and is thus related to an absolute (minimal) standard:

(2.8) a. *Peter likes Mary more than Sue.* (cf. Katz 2008: 242)

b. *Peter loves Mary more than Sue.*

In connection to scales, Caudal and Nicolas also bring in the notion of RESTRIC-TED ACCESSIBILITY (Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 284) (or *zoning* in Caudal 2000), which describes the cases when it is not possible to access certain zones on the scale, for example the low degrees in (2.9) (cf. Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 280):

(2.9)   ?? *The bomber slightly destroyed the building.*

This type of restricted accessibility accounts for differences in degree modi-fication for seemingly similar events like *destroy* and *annihilate*. The previous example has a relatively wide scale available and it combines with modifiers targeting higher degrees, like *partially* in *the building was partially destroyed*, but not with *barely* which targets the lower end of the scale (**the building was barely destroyed*). *Annihilate* has a very narrow scale available for modification and although semantically similar to *destroy*, it only accepts maximal degree modifiers like *completely* as in *the building was completely annihilated*.

It is relevant to point out that measure functions (quantification by *more* in this case) are with distributional constraints, since not all events allow for measuring. For such cases, Nakanishi (2004, 2007) points out that measure phrases are compatible with **repeatable** (*hit the rabbit (more)*), **stage-level** (removable, specific, temporary occasion like *be available (more)*; transitory states and processes in Croft (2012)), and **distributive** (*the girls raised their hand (more)*) predicates, and incompatible with **'once only'** (*kill the rabbit < *kill the rabbit more*), **individual-level** (unremovable, generic, permanent property like *be a superstar < *be a superstar more*); permanent states in Croft (2012)), and **col-lective** (*the girls formed a circle < *the girls formed a circle more*) predicates (examples from Wellwood *et al.* 2012: 215).

To further describe the similarities between nominal and verbal comparatives, two parallels of mass-count and atelic-telic, and singular-plural and perfective-imperfective have been pointed out in relation to quantification and quantity degree modification.

Firstly, it has been stated that the lexical mass-count distinction of nouns parallels telicity in verbs (e.g., Mourelatos 1981; Krifka 1989; Rothstein 2004; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005; etc.). According to this, atelic verbs (states and activities) are mass-like, while telic verbs (accomplishments and achieve-ments) are count-like. Mass nouns and atelic verbs have a homogeneity that their count noun and telic verb counterparts usually do not display. That is, to use the examples from Wellwood *et al.* (2012: 216) – two portions of *sugar* each count as *sugar*, the same as two intervals of *running* may each be considered *running* (cumulative reference), but it may not be true that two portions of *an apple* equal *an apple* or that two intervals or sub-events of *run a marathon* can be considered *run a marathon* (non-cumulative reference).

The second parallel is of grammatical nature and shows that the singular-plural distinction of nouns corresponds to the grammatical aspect of verbs, more precisely that the perfective (PFV) and progressive (PROG) involve singular events while the imperfective-habitual (IMPF-HAB) involves plural events (Wellwood

et al. 2012: 216). With a temporal adverbial expressing a longer period of time (like the *for*-adverbial in English), atelic verbs may have two possible interpretations. For example, in (2.10a) the event is single and continuative, but in (2.10b) there are multiple frequentative singing events.

(2.10)   *The choir sang for two days.*

    a.   'For two days the choir sang without a break.'

    b.   'For two days the choir sang in several performances.'

In a similar context, telic verbs are only acceptable if they allow interpretation as iterated verbs. For example (2.11a) as a continuative event is not acceptable, while (2.11b) as a frequentative event is.

(2.11)   ?*The balloon burst for a long time.*

    a.   *The balloon's bursting went on and on.

    b.   ?The (hot-air) balloon burst again and again (i.e., from several places) for a long time.

This pattern also translates into corresponding examples which involve verbal comparison (cf. Wellwood *et al.* 2012: 217) – for atelic predicates (2.12), the measure may be either by cardinality, temporal duration, length of spatial path, or another measure which is monotonic with respect to the verb (cf. Schwarzschild 2002, 2006). With telic predicates (2.13), the comparison may only be by cardinality.

(2.12)   *Mary ran more than Joseph.*
    > Mary ran more often than Joseph *or* Mary ran a longer distance/for a longer period of time than Joseph.

(2.13)   *Mary ran to the store more than Joseph.*
    > Mary ran to the store more often than Joseph, but *Mary ran to the store a longer distance/for a longer period of time than Joseph.

These examples suggest that lexical aspect is relevant in the choice of scale available to verbal comparatives. Based on the general notions about nominal comparatives, the following generalisations are made by Wellwood *et al.* (2012: 218) for verbal comparatives:

– Perfective telic predicates do not combine with the adverbial *more*.

– The scales of comparison for VPs are necessarily monotonic (in terms of cardinality or otherwise).

– The scale for comparison of perfective- and progressive-marked atelic predicates is variable.

– The scale for comparison of VPs with IMPF-HAB morphology is in terms of cardinality only.

The last generalisation has been noted in Wellwood *et al.* 2012 to be more complicated in languages where IMPF is ambiguous between habitual and progressive aspect (as is the case in Romance and Slavic languages), or in languages where HAB and PROG aspects are not in complementary distribution. In other cases, the last generalisation holds. (Wellwood *et al.* 2012: 221–226)

2.2. Aspectual properties of events

Aspect is a relevant verbal category for this thesis, while tense and mood have real significance in only a few cases. Both grammatical aspect (perfectivity-imperfectivity, etc.) and *Aktionsart* (duration, telicity, etc. and situation types) are relevant for analysing verb quantification and degree modification and will be discussed below. The focal point of this thesis is not on aspect and *Aktionsart* classes but rather on how different event types combine with the various degree and quantity modifying functions *džyk* has in Komi.

Before giving a more detailed account of grammatical aspect and inherent properties of verbs, I will clarify the use of terminology.

SITUATION is the most general type of "instantiation of temporal properties" (cf. Binnick 1991: 179), i.e., the most general term for VP-denoted states of affairs. Used in this thesis as the broadest term for all events of all aspectual classes. EVENT refers to a dynamic situation as a single complete whole, a dynamic situation viewed perfectively (Comrie 1976: 51). In formal semantics, *event* refers to all non-stative actions like processes, accomplishments, and achievements (cf. Cann *et al.* 2009; Murphy 2010), while in generative and cognitive linguistics *event* refers to all aspectual categories (Croft 2012: 34). *Event* may also refer to only telic events (Sasse 2002: 233) or to only achievements (Croft 2012: 33). In this thesis, *event* will be used synonymously with *situation* as a superordinate term for all situations (following Croft 2012). Another general term that covers all situation types or *Aktionsart* classes which is used to avoid reference to aspect, etc. is EVENTUALITY, see Cann *et al.* 2009. Eventuality is not generally used in this thesis, unless it is relevant to distinguish the situation/event-term from its non-term uses (e.g., *the situation* 'state of affairs' *is difficult* or *the event* 'organised function' *lasted all day*).

LEXICAL ASPECT refers to the inherent aspectual type of verb stems, sometimes also called *AKTIONSART,* which is the inherent temporal structure (i.e., inherent aspect) of an event (Croft 2012: 31) and based on this, four verbal predication classes are distinguished: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements (see below for more on *Aktionsart* classes). Smith 1997 also uses the term **situation type**, while Croft 2012 speaks of **aspectual construals**. In this thesis, *Aktionsart* (classes) is preferred to lexical aspect (classes) to avoid referring to only verbal stems, since the analysis usually requires taking into account the properties of the entire event/verbal predication. EVENT STRUCTURE indicates whether a verb is a state, process, or transition (Murphy 2010: 67).

PROCESS – refers to an internal structure of a dynamic situation, a dynamic situation viewed imperfectively (Comrie 1976: 51). Usually refers to dynamic atelic events (Vendler's activities) (Cann *et al.* 2009: 182).

2.1.1. Grammatical aspect

Although defining the term *aspect* itself is by no means an easy task, it is generally agreed that ASPECT describes the internal temporal composition of a situation (Comrie 1976), in comparison to, e.g., tense which is deictic (Lyons 1968) and refers to the time of the situation (usually) in relation to the moment of speaking (cf. Comrie 1976: 1–2). Or simply put – if in terms of temporal category, it is important to know *when* the event takes place then in terms of aspect, it is relevant to know *how* the event takes place in relation to the temporal category (Frawley 1992: 294–295). While tense is not relevant in discussing the lexical aspectual properties of the situation[24], aspect is, and for that reason the main aspectual terms like perfectivity, imperfectivity, habitual, progressive, etc. will be introduced here.

Perfectivity and imperfectivity are the basic opposition of aspect[25]. **PERFECTIVITY (PFV)** is said to look at the situation from outside and generalise the event as a single whole without dividing it into beginning, middle, and end. In short, perfectivity refers to the complete event. (Comrie 1976: 18) For example in *John was reading when I entered* (Comrie 1976: 3), the first verb presents the background situation that was in progress when the main verb itself (*I entered*) took place. The main verb has no analysable distinction to individual phases and there is no deictic reference to the time the event is taking place.

In many languages, the perfective could also have an ingressive meaning, i.e., indication of inception. For example, in Russian *nakonec on ponjal, v čem delo* 'at last he grasped what was up (lit. finally he understand.3SG.PST, PREP what.ELA case)', where *ponjat'* (PFV of *ponimat'* 'understand') has the ingressive interpretation of 'come to understand'. (Comrie 1976: 19)

IMPERFECTIVITY (IPFV), on the other hand, views the event from within and has clear reference to internal temporal structure (Comrie 1976: 24). Imperfectivity is divided into habitual and continuous, the latter can further be divided into progressive and non-progressive. Typologically, languages have different specifications for the kind of contexts and instances when an event is used in the imperfective. Timberlake (2007: 294) lists the following: a) progressives, b) iterative processes, c) a state that holds at some contextual occasion, d) a delimited process which lasts for some time but then is terminated; but also e) the existence of a state or activity as opposed to not existing.

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[24] Note that this is *situation* and not *verb*, since the former takes into consideration the entire VP, but the latter only refers to the lexical verb alone.

[25] Smith 1997 uses the term 'aspectual viewpoint' to denote the perfective-imperfective types. There is also a neutral viewpoint which is flexible and includes at least one stage of the event and its initial endpoint (Smith 1997:3)

HABITUAL (**HAB**; also *serial*, *periodic*, *cyclic*, or *iterative*) **aspect** refers to events characteristic of some period of time (*the Temple of Diana used to stand at Ephesus*) (Comrie 1976: 28) or reoccurring events where situations repeat on multiple occasions (*he would often break into song*) (Timberlake 2007: 289). If Timberlake (2007) uses *iterative* synonymous to *habitual* and only gives examples of iterative events, then Comrie (1976) specifically points out that an event can be habitual even if there is no iterativity involved, for example with state verbs (*used to stand*), and iterativity itself does not automatically denote habitualness. For example, in *the lecturer stood up, coughed five times, and said...* the event is iterative but it could not be used with *used to* in English to denote habituality (**the lecturer stood up, used to cough five times, and said...*) (Comrie 1976: 27).

With achievements, habitual aspect (or iterativity) could change the telic punctual events into atelic durative processes (*throw a bout > he was always going around throwing bouts*). Habitual aspect could also be interpreted as non-habitual imperfectivity if the reoccurring events would amount to a continuous state. (Timberlake 2007: 289)

PROGRESSIVE (PGR) aspect expresses an event that is 'still' or 'already' ongoing during the contextual occasion, or an event that changes or could change. PGR comes naturally for processes (*everyone was asleep*), while stative predicates appear awkward (*everyone was being asleep*), unless the progressive refers to an activity-like situation (*He was being really obnoxious*) or a modal sense of temporariness. When the progressive is used with accomplishments, the process may be interrupted before reaching the termination point. (Timberlake 2007: 287). With achievements, the progressive is acceptable only when the event has a process-like reading and the change brought about by the event is imminent (*we were just reaching the summit when it began to rain*). The progressive can be interpreted as an imperfective when the event progresses long enough (for atelics) or the event is detained from termination (for telics) (Timberlake 2007: 288).

The progressive differs from (non-progressive) imperfectivity by not including habitualness. For example, in English, *John used to be writing poems* is progressive, while *John used to write poems* is non-progressive habitual (Comrie 1976: 33). Progressive occurrences of an event may sum up to be habitual, but habituality alone does not require for the event to be in the progressive aspect, the same as progressiveness does not automatically call for habitual aspect. In that sense, the progressive is like continuousness which is defined as "imperfectivity not determined by habituality". (Comrie 1976: 34)

Aspect types will be relevant later on and will help, in combination with *Aktionsart*, determine some contexts where verbal quantification and degree modification in general may not be possible, and this relates also to Komi *džyk*.

2.1.2. Aktionsart

In addition to information that is expressed grammatically, via morphology (e.g., tense and grammatical aspect), there are also inherent aspectual properties each event contains which convey information about the temporal aspects of the situations in which they are involved. *Aktionsart* or internal event structure, etc. describes the non-temporal properties of the event, more precisely the internal composition of the denoted event. The event's inherent properties determine how the event expression combines with the temporal categories.

There are three aspectual oppositions (or *semantic features* (Mourelatos 1981: 201–202)) that in combination make up different lexical aspect classes. The chapter below will give a brief overview of these oppositions or properties of the event and will introduce some tests that help to determine the inherent properties of specific situations.

2.1.2.1. Dynamicity

Eventivity relates to the static or dynamic nature of the event. Static verbs express situations where no change takes place (Vendler's *state*, (2.14a) below), while dynamic verbs express actions in which something happens or changes (other lexical aspect classes, e.g., *activities* in (2.14b) and (2.14c). Dynamic events are often also called *processes* (Timberlake 2007: 284).

(2.14)   a.   *Alan knows French.* [static]

        b.   *Alan learned French.* [dynamic]

        c.   *Alan ran for five minutes.* [dynamic]

A simple and well-used test for distinguishing static events from dynamic events is to see whether the question *what happened?* applies to the situation. If (2.14b) and (2.14c) are suitable answers to *what happened?* then (2.14a) is not, since *know* is static and not something that *happens*. The difference between the two temporally durative event expressions *know (smth)* and *run* is explained via differences in sub-phases – with static events, all phases of the event are the same throughout time, e.g., somebody knows something, but with dynamic events, the event consists of different phases (one foot on ground, both in air, other foot on ground, etc.). Comrie also adds that static events are naturally lasting (if no external force interferes, that is), while dynamic events need a constant input of energy to last (Comrie 1976: 48–49).

Van Valin (2005: 33) points out that if dynamic verbs are compatible with manner adverbs like *violently*, *vigorously*, *actively*, then static verbs usually do not appear with these adverbs. As an exception, he gives semelfactive verbs, some of which may have a dynamic interpretation (*He coughed once violently*) but not all of them (**He glimpsed the robber strongly*).

2.1.2.2. Telicity

The second aspectual property is telicity (or *boundedness* or being *liminal*), which is based on the resultativity of the event (Frawley 1992: 302; Murphy 2010: 208) or the irreversibility of the event (Timberlake 2007: 284). For telic events, an end point (also *goal* or *telos, result*, *limit*) or point of termination is necessary, while atelic events have no inherent end point (Van Valin 2005: 33–34). In (2.15a), *closing* the window requires the event to result with a closed window, while in (2.15b), there is no such necessary end point – after pushing, the window can remain open, closed, or can have not moved at all.

(2.15)   a.   *Alan closed the window.* [telic]

         b.   *Alan pushed the window.* [atelic]

The primary test for distinguishing telic events from atelic events is to check whether the truth-value of the proposition remains if the event is interrupted. (2.15a) is true only if Alan can get the window to close fully, otherwise the truth value is compromised. (2.15b), however, has no truth-value conflict if the window is still open (or closed) after being pushed.

Frawley adds that telic expressions become ambiguous when modified with the adverb *almost* (1992: 303). For example, *Bill almost drove to New York* could mean either that Bill almost started driving towards New York (instead of staying home), that he almost reached New York with his driving, or that he almost took his car to New York (instead of flying).

It is important to keep in mind that especially with telicity, the arguments of the verb play a significant role in determining the event's properties, since the same verb can appear in different contexts with different aspectual interpretations. For example below, the same verb can appear either in a telic or an atelic context (Comrie 1976: 45):

(2.16)   a.   *John is singing.* [atelic]

         b.   *John is singing a song.* [telic]

         c.   *John is singing songs.* [atelic]

         d.   *John is singing five songs.* [telic]

Examples (2.16a) and (2.16c) lack an inherent endpoint and are thus atelic, while (2.16b) and (2.16d) require the song(s) to be sung in full for the event to be finished and are thus telic.

In this thesis, telicity refers to the endpoint of the event which stands separate from the real temporal boundary of the event, as defined by Depraetere (1995). This means that a telic event has an inherent intended endpoint, as in *run a marathon*, and not a temporal boundary, as in *sunbathe for five minutes*. This kind of distinction is relevant since for 'marathon-running', the endpoint is part of the expression's meaning, while it is not true for 'sunbathe' (Tamm 2012: 49). In this

thesis, temporal reference is arbitrary and *run a marathon* would be considered a telic situation which is terminated due to inherent compulsion, while *sunbathe for five minutes* would be atelic, since without the temporal adverbial, the situation would not need to be terminated at all. Also, the temporal adverbial is not part of the VP, while *a marathon* is.

2.1.2.3. Duration

The third aspectual property is duration, which is based on the inherent duration of the event – a punctual event is not inherently lasting while a durative event is. Punctual events express a momentaneous change which takes place within a single moment (2.17). Durative events may express a change that takes place over a longer period of time (2.18a), or express an event that does not entail change (2.18b).

(2.17)   *I found my friends.* [punctual]

(2.18)   a.   *Alan is dancing.* [durative]

         b.   *I am looking for my friends.* [durative]

According to Timberlake (2007: 285), the durative-punctual opposition is involved with telicity in the event being liminal – in the case of liminal states, there is no gradual transition of state or no extended process phase to the event, so the event is momentaneous, but in the case of liminal processes, the middle phase (i.e., the transition phase) is present and the event, therefore, durative.

Punctual and durative verbs can be distinguished from each other by using the verb in a progressive aspect, for example in present progressive. In (2.18a), the verb is durative and thus *dancing* is natural in a progressive context. The verb *find* in (2.17), however, could not be used in the same manner due to its punctuality – one moment the friends are lost, the next they are found.

It is worth mentioning that even though, similarly to duration, imperfectivity also expresses an unfinished event, i.e., a progressive event or an event with a non-specific end point, nonetheless the two should be distinguished from one another. According to Comrie (1976: 41), the latter expresses the non-momentaneous nature of the event while imperfectivity contains the unfinished nature of the whole event's internal structure. He also adds that punctual events lack an internal structure altogether and are thus also incompatible with imperfectivity (Comrie 1976: 42).

2.1.3. *Aktionsart* classes and tests

2.1.3.1. *Aktionsart* classes

The classical categorisation follows Zeno Vendler (1967) and is based on the combinations of the three abovementioned inherent properties. Both the classes and properties have since been thoroughly discussed and amended (see Comrie 1976; Binnick 1991; Smith 1997; Sasse 2002; Van Valin 2005; Croft 2012, etc.). The Vendler classes illustrated in Table 15 are states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements.

Table 15. Vendler's lexical aspect classes (1967). (cf. Murphy 2010: 210)

Situation types	static–dynamic	punctual–durative	telic–atelic
State	Static	(durative)	n/a
Activity	Dynamic	Durative	Atelic
Accomplishment	Dynamic	Durative	Telic
Achievement	Dynamic	Punctual	Telic

Comrie insists that telic situations require a process leading up to the point of termination and thus an achievement like *John reached the summit* is not telic, since the situation is not possible in imperfective, as in **John was reaching the summit when he died* (Comrie 1976: 47). More recent authors, however, consider both accomplishments and achievements as telic events based on them having an inherent end point and not based on whether there is a process involved; see for example Smith (1997), Van Valin (2005), Croft (2012), etc.

In addition to Vendler's basic classification, Smith (1997) makes use of the term SEMELFACTIVE to denote a lexical aspect class of punctual events which are non-iterative and have no end result (i.e., they are atelic and there is no resulting state), e.g., (2.19) below:

(2.19)   *There was a knock at the door.*

Semelfactive verbs themselves are restricted in distribution and do not appear in imperfective or appear with any temporal adverbials expressing duration (Smith 1997: 30).

Bernard Comrie (1976: 42) has used the same term to distinguish between once-only (semelfactive) and repeated (iterative) interpretations of a punctual event. Frawley has rephrased this notion by stating that semelfactives consist of one single sub-event and iteratives consist of the same sub-event taking place repeatedly (Frawley 1992: 310–311). These are usually physically perceptible verbs like *flash*, *click*, *hop*, etc. (Murphy 2010: 207). Smith states that although semelfactives are single-stage events, they often occur in repetitive sequences and can be interpreted as multiple-event activities (Smith 1997: 30) (such as *somebody knocked at the door for five minutes*) but at the same time, the multiple-event use is as basic as the single-event use.

As another additional lexical aspect class, Van Valin (2005: 32) has suggested ACTIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS which are telic uses of activity verbs that match activities by their inherent properties but clearly entail an end point to the expressed activity. Compare (2.20a) and (2.20b) (Van Valin 2005: 33) below – (2.20a) is an atelic activity since there is no temporal or spatial end point to the marching of the soldier. (2.20b), on the other hand, requires the soldiers to reach the park in order for the truth value to be preserved and is thus telic – the event is accomplished as soon as the soldiers reach the park.

(2.20)   a.   *The soldiers marched in the park.* [activity]

         b.   *The soldiers marched to the park.* [active accomplishment]

Van Valin (2005: 33) proposes an amended classification of lexical aspect classes to which he adds semelfactives (Smith 1997) as a class of telic and punctual events that may be either dynamic (transitive use, e.g., *the driver flashed the light*) or non-dynamic (intransitive use, e.g., *the light of the car flashed*), and active accomplishments as a class of telic activities.

Although it is generally recognised that states are non-dynamic, achievements and accomplishments are usually considered dynamic (e.g., Smith 1997, Croft 2012 from newer sources), since they involve change and are non-static. Comrie even states that due them to involving change, all punctual events are automatically dynamic and that "there can be no such thing as a punctual state." (Comrie 1976: 50).

Dahl (1985: 26–27) formulates the general issue of appointing verbs to *Aktionsart* classes: a verb does not only have a single inherent aspectual type, instead it has potential to belong to several contexts which require different lexical aspectual properties. The same kind of 'semantic multivalence' was also pointed out by Mourelatos who sees no reason in talking about specific classes that each verb might belong to, but rather "types or categories of verb predication"[26] (Mourelatos 1981: 196). The same approach is employed by Croft (2012: 37) under the term 'aspectual construals' which he uses in parallel with 'aspectual types'. Although following his lead in the sense that the aspectual type may differ in specific contexts, I will refrain from using construal-related terminology and will instead refer to the *Aktionsart* or aspectual class of a situation in relation to the context in which the verb appears.

In addition to assuming that a single verb may appear in several aspectual construals, Croft 2012 also adds new, construal-approach-based aspectual classes to Vendler's classification. In his approach, Croft uses a two-dimensional representation that includes temporal phases (boundary phases and state phases), the dimension of time (i.e., how the event unfolds over time), and a semantic

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[26]   Mourelatos also specifies six factors which are relevant to determining the category of verb predication: a) inherent meaning, b) the nature of the verb's arguments (object, subject, if any), c) adverbials, if any, d) aspect, e) tense as phase (e.g., the perfect), f) tense as time reference (past, present, future) (Mourelatos 1981: 199).

parameter, creating a framework that describes the subtypes of the Vendlerian classes based on structural and semantic differences. Croft's approach and terminology are used in this thesis.

Croft's STATES have four subtypes, based on being permanent or transitory, and duration in time. TRANSITORY STATES have a start and may have an end (but it is not determined), while PERMANENT STATES have a point of inception and after that hold for the entire lifetime of the entity (Croft 2012: 58). Transitory states combine with frequency adverbs (*Jane is ill often*) while permanent states cannot occur multiple times (**Jane is American often*). Croft bases his subtypes on a similar semantic distinction of transitory vs. permanent described by Greg Carlson in "Generics and atemporal *when*" (1979), where he identified out two types: object-level and stage-level predications, the former relating to events of permanent property (*be Polish*), the latter to events of transitory property (*be ill, be angry*, etc.). (Croft 2012: 42).

Permanent states are continuous in time, without an endpoint, and can semantically be either ACQUIRED PERMANENT STATES which begin sometime during the existence of the entity (*the cup is chipped*) or INHERENT PERMANENT STATES which begin with the birth or creation of the entity (*the cup is blue*).

POINT STATES (term from Mittwoch 1988: 234) last for only a point in time (*it is five o'clock*; *Russia and Georgia are at war*). It goes without saying that the 'point' may be longer than just 60 seconds and may include a lot of activity. Point states have a transition back to the *rest state* after the 'point' passes, which makes them different from very short transitory states – with transitory states there is no certainty of the state ending but point states will end (or revert back to the rest state). Compare a transitory state *the light is on!* and a point state *the sun is at its zenith*, where the sun will move away from its zenith but the light need not go out. (Croft 2012: 59).

All states (except inherent permanent states) include a change of some sort during the lifetime of the entity and those three types of states correspond to the three types of achievements.

ACHIEVEMENTS have three subtypes based on them being transitory or permanent and directed or not directed. REVERSIBLE DIRECTED ACHIEVEMENTS result in transitory (or reversible) result states and are directed (i.e., the result state phase is at a different point on the scale from the initial rest state phase). For reversible achievements, the result is not depicted as temporally lasting. IRREVERSIBLE DIRECTED ACHIEVEMENTS result in a permanent (or irreversible) result state; they are also directed and their result is depicted as continuous in time. (Croft 2012: 59) Reversible achievements can be reversed and thus also repeated (*the door closed twice*) while irreversible achievements cannot be repeated (**the mouse died twice*) (Croft 2012: 43). In the analysis part of this thesis, the reversibility of achievements is not a relevant parameter and thus reversible achievements will not be distinguished from irreversible achievements.

CYCLIC ACHIEVEMENTS (or SEMELFACTIVES) result in point states, which then revert back to the rest state. In *a mouse squeaked*, the squeak denotes a punctual change and the transition from silence to the sound, not just the squeak,

is profiled. Croft also uses **undirected achievements** for this type due to their semantic closeness to undirected activities (Croft 2012: 60).

In Croft's approach, ACTIVITIES receive a broader interpretation than in Vendler's and also include atelic directed processes like *cool*, *melt*, etc. **DIRECTED ACTIVITIES** involve a continuous change but without a transition to a result state representing a completed action (like in *the soup cooled*; there is no result, the soup may still be hot even after cooling) (Croft 2012: 61). Directed activities are transitory and do not extend for the entire lifetime of the entity. **UNDIRECTED ACTIVITIES** do not involve a continuous directed change since they may be construed as a succession of cyclic achievements – *running* or *dancing* is a succession of certain steps. Croft also uses **cyclic activities** for this aspectual type (Croft 2012: 61). Distinguishing directed and undirected activities is relevant to this thesis, as modification by *džyk* seems to have different interpretations with the two types of activities.

Similarly to activities, Croft's approach broadens the term **ACCOMPLISHMENT** to also include nondirected events like *repair a computer*. Accomplishments differ from other aspectual types by having three stages profiled – the inception, termination, and directed change phase. **(INCREMENTAL) ACCOMPLISHMENTS** are bounded by the inception and completion phases and like Vendlerian accomplishments, they have a result state as an endpoint of the phase of directed change. Structurally, they are the bounded version of directed activities. (Croft 2012: 62) **NONINCREMENTAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS** (**runup achievements)** have a profiled beginning and end transition phase, but the middle phase is an undirected activity (i.e., the bounded version of the undirected activity). There is no monotonic progression from the rest state to the result state. (*ibid.*)

In addition to aspectual classes, there is a semantic class of verbs called INCEPTIVE STATES which consist of events that may appear either as states or as achievements that result in a state. These are verbs like *know*, *see*, *remember*, e.g., *I know how to do this* (state) and *I instantly remembered her* (achievement). There is a similar case with verbs like *be polite* and *be friendly*, which can appear either as states or as activities, e.g., *John is friendly* (state) and *John is being friendly* (activity). Croft calls them DISPOSITION predicates. (Croft 2012: 38) Piñón (2000) talks about them as 'ordinary states' and state-like progressives, while Kimian and Davidsonian states are also used (see e.g., Rothmayr 2009).

Another such class is INACTIVE ACTIONS ('stative progresses' (Dowty 1979), 'dynamic states' (Bach 1986), 'homogenous activities' (Michaelis 2004)), which consists of events that may be interpreted as either states or activities; Croft describes it is a matter of grammatical expression and perception of event type (Croft 2012: 39). Similarly, CYCLIC ACTIONS may appear either as activities or as cyclic repetitions of achievements, depending on whether the event is single and punctual or re-occurring and temporally durative, e.g., *Harriet coughed (once)* (cyclic achievement) and *Harriet coughed for five minutes* (activity, i.e., cyclic repetition of achievement) (examples Smith 1991: 55). These multi-interpretational classes will appear in the items analysed for this thesis, and the interpretation of the predication is often relevant for the interpretation of the *džyk*-modifier.

2.1.3.2. Further tests

As for distinguishing one lexical aspect class from another, there are some helpful tests which are usually transferrable to Komi and the Uralic languages in general. The first test assumes that a language makes use of the progressive aspect (Van Valin 2005: 35), since it is based on whether the event can be used with a progressive tense. In English, activities (2.21d), accomplishments (2.21b) and active accomplishments (2.21e) have no complications with the progressive; most of states cannot be used with progressive (2.21a), achievements require a singular subject (2.21c), and semelfactives must be used in an iterative sense (2.21f) (Van Valin 2005: 35–36).

(2.21)   a.   *Dana is being tall/ fat / a doctor.*

          b.   *The ice is melting.*

          c.   *The firecracker is popping. (cf. The firecrackers are popping.)*

          d.   *Kim is dancing/singing/running/talking/crying/sleeping.*

          e.   *Chris is walking to the park.*

          f.   *The light is flashing (*once).*

For the Finno-Ugric languages, the V+*ing* progressive can often be replaced with a participle construction. For example, in Estonian, the *mas*-construction can be used; similarly, various *ig*-converbs express simultaneous and progressive events in Komi (see Kuznetsov 2022: 498).

    A test for distinguishing activities and active accomplishments[27] from other lexical aspect classes is to see whether the verb in question can appear with dynamic manner adverbs like *vigorously*, *gently*, *powerfully*, etc. (Van Valin 2005: 36). It is important to keep in mind that the adverb should not require a controlling subject, so e.g., *deliberately* and *carefully* are not suitable since they do not agree with verbs expressing involuntary action. For example, in (2.22) and (2.23), both verbs agree with *violently*, i.e., are dynamic, yet neither agree with *deliberately* and *carefully* which require a controlling subject. This is due to the verbs expressing involuntary action or, as in (2.23), the subject being inanimate.

(2.22)   *The dog shivered violently/*deliberately in the cold.*

(2.23)   *The house shook violently/*carefully during the earthquake.*

Frawley (1992: 151–152) sees this kind of testing as being less about animacy and volition, but more about the fact that dynamic events are carried out, but static events are not.

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[27]   Van Valin refers to the test as distinguishing between dynamic and non-dynamic verbs, but actually it just distinguishes activity verbs (activities and active accomplishments) from other aspectual types, since Van Valin defines dynamic verbs through being involved with dynamic action (Van Valin 2005).

The test presented above is quite universal and can successfully be used with the Finno-Ugric languages with similar adverbs or other arguments of the verb. In Komi, the adverbs *jara, čoryda* 'violently', *v'idzčys'ömön, v'idztömön, töždys'ömpyrys'* 'carefully, (tenderly)', *narošnö, kösjömön, tödömön* 'deliberately', etc. can be used for that.

Another test distinguishes punctual verbs from durative verbs. The test makes use of pace adverbs like *quickly, rapidly, slowly*, which appear with accomplishments, activities and active accomplishments, i.e., those that express events with a longer duration, like '*John slowly realised his mistake.*', but not with punctual verbs like achievements and semelfactives, and states which are durative, but non-dynamic. Achievements and semelfactives as inherently punctual verbs do not appear with pace adverbs, unless the adverbs express short and quick intervals of time, e.g., in '*The bomb exploded instantly.*', '*The light flashed instantly.*' (Van Valin 2005: 36) For this reason, this test should be attempted with pace adverbs which express slow processes ('*The bomb exploded *slowly/*gradually.*') and an eye should be kept out for the iterative use of semelfactives which can be excluded with *once* or another similar adverb, e.g., in '*The tree branch tapped slowly on the window (*once).*'

The so-called *for*-test determines whether an event has temporal duration or not with the aid of a prepositional phrase that assumes duration, like *V for an hour* in English, or a similar construction for other languages, e.g., *tund aega* 'for an hour' in Estonian, e.g., *tund aega töötama* 'work for an hour', or Komi *čöž* 'all round, for', e.g., *čas čöž sjorn'itny* 'talk for an hour'.

For states, the *for*-phrase is awkward (*?I knew the answer for a day*) and duration does not come naturally for them. Only when there is a possible comparison between different intervals of time, is using the *for*-phrase more natural, e.g., *I knew the answer for a day, but I seem to have forgotten*. Measuring the duration of activities, on the other hand, is very natural: *small boys hooted for hours*. (Timberlake 2007: 284)

Telic verbs (or *liminal predicates*, as Timberlake uses it (2007: 285)) do not combine well with *for*-phrases measuring the duration of the process, since these kinds of event expressions presume an end point (e.g., *?he read the newspaper cover to cover for five minutes*). When a *for*-phrase combines with a telic verb, the temporal adverbial instead refers to the duration of the resulting state and not the duration of the expressed event itself (e.g., *he went outside for five minutes*). (Timberlake 2007: 285–286) Semelfactives may appear with the *for*-PP, but only for expressing very short time intervals, e.g., *the light flashed once for an instant* (Van Valin 2005: 37).

The *in*-test concentrates on telicity and shows that if the verb can appear with the *V in*-construction, then there is a point of termination for the expressed event. According to this, accomplishments appear freely with the *in*-construction (*he read the book in an hour*), but achievements only when the *in*-phrase refers to a very short period of time (*the window shattered in a fraction of a second*). Atelic verbs do not appear in the *in*-construction. (Van Valin 2005: 37). In Komi, the instrumental case *-ön* can be used for this construction, e.g., *karys artm'is*

nekymyn voön 'the city was formed in a few years', and *dzukön* 'within a moment' (EKS 2022).

Semelfactives and achievements can be distinguished from each other by seeing whether the verb can be used as a stative modifier. Semelfactives cannot, since they have no end result, e.g., **a/the tapped window*, **the flashed light*, but achievements, which do have an end result, can be used as modifiers, e.g., *the shattered window*, *the burst blood vessel*. (Van Valin 2005: 38)

2.3. Degree expressions and quantifiers

In order to understand the verbal use of *džyk* in Komi, it is important to understand the functions and semantics of quantifiers and degree modifiers that correspond to the readings *džyk* may have. For example, the readings attributed to *džyk* may be *more*, *better*, *faster*, *easily*, (not) *as much*, (not) *as well*, (not) *quite*, etc. Based on the functions and readings that *džyk* has, the conditions for *džyk* modifying VPs should in general be similar to those which apply to other modifiers and adverbials usually involved in extent and degree modification.

I will start with some classifications of quantifiers and degree expressions. Then I will move on to **verbal quantification**, mainly the quantifier *souvent* 'often', and **degree intensification**, which includes general high degree modifiers like *a lot* and Fr. *beaucoup*, the manner/degree modifier *well*, and the quantifier/modifier *more*. The section concludes with some comments on **litotes** and **attenuation of negation** which give some insights into *džyk* modifying negated VPs, and the introduction of the terms **proneness** and **moderation**, the former referring to the ease of something happening, and the latter to scalar downtoning. At the end of each section, I also present the corresponding Komi degree expressions and adverbials.

2.3.1. Classification of quantifiers and degree expressions

The term *degree expression* is a general notion used to cover all modifiers that are used for gradation; this includes intensifiers, degree quantifiers, elements of comparison, etc, but it does not include verbal quantifiers. The difference between quantification and (degree) modification is a long-argued one. De Swart (1993) bases the difference on function – quantificational expressions are concerned with the quantity of the event, while degree expressions further specify (i.e., intensify) the event itself (de Swart 1993: 5). This distinction is more straightforward with quantifiers like *often* which only relate to frequency, as in *go to the movies often*, but is harder to distinguish with expressions that have both extent and degree readings, like *a lot* in *go to the movies a lot* and *love movies a lot*, which both instead relate to degree (see Fleischhauer 2016, and also Section *4.2.1* for more details). For the purposes of this thesis, it suffices to use *quantifier* for expressions

like (*more*) *often*, and consider other instances degree expressions, that relate either to extent (*go to the movies a lot*) or degree (*love movies a lot*).

Based on syntactic selection properties, Doetjes (1997) distinguishes four types of quantifiers:

1. DEGREE QUANTIFIERS (DQs) are not restricted categorically and can be used with both NPs and VPs. This includes *more*, *less*, *much*, *a lot*, etc. and their counterparts in other languages (like *beaucoup* 'a lot', *énormément* 'a whole lot' in French, etc.) DQs require a scalar element to modify since they indicate a value on a scale. For example, *a lot* expresses a high degree, while *a little* expresses a low degree; *more*, *as much*, and *less* compare two degrees, *enough* expresses some necessary basis, *too much* expresses excess, etc. (Doetjes 1997: 92)

When combining with VPs, the modified event is required to have a cumulative reference (2.24a) or express an iterated event (2.24b). Semantically, DQs refer to intensity scales with properties (2.25a) and quantity scales with objects (2.25b) and events (2.24b) (Hassamal and Abeille 2014: 260).

(2.24)   a.   *Anne runs a lot.*

       b.   *Alan goes to the theatre a lot.*

(2.25)   a.   *This dog is very intelligent*.

       b.   *A lot of books.*

2. ADVERBS OF QUANTIFICATION (Q-adverbs) appear with VPs only, e.g., French *souvent* 'often' which may also modify VPs that refuse DQs. In addition, Q-adverbs can be used in habitual contexts (while DQs cannot) (Doetjes 1997: 242). French *rarement* 'seldom' and *quelquefois* 'sometimes' are also Q-adverbs or frequency adverbs (Doetjes 2006: 686).

3. ADNOMINAL MODIFIERS (AdnQ) combine with NPs only, e.g., *many*, *some*, and *one* (Doetjes 1997: 173).

4. FLOATING ADNOMINAL QUANTIFIERS (FQ) like *all* and *each* may change their position in relation to the modified element without there being a semantic difference, e.g., *All the children were riding bikes* and *the children were all riding bikes*. They function like adnominal quantifiers, i.e., combine with NPs only. (Doetjes 1997: 202)

As for degree modification, for many sources, the division of degree expressions is usually based on adjectival-adverbial use. However, since there is extensive overlap between adjectival and verbal degree modification (Allerton 1987), or between adjectival and any other category, for that matter, then the categorisations can in general also be applied to discussing verbal degree modification. Klein (1998) summarises the issue with stating that grading is possible if a

gradable feature is present, referring to degree modifiers being able to modify members of any category, so as long as they are in principle gradable.

Quirk *et al.* (1985), who also discuss verbal degree modification, distinguish **amplifiers** and **downtoners**, the former referring to intensifying over some norm and the latter to lowering intensity below some norm (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 589–590), see Table 16. Amplifiers are divided into a) maximisers, which denote an upper extreme, and b) boosters, which denote a high degree. Quirk *et al.* (1985: 594–595) point out that amplifiers only appear with gradable verbs, otherwise they function as quantifiers. Downtoners are divided into c) approximators, which denote the approximation of the force of the verb and imply denial of the truth value, d) compromisers, which call in question the appropriateness of the verb, e) diminishers, which denote 'to a small extent', and f) minimisers, which are negative maximisers (Quirk *et al.* 597–598).

Table 16. Categorisation of 'intensifiers' for Quirk *et al.* (1985).

amplifiers	maximisers	*absolutely, completely, totally*
	boosters	*very much, a lot, more*
downtoners	approximators	*almost, nearly, virtually*
	compromisers	*more or less, kind of, rather*
	diminishers	*partly, a bit, only, merely*
	minimisers	*hardly, little, at all*

Paradis (1997) offers two groups of modifiers based on whether they are totality modifiers, i.e., concerned with the endpoint of the scale, or scalar modifiers, and whether they are reinforcers or attenuators. See Table 17 for her classification.

Table 17. Categorisation of degree modifiers for Paradis (1997: 28).

totality modifiers	reinforcers	maximisers	*quite, absolutely, completely, perfectly, totally*
	attenuators	approximators	*almost*
scalar modifiers	reinforcers	boosters	*very, terribly, extremely, most, awfully, highly*
	attenuators	moderators	*quite, rather, pretty, fairly*
		diminishers	*a (little) bit, slightly, a little, somewhat*

Jennifer McManus (2012) presents an in-depth study of (English) degree modifiers and merges Quirk *et al.*'s and Paradis' distribution, stressing firstly the direction of modification of either being a reinforcer or a downtoner (i.e., attenuator), and secondly not distinguishing minimisers from diminishers. Her classification based on Quirk *et al.* (1985) and Paradis (1997) is presented in Table 18.

Table 18. Categorisation of degree modifiers for McManus (2012: 18)

reinforcers	totality: maximisers	*totally, completely*
	scalar: boosters	*very, extremely*
downtoners	totality: approximators	*almost, nearly*
	scalar: moderators	*fairly, quite*
	scalar: diminishers	*slightly, somewhat*

In this thesis, the terms QUANTITY MODIFIER or QUANTIFIER will be used for any adverb or expression that modifies the extent (i.e., frequency, duration, quantity) of an event expression, and DEGREE QUANTIFIER or DEGREE MODIFIER will be used to refer to any adverb or expression that modifies the degree of intensity, quantity degree, etc. of an event expression. As for other terminology relating to degree modifiers, I will follow what is used in the categorisation based on McManus (2012).

For non-cardinal frequency modifiers, I will give more examples of French *souvent* 'often'. Cardinal frequency modifiers like *three times* and non-cardinal frequency adverbs like *seldom* or *sometimes* will be left out because they do not belong to the semantic scope of the Komi *džyk*-clitic. From degree modifiers, I will introduce general high degree modifiers *a lot*, etc., also the use of *well* as both a high degree modifier and a manner adverb, and *more* which can refer to either high degree or be used as a quantifier. The latter use was already exemplified above in connection to verbal comparatives.

2.3.2. The quantifier *souvent* 'often'

The French *souvent* 'often' represents a type of quantity adverb that quantifies the event over times (Doetjes 2006: 687). It may appear synonymous with quantity degree adverbs, e.g., with *beaucoup* 'a lot' but this is due to context and not semantic similarities. For example, in (2.26) (cf. Doetjes 2006: 686), both *beaucoup* and *souvent* are suitable but semantically, the outcomes are different: in (2.26a), the reference is to the quantity of rain while the number of instances of raining are irrelevant; in (2.26b), the opposite is true and the focus is on how many times it rained, while the quantity of rain is irrelevant.

(2.26)   a.   *Il a plu beaucoup*.
           'It rained a lot.'

        b.   *Il a plu souvent*.
           'It rained often/a lot.'

By definition, *souvent* is inherently iterative and always introduces a frequency reading to the modified event expression, so even with scalar predicates, the reading can never be that of intensity (e.g., French *Il l'apprécie souvent* 'he often appreciates it' and not 'he appreciates it a lot') (Doetjes 2006: 700). Since it is a

quantifier, *souvent* combines with inherently plural telic event expressions that have cumulative reference (like *visiting the Louvre* > *visiting the Louvre often*) and mass verbs (like *rain* > *rain often*) (Doetjes 2006: 697) which freely allow quantification. The reading of *souvent* also includes a plural (an abstract *x times*) which makes it compatible with single predicates that allow for plurality (like *buy two kilos of olives* > *often buy two kilos of olives*) but incompatible with 'once-only' predicates that do not allow for plurality and which do not have cumulative reference (like *write that letter* > **often write that letter*) (Doetjes 2006: 704).

In comparison, the degree quantifier *beaucoup* with a frequency reading is incompatible with both types of single events but combines with naturally iterative events for which the frequency reading is due to natural plurality and not due to modification by *beaucoup*. (Doetjes 2006: 704–705)

In Komi, *tšökyda* and *častö* express 'often', *unays'* 'repeatedly' and *gežöda* and *šoga* express 'seldom' (the latter are not within the scope of *džyk*). The first meaning of *tšökyda* is 'thickly, as a thick layer' and second 'often', for *unays'* the meaning is 'often, many times' or it appears as an adjective 'multiple, re-occurring', *unays'* originates from *una* 'a lot'. Semantically, the equivalents of the comparative degree forms *tšökyddžyka* and *častödžyka* 'more often' are of interest in this thesis.

2.3.3. Degree modifiers

When discussing degree modifiers, it is relevant to point out that languages employ these modifiers differently, i.e., in some instances, a high degree modifier may express both extent and degree, while some modifiers only have one or the other reading. Jenny Doetjes (2008) groups degree modifiers into seven types based on how they combine with different adjectives, nouns, and verbs. According to Doetjes, gradable verbs combine with type B, type C, type D degree expressions, eventive verbs combine with type C, type D, and type E degree expressions (Doetjes 2008: 138), as is illustrated by Table 19.

Table 19. Degree expression distribution by verb type following Doetjes (2008: 138).

gradable adjectives	type A (very)		
gradable nominal predicates		type B (*erg*, etc.)	type C (*trop*, *less*, etc.)
gradable verbs			
eventive verbs, eventive adjectives, comparatives	type D (*beaucoup*, etc.)	type E (*veel*, etc.)	
mass nouns			
plural nouns			

Type A expressions are adjectival modifiers like English *very*. **Type B** consists of intensifiers of high or extreme degrees, like Dutch *erg* 'very' in *iemand erg missen* 'to miss somebody a lot' (Doetjes 2008: 126), German *sehr*, which

combine with gradable verbs. **Type C** modifiers express an excessive or high degree of quantity, like French *trop* 'too', *plus* 'more', English *more* in *to dance more*, and *less*, Dutch *minder* 'less', etc. These modifiers combine with all gradable expressions, including eventive verbs like *to walk more* and Portugese *muito trabalhar* 'to work a lot' (Doetjes 2008: 128).

Type D modifiers express a high degree of intensity, like English *a lot*, *much*, French *beaucoup* 'a lot' in *beaucoup apprécier* 'appreciate a lot', also *autant* 'as much' and *tant* 'so much'. They are usually restricted in their use to abstract verbs and they reject adjectives (Doetjes 2008: 129). **Type E** modifiers are Dutch *veel* 'a lot' in *Jan is veel ziek* 'Jan is ill a lot', German *viel* 'a lot', etc. They can only indicate a neutral high degree of quantity and the verb must thus express an activity or be plural (Doetjes 2008: 131). These modifiers are in complementary distribution with type B modifiers, as Table 19 shows (Doetjes 2008: 139).

As was exemplified above, general degree modifiers may appear as either quantity or intensity degree modifiers with event expressions. In English, the same modifier *a lot* is used for both quantification (*works a lot*) and degree modification (*grows a lot*), but a separate one for adjective intensification (*very big*). In English, *very* does not combine with verbs and neither does *a lot* combine with adjectives. The same kind of adverb distribution is also relevant for other languages, as is shown in Table 20 from Löbner (2012: 232) who illustrates the choice of degree expressions according to modification type and not only categorical context.

Table 20. Adjective and verb intensifiers. (cf. Löbner 2012: 232)

	adjective intensification	verbs: degree intensification	verbs: extent intensification
German	*sehr* groß	wächst *sehr*	arbeitet *viel*
Russian	*ochen* bolshoy	*ochen* rastjot	*mnogo* rabotaet
Hungarian	*nagyon* nagy	*nagyon* nő	*sokat* dolgozik
Japanese	*totemo* ōkii	*totemo* hueru	*takusan* hataraku
Italian	*molto* grande	cresce *molto*	lavora *molto*
Spanish	*muy* grande	crece *mucho*	trabaja *mucho*
French	*très* grand	grandit *beaucoup*	travaille *beaucoup*
English	*very* big	grows *a lot*	works *a lot*

A similar cross-linguistic overview is presented by Jens Fleischhauer (2016: 52) about extent and degree modification, an abbreviated version is presented below in Table 21.

Table 21. Cross-linguistic distribution of degree expressions used for verb gradation (abbreviated from Fleischhauer 2016: 52).

	verb gradation		
	degree gradation	**extent gradation (frequency)**	**extent gradation (duration)**
German	*sehr*	*viel*	*viel*
Persian	*kheyli*	*ziad*	*ziad*
Estonian	*väga*	*palju*	*palju*
French	*beaucoup*	*beaucoup*	*beaucoup*
Turkish	*çok*	*çok*	*çok*
Finnish	*paljon*	*paljon*	*paljon*

Based on this distribution of degree expressions, Fleischhauer (2016: 53) gene-ralises two major types of languages: the 'French-type' for languages that use the same expression for both extent and degree modification, and the 'German-type' for languages that use separate expressions for extent and degree modification. Deriving from this, there are also 'e-adverbials' for only extent gradation, 'd-adverbials' for only degree gradation, and 'd/e-adverbials' for both degree and extent gradation (*ibid.*)

As for Doetjes' claim that the distribution of degree expressions presented in Table 19 forms a cross-categorical continuum where the expressions are restricted to their adjacent contexts, Fleischhauer (2016) rejects it based on the composition of the contexts which he claims not to be sufficiently accurate and properly orga-nised. By that he means that the categories of 'gradable verbs', etc. are too general and lump together verbs with different subcompositional properties. In his own approach, Fleischhauer distinguishes between extent and degree gradation in more detail and bases the distribution of degree expressions on a wider cross-linguistic background.

The distribution of Komi degree expressions with adjectives and verbs is presented in Table 22: *zev, jona*, and *una*. *Zev* 'very' is the default degree modifier with adjectives and adverbs and is not compatible with verbs, which makes it similar to Eng. *very*. *Jona* 'a lot (*jon-a* strong-ADV)' is the main modifier for intensity while *una* 'a lot' is the main modifier for event quantity, making Komi a 'German-type' language like its neighbouring contact language Russian, although Russian uses *ochen'* for both adjective and verbal degree intensification, but Komi uses a different modifier for each modification type.

Table 22. Adjective and verb intensifiers in Komi and Russian.

	adjective intensification	**verbs: degree intensification**	**verbs: extent intensification**
Komi	*zev* ydžyd	*jona* bydmyny	*una* udžalö
Russian	*ochen* bolshoy	*ochen* rastjot	*mnogo* rabotaet

In Russian, *mnogo* is used in contexts involving repeated action, but not with states and imperfective non-repeated situations (Bitextina 1975: 207), i.e., *mnogo* has no intensity modifying propensity. In general, *ochen'* cannot be used to modify deliberate, concrete actions, but can be used to modify states and activities that have some inherent gradable property (Bitextina 1975: 209–210), like intensity, speed, etc.

It must be noted, that degree modifiers interact with the internal structure of the predication (Kennedy *et al.* 1999, Caudal 2000) and, thus, certain non-stative predications are incompatible with certain degree modifiers. That is, closed scale modifiers like *completely*, *entirely*, *perfectly*, etc. reject dynamic atelic[28] predications with an open scale, e.g., **Yanning walked completely*, or those which lack complex degree structure, e.g., **Yanning ran completely to the store* (Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 281). Similarly, open scale modifiers like *a lot* reject telic predications, e.g., **Yanning ate his pancake a lot*, but accept atelic dynamic predications, e.g., *Yanning walked a lot* (Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 281).

Below, I will present a cross-linguistic overview of general high degree modifiers, since generalisations about high degree expressions form the basis of degree modification with *džyk*. This will be followed by the high degree modifiers *well* and *more*. Other modifiers relevant to the topic will be presented and discussed with relevant examples where necessary. Totality modifiers (maximisers and approximators) will not be discussed in detail since they do not appear in the semantic scope of Komi *džyk*.

2.3.3.1. General high degree modifiers

High degree modifiers like *a lot*, Ger. *sehr* 'very; a lot', Fr. *beaucoup*, Du. *erg* 'very; a lot', Ru. *mnogo* 'a lot', Komi *jona* 'a lot', etc. may have either intensity or quantity degree readings. The function of these modifiers is to raise the relative standard of comparison from a regular contextual standard to a higher degree based on those objects to which the unmodified predicate truthfully applies. This means that if *tall* is a property of people whose height is above some contextual standard, e.g., average height (*basketball players are tall*) then *very tall* is a property of people whose height exceeds even the average height of those who are considered to be tall (*some basketball players are tall but not all are* very *tall*). (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 370) As can be seen, these modifiers leave the concrete value unspecified and introduce 'non-high' and 'high' degrees of the property (Fleischhauer 2013: 127), and these types of intensifiers are said to require open-scale adjectives, adverbs and verbs (Löbner 2012: 232), or for telic verbs, to have their scale associate with both standard and maximal telos (Fleischhauer 2013: 130), see more on verbs below.

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[28]   With regard to telicity, Caudal and Nicolas (2005) follow the endpoint approach, according to which a predication is telic if it has an associated set of degrees, a specified maximal degree, and its verbal predication satisfies axiom Become (Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 294), i.e., change-of-state verbs (Fleischhauer 2013: 133).

To use these kinds of modifiers for quantity degree modification, a plural or cumulative reference is required from the event expression. For example, with French *beaucoup* below, in (2.27a), the event is plural or mass and has a cumulative reference – there are many instances of Jean going to the Louvre; in (2.27b), the event is singular and semantically 'once-only' which makes it refuse modification by *beaucoup* (Doetjes 2006: 698).

(2.27) a. *Jean va beaucoup au Louvre.*
            'Jean goes to the Louvre a lot.'

        b. **Jeanne a beaucoup écrit la lettre.*
            '*Jeanne has written the letter a lot.'

The French *beaucoup* can also appear with an intensity modifier reading, as in (2.28) and (2.29), providing that the verb has a gradable scale present. These two examples allow for an intensity reading only, since the events involved are singular or at a semantically individual level, the same kind as in (2.27a) where *beaucoup* was rejected as a quantity modifier.

(2.28) *J'ai beaucoup apprécié ses conseils.*   (Doetjes 2006: 698)
        'I appreciated his advice a lot.'

(2.29) *Cela a beaucoup accéléré la procédure.*   (Doetjes 2006: 709)
        'That sped the procedure up a lot.'

Following this, a broad generalisation may be made that *beaucoup* modifies for quantity when the event is cumulative or plural and for intensity when the event is semantically specific and singular, and has a gradable scale.

    In Mauritian, a French-based creole in Mauritius, these two readings of *beaucoup* are in complementary distribution between two separate adverbs: *boukou* 'very, a lot' which requires a quantity scale, and *mari* 'very' which requires an intensity scale (Hassamal and Abeillé 2014: 261).

    With *boukou*, the reading may refer to event-quantity (2.30a) or object-quantity (2.30b) (Hassamal and Abeillé 2014: 264).

(2.30) a. *Mo al sinema boukou.*
            'I go to the cinema a lot.'

        b. *Mo manz boukou.*
            'I eat a lot.'

With *mari* 'very', the scale must denote intensity (2.31a) but not be a count verb (2.31b) (cf. Hassamal and Abeillé 2014: 266):

(2.31) a. *Li mari amerd li.*
            '(S)he annoys him/her a lot.'

        b. **Paul mari al sinema.*
            '*Paul goes very to the cinema.'

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plore 'cry' allows for modification by both *boukou* and *mari*, and to have its frequency or event quantity (*Rita plore boukou* 'Rita cries a lot') and intensity degree modified (*Rita inn mari plore* 'Rita cried intensively') (Hassamal and Abeillé 2014: 267).

For Komi *jona,* the dictionary readings are ordered as 1. 'strongly' (2.32a), 2. 'a lot (quantity)' (dictionary examples with adverbs and adjectives (2.32b)), 3. 'a lot (intensity)' (2.32c) (KRS 2000). The literary sense of 'strongly' as a manner adverb is not in the semantic scope of *džyk*, but it may be used as an interpretation to denote intensity. According to a native speaker, *jona* may also be used to denote quantity with verbs like *udžavny* 'work', e.g., *jona udžavny* 'work a lot', corpus-findings attest the same for *sjorn'itny* 'speak', e.g., *Menym mojv'iis jona sjorn'itny da jortas'ny krymsa totaraköd*. 'I managed to (i.e., I was fortunate enough) to speak and be friendly with Crimean Tatars a lot.' (km.2016)

(2.32)   a. *jona kučkyny* 'hit strongly'

          b. *jona ičötdžyk* 'a lot smaller'

          c. *jona povny* 'fear a lot'

For *una*, the dictionary reading is 'a lot (quant.)', e.g., *una korny* 'ask a lot' (KRS 2000). Corpus-findings attest that *una* usually does not combine with degree verbs (like *mudzny* 'tire') and functions mainly as a quantifier.

2.3.3.2. WELL as a high degree modifier

Manner adverbs are a class of verb phrase modifiers like *quickly*, *slowly*, *carefully*, *loudly*, and *tightly*, but prepositional phrases like *with all his might* and instrumentals like *with a knife* also modify manner. In broad terms, there are four types of manner modifiers: standard intersective modifiers like *quietly*, collocational modifiers like *by face*, degree modifiers like *well*, and event-related modifiers like *passionately* (Katz 2008: 227).

Bolinger states that in English, *well* combines 'approval' and 'fulfilment', by approval he means that something was done in a good manner (e.g., *he was well treated by the lion*) and by fulfilment that the activity was carried out or completed thoroughly (e.g., *he was well mauled by the lion*). *Well treated* refers to a non-degree predication where *well* is used as a manner adverb, while *well mauled* expresses a degree predication with *well* as a degree intensifier. (Bolinger 1972: 29) With both readings, the verb should require either to lexicalise the suitable meaning (*be well treated*) or be perfective or susceptible to fulfilment (*be well mauled*).

Agentive non-stative verbs (*eat lunch, make bread, play chess*) combine with manner adverbials like *well* and *passionately* with ease, while with some states, like *hate*, *want*, *desire*, *know*, the choice is lexically (2.33a) or semantically (2.33b) restricted. (Katz 2008: 226) In (2.33a), the high degree of love is expressed by *deeply* and not *well*, making it a case of lexical selection, while in (2.33b), the verb *know* does not have the parameter of *quietly* within its scope, making the choice

semantically motivated. Simply put – different stative event expressions may call for different adverbs to express a high degree of a property (Katz 2008: 234).

(2.33)   a. *He loves her deeply/*well.*

         b. *He knows that well/*quietly.*

As a manner adverb (or verb phrase adverb), *well* has a manner interpretation with non-stative verbs and a degree interpretation with stative verbs. This means that with states, the reading of the modification refers to the general degree of the property that the verb carries and not to the thoroughness or another wellness-related manner. It is assumed that this is due to *well* associating with different arguments and projections – degree on one hand, and event on the other. (Katz 2008: 243)

    Although Komi *bura* 'well' is not within the scope of *džyk* in the affirmative, it is relevant for negation with the quality-related reading *(not) as well*. Since *well* is subject to semantic selection, the parallels between *well* and *džyk* help to clarify why some events may reject *džyk* as a high degree modifier – not all events combine with the general or the quality-related high degree readings that *džyk* has, the same as not all events combine with *well*. The notion of semantic selection also extends to tempo-related readings of *džyk* (paraphrasable by *ödjödžyka* 'faster'), although the basis is slightly different – in addition to not being associated with a tempo reading, some events are structurally unsuitable for tempo modification (e.g., momentaneous events), while quality is usually not restricted by event structure. This will be discussed further in *4.3.4. Association with scales*.

2.3.3.3. MORE and LESS

More as a quantifier of frequency and duration was already discussed above. As degree modifiers, both *more* and *less* can have a quantity degree reading (2.34) and an intensity degree reading (2.35) (Bolinger 1972: 229) and indicate a degree higher or lower from the standard.

(2.34)   *When you talk more you listen less.*

(2.35)   a. *If you guard me any more ('keep me under any tighter guard'), I'll feel as if I were in prison.*

         b. *The porridge stuck less this time.*

In general terms, the same requirements are needed for the event expressions to meet – either to have cumulative reference or accept a plural reading for quantity degree modification, or be event expressions with degree reference for intensity degree modification. The negative and interrogative widen the scope in some cases and allow for intensification (2.36a) and quantity degree modification (2.36b) of a once-only verb like *die* (Bolinger 1972: 229):

(2.36)   a.   *He couldn't have died any more than he did.*

          b.   *It would have been impossible for him to have died any less than he did.*

In Komi, *jondžyka* and *undžyk* both stand for 'more', *jondžyka* (< *jon* 'strong') with an intensity degree reading and *undžyk* (< *una* 'a lot') with a quantity degree reading. *etšadžyk* (< *etša* 'little, not much') stands for 'less'.

   According to Yael Greenberg (2010: 151), *more* also has an additive use (or 'incremental use') which is different from the more common comparative use. Greenberg exemplifies this with Charles Dickens' Oliver Twist, who says "Please sir, I want some more." By that the boy does not mean he wants more gruel than he did before (comparative use) but that he wants additional gruel to that which he got before (additive use). Greenberg proposes that there is an additive measure function which can either be *derived* (measuring the run time or the path of the event) or *non-derived* (measuring the cardinality of the event) (Greenberg 2010: 163). This corresponds to the abovementioned generalisations concerning the comparative use of *more*, meaning that *more* can refer to either length of path or duration, or cardinal quantity. Additivity-interpretations can also be found with *džyk* if there is some reference to quantity (see *3.2.1.3. Volume of entity*)

2.3.4. Litotes and attenuation of negation
with degree modifiers

In broad terms, litotes are expressions where by means of denying negation, an affirmative meaning is conveyed with reference to the statement not being neutral but having a degree of intensity, e.g., *I was not unaware of the problem*. The degree referred to by the litote is left unspecified and should be interpreted by the recipient. In cases like *not unaware*, the entire opposite scale is possible and the phrase may refer to any degree of being aware. (Bolinger 1972: 115–116)

   In case the litote includes intensifiers or adverbs of degree like *very*, *quite*, etc., one end of the referred scale is denied to imply the relevance of the other end of the scale, i.e., the negated element refers to its antonym: *he's not overly bright* 'he is rather stupid' (Bolinger 1972: 118). Unlike litotes that do not include intensifiers, cases like *not overly* do not use the entire opposite scale but refer to the rather low level of the property (Hoeksema 2010: 212), in this case *not overly bright* can refer to only *somewhat stupid* and not *overly stupid*.

   In its uses with negation, *džyk* is not an intensifier of negation, as in, for example, (2.37) where *at all* strengthens the negative, but the example itself is semantically similar to a litote. With *džyk*, the addition of the clitic to negation yields an understating expression in degree modification but not when referring to event quantity, i.e., *èzdžyk radejtny* 'did not like as much' in (2.38b) refers to the opposite, i.e., low or even neutral side of the scale, and can be paraphrased as 'somewhat disliked', whereas quantity-related *ozdžyk žuglas'ny* 'do not break as much' in (2.38a) refers to fewer instances of breaking, but not necessarily 'seldom breaking'. As was said, as a modifier, *džyk* does not intensify negation as in

(2.37), but has an understating use and refers to the low level of one of *džyk*'s readings, as in (2.38a) and (2.38b). These notions exemplify that the maximiser reading present in (2.37) is not within *džyk*'s scope, while using *džyk* as an attenuator of negation is quite frequent and common.

(2.37)   *You didn't do the work at all.* (cf. Palacios Martínez 2016: 52)

(2.38)   a.   /---/   *i*   *maš'inajasyd*   *oz=džyk*   *šuglas'ny.*
                       and   machine.PL.2SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   break.INF
                '/---/   and the machines do not break as much' (Toropov 2008)

         b.   *Jözyd*   *èz=džyk*   *radejtny*   *sijös* /---/
              people.2SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   like.INF   3SG.ACC
              'The people did not like it as much /---/' (Gamsa 2007)

The approximative use differs somewhat, e.g., in (2.39), where the addition of *džyk* to the negation yields a reading of 'not quite (take place)', which does not use the opposite scale but marks the difference from a prototypical event, for example, arriving at the settlement of N'il'chim in (2.39).

(2.39)   *N'il'čimö*   *oz=džyk*   *na*   *vo.*
          PN.ILL   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   PAR   arrive.CNEG
          'Does not quite reach N'il'chim.' (Rochev Ju 1984)

2.3.5. Proneness

Although this intensification type is not as widely discussed as extent and degree modification, probably because it is less intriguing, Bolinger has also pointed out PRONENESS, i.e., modification by *readily*, *easily* as a third separate reading for intensification (1972: 163).

1. extensibility with *much*

2. proneness with *readily* or *easily*

3. inherent intensifiability with some other intensifier

According to Bolinger, proneness (2.40) refers to the intensification of (mostly) involuntary activities that have an inherent proneness for something to happen (Bolinger 1972: 163):

(2.40)   a.   *If only the wax didn't run so, we could keep the sticks cleaner.*

         b.   *The threads in this fabric pull out so that it looks pretty ragged.*

         c.   *The trouble with a loose switch is that it clicks so.*

Proneness is not much discussed in the later literature following Bolinger. The term, however, is well suited when discussing some of the quality-related examples

with *džyk*, since there are a few cases where the clitic refers to the ease of something happening. I do not, however, consider it an entirely separate type, so I discuss it as a sub-reading of quality modification, due to its manner-relatedness.

2.3.6. Moderation

MODERATION is usually realised by degree modifiers called compromisers (Bolinger 1972; Quirk *et al.* 1985) or moderators (Paradis 1997; McManus 2012) or hedges (Anderson 2013) like *sorta/sort of*, *kinda/kind of*[29], *quite*, *rather*, etc. I prefer the term moderator and, following that, call the general reading type moderation.

2.3.6.1. Moderate degree modification

One of the relevant moderators is *quite*, which also combines with other categories, but with verbs, it usually denotes the extent of truth (2.41a), or reduces the force of negation (2.41b), etc. (cf. Diehl 2005: 13). This reading occurs with degree verbs.

(2.41)   a.   *I* quite *understand*.

         b.   *It somehow didn't* quite *fit together...*

According to Diehl (2005), when *quite* is preceded by a negative element, the modifier may either have a) a maximising function, as in (2.41a), or b) an approximating function, as in (2.41b) (Diehl 2005: 13). The degree-related moderation function shows that there is a point of realisation or some limit to the situation and that point or set limit is not reached. The required point is not too far, though, since there is an implied 'almost' present. In this case, *quite* denotes a moderate degree. With a maximising function, *quite* is in the role of a precision-stressing focus item, interchangeable with *exactly* or *just*, and denotes a maximal degree.

Moderate degree modification is associated with partially closed scales and is similar to the degree modifiers *much* and *very much*, while maximum degree modification is associated with totally closed scales and is similar to the maximiser *completely* (Diehl 2005: 27–28). This means that situations which are lasting states and do not involve changes (activities and states, constructed as unbound[30]), combine with the booster *quite* (as in *I quite fancy this* 'I very much like this') (Diehl 2005: 31) and situations which involve changes from one state to another

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[29]   Since the main difference between *kinda* and *kind of* (and *sorta* and *sort of*) is register, then from here onwards, *sorta* and *kinda* are used to denote both *sorta* and *sort of*, and *kinda* and *kind of*, respectively. The abbreviated form is used following the example of (Anderson 2013: 82) to avoid confusion with the noun *sort* (as in *a sort of dog*).

[30]   Diehl 2005 uses a cognitive linguistics framework and conceptualises boundedness as either involving a change (bounded, like count nouns) or not involving a change (unbounded, like mass nouns).

(accomplishments and achievements, constructed as bound) combine with the maximiser *quite* (as in *I quite forgot that you don't like it* 'I completely forgot you did not like it') (Diehl 2005: 29).

Not very and its equivalents consisting of other high and extremely high degree modifiers refer to a moderate degree of the modified property. *Not quite*, however, is conceptually different since it refers to the lack of the modified property, as in *that lady is not quite nice* 'that lady is almost, but not nice'. According to Bolinger (1972: 119), this refers to not yet reaching the beginning point of niceness (*nice*), instead of not having reached the ultimate point of niceness (*100% nice*).

With *quite*, negation greatly widens the choice of the modified verb, for example, *It didn't quite work* is fine while **It quite worked* is not acceptable (Diehl 2005: 15), since it then has a maximiser function which does not combine with *work*.

The combination of a *quite*-like reading with negation is relevant when discussing the semantic scope of Komi *džyk*. In the negative, a number of V$_{NEG}$+*džyk* cases refer to a reading where the clitic refers to the result falling short of some required limit or the situation not being carried out in a desired way, and this corresponds to the **moderate degree reading** of *quite* with verbs referred to by Diehl (2005).

2.3.6.2. Prototypicality-related moderation

Prototypicality-related moderation is related to non-gradable verbs (verbs with no degree argument) and degree moderators or hedges like *sorta*, *kinda*, but also *rather*, *more*, etc. With these types of predications, the modifier refers to some conceptual closeness between the prototypical event and the event expression modified, e.g., in (2.42) (Anderson 2013: 84), while with degree words, the moderate degree of the event is modified, e.g., in (2.43) (Bolinger 1972: 220). Anderson (2013) refers to the modification seen in (2.43) as approximation, Bolinger (1972) as identification (and not intensification).

(2.42) *I sorta kicked the ground.*
        'I did something like kicking the ground.'

(2.43) *I sort of worried.*
        'I worried in a small way.'

Anderson argues that while approximation of the event appears with non-degree verbs, the degree words *sorta* and *kinda* make non-gradable verbs gradable by employing the imprecision parameter as a degree argument (Anderson 2013: 88). This means that closer approximation of the events marks a higher degree on the scale of precision while looser approximation of the events marks a lower degree on the scale of precision (Anderson 2013: 91).

In case of Komi *džyk*, the moderation reading mainly targets the success-rate of the event, the same as in the English example *it somehow didn't quite fit together...* (Diehl 2005). In other instances, moderation is also concerned with the prototypicality of the modified verb, like in the English example *he sorta swam over to the boat = he did something that was like swimming over to the boat* (Anderson 2013: 84). The latter reading is present with *džyk* when the predication refers to manner, either by involving a manner verb or a manner adverbial (see Section *3.2.4*). With *džyk*, the prototypicality of the event is less prominent, i.e., moderation usually diminishes negation and has a moderative reading (*not quite succeed*) but does not seem to be paraphrasable as *sort of* or *kind of*, which would refer to the event's distance from a prototypical situation (*sort of succeeded = did something like succeeding*). A more accurate interpretation would be *she came close to succeeding but did not succeed.*

In Cypanov's works, this reading of *džyk* is briefly mentioned as a decrease of negative meaning, paraphrased by Ru. *chut'-chut'* 'a bit' and *potchti* 'almost' modifying an affirmative VP. Constructionally, the use with *džyk* is similar to the use of Komi *murtsa* 'almost', which appears in negative constructions to express the meaning 'almost do something', e.g., (2.44a) which is semantically close to *ozdžyk us'* 'did not quite fall' in (2.44b). Both constructions express coming close to the event taking place, but semantically *murtsa* is a totality approximator and the stress is more on the fact that the falling event did not take place, whereas *džyk* is a scalar moderator and in this case expresses the distance from falling or the (un)prototypicality of the event. The former could be paraphrased as 's/he was close to falling', the latter as 'but s/he did not fall'.

(2.44) a. *murtsa*   *ez*   *us'*
            almost   NEG.3SG.PST   fall.CNEG
            's/he almost fell'

        b. *ozdžyk*   *us'*
            NEG.3SG   fall.CNEG
            's/he did not quite fall'

The kind of diminishing modification that *džyk* has with negated events is supported by another Komi clitic: *kod'*, which was also mentioned above in section *1.4.3.2.* and which is a moderative element that functions as a modifier of incompleteness and approximation with negative particles, e.g., *èzkod' kösjy* 'he did not quite promise'. There is little semantic difference for the two – both *džyk* and *kod'* diminish the strength of negation. The only difference between *èzkod' kösjy* 'not quite promise' and *èzdžyk artmy* 'not quite succeed' is that the previous holds a non-degree verb which is in this case modified for prototypicality, and the latter a degree verb which is modified for moderate degree. With a minimal pair like *èzkod' kaž'itčy ~ èzdžyk kaž'itčy* both 's/he did not like (smth.) as much', the difference is negligible, but according to a native speaker, *ézkod' kaž'itčy* might refer more to a moderative reading 'did not really like' while *èzdžyk*

kaž'itčy has a comparative reference 'did not like as much (as one might)'[31]. In any case, *kod'* and *džyk* here seem to exemplify that if diminutive elements can function as augmentatives when modifying something inherently small (or negative) (Bakema and Geeraerts 2008: 1049), then augmentatives can do the same and function as diminutives when augmenting something small or negative.

In addition, I prefer to use prototypicality or Fleischhauer's (2016) divergence scale (see types of scales below) when talking about this type of modification and avoid approximation since it is too close to the term *approximative* which denotes totality downtoners/attenuators.

2.4. Gradability of verbs

This section will introduce the main notions of the gradability of verbs. I will start with gradable/ degree verbs and their main semantic types. This will be followed by a more detailed account of scalar and non-scalar verbs which are types of degree verbs. I will introduce the semantic and structural types of scales with which these types of verbs associate. This section ends with some notions of gradable verbs combining with general high degree modifiers, and absolute and relative telos, the latter will be relevant when discussing gradable accomplishments that combine with *džyk*. The types of gradable verbs are in general relevant later in Section *4.4* when discussing the distribution of *džyk* with various verbs.

2.4.1. Gradable verbs

Following Bolinger 1972, DEGREE VERBS are the verbs that allow for degree modification (*why do you HESITATE so*) while NONDEGREE VERBS do not (**why do you WAIT so*) (Bolinger 1972: 160). In this thesis, the term DEGREE MODIFICATION is used much the same way as in recent literature – to refer to any kind of intensity modification where scales and different degrees of property are involved.

The most recent method for explaining verb gradability is achieved by the approach of subcompositionality (Löbner 2012), according to which it is the semantic composition of an event that accounts for its gradability, and that not all verbs that belong to the same syntactic sub-group have the same semantic composition. This approach also explains why and how some types of verbs which are not lexically scalar (e.g., verbs of emission like *stink* or experiencer verbs like *hurt*) are eligible for degree modification. Table 23 illustrates the degree verbs Löbner (2012: 234; 235–237) provides to illustrate the different dimensions with which degree verbs may be involved.

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[31]   P.c., Nikolay Kuznetsov (18.10.2022).

Table 23. List of semantic types of degree verbs with examples, and their modified dimension (following Löbner 2012: 234; 235–237).

	semantic type of verb	example	dimension
a	verbs of sensation	*be cold*	the possible degree of condition
b	degree achievement on a specific scale	*widen*	dimension is specified by verb
c	degree achievement on an unspecific scale	*change*	the change the argument undergoes
d	verbs of emotional attitude	*be afraid of*	the intensity of attitude towards argument
e	verbs of emotional effect	*shock*	the intensity of emotion of the experiencer
f	verbs of substance emission	*bleed*	the quantity of the substance emitted
g	verbs of wrong action	*get lost*	the extent of difference between intended and real result
h	verbs of comparison	*stand out*	the difference between two roles
i	verbs of marked behaviour	*stutter*	intensity of deviation from the unmarked behaviour
j	gradable verbs of action	*beat*	dimension is specified by verb

Although not exhaustive, as Löbner states, the list of types presented above give a good idea of the complexity of the semantic composition of degree verbs. Following subcompositionality, Löbner's (2012) semantic types, and the detailed work of Fleischhauer (2016), the main types of gradable verbs are **change-of-state verbs**, **verbs of emission**, and **experiencer verbs**, but also gradable actions like marked behaviour and manner of motion, and verbs of comparison. I will give a brief overview of these main types below and will later discuss corresponding Komi examples in Chapter 4.

Change-of-state (COS) verbs usually lexicalise the dimension of change and they are also considered result verbs due to expressing scalar changes while manner verbs are non-scalar (see Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010; also see below for result/manner complementarity). In Levin's classification of English verbs (1993: 240–247), COS-verbs include semantic sub-classes like 'break verbs', 'bend verbs', 'cooking verbs', etc. The common trait is that they all express some change, either external or internal, either change of physical or psychological state, also location alternation, etc. Some verbs are 'entity-specific', meaning that the property is only specific to certain entities, e.g., flowers *wilt*, metal *tarnishes*, etc. (Levin 1993: 247). The class of COS-verbs is one of the most thoroughly discussed in connection with degree modification (e.g., Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2005; Piñón 2007; Rappaport Hovav 2008; Fleischhauer 2013; etc.)

By lexical aspect, COS-verbs are accomplishments, achievements, and directed activities, the latter group often showing variable telicity in English, but not

necessarily in other languages[32]. COS-verbs are related to property scales, whereas not all parameters of the scale need be specified by the verb itself – e.g., Ger. *wachsen* 'grow' specifies the dimension (size), values (cm etc.), and the order of the value, while *verfärben* 'change colour' does not specify the order of the value (colours are not ordered), and *verändern* 'change' specifies neither dimension, value, nor order of the values without additional arguments (Fleischhauer 2016: 196).

Change-of-state verbs are also called **inchoatives**. These verbs describe the change of an ongoing situation or an inception of a new situation, for example, *blacken*, *open*, etc. (Murphy 2010: 209). This means that inchoative situations involve two states and a change from one state to another (Frawley 1992: 12), for example, with *kill*, the preceding state is *alive* and the following state is *dead*.

Verbs of emission form four sub-classes based on the emitted substance or stimulus: light emission, sound emission, smell emission, substance emission (Levin 1993: 233–238). Based on the discussion from Fleischhauer (2016), verbs expressing emission of smell, sound, and light are modified for intensity, while emission of substance is modified for quantity. This means that it is the intensity of the stimulus and not the quality or quantity of it that is modified, e.g., *smell a lot* can be paraphrased as 'smell strongly' and not 'smell very unpleasant' or 'smell in large quantities', whereas with substance emission *bleed a lot* can only refer to the quantity of blood, even if the wound is bleeding heavily.

Fleischhauer's term **experiencer verbs** (2016: 264) covers Levin's (1993) 'psych verbs' and 'verbs of bodily state and damage to the body', both groups consisting of verbs for which one of the arguments is an experiencer. Even though some other semantic types may also involve experiencers, they have a different semantic composition and are not considered under Fleischhauer's term (e.g., perception verbs like *see* and *hear*, see Fleischhauer 2016 Section *8.1* for more details). The experiencer verbs can further be divided into subject-experiencer verbs (Ger. *fürchten* 'fear', *lieben* 'love'), which are mainly stative and non-causative, and object-experiencer verbs (Ger. *erschrecken* 'scare', *ärgern* 'annoy'), which are dynamic – they are transitive and causative since they involve an effector or stimulus as a subject. Object-experiencer verbs also include instances of punctual 'psych achievements' like Ger. *verblüffen* 'baffle'. (Fleischhauer 2016: 268–276) In broad terms, both subject- and object-experiencer verbs are involved with the intensity scale and the intensity of some sensation is modified.

While stereotypical stative verbs like *know*, *want*, *depend*, and *resemble* are gradable (i.e., combine with *very much* and can be used in a comparative), stereotypical dynamic verbs like *kiss*, *eat*, *notice* are non-gradable. As exceptions, there are some non-gradable stative verbs, e.g., *own*, *consist of*, *belong*, etc. (Katz 2008: 240).

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[32] E.g., for Est. *supp **jahtus***, the default reading is 'the soup **cooled/became cooler**', whereas a telic reading would usually require use of an auxiliary, e.g., *supp **jahtus maha/ära*** 'the soup **cooled down** (completely)'; similar notions have been made for, e.g., Hungarian and Mparntwe Arrernte (cf. Fleischhauer 2016).

2.4.2. Scalar verbs

Following Rappaport Hovav (2008), there is an opposition of verbs that denote scalar change and those that do not. All dynamic events involve a change but in some cases the change is ordered on a specific scale and in a particular direction, like with *warm*, *ripen*, *cool*, *fall*, etc.; these kinds of verbs are called SCALAR VERBS. In most cases, however, the change is complex, composed of a combination of several changes, and not a set of ordered values of a single attribute, like with *dance*, *jog*, *flutter*, *laugh*, etc.; these kinds of verbs are called NON-SCALAR VERBS. Scalar verbs lexically specify a scale of dimension – with *warm* it is [warmth], with *ripen* [ripeness], etc. while for non-scalar verbs, the scale is not necessarily[33] a lexical property. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 18) Furthermore, non-scalar verbs are not always specific about the kind of change they involve, for example *exercise* involves some sort of physical (or sometimes mental) activity but there are no other requirements for fulfilment. (Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010: 33)

According to Rappaport Hovav and Levin (2010: 28), non-scalar changes lexicalise manner-type changes while scalar changes are result-type changes, and the two are in complementary distribution (termed MANNER/RESULT COMPLEMENTARITY), meaning that a root only lexicalises one of the two types at a time. Result-type (i.e., scalar) verbs are very particular about which kinds of resultatives they can appear with, since they are scale-denoting and either introduce a scale or refer to a lexically specified scale, while manner (i.e., non-scalar) verbs can appear with many different results, as in (2.45) (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 22):

(2.45)   a.   *We steamed the clothes dry.*

       b.   *We steamed the clothes clean.*

       c.   *We steamed the clothes stiff.*

Scalar verbs may not appear with scales not related to the scale with which they are involved, e.g., (2.46a) and (2.46b) refer to the lexicalised scale but (2.46c) introduces a new scale (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 23). The latter example is perceived less odd in the context of people leaving the room due to the dimming of lights, but *dim* itself does not result in *empty* and rejects association with it.

(2.46)   a.   *We froze the ice cream solid.*

       b.   *The chocolate melted into a messy goo.*

       c.   **We dimmed the room empty.*

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[33]   Beavers (2008) suggests that all dynamic verbs are associated with a scale based on the fact that at least in English, most verbs can appear with a scale-denoting result phrase, like in *scrub the floor **clean***. Rappaport Hovav rephrases this as "while all dynamic verbs are *potentially* associated with a scale, (at least in English) with some of the verbs this is a lexical property and with others this is not" (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 18).

The same kind of behaviour can be observed for events with a path scale: verbs involving path scales cannot be used with result-denoting phrases (i.e., with scales differing from the one lexicalised by the verb) (2.47), but can appear with goal phrases that refer to the scale lexicalised in the verb (2.48a) or with phrases that specify a bound for the state (2.48b) (cf. Rappaport Hovav 2008: 23):

(2.47)   *Willa arrived breathless.[34] (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995: 55)

(2.48)   a. We arrived at the airport.

          b. The leaves fell to the ground.

For general degree modification (i.e., not with a manner-related adverb), the modified scale of dimension is to be provided by the lexical meaning of the verb. However, unlike gradable adjectives, most types of degree verbs do not specify a prominent scale (Löbner 2012: 235) and the scale thus concerns attributes of verb arguments and is determined by deeper elements of verb meaning (Löbner 2012: 240). This distinguishes lexically scalar verbs for which the gradable dimension is inherent, and verbs with derived scales for which the scalarity is distinguished from the conceptual knowledge associated with the particular verb (see also Fleischhauer 2016).

In earlier works, scalar predications have been claimed to include the following (partially overlapping) types of verbs: change-of-state verbs, verbs with an incremental theme, and verbs of directed motion (e.g., Caudal and Nicolas 2005; Rappaport Hovav 2008; Piñón 2007; Rappaport Hovav and Levin 2010; Bochnak 2013). Anne Tamm (2012) speaks of accomplishments, achievements, and degree achievements as scalar situations, and states, activities, and atelic processes (i.e., non-stative non-agentive situations like *tilkuma* 'drip' Tamm 2012: 194) as non-scalar situations. Her classification is based on the existence of a natural endpoint and an inherent directionality in scalar situations, but not in non-scalar situations (Tamm 2012: 181).

2.4.2.1. Types of scales

Following Rappaport Hovav (2008), there are three types of scales recognised for scalar verbs: property, path, and volume/extent. A **property scale** is associated with change-of-state verbs like *lengthen*, *dim*, *open*, etc., where a property expressed by the verb is specified. A **path scale** indicates the position of a theme along some path, and is associated with directed motion verbs like *descend*, *enter*, *come*, *go*, etc. **Extent** (or **volume** or **quantity**) **scales** are associated with incremental theme verbs like *read*, *eat*, *build*, and differ from the previous two types since with incremental theme verbs, the scale is instead provided by the argument and not decoded in the verb itself. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 17)

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[34]   The sentence is of course perfectly fine with the reading 'Willa was breathless when she arrived.'

The property and path scales can either be **two-point** (following Beavers 2008), that is the scale has only two values: associated and not associated with the attribute, or **multi-point**, i.e., there are many values of the attribute on the scale. Extent/volume scales are by nature only multi-point, since they have several values on the complex scale they possess. With property scales, there is a distinction between, for example, *die* and *lengthen*: with *die*, the scale is two-point since the property can only change from *not dead* to *dead* and in order for the predication *John died* to be true, that change is required. *Lengthen*, on the other hand, has a multi-point scale for which even the slightest widening is sufficient for the proposition *the river widened* to be true. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 19). Property scales are the most common type of scales lexicalised in a verb and they are often found among the largest class of verbs with lexicalised scales – change-of-state verbs, like *lengthen*, *smooth*, *widen*, etc. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 20).

For path scales, there is a distinction between e.g., *reach the summit*, which is two-point, and *ascend the stairs*, which is multi-point; the previous utterance is only true when the situation changes from *not at the summit* into *on the summit* while the latter is true as soon as the location changes even by the smallest unit, i.e., by one step (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 20). In English, the class of verbs which lexicalise a path is not large, since there is a relatively small number of properties a path can lexicalise (these include direction, boundedness, and deicticness). Some examples of two-point path scale verbs are *exit*, *enter*, *reach*, etc., while multi-point path scale verbs are, for example, *ascend*, *descend*, and *soar*. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 21)

As was mentioned above, for extent/volume scales, the scale is not actually lexicalised in the verb itself, but is rather provided by the direct object argument. This means that although *read a book* lexicalises an extent scale, *read* itself does not. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 24, 25) However, this only poses a problem when the aim of the analysis is to classify only verbs and not whole VPs. Since in this thesis, the entire VP is always analysed when talking about *Aktionsart* or semantic modification types, then I will not go into detail about the different kinds of incremental theme verbs. Suffice it to say that although in predications involving an incremental theme argument the scale is not lexicalised by the verb but provided by the argument, these predications are still scalar and the scales associated with them are extent/volume scales, as in (2.49) (cf. Rappaport Hovav 2008: 27):

(2.49) a. *I **mowed the lawn**, but not all of it.*

  b. *I **read the newspaper**, but never finished.*

  c. *I **perused the list**, but stopped before I got to the end.*

Two-point scales are bounded and so the verb with which they are associated is telic (and punctual). With multi-point scales, the boundedness is due to whether the scale is open or closed: while *flatten* and *lengthen* both have multi-point scales, the previous is related to a closed scale adjective and is thus telic, *lengthen* is related to an open scale adjective and is atelic. (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 20)

According to Rappaport Hovav, only achievements are associated with two-point scales, while verbs with multi-point scales could be activities, accomplishments, or achievements (Rappaport Hovav 2008: 39). Figure 1. illustrates the scale types following Rappaport Hovav (2008).
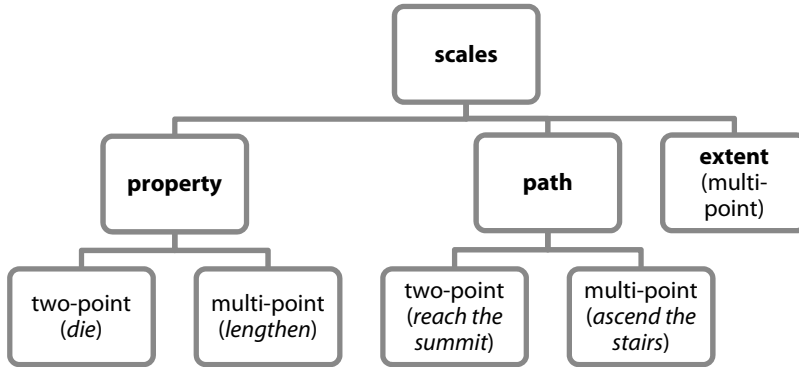
Figure 1. Types of scales and the number of their values.

According to Fleischhauer 2016, there is also a scale of **divergence** or difference which involves erratic verbs, verbs of comparison, and verbs of marked behaviour. The difference between the intended and attained result state is indicated for erratic verbs, i.e., verbs that already express divergence between the intended and actual result of some activity, e.g., Ger. *Das Mädchen hat sich sehr verschrieben* 'The girl totally miswrote (lit. very miswrote)'. With verbs of comparison (*differ*) and verbs of marked behaviour (*stutter*), there is no difference between the actual and intended outcome to measure. Instead, with verbs of comparison, the similarity or difference of some property is indicated, with marked behaviour verbs, the distance from a normal or non-marked event is indicated, and both can be graded on the scale of divergence. (Fleischhauer 2016: 289–295)

Also, in Fleischhauer's use, the quantity scale corresponds to Rappaport Hovav's volume/extent scale; Fleischhauer makes no use of path scales, probably since path scales are related to a small number of verbs that lexicalise a path. As for the intensity scale used by Fleischhauer, it is not separately noted by Rappaport Hovav (2008), but is considered the main opposition with quantity by Caudal and Nicolas (2005) in explaining the interaction of degree structure and event structure.

Fleischhauer 2016 also offers a general classification of compositional patterns that are based on three prominent parameters of i) type of scale, ii) interaction of degree gradation with grammatical aspect, and iii) interaction of degree gradation with telicity (Fleischhauer 2016: 297). According to this, there are four types of degree gradation summarised in Table 24:

Table 24. Types of degree gradation following Fleischhauer (2016: 298).

	gradation type	found with verbs of	related to	interacts with	
				grammatical aspect	lexical aspect
1	**intensity scale**	– emission verbs of smell/sound/light – experiencer verbs – gradable activities	non-differential intensity degree	–	–
2	**quantity scale**	– substance emission verbs	non-differential quantity degree	+	–
3	**divergence scale**	– verbs of comparison – verbs of marked behaviour – erratic verbs	measure of divergence from some norm or comparison degree	–	–
4	**property scale**	– change-of-state verbs	measure of change	+	+

Of these scale types, the quantity scale interacts with grammatical aspect, and the property scale interacts with both grammatical and lexical aspect. This means that the quantity scale of emission verbs is linked to the progressive aspect, since the longer the event continues, the greater the extent or amount of emitted substance. For property scales of COS-verbs, progression is similarly important, and in addition, if the end point of the event is reached during this, the event may shift from atelic to telic.

2.4.2.2. Open and closed scales

As observed by Kennedy and McNally (1999), structurally, degree scales can be either open or closed, i.e., they may include maximal and/or minimal values or not. A maximal value indicates that there is no superior degree possible; a minimal value indicates there is no inferior degree possible. A scale is (totally) CLOSED if both a maximal and minimal value are present; a scale is (totally) OPEN if neither is present. For adjectives, compatibility with proportional modifiers like *half, mostly*, and *most of the way* is an indicator of whether they have a closed (2.50) or an open (2.51) scale, since both a maximum and minimum are required to determine the middle point of the scale (Bochnak 2010: 252) (examples from Kennedy and McNally 2005: 352–353):

(2.50) a. *The glass is half/mostly full.*

        b. *Her eyes were half/most of the way closed.*

(2.51) a. **The rope is half/mostly long.*

        b. **A 15-year-old horse is half/mostly old.*

Besides being fully open and fully closed, the scale can also have a lower closed pattern (the minimal value is present, but not the maximal value), or an upper closed pattern (the maximal value is present, but not the minimal value) (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 353). These kinds of scales may also be called 'partially closed' (Fleischhauer 2013: 126). For distinguishing such cases firstly with adjectives, distribution of maximality modifiers like *100%, completely*, and *fully* must be used, keeping in mind adjectival polarity. This means that in the case of positive adjectives, the modifier is acceptable when it targets the maximal element (2.52), and in the case of negative adjectives, it is acceptable when it targets the minimal element (2.53) (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 355):

(2.52) a. *This product is 100% pure/*impure.*

      b. *This treatment is completely safe/*dangerous.*

(2.53) a. *The room became 100% *loud/quiet.*

      b. *The author is completely *famous/unknown.*

With a totally open scale pattern, neither the maximal nor the minimal element of the scale can be targeted with the maximality modifiers (2.54), while with a totally closed scale pattern, both elements are compatible (2.55) (examples cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 355):

(2.54) a. *Her brother is completely *tall/*short.*

      b. *The pond is 100% *deep/*shallow*.

(2.55) a. *The room was 100% full/empty.*

      b. *The figure was completely visible/invisible.*

The scale patterns and their combinations with maximality modifiers are illustrated in Table 25.

Table 25. Open- and closed-scale patterns (based on Kennedy and McNally 2005).

fully open	**appears with *fully*, *completely*, 100%**	example
lower closed	no	*Max is completely tall/short*
upper closed	with lower value	*The author is completely *famous/unknown*
fully closed	with upper value	*This product is 100% *impure/pure*
	yes	*The room was 100% full/empty*

Tests similar to those described above can be applied to determine open and closed scales for verbs. For example, closed scales combine with the maximality modifier *completely*, e.g., (2.56a) and (2.56b), but reject *very/extremely* or *a lot* in case of verb phrases, while open scales have the opposite behavioural pattern, e.g., (2.56c) and (2.56d) (Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 279).

(2.56) a. *The building is completely/*very/*extremely destroyed.*

b. *Yanning ate his pancake completely/*a lot.*

c. *Yanning is very/extremely/*completely wealthy.*

d. *The gap widened a lot/*completely.*

Apart from being discernible by testing, scale structure can also be predicted based on event structure. Illustrating the way how scale structure of deverbal adjectives is associated with the event structure of the source verb, Kennedy and McNally (2005) point out several instances where the scale structure of the event is predictable. Firstly, verbs that introduce incremental themes, either those that undergo an incremental state of change (e.g., *the soup cooled*) or those that entail incremental movement along a defined path (e.g., *Max descended the staircase*), are associated with totally closed scales. In those cases, it is possible to measure the degree to which the arguments have participated in the event, the minimal value thus being minimal participation by a minimal part of the incremental theme, and the maximal value being the maximal participation involving the entire incremental theme. For example, in (2.57), the truck has both a minimal and maximal degree to which it is capable of holding hay (empty/full), and the progress of the loading of the hay follows those boundaries. (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 362).

(2.57) *The truck is loaded with hay.* → *The truck is half/fully loaded with hay.*

Kennedy and McNally also provide examples like *a fully paid bill*, *a half pre-pared talk*, *fully straightened teeth*, *a completely covered terrace*, *a partially crossed desert*, and *fully raised blinds* to support the claim that adjectives derived from verbs introducing incremental arguments involve closed scales (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 363).

Following the previous assumption, Kennedy and McNally propose that it should be correct to assume that adjectives derived from verbs which do not involve incremental arguments thus have open scales and are not compatible with proportional and endpoint oriented modifiers. This seems to be true based on the examples below, since none of them combine with *partially*, *fully*, and *completely*. The examples in (2.58) are atelic, while (2.59) is a telic VP with a fully affected argument, and (2.60) is a telic VP where the modified property has an open scale (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 363):

(2.58) a. **a completely hated/loved/envied/admired neighbour*

b. **a partially regretted action*

(2.59) **a partially kissed/met/punched young man*

(2.60) **a fully worried mother*

2.4.3. Combining with general high degree modifiers

High degree modifiers (*sehr*, *viel*, *very*, *a lot*, etc.) are sensitive to both comparison standards and scale structure – with adjectives, high degree modifiers are said to combine with relative adjectives while absolutive adjectives reject them, since the comparison scale of absolutive adjectives entails either a maximal or minimal value which cannot be raised or lowered, respectively (2.61) (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 370). This is due to the standard of an absolutive adjective being fixed to the appropriate endpoint on the scale which leads to *very* having no semantic effect on absolutive adjectives and thus being rejected (Kennedy and McNally 2005: 372).

(2.61)   a. **I always leave the door to my office very open.*

          b. **That drug is currently very available.*

Although absolutive adjectives are rejected in most cases, there are also cases which contradict this claim when the adjective allows for an imprecise, relative-like interpretation (2.62) or when the adjective has both relative (2.63a) and absolutive (2.63b) uses (cf. Kennedy and McNally 2005: 371).

(2.62)   *The restaurant is very empty/full tonight.* → *there are fewer/more people at the restaurant than usually*

(2.63)   a. *This region of the country is very dry.*

          b. **The glasses are very dry.*

Fleischhauer (2013) agrees that *sehr* (as well as *very*) presupposes an open scale, since it seems to be in complementary distribution with *vollkommen* ('completely'), as in (2.64) (cf. Fleischhauer 2013: 129):

(2.64)   a. *Peter ist sehr/*vollkommen groß.*
             'Peter is very/*completely tall.'

          b. *Das Fenster ist *sehr/vollkommen geschlossen.*
             'The window is *very/completely closed.'

However **with verbs**, Fleischhauer prefers not to restrict *sehr* to open scale predicates but rather says that a predicate can be related to an absolutive and relative standard at the same time where it denotes a range of values on a scale and not only a single value. Predicates related to only an absolutive standard do indeed denote only a single maximal or single minimal value (no 'high'-'non-high' distinction) and in these cases, *sehr* cannot be used as a modifier. (Fleischhauer 2013: 130)

    Fleischhauer suggests that based on this assumption, atelic change-of-state (COS) verbs should be gradable by *sehr* (and appropriate counterparts in other languages), while telic COS verbs should not. This derives from atelic COS verbs

being related to minimal absolute standards – directed activities express that the degree obtained is higher than the initial degree, thus, any change on the scale is sufficient to entail the truth value. Also, on the upper end, the scale remains open and the verb is compatible with *sehr*. For telic COS verbs (accomplishments), the inherent endpoint must be reached for the predication to be truthful and, thus, the predication is restricted to the maximal scale value, which is denoted by the inherent endpoint, making the scale a closed one and not suitable for modification by *sehr*. (Fleischhauer 2013: 134)

(2.65) and (2.66) show this assumption to be true for directed activities (cf. Fleischhauer 2013: 135):

(2.65)   *Das Angebot der Pflege hat sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten in Folge der immer weiter zerfallenden Kleinfamilien sehr verbreitet.*
'The range of care has expanded greatly over the last few decades as a consequence of the decay of the nuclear family.'

(2.66)   *Erst als ich die Vorlagen sehr vergrößert hatte, konnte er den Text lesen.*
'Only after I enlarged the template a lot, was he able to read the text.'

In fact, modification of directed activities with *sehr* seems very productive and may in combination with grammatical aspect yield several interpretations, as in (2.67) for *vergrößen* 'widen'. In (2.67a), the verb is used in a perfective construction and refers to the amount of change, while in (2.67b), the verb is used in a progressive construction and refers to the rapidity of change in the size of the crack. (Fleischhauer 2013: 136)

(2.67)   a.   *Der Riss hat sich sehr vergrößert.*
'The crack has widened a lot.'

         b.   *Der Riss ist dabei sich sehr zu vergrößern/ist sich sehr am Vergrößern.*
'The crack is widening a lot.'

With accomplishments, the abovementioned assumption of accomplishments not combining with a general modifier is not true, and a number of verbs allow modification with *sehr*, as in (2.68) and (2.69) (examples from Fleischhauer 2013: 137). Semantically, *sehr* specifies the result state and introduces a new standard which needs to fall beyond the inherent endpoint and has to be filled in order for the predication to be true, i.e., *dry* as the minimal required condition when unmodified and *very dry* as the minimal required condition when modified. This means that the endpoint of the event must allow for a relative standard (cf. Fleischhauer 2013: 137):

(2.68)   *In der Sonne trocknen Nacktschnecken sehr aus.*
'Slugs dry out a lot in the sun.'

(2.69)   *Die Verhältnisse haben sich wieder sehr normalisiert.*
'The circumstances have very much normalised again.'

2.4.4. Standard and maximal telos

The abovementioned kind of modification of accomplishments contradicts the assumption that a verb's inherent endpoint (telos) matches that of the single maximal scale value and thus deems closed-scale events unmodifiable by *sehr*. However, following Kearns (2007), Fleischhauer offers that distinguishing between two types of telos, STANDARD and MAXIMAL TELOS[35], could be the solution (2013: 140). If maximal telos is the maximal value on the scale, then standard telos is the lowest value on the scale which marks that the endpoint or the onset of the result is reached. Kearns (2007) refers to them as the maximal and standard end state, Kennedy and McNally (1999) as non-trivial and trivial standard. In (2.70a) below, the maximal value cannot be contradicted, meaning that the event has a maximal telos, but in (2.70b), it can be stated that the situation is not completely stable, indicating that the event has a standard telos (Fleischhauer 2013: 141):

(2.70) a. *Der Zustand hat sich stabilisiert, er is aber nicht stabil.*
            'The condition has stabilised, but it is not stable.'

        b. *Der Zustand hat sich stabilisiert, er ist aber nicht vollkommen stabil.*
            'The condition has stabilised, but it is not completely stable.'

A similar opposition can be seen in (2.71) where the comparative construction is used to test for maximal and standard telos. If the predication can be used in a comparative construction with an adjective derived from the verb, the telos is relative (non-maximal) (2.71a), but if such comparative construction is not possible, the telos is maximal (2.71b) (*ibid.*):

(2.71) a. *Der Zustand des Patienten hat sich stabilisiert, er könnte aber noch stabiler sein.*
            'The condition of the patient has stabilised, but it could still be more stable.'

        b. *Peter hat die Tür geschlossen, sie könnte aber noch geschlossener sein.*
            'Peter has closed the door, but it could still be more closed.'

This distinction of telos types accounts for the accomplishments that are not gradable by a general high degree modifier *sehr*, *a lot*, etc. – ungradable accomplishments have their maximal and standard telos coinciding so there are no other degrees possible once the endpoint is attained, while gradable accomplishments have both a standard and a maximal telos which are distinct and allow for modification by *sehr* if the conditions are suitable.

According to Fleischhauer (2013: 146), the same kind of examples can be seen with accomplishments in Russian (2.72) and French (2.73). In (2.72), *stabilizirovat'sja* 'to stabilise' is related to a standard telos, while *normalizovat'sja* 'to

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[35] When the standard and the maximal telos coincide (i.e., the accomplishment is associated only with the maximal value), it is referred to as *absolute standard telos*, when the two are distinct, *relative standard telos* is used.

normalise' is related to a maximum telos, (the latter passes the comparison-construction-test, while the former does not). In (2.73), *standardiser* 'to standardise' is related to a standard telos, while *stabiliser* 'to stabilise' is related to a maximum telos (Fleischhauer 2013: 148–149):

(2.72)   a.   *Sostojanie pacienta stabilizirovalos', no moglo by byt' eščë stabil'nee.*
'The physical condition of the patient has stabilised, but it could be still more stable.'

        b.   **Situacija normalizovalas', no možet ežčë dal'še normalisirovat'sja.*
'The situation has normalised, but it could normalise still further.'

(2.73)   a.   *La méthode de test a été standardisée, mais elle pourrait être encore plus standardisée.*
'The examination procedure has been standardized, but it could be further standardized.'

        b.   **L'état du patient s'est stabilisé, mais il pourrait être encore plus stable.*
'The condition of the patient has stabilised, but it could be more stable.'

Although the behaviour of verbs with standard or maximal telos type seems to be similar in the examples above, it is also apparent from the cross-linguistic comparison that the telos type of the verb is language specific – *stabilise* has maximal telos in French, but standard telos in Russian and German, *normalise* has a maximal telos in Russian, but a standard telos in German, etc.

In conclusion, Fleischhauer (2013), unlike Caudal and Nicolas (2005) does not think that *sehr* (or *a lot* for Caudal and Nicolas) closes the scale of an open-scale predication but instead assumes that telic predications allow modification by an open-scale requiring modifier, i.e., telic predications are compatible with open scales. This has also been the view of Kearns (2007: 51), who says that "there is no need to propose that an otherwise open property scale is closed just in case the verb is telic."

2.5. Summary

In this chapter I introduce the notion that following the main points of Dwight Bolinger (1972) and the subsequent works of Löbner (2012) and Fleischhauer (2016), event modification is divided into extent and degree gradation, where extent modification is a case of verbal quantification and degree modification is a case of verbal intensification.

Extent gradation or quantification is concerned with the frequency (*rain often* or *rain a lot*) and duration of the event (*rain (for a) long (time)*). Eng. *often* and Fr. *souvent* 'often' are quantifiers, while *a lot* and *beaucoup* 'a lot' can be quantity degree modifiers (or intensifiers). For both quantity-related types, the predication should be plural or have cumulative reference (i.e., be a mass verb). Degree gradation is concerned with increasing the degree of a property on some scale.

For degree modification, the verb should be gradable, i.e., be involved with some scale, either by lexicalising one inherently or having it introduced externally. Eng. *a lot* and Fr. *beaucoup* are intensifiers of general high degree and combine with verbs that have a gradable scale, some of which reject quantification.

In Komi, *jona* is originally a manner adverb meaning 'strongly', but as a degree expression, it can refer to either the quantity of event (*jona udžavny* 'work a lot') or the intensity degree (*jona povny* 'fear a lot'). Komi *una* 'a lot' refers mostly to quantity and does not function as an intensity degree modifier. Apart from general high degree expressions, degree gradation also involves quality related degree expressions and adverbials (Komi *bura* 'well' and *burdžyka* 'better') and tempo (Komi *ödjödžyka* 'faster').

Other modification types relevant to this thesis are moderation, where either the non-sufficient degree of realisation (*not quite understand* 'not understand') or the degree of prototypicality (*sort of swim* 'do something like swimming') of the verb is modified, and also proneness which refers to the ease of something happening (*if only the wax didn't run so* 'if only the wax did not run so easily').

Aspectually, the telicity of the predication often plays a role when combining with different modifiers. Namely, in case of comparison with the quantifier *more*, atelic predications may have either cardinal (count) frequency reference or cumulative (mass) durational reference, e.g., *Mary ran more than Joseph* can refer to running more often or running a longer distance/period, while telic predications may only have the cardinal reading, e.g., *Mary ran to the store more than Joseph* can only mean running to the store more often. The same generalisation holds for non-comparatives. When combining with high degree modifiers, accomplishments are required to have their standard and maximal telos be separate, otherwise, the maximal value of the scale has been reached and a high degree modification is not possible.

Gradable verbs do not specifically follow a semantic class or an *Aktionsart* class. Instead, it is the semantic composition of the event that determines its gradability. The main types of gradable verbs are change-of-state verb, verbs of emission, and experiencer verbs, but also verbs of comparison, gradable actions like verbs of marked behaviour and manner of motion, etc. These types are formed based on sharing a similar gradable dimension and not based on their syntactic behaviour or semantic class.

3. SEMANTICS OF *DŽYK* WITH VERBS IN KOMI

In this chapter, I will give a detailed overview of the possible readings *džyk* may have with verbal predications. Previously, this clitic has been described as an increaser of intensity or tempo/speed (Cypanov 2005: 248) or other manner-related features depending on the semantics of the verb, or that it increases the frequency of the event's occurrence (Todesk 2015: 33). In examples of negated predications, the *džyk*-clitic also marks falling short of an intended goal or level of quality.

My aim in this following section is to systematise the types of readings that appear in the literature and provide them with an ample number of examples. This section is based on the qualitative analysis of 313 augmented predications, out of which 124 are in the affirmative and 189 in the negative. The analysed examples were collected from written language sources, with the corpus consisting of fiction (incl. prose and poetry, around 80 titles published between 1939 and 2008 from around 40 authors) and media texts (2007 issues of *Komi Mu*, *Zvezda*, *Vyl' Tujöd*, and *Parma Gor*). The size of the combined text corpus is approximately 3.8 million tokens. A more detailed account is provided above in *1.2. Data*.

As was also stated above, the appearance of the clitic with events is morphologically unrestricted, it appears in both the negative and affirmative in all persons and numbers, in indicative and imperative moods, in all simple tenses and also with some complex tenses (see *1.4.1.1.3.*).

Below, I will present an overview of examples in two main groups of **extent gradation** and **degree gradation**. This will be followed by a couple of examples where *džyk* is a diminisher. More than anything, the numbers in Table 26 are to illustrate the approximate distribution of readings which is something previous sources have lacked: degree gradation is the central modification type of *džyk*, while extent gradation is quite marginal. Note that not all instances of *džyk* are unambiguous and potentially related to only one possible reading. For these cases, I have made a choice of what the intended reading has been based on the context in which the modified VP appears, for example, *artm'isdžyk* may refer to intensity 'succeeded more' or quality 'succeeded better' which are semantically close but target different aspects of the event expressed – the former example refers to the successfulness of the result, while the latter to the manner of execution. Such differences are in most cases discernible from context and the number of truly ambiguous instances is not great in my estimation.

Table 26. Readings of the clitic according to modification type and event polarity.

	extent gradation	degree gradation	other	total
affirmative	10	113	1	124
negative	22	166	1	189
total	32	279	2	313

As said, the main classification follows the basic notion of whether the verb is quantified or whether the verb's degree is modified. The subsequent division into subtypes is derived from the reading attributed by *džyk*, which in turn depends on verbal semantics or event structure. I find this classification to be a good solution for giving an overview of the various contexts in which *džyk* may appear and the meanings it might have with different types of events, although other classifications (e.g., by event type) could also be possible. The classification based on the readings of *džyk* is illustrated in Table 27 with short examples which will be discussed further below:

Table 27. The general readings of Komi *džyk* with examples.

gradation type	reading	example
extent/ frequency	frequency (count verbs)	*èzdžyk torjödčavny* 'they separate less (often)'
	quantity scale (mass verbs)	*ötdortčönydžyk* 'they avoid (smth.) more'
	duration	*ogdžyk kut uz'ny* 'I will not sleep as long'
degree	intensity/high degree (atelic verbs)	*ozdžyk mešajt* 'she does not disturb as much'
	extent of result/high degree (telic verbs)	*zbojm'isnydžyk* 'become braver'
	volume of entity	*sjojanys loödžyk* 'there will be more food'
	tempo	*s'ölömyd tipködžyk* 'the heart beats faster'
	quality	*bydmasdžyk* 'will grow (in a) better (manner)'
	moderation	*ozdžyk tyrmy* 'does not quite suffice'
other	diminishing	*kaž'itčödžyk* 'it rather seems'

3.1. Readings of extent gradation

Extent gradation refers to verbal quantification – modifying either the frequency or duration of the event. The events modified by the *džyk*-clitic get the reading of either *(more) often/(less) often* (frequency), *a lot/(not) as much* (extent degree or cumulative quantity) or *longer/(not) as much* (duration).

Extent modification is not the primary reading of *džyk* and appears just over 30 times among the more than three hundred examples analysed for this section. Table 28 illustrates the distribution of the sub-readings of extent gradation. It should be noted that duration refers only to temporal duration, no quantification of spatial distance was noted among the analysed data[36].

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36 Although path scales are modified for degree, e.g., *N'il'čimö ozdžyk na vo* '(the gas) does not quite arrive in N'il'chim'; with suitable attributes, *vony* 'arrive' might perhaps denote 'go further' etc.

Table 28. Distribution of sub-readings of extent gradation.

	affirmative	negative	total
frequency	1	7	8
duration	–	1	1
event quantity	10	14	24
total	11	22	33

3.1.1. Frequency

The frequency reading is greatly dependent on whether the predication is inherently plural or singular, or whether it allows for plurality. (3.1) involves an inherently frequentative verb *addzys'lyny* 'meet' which freely allows for frequency modification. Although the VP in (3.2) below is telic, it expresses the same situation as *kutis pyšjavny* 'she began to run away' taking place repeatedly, making it a habitual plural event that also allows frequency modification.

(3.1) *Vudžöm   böras   zbyl'ys'   og=džyk*
       transition   PP.after   indeed   NEG.1SG.PRS=AUG
       kutöj   addzys'lyny.
       begin.2PL.CNEG   meet.INF
       'Indeed, after the transition we will not meet as often.' (Popov A 2011)

(3.2) *Sèni sijö una žö vöč'is,*
       sömyn   taj   börja   kadnas   kutis
       only   PAR   latter   time.INSTR.SG   begin.3SG.PST
       pyšjavny=džyk...
       run away.INF=AUG
       'There she got a lot done, it's just that lately she began to run away more often...'
       (Toropov 1974)

In a context with a non-distributive subject and a singular predication, the reading can also refer to duration as in (3.3) below. With a singular verb, duration seems to be a possible reading with only semantically specific verbs that frequently associate with duration, e.g., *sleep* or *live long*. It would seem that with a distributive subject and/or a plural predication, duration could only be considered a reading if the context specifically referred to it via adverbials, etc., otherwise, the reading refers to frequency.

(3.3) /---/
       mödys'   og=džyk   kut   uz'ny.
       second.ELA   NEG.1SG.PRS=AUG   keep.CNEG   sleep.INF
       '/---/ next time I will not sleep as long.' (Rochev E 1980)

The cases where the subject is distributive or the statement is general are more ambiguous between frequency and event quantity. In (3.4), the interpretation is one of frequency when the event expression is considered a count-like accomplishment that reoccurs with each new medical student (*a young person does not study to become a doctor that often*). If the event expression is considered a mass-like general activity that entails young Komis studying at the university, the reading is one of event quantity (*young people do not study medicine that much*).

(3.4)   *Medsja   jona   kolöny   terapevtjas*
        most   strongly   be necessary.3PL.PRS   physician.PL
        a   sy   vylö   oz=džyk   velödčyny.
        but   that   PP.onto   neg.3PL.PRS=AUG   study.CNEG.3PL
        'Physicians are necessary most of all, but they do not study [for] that as much.'
        (pg.05.06.07)

(3.5) below is similar – the subject is collective and the predication habitual, but there is a strong inclination towards an event quantity reading when the verb is considered a general activity (*there is not much of dekulakisation*). If the verb is considered an accomplishment with reoccurring instances of possession-depriving, then the reading is one of frequency.

(3.5)   *Öni   oz=džyk   n'in   kulakavny*
        now   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   already   dekulakise.CNEG.3PL
        a tijanös i važön oz kulakavny...
        'Now they do not dekulakise as often anymore, but you were earlier also not dekulakised...' (Juhnin 1983)

The last two examples are similar to Doetjes 2006 case of *rain a lot* and *rain often* where the former refers to the quantity of raining and the latter to the frequency of raining. In my opinion, (3.4) and (3.5) are cases of frequency – it is the number of cases of either becoming a doctor or being deprived of possessions and not the cumulative quantity of the abovementioned situations that is relevant. Also, the verbs should instead be considered telic ((3.4) involves an accomplishment, (3.5) an achievement)) and not general undirected activities and this supports a frequency reading rather than an event quantity reading. Quantification will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 with more stress on the interaction of event structure and reading type.

3.1.2. Quantity degree

The quantity degree reading is an equivalent to the functions of the quantity modifiers Eng. *a lot*, Ger. *viel*, Du. *erg*, etc., meaning that there is a reference to gradable quantity or cumulative quantity, referring to how much of something is done, e.g., *I go to the cinema a lot*. The difference between quantity degree and quantification lies mostly in the countability of the modified verb – with mass-like verbs, the situation is measured cumulatively for quantity degree (the same

as mass-nouns), with count-like verbs, the situation is countable and quantified for frequency. Intensity and (cumulative) event quantity are often paraphrasable by the same degree expression and due to this are perhaps not always easy to distinguish from each other.

In the case of modifying quantity degree, the verbs are usually atelic, i.e., un-directed activities or more seldom states. The reading refers to the amount of the event taking place and since atelic verbs are mass-like, the event quantity reading may be depicted as a cumulative measure of the situation and the modification takes place on the scale of *more-not as much* of the event. For example, in (3.6), where the quantity degree of *bergavlyny* 'be around' is modified, and in (3.7) where the amount of *sjorn'itny* 'speak' is modified.

(3.6) *Tè   nyvjas   bergavlan=džyk,   tödan   najös.*
        2SG   girl.PL   be around.2SG.PRS=AUG   know.2SG.PRS   3PL.ACC
        'You are around girls more, you know them.' (Juhnin 1941)

(3.7) *Ti   naköd   ètijö...   Ènöj=džyk,   udž*
        2PL   3SG.COM   this   NEG.IMP.2PL=AUG   work
        jylys'   kyndz'i   unasö   ènö   sjorn'itöj.
        PP.onto   other than   much.ACC   NEG.2PL.PST   speak.CNEG.2PL
        'You with them [about] this.... Do not [talk] much, other than [about] work do not talk much.' (Ignatov 1988)

Semantically, these verbs are usually motion activities (3.8), verbs of sound emission or speaking (3.9), or other temporally lasting processes relating to some manner (3.10).

(3.8) *A   važnas   –   pokoj   dorogoj,*
        but   old.INSTR.3SG   peace.RU   dear.RU
        kurgy   ov,   sömyn   da   èn=džyk
        enjoy.IMP.2G   live.IMP.2G   only   and   NEG.2SG.PST=AUG
        njužjödly   böžtö,   med   ez   tal'ččyny.
        wag.CNEG   tail.ACC.2SG   that   NEG.3PL.PST   step on.CNEG.3PL
        'It is good to live in the old way, just enjoy and do not wag your tail too much, so nobody accidentally steps on it.' (Toropov 1964)

(3.9) *Ta vösna Matvej i velalöma n'in völi ne asnypavny jona:*
        götyrys   oz=džyk   möd   p'il'itny   /---/
        wife.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   start, begin.CNEG   nag.CNEG.3PL
        'For this, Matvej had already learned not to be as stubborn: his wife will not begin to nag as much /---/' (Izjurov 1984)

(3.10) *Najö   mijan   dyrji   dyšödčyny=tö*
        they   1PL.GEN   PP.near, by   fool around.INF=EMPH
        oz=džyk   kutny.
        NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   take.CNEG.3PL
        'With us, they will not fool around as much.' (Izjurov 1984)

In cases where activities are construed as successions of cyclic achievements (3.11) or where plural predications are habitual (3.12), the verbs could be perceived as either count or mass verbs. The key there is the intended meaning, and since both examples below involve a distributive subject, it is the accumulation of their joint efforts that is relevant (*encounter more* and *go more*) and not the frequency of the situation (*encounter more often* and *go more often*).

(3.11)   *Muž'ikjas*   *vetlig*   –   *munigad*
         man.PL   go.CNV   go.CNV.INE/ILL.2SG
         addzyvlöny=džyk   *da*   *jona*   *ošjys'lasny*.
         encounter.3PL.PRS=AUG   and   more   boast.3PL.FUT
         'The men, coming and going, see more/a lot and will boast more.' (Sazhin 1981)

(3.12)   *Köni*   *jözys*   *vetlö=džyk,*
         where   people.3SG   go.3SG.PRS=AUG
         medym kydz poz'ö ödjödžyk vuzavny vajömtorsö da s'öm nažöv'ityštny.
         'Where people go more (i.e., where there is more traffic of people), so it would be possible to sell the brought stuff faster and earn money.' (Popov A 2008)

Other similar cases of frequency/cumulative quantity will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

3.2. Readings of degree gradation

In case of degree gradation, some gradable property of the event expression is modified. With *džyk*, the property (or dimension) can in general indicate intensity, tempo, or quality. In the following subsections, I shall present the examples according to the different types of scales the clitic has modified, either property degree (general high degree), tempo, or quality. *Aktionsart* is also still a prominent property of the verbs.

   According to Löbner (2012), the dimensions which may be modified by high degree modifiers are intensity of attitude, effect, property, condition experienced; extent of change, deviation, and difference; and volume of substance/entity. In general, this also holds for *džyk*. Both quality and tempo are centrally part of intensity (or high degree) modification, but below I will present quality and tempo separately since they both also have peripheral manner-related readings (more details below). Similarly, I also present moderation as a separate reading type, although it partially corresponds to divergence scales, but differs from it by cancelling negation (see *3.3.4. Moderation*). Table 29 illustrates the distribution of examples according to the reading type. Note that the sub-reading *general high degree* refers to intensification of atelic events, while *extent of result* refers to intensification of telic verbs and directed activities. By frequency, intensity is the central reading of *džyk*, followed by quality, and then moderation.

Table 29. Distribution of sub-readings of degree gradation with *džyk*.

	sub-reading	affirmative	negative	subtotal	total
intensity/ high degree	general high degree	34	70	104	152
	extent of result	5	29	34	
	of volume	11	3	14	
tempo	pace	–	2	2	5
	manner	2	–	2	
	adverbial 'sooner'	1	–	1	
quality	high degree	27	10	37	80
	manner	26	10	36	
	proneness	6	1	7	
moderation		NA	41	41	41

3.2.1. Intensity scale

As was said, intensity is the central reading of *džyk*. In this case, the gradable property is present in the event's composition, e.g., liking, fearing, loving, being ill, feeling some emotion, etc. is modified for high degree. When a verb is intensified, the scale consists of degrees like *be not very happy – be happy – be happier*, *be not very cold – be cold – be colder*, etc.

Intensity modification is possible with both atelic and telic verbs. For atelics, this is based on the structure of the event being closely tied to verbal semantics, since states and activities allow for intensifying the process or state at hand. For telics, intensification expresses how strong or intense the achieved result state is. This type of result intensification is also under observation with directed activities, since they do not have an inherent end result but due to their scalarity are not modified for intensity the same way as other atelic verbs. Based on this, I will first present examples of atelic states and activities, and then examples of telic accomplishments and achievements, and atelic directed activities.

3.2.1.1. General high degree with states and activities

States expressing some property are easily intensified for high degree, since they are usually involved with some modifiable scale. With *džyk*, the modified dimension is most often intensity of feeling (i.e., verbs of sensation, emotional attitude and effect, etc.) or some gradable physical property.

The examples below show modification for intensity of emotion (3.13), also suitability (3.14) or another property-like situation (3.15). It can also modify modal verbs and intensify, for example, necessity (3.16).

(3.13) /---/, *Miškaös*   *dorys'*   *öd*   *Il'jaös*
        Mishka.ACC   PP.from   PAR   Ilya.ACC
        bat'ys   *radejtö=džyk.*
        father.3SG   love.3SG.PRS=AUG
        '/---/ father loves Ilya more than Mishka.' (Juhnin 1941)

(3.14) *Najö*   *kutasny*   *dumajtny*   *sidz'i,*
        3PL   begin.3PL.FUT   think.INF   that way
        kydzi   *naly*   *kažitčö=džyk,*   /---/
        which way   3PL.DAT   suit.3SG.PRS=AUG
        'They will think that way which ever is more suitable for them, /---/' (Toropov 1974)

(3.15) *No*   *myjlakö*   *ljokys*   *s'inmad*
        but   some   bad.3SG   eye.INE/ILL.2SG
        šyb'itčö=džyk,   *parskö=džyk.*
        stand out.3SG.PRS=AUG   leave (in) shadow.3SG.PRS=AUG
        'But for some reason the bad [things] stand out more, leave more shadows.' (Popov A 1991)

(3.16) *Nadja*   *vočav'idz'is:*   *Da*   *mi*   *sèni*   *kolam=džyk.*
        Nadja   reply.3SG.PST   yes   1PL   there   be necessary.1PL.PRS=AUG
        'Nadja replied: Yes, we are needed there more.' (Lyjurov 1988)

The examples below present negated states in different contexts: (3.17) refers to a property of the subject, (3.18) is a generic statement, (3.19) is a specific occasion with a single subject (2SG), (3.20) refers to multiple occasions of the event taking place, and in (3.21), the modified scale is not inherent to the verb but determined by the adverb *vesela* 'happy'.

(3.17) *I Fedja kod' – kulöma i ljasköma,*
        sömyn   *s'injasys*   *oz=džyk*   *kaž'itčyny.*
        only   eye.PL.3SG   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   seem.CNEG.3PL
        'And [he looks] like Fedja – like two drops of water (lit. photographed and glued), only his eyes do not look like his as much.' (Toropov 1964)

(3.18) *Me öd zèv sboj vövli,*
        a   *muköd*   *nyvjasys*   *oz=džyk*   *varov'itny.*
        but   some   girl.PL.3SG   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   be talkative.INF
        'I was very bold in the past, but some girls are not that talkative.' (Rochev Ju 1984)

(3.19) *Ju,*   *s'ölömtö*   *šontyšt,*   *sy*   *böryn*
        drink.IMP.2SG   heart.ACC.2SG   warm up a bit.IMP.2SG   that   PP.after
        ködzydsö   *on=džyk*   *kut*   *kyvny.*
        coldness.ACC   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   take.CNEG   feel.INF
        'Drink, warm your heart a bit, after this you will not feel as cold.' (Ignatov 1988)

(3.20) *Kor   og=džyk   v'is'ödčy,*
when   NEG.1SG.PRS=AUG   feel poorly.CNEG
jyzly kys peslala, vol' vöča, a sy vylö ass'ynys koljasjassö setyštlasny.
'When I do not feel as poorly, I process leather for people, I trim skin, so people give me leftover pieces of skin for that.' (Rochev Ja 1951)

(3.21) *No me öd mortyd žugyl' kod' da, gaškö,*
oz=džyk   vesela   artmy...
NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   cheerful   come out, appear.CNEG
'I am kind of a sad person and perhaps it (i.e. my story) will not come out as cheerful...' (Toropov 1964)

In the affirmative, undirected activities may reflect intensity of movement (3.22) or other manner-related action (3.23), or the intensity factor can be interpreted as doing something with more care (3.24).

(3.22) *Gaškö,   vörny=džyk   pondas   kyvjyd.*
maybe   move.INF=AUG   begin.3SG.FUT   tongue.2SG
'Maybe your tongue will move more!' (Djakonov 1990)

(3.23) –   *Zil'isny=džyk,   navernö.*
    eagerly work.3PL.PST=AUG   probably
'– They probably worked more eagerly.' (Lyjurov 1951)

(3.24) *Kuta   sled'itny=džyk   sjojöm   börsja,*
start.1SG.PRS   keep an eye on.INF=AUG   food   PP.after
da   lan'tas   ačys...
and   pass.3SG.FUT   self, own.3SG.
'I keep an eye on my food more [carefully], and it will pass...' (Toropov 1964)

In the negative, the intensity reading appears with verbs expressing some manner, like *pess'yny* 'toss around' (3.25), *cepsas'ny* 'throw around' (3.26), *mödny sjujömön-sjujny* 'will stuff' (3.27), etc.

(3.25) *Tani i zbyl'ys' šonyddžyk völi,*
da   i   tölys   èz=džyk   setšöma   pess'y.
and   PAR   wind.3SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   thus   throw about.CNEG
'Here indeed it was warmer and the wind did not toss around quite like that.' (Kodanjov 1979)

(3.26) *Tatšöm tehn'ikays kö voas i muköd požčas'tö,*
B'iyd   oz=džyk   čepsas'.
fire.2SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   throw around.CNEG
'When this kind of equipment reaches other fire stations, the fire will not throw about that much.' (km.12.07.07)

(3.27) *Sèssja   nadejtč'is,   sèni   matemat'ikatö   jurad*
        thus   hope.3SG.PST   there   mathematics.ACC.2SG head.INE/ILL.2SG
        oz=džyk   mödny   sjujömön   –   sjujny.
        NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   start.CNEG.3PL   stick.PTCP.PST.INSTR   stick.INF
        'Thus s/he hopes [that] there they will not stuff your head with mathematics that
        much.' (Izjurov 1984)

There are also some inactive actions[37], which by semantic type are verbs of
emotional attitude or effect, e.g., *mešajtny* 'disturb' in (3.28), and the phraseo-
logism *mustö syrtny* 'annoy (lit. rub liver)' in (3.29). Depending on context, they
can be perceived as either states or activities, according to their dynamic potential.

(3.28) *Kytön   tijanly   og=džyk   mešajt,*
        where   2PL.DATNEG.   1SG.PRS=AUG   disturb.CNEG
        setčö   i   vol'salöj.
        there   PAR   create.IMP.2PL
        'Where I do not disturb you as much, there make [my bed].' (Popov A 2008)

(3.29) *Da–a,   važ   mozyd,   dert,*
        yes-yes   old   PP.like.2SG   of course
        oz=džyk   mustö   zyrt.
        NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   liver.ACC.2SG   rub.CNEG
        'Yes-yes, it does not annoy [me] as much as it used to.' (Toropov 1964)

3.2.1.2. General high degree with telic accomplishments, achievements, and directed activities

As was said, in case of telic verbs, the clitic modifies the intensity of the result
(all telic verbs) or the scope or extent of the process (directed activities). When
the result is modified, the event has a stronger impact or the result positions higher
on the scale of realisation. This does not differ much from the general high degree
of atelic events, but the reading targets different parts of the event – for atelic
verbs, the situation or process itself is intensified, with telic verbs, the result is
modified. The modified telic verbs have no specific scale other than resultativity
and the clitic either increases resultativity (in the affirmative) or decreases resul-
tativity (in the negative).

In (3.30) and (3.31), the modified telic verbs result in being accepted
(accomplishment) and becoming reasonable (achievement) to a greater extent.

(3.30) *Bara žö čužan kyv vylas šyödčys'tö*
        i   verst'ö   jöz   sibödöny=džyk...
        PAR   adult   people   accept.3PL.PRS=AUG
        'Again, the one who addresses in the native language, the adults also accept
        more.' (km.28.04.07)

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[37] Croft (2012) considers them states.

(3.31)　　－　*A*　　　*öni,*　　*kor*　　*vis'tala,*　　*myj*　　*druž'inn'ikjas*
　　　　　　　but　　now　　when　　tell.1SG.PRS　　that　　druzhinnik[38].PL
　　　　　　　körtavlisny,　　*gaškö,*　　*vežörsjalas=džyk.*
　　　　　　　tie up.3PL.PST　　maybe　　smarten up.3SG.FUT=AUG
　　　　　'But now, if I tell [her] that the druzhinniks tied her up, perhaps she will become
　　　　　more reasonable.' (Toropov 1974)

In negation, the modified **achievements** mainly express changes in emotional
state or the onset of a high degree of emotion, like *dözmyvny* 'get annoyed' (3.32),
majšödlyny 'create concern' (3.33), etc. The extent here measures how much the
result deviates from the expected (or undesired) result. In the negative, the clitic
weakens the result.

(3.32)　　*Bat'jas*　　*èz=džyk*　　　　*setšöma*　　*dözmyvny*
　　　　　　father.PL　　NEG.3PL.PST=AUG　　thus　　　　get annoyed.CNEG.3PL
　　　　　　mijan　　　*dösaditčöm*　　　*vylad.*
　　　　　　1PL.GEN　　annoy.PTCP.PST　　PP.ADE.2SG
　　　　　'The fathers did not get that annoyed at our tricks.' (Popov A 2005)

(3.33)　　*Möd*　　*vo*　　*n'in*　　*tölys*　　*nebydik*
　　　　　　second　　year　　already　　winter.3SG　　soft
　　　　　　da　　*èz=džyk*　　　　*majšödly.*
　　　　　　and　　NEG.3SG.PST=AUG　　create concern.CNEG
　　　　　'Already for the second year, the winter was mild and did not create that much
　　　　　concern.' (pg.15.05.07)

When the intensity of the process is modified, something is accomplished or
achieved to a greater extent. With directed activities, the process is positioned on
an open scale since these verbs are atelic and have no termination point. This
means that modifying the verb moves the standard (i.e., point of event realisation)
from neutral to high. See, for example, in (3.34), (3.35), and (3.36) below, where
the neutral standard would be *loosen*, *increase*, *gain courage* and the high
standard is *loosen more*, *increase more*, *gain more courage*.

(3.34)　　/---/,
　　　　　　kymyn　　*yndžykys'*　　*pyzan*　　*gögör*　　*kytšovtö*　　*rumka,*
　　　　　　how many　　more.ELA　　table　　PP.around　　circle.3SG.PRS　　shot glass
　　　　　　symyn　　*raz's'ö=džyk*　　　*sjorn'i,* /---/
　　　　　　that much　　loosen.3SG.PRS=AUG　　speech
　　　　　'/---/ the more the shot glass circles around the table, the more the speech loosens
　　　　　/---/ '(Juhnin 1941)

(3.35)　　*Pötös*　　*sorvanad*　　　　*öd*　　*burdžyka*　　*udžavs'ö,*
　　　　　　rich　　food.INSTR.2SG　　PAR　　better　　finish (work).3SG.PRS
　　　　　　kubometryd　　　*sodö=džyk*　　　　*i.*
　　　　　　cubic metre.2SG　　increase.3SG.PRS=AUG　　also
　　　　　'With rich food the work finishes better, the cubic metres also increase more.'
　　　　　(Lyjurov 1991)

38　　A member of the *druzhina*, a military regiment or squad.

(3.36)   /---/ *pervojja kučkömys ves'kalis mestaö.*
         Öl'öksej   smelm'is=džyk.
         PN   gain courage.3SG.PST=AUG
         '/---/ the first blow had hit the mark. Öl'öksej gained more courage.' (Beznosikov 1964)

In principle, (3.34), (3.35), and (3.36) are structurally similar to other atelic verbs with an intensity reading, but the interpretation of the modified predication is more similar to telic verbs, since they are scalar and the focus is not on how intense the process is but what the extent of the event is or how high on the modified scale the result positions.

3.2.1.3. Volume of entity

In this section I will separately address the instances of atelic predications that have incremental themes or otherwise form complex predicates with real or abstract entities, for example, with predications with an incremental quantifiable object or a subject in an existential clause, or with reference to either of the two, e.g., *I eat a lot*. The quantity can be either mass or count, the object/subject either real or abstract.

It was noted above that in earlier works the issue has arisen whether these kinds of events should be considered to be involved in quantification or degree modification. I find that these are cases of intensification, where the dimension is the quantity or volume of the involved entity, e.g., *strength*, *time*, *space*, etc. These instances differ from quantification-proper by having the property dimension of the predication modified, rather than the quantity of the eventuality itself.

The involved entity in these sentences is either a single specific object involved in a single and specific predication, or the statement is generic, e.g., there being more time (3.37) or space (3.38), needing more time (3.39), etc.

(3.37)   *Töv   puksjas   da   sèk'i   kadys   loas=džyk.*
         winter   fall.3SG.FUT   and   then   time.3SG   be.3SG.FUT=AUG
         'Winter will come and then there will be more time.' (Popov A 2011)

(3.38)   *No asyvnas, vol'pas' kölujsö udralasny da,*
         bytt'ö   pröstmö=džyk   mestays   gorn'ičaas.
         as if   become free.3SG.PRS=AUG   place.3SG   chamber.INE/ILL.3SG
         'But in the morning, when they clear away the bed-things, there will be more space in the room.' (Beznosikov 1985)

(3.39)   *Tenyd   jutögyd   öni   kadyd*
         2SG.DAT   drink.CAR.2SG   now   time.2SG
         kolö=džyk.
         be necessary.3SG.PRS=AUG
         'You, since you do not drink any more, [you] need more time (lit. more time is necessary).' (Popov A 1991)

Syntactically, all these examples involve comparisons. Perhaps with (3.38), the question of additivity arises, since both *more space than before* (comparison) and *additional space* (additivity) are possible interpretations. Compare this with (3.40), which has similar ambiguity as to whether they will have *more strength than before* or *additional strength*.

(3.40) *Sjojyštan   da   ebösyd   loas=džyk.*
        eat a bit.2SG.PRS   and   strength.2SG   be.3SG.FUT=AUG
        'You eat a bit and you will have more strength.' (Popov A 2011)

In the negative, reference to quantity is rarer in the analysed data, but a few examples can be found, such as (3.41), where the quantity of the object is under focus and the comparative pattern is also present.

(3.41) *A   köt'   i   ötka   pyvsjan   da   öni*
        but   any, some PAR   single sauna   and   now
        setšömys   oz=džyk   ovly.
        this kind.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   be found.CNEG
        'Although it is a single sauna and now, this kind is found less.' (Rochev Ju 1984)

3.2.2. Tempo

For a small number of examples, the primary interpretation of *džyk* was related to tempo. Tempo-related interpretations only appear in specific conditions, and many of these instances are instead interpretations of the modified situation rather than proper readings of *džyk*. I have found three distinct interpretations in my data set: 1) related to the pace of the event 2) related to the intensity of manner and motion verbs, and 3) related to 'sooner, quicker'.

The first type is found with accomplishments. In (3.42) and (3.43), the dynamic telic verbs are modified for the tempo of the event's progress and that of attaining the result – the reading is involved with how fast the milk becomes warm in the metal milkjar or how fast a person becomes old (subjectively). Note that *džyk* may also intensify the verb itself and target how warm the milk becomes or how old the person might feel or look, but the two readings are not present at the same time (*?milk does not become as warm quickly*).

(3.42) *Oz=džyk   šonav,*
        NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   warm up.CNEG
        oz   sim   duköss'y   n'i...
        NEG.3SG.PRS rust   smell.CNEG   PAR
        '(About milk in a metal milkjar.) [It] does not become warm as quickly, [it] will not start to smell of rust...' (Toropov 1974)

(3.43) *Sèk'i   on=džyk   pörys'my,   –*
       then   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   age, become older.CNEG
       vis'talis   kypyd   rua   bab.
       tell.3SG.PST   happy, lively   tempered   old woman
       'Then you do not become old as quickly, – said the good-humoured old lady.'
       (km.06.02.07)

The second tempo-related interpretation is related to manner and motion verbs which are primarily associated with tempo/pace properties. For example, I propose that in (3.44) and (3.45), the activities are modified for intensity. The verb in (3.44) expresses motion and the verb in (3.45) expresses manner of motion, both of which are associated with pace but not with general intensity modifiers (*step a lot, *beat a lot). For these predications, the intensification reading of *džyk* is expressed by pace adverbials, i.e., *step with greater intensity = step faster* and *beat with greater intensity = beat faster*.

(3.44) *Daj   völyd   gortlan'yd   vos'lalö=džyk.*
       and   horse.2SG   home.APPR.2SG[39]   step.3SG.PRS=AUG
       'And the horse also steps faster towards home.' (Sazhin 1981)

(3.45) *Nimkodjas'igad   s'ölömyd   tipkö=džyk.*
       admire.CNV.INE/ILL.2SG   heart.2SG   beat.3SG.PRS=AUG
       'When admiring [beauty], the heart beats faster.' (Zhugyl 1969)

The third type is related to instances where the *faster* refers to *sooner* and not to the speed of process or intensity of manner, as was shown above. *sjurny* 'find' in (3.46) below is an achievement and since achievements have no internal structure (a punctual event has a before-state, inception, and after-state, but no progress from one state to another), the clitic does not modify the speed of the event itself but brings closer the point in time when the event will take place.

(3.46) *Il'ja   sajö   kö,   dert,   ès'kö   i   sjuras=džyk...*
       Ilya   PP.over if   of course PAR   PAR   find.3SG.FUT=AUG
       'Like this, Il'ja would probably find one (i.e., a wife) faster (i.e., sooner)...'
       (Juhnin 1941)

Logically, most of the scalar verbs with internal structure (i.e., non-achievements) appearing with a reading referring to the intensity of result would also allow tempo modification due to telic verbs having an end point and a result, and a tempo reading targeting the speed of attaining the result, e.g., in (3.47) one would not get drunk as quickly. Note that this differs from increasing the speed/intensity of manner verbs and is not related to the *sooner*-reading of the previous example.

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[39]   In Komi, in addition to marking possession, the possessive suffixes are also used in pragmatic functions, e.g., to mark identifiability, etc. (Klumpp and Sribnik 2022: 1025–1026).

(3.47) *Sèk'i* *oz=džyk* *gašmyny.*
then NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG become drunk.CNEG.3PL
'Then [one will] not become as drunk.' (Popov A 2008)

In conclusion, the verbs that agree with tempo modification are related to manner (of motion) like *step* and *beat*, or the focus is on the speed of attaining the end-state of the event, like *warm up*, *become old*. In one instance, tempo refers to *sooner,* which is not related to the ongoing event but to the temporal distance of the event's inception.

3.2.3. Quality modification

In case of quality modification, the reading of the modified predication is semantically related to comparison and can be interpreted as *better,* (not) *that/as well*, and also (not) *that easily*. I have found that this type of modification is not widely discussed in the literature but I consider it to parallel the statements made about *well* – it denotes either high degree (stative verbs with *well*) or manner (non-stative verbs with *well*). With *džyk*, the exact character of the reading is less dependent on *Aktionsart* class and more related to verbal semantics and telicity – *džyk* can refer to either the quality of the process, or the quality or high degree of the end result. As a third type of quality-related reading, *džyk* can also refer the ease of the event taking place; Bolinger refers to this as *proneness* and considers it the third type of intensification in addition to extensibility and inherent intensification (1972: 163). I will present the relevant examples of the three quality readings separately below.

In the affirmative, quality-related modification is the most frequent reading for *džyk*, making up almost half of the analysed examples (61 out of 124), whereas in the negative, only 20 instances out of 189 were found with a quality-related reading. Note that although interpreted via comparison, there are no comparison constructions in this dataset appearing together with a quality-related reading (unlike for the intensity reading above).

3.2.3.1. High degree

With states, the quality-related reading of *džyk* reflects the high degree of the property (3.48), (3.49) (either permanent or transitory) or the high degree of the situation (3.50).

(3.48) *Me* *matysta* *traktorös,* *jugdöda,*
1SG bring closer.1SG.FUT tractor.ACC lighten up.1SG.FUT
med *tydalas=džyk.*
that be visible.3SG.FUT=AUG
'I will bring the tractor closer, turn on the lights, so it would be better visible.' (Fedorov 1970)

(3.49) *Sömyn   taj   pel'pom   vylas   ševmunöm*
only   still   shoulder   PP.ON.3SG   be spread.PTCP.PST
rudov   röma   suk   jurs'iys   èz=džyk
grayish   PP.coloured   thick   hair.3SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG
lösjav   saldat   –   frontöv'iklön   pas'kömly.
suit.CNEG   soldier   private.GEN   uniform.DAT

'Only the grey-coloured thick hair spread on his shoulders did not fit the soldier's uniform that well.' (Lyjurov 1974)

(3.50) *Da   i   karyn   olys'   mortyd   tatčös   vörtö*
and   also   city.INE   living   person.2SG   local   forest.ACC.2SG
oz=džyk   töd.
NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   know.CNEG

'Besides, a townsperson does not know the forest here that well.' (km.15.09.07c)

The stative nature of the predication may also be due to context, e.g., in (3.51), *setčyny* 'surrender' is primarily an achievement, but in this generic-habitual context, the predication is stative since it refers to the property of some reindeer to be less docile. The reference thus is to the degree of surrendering and not to the quality of doing so. Similarly, in (3.52), *seramys petö* 'laughter comes out' is an undirected activity (or accomplishment), but in this context, it has a stative use which marks the property of laughter.

(3.51) *Vargösjasön pastukjas nimtöny sètšöm pelejjasös,*
kodjas   oz=džyk   setčyny
who.PL   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   surrender.CNEG.3PL
mort   k'i   ulö,
person   hand   PP.under.ILL
möd nogön kö, sjusjalöny, medym gežöddžyka ves'kavlyny ljamka ulas.
'Herders call those deer cleverer, who do not surrender to the hearders (lit. under a person's hand) that well, that is, they outsmart [herders] to end up less in the harness [and drag the sleigh].' (Rochev E 1980)

(3.52) *Tadz'i   oligad   mortlön   seramys*
this way   live.CNV.INE/ILL.2SG   person.GEN   laughter.3SG
oz=džyk   pet.
NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   come out.CNEG

'Living like this, a person does not want to laugh that well (lit. laughter does not come out that well from a person).' (km.21.04.07)

Due to achievements not having internal structure, I would also say that in (3.53) and (3.54), the success or high degree of the end result is modified and not the manner of the event expression.

(3.53) *Dert,   nyvbaba   rödydlön   sjojanyd*
of course   woman   gender.2SG.GEN   food.2SG
artmö=džyk.
succeed.3SG.PRS=AUG

'Of course, food turns out better when women make it.' (Popov A 2011)

(3.54) *A   dert   oz=džyk   pysas'ny,*
       but   of course   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   get hooked.CNEG.3PL
       rudzög   njan'ön   kyjs'ö   da.
       rye   bread.INSTR   fish.3SG.PRS   and
       'But of course they do not get hooked that well, he fishes with rye bread.'
       (Beznosikov 1985)

3.2.3.2. Manner

The activities appearing with a quality reading are typically motion verbs (*rödtyny* 'trot', *kyvtny* 'swim', etc.), or other real actions (*v'is'tas'ny* 'talk', *sjojny* 'eat', *udžavny* 'work', etc.) that lexicalise some manner-related property, so the reading can refer to the higher quality of the ongoing abstract activity (3.55), or refer to the real manner of the predication (3.56). Note that for (3.56), *džyk* does not refer to tempo, as in (3.44) with *step faster*; this is due to context – in (3.56), the horse's ability to trot is compared to others, and is deemed of higher quality, which of course does not rule out that the horse might trot faster than others.

(3.55) *Tènad   öd   juryd   udžalö=džyk.*
       2SG.INSTR.2SG   DP   head.2SG   work.3SG.PRS=AUG
       'Your head, after all, works better.' (Popov A 2001)

(3.56) *Tajö   rödtö=džyk   daj   sedlöys   sy   vylyn.*
       3SG   trot.3SG.PRS=AUG   and   saddle.3SG   3SG   PP.ontop of
       '–This one trots better and has a saddle on.' (Juhnin 1941)

Accomplishments are rare with a quality reading, but seem to have the same interpretations as activities, referring to the quality of the process and the accomplished end result, e.g., (3.57) and (3.58).

(3.57) *Unpötyd   šedas=džyk.*
       full/enough sleep.2SG   get, reach.3SG.FUT=AUG
       'Will get enough sleep better.' (Popov A 2008)

(3.58) *A   bol'n'ičasa   krövat'   vylad   kujligön   Ökul'*
       but   hospital.ADJ   bed   PP.ADE.2SG   lie.CNV.INSTR   Ökul'
       t'ötly   susedkasö   vomavny
       aunty.DAT   neighbour-lady.ACC.3SG   shut smb up.INF
       oz=džyk   skod'it.
       NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   be proper.CNEG
       'But lying in the hospital cot, the Ökul'-aunty could not shut up the neighbour-lady that well.' (Beznosikov 1985)

Since the end result is not realised as well as intended in (3.58), it is debatable, whether the reading should instead be interpreted as moderation – if the Ökul'-aunty did not manage to shut her neighbour up, the meaning is regarded as moderation (see Section *3.3*), but if she did manage to shut her up, but had

difficulties with it due to health issues, then it is a quality reading. My interpretation is based on a translation offered by a native speaker, according to which the *shutting up* is realised, just not as efficiently as the subject would like. For a moderation reading, the interpretation would require the *shutting up* to be unsuccessful altogether.

It seems that with *artmyny*, which is a telic verb, the reading can be either one of manner or high degree, depending on the arguments of the succeeding, i.e., whether the focus is on the success of some action (3.59) or the degree of success of the situation.

(3.59) *Kodlönkö*   *burdžyka*   *artm'is,*
who.GEN.some   good.COMP.ADV   succeed.3SG.PST
kodlönkö   –   *èz=džyk.*
who.GEN.some   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG
'For some [it] succeeded better, for some – not that well.' (pg.04.08.07)

States may also appear with a manner-type reading when the stativity is due to habitualness or some general state of affairs, or when the state does not combine with a general high degree modifier, as in (3.60), (3.61) and (3.62). Note that with some states that do combine with high degree modifiers, such as *know*, high degree can either be expressed with *well* or *a lot*, but in principle they refer to the same thing – a high degree of *knowing*.

(3.60) *Sijö*   *kösjysis*   *vetlyny*   *ylö*   –   *ylö,*   *K'ievö,*
3SG   promise.3SG.PST   go.INF   far   far   Kyiv.ILL
kysjan'   *enmys,*   *šuöny,*   *kevmömsö*
PP.ELA   God.3SG   speak.3PL.PRS   worshipping.ACC
kylö=džyk.
hear.3SG.PRS=AUG
'She promised to go far, far away, to Kyiv[40], from where God, they say, hears the worshipping better.' (Juhnin 1941)

(3.61) *Gortad,*   *tydalö,*   *uz's'ö=džyk.*
home.INE/ILL.2SG   obviously   have sleep.3SG.PRS=AUG
'At home, of course, [it] is better to sleep (~ one sleeps better at home).' (Juhnin 1941)

(3.62) *Öni*   *olam=džyk.*
now   live.1PL.PRS=AUG
'Now we live better.' (Zhugyl 1969)

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[40] Слава Україні!

3.2.3.3. Proneness

As was mentioned above, the quality-related readings may in some cases also be interpreted as relating to proneness, i.e., ease of happening, e.g., (3.63). The reading may occur in both the negative and affirmative, and is generally not restricted by aspectual properties; however it is dependent on event semantics such as other manner-related readings (i.e., tempo and quality).

(3.63)   *Vermas*   *lony,*   *myj*   *radejtigad*   *pös'*
         possible.3SG.FUT   be.INF   that   love.CNV.INE/ILL.2SG   warm
         kyvjasyd   *sjuröny=džyk.*
         word.PL.2SG   be found.3PL.PRS=AUG
         'It may be, that when in love, [one] finds warm words more easily.' (Popov A 2011)

In (3.64) and (3.65), *kazjavny* 'notice', which is primarily an achievement, has a stative use as a property of rabbits. This calls for the quality-related meaning of *well* 'well, easily', since it is not primarily a question of how much of the rabbit is noticed (to which extent the event takes place), but the noticeability of white rabbits on a white backdrop. In my opinion, *notice well* as the high degree of *notice* in this instance also refers to ease of noticing. The latter is not the case with all quality-related modifications of stative predications, e.g., (3.66) which is also stative due to plurality but is not related to the ease of fish biting.

(3.64)   *Ta*   *vösna*   *sijös*   *h'išsnöj*   *zverjas*
         this   PP.for that   3SG.ACC   predatory   animal.PL
         oz=džyk   *kazjavny.*
         NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   notice.CNEG.3PL
         'For this reason the predatory animals do not notice it that well.' (Gamsa 2002)

(3.65)   *Edžyd*   *pas'kömnad*   *lym*   *vylyn*   *sijös*
         white   coat.INSTR.2SG   snow   PP.ontop of   3SG.ACC
         on=džyk   *kazjav,*   –   *vodzö*   *v'is'talis*   *Galja.*
         NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   notice.CNEG   furthermore   tell.3SG.PST   PN
         'With its white coat you do not notice it (i.e., a rabbit) as well on the snow, Galya also said.' (Kodanjov 1970)

(3.66)   – *A*   *vays*   *sodöma,*   –
           but   water.3SG   rise.PTCP.PST
         kazjavis   *sijö,*   –   *čeriyd*   *oz=džyk*
         notice.3SG.PST   3SG   fish.2SG   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG
         kut   *sjojny.*
         begin.CNEG   bite, take (for fish).INF
         '– The water has risen, – he noticed, – the fish will not bite that well [any more].' (Timin 2000)

3.2.4. Moderation

With moderation, the event, depending on its semantics and event structure (telicity, most often) is not realised at all or not with the expected result (which can also be considered a non-realised event). This function/reading of *džyk* is comparable to the English moderators *sort of*/*sorta*, *kind of*/*kinda*, etc. that are similar to degree words when modifying gradable verbs. With non-gradable verbs, moderators encounter a logical mismatch and thus make available a reading of imprecision (Anderson 2013: 81). The English booster/maximiser *quite* also has parallels with this reading type, since with negated events, *quite* denotes that the intended event does not take place (Diehl 2005), e.g., *didn't quite understand = did not understand*.

Since some degree is concerned, moderation is a part of degree gradation which operates on a scale of success (partially overlapping with Fleischhauer's *divergence*, which denotes distance from the unmarked predication) but with the additional clause that, logically, the modified predication does not take place. In my data set, the moderation reading appears only in negation (41 instances out of 189 examples), mainly with states that are involved with scales expressing similarity or divergence. This also sets the moderation reading apart from the other readings *džyk* has in the negative – in all other cases, the element acts as a diminisher of the affirmative, denoting a non-high degree of the situation by combining with the negative (*not that well*) while with the moderation reading the negation holds, i.e., the event does not take place. Structural elements are not relevant with this reading, but semantically, the verb must express a situation that may either succeed or fail. The modified predications should involve degree events, when the modification is on a scale of *rather not* or *not really*, but moderation also combines with non-degree verbs, and then the modification targets the prototypicality of the event.

Semantically, the states are verbs of cognition, existence, of being successful, suitable, sufficient, etc. The verbs *tyrmyny* and *sudzs'yny*, both 'suffice', actually made up more than a third of the states appearing with the moderation reading. It could be money, time, strength, or other abstract or real entities that do not suffice, e.g., in (3.67) and (3.68).

(3.67)   –   *Vyl'*   *uč'itel'n'icalön*   *pö,*   *burakö,*
        new   teacher.GEN   they say   probably
        ströglunys   *oz=džyk*   *tyrmy...*
        sternness.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   suffice.CNEG
        '– Apparently, the new teacher's sternness does not quite suffice...' (Shahov 1968)

(3.68)   –   *Pr'imer*   *vylö,*   *mort*   *kösjö*   *n'öbny*
        example   PP.onto   person   wish.3SG.PRS   buy.INF
        traktor,   *a*   *s'ömys*   *oz=džyk*   *sudzs'y.*
        tractor   but   money.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   suffice.CNEG
        '– For example, a person wishes to buy a tractor, but the money does not quite suffice.' (pg.19.04.07)

The other states appearing with the moderation reading express a more comparison-like meaning – depending on the semantics of the verb, there is an imaginary standard the event in question does not fulfil: it could be measuring up to some standard of being able to do (3.69) or know about something sufficiently (3.70).

(3.69) *Illjayd*   *kydzkö*   *oz=džyk*   *sjammy*
      PN.2SG   somehow   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   know how to.CNEG
      jonasö   *v'is'tavlynys.*
      much.ACC   tell.INF.3SG
      'Ilya somehow does not know how to tell [things about his life] that much.' (Sazhin 1981)

(3.70) *Ta*   *vösna*   *sijö*   *èz=džyk*   *töd*
      this   PP.for that   3SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   know.CNEG
      tatčös   *mestajassö.*
      local   place.PL.ACC
      'For this reason she did not quite know the local places [well enough].' (Toropov 1974)

It could be asserted that the examples given above are compared on a quality scale and the event is merely realised with a poorer quality, but I argue that the difference lies in whether the event is realised at all. In (3.69), the question is not whether the speaker is able to tell his story eloquently or not but whether he is able to tell it at all; apparently, he is not a good story-teller. The function of the clitic is to moderate or soften the negation without neutralising it.

    (3.71) features *artmyny* 'come out, succeed, etc.', which is another very frequent stem to appear with *džyk*. In (3.71), the speaker describes an event of braiding hair. Their own comment about the process and the achieved result is that 'it does not quite succeed', meaning that although something is happening, they would not call it an accomplished act of braiding hair. Compare this with (3.73) further below, where the event is not carried out in a generally necessary manner.

(3.71) *Zavod'iti sèssja gartny: m'isja, sidz da sidz.*
      Ačym   *čuvstvujta:*   *oz=džyk*   *artmy.*
      self.1SG   feel.1SG.PRS   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   come out.CNEG
      'I began to braid/twist [it] together: you see, like this and this. I myself feel: [it] does not quite succeed [as well].' (Toropov 1964)

The moderation reading also involves stative verbs that are not related to degree but can be modified for prototypicality. For example, in (3.72), it is the manner of thinking introduced by the proadverb *sidz* 'thus'. In (3.73), the manner proadverbial *kydz'i kolö* 'how is necessary' provides the prototypicality reading by referring to the incorrect manner of holding the driving stick. In both instances, the adverbial is fitted between the negative auxiliary and the non-degree verb.

(3.72) *Katjays köt' ès'kö nučka sylön,*
no   omölja   tödigad   taj
but   frail.ADV   know.CNV.INE/ILL.2SG   still though
on=džyk   sidz   sy   jylys'   dumajt.
NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   thus   that   PP.onto   think.CNEG
'Despite Katya being his granddaughter, but knowing [her] so little, you do not think of her quite like that (i.e., do not quite regard her as your granddaughter).' (Popov A 2008)

(3.73) *Kyr goruv lèčč'igön körjas nem v'iččys'tög pesovtč'isny šujgavyv,*
burakö,   Anna   èz=džyk   kydz'i
probably   PN   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   how, in which manner
kolö   kut   harejsö.
be necessary.3SG.PRS   hold.CNEG   driving stick.ACC
'Descending the foot of the mountain, the reindeer suddenly turned left, Anna probably did not quite hold the driving stick as is necessary (i.e., in the correct manner).' (Rochev E 1980)

The prototypicality in (3.74) is quality-related, since the achievement *gögörvony* 'understand' is associated with quality degree. There is no truth value to *understand*, even though *that well* would indicate that there is a level of understanding, just not to a sufficient degree. The modification actually indicates that one does not understand, i.e., *not understand that well = not understand*, since it does not hold that **I do not understand that well, but I understand*. Since here, *gögörvony* is a telic verb, the moderation modification does not target degree, but distance from a prototypical event of *understanding*.

(3.74) –   *Paš,   tè   èn=džyk   gögörvo   sijös.*
PN   2SG   NEG.2G.PST=AUG   understand.CNEG   3SG.ACC
'– Pash, you did not quite understand him [that well/correctly].' (Toropov 1974)

Furthermore, the modified verb can appear together with the diminisher *neuna* 'a bit', and that is both in the affirmative and negative. In the affirmative, the diminisher functions much the same way as *džyk* does in the negative – the predication yields a lessened quantity, diminished intensity (3.75), etc. reading. In the negative, appearing only with a moderation reading, the function is more to stress and not really to further the modification, and perhaps also to soften the statement and distance the speaker from it (3.76).

(3.75) *A   ta   vösna   –   neuna   gord'itčyštö=džyk.*
but   that   PP.for   a bit   be a bit proud.3SG.PRS=AUG
'And for this – a bit more proud.' (Izjurov 1949)

(3.76) *Neuna   oz=džyk   vermy   kutny*
a bit   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   be capable of.CNEG   keep.INF
ass'yn   kyvsö,
own.3SG.ABL   tongue.ACC.3SG
bydlaö, kolömön i kovtög, radejtö sjujs'yny, no kyl'itny oz poz'.
'Cannot really hold his tongue; everywhere, whether necessary or not, he loves to interfere, but one cannot say anything bad about him.' (Izjurov 1984)

Note that the verbal predication in (3.75) and (3.77) both involve two diminutives: the verbal momentative/diminutive derivational suffix *-yšt-* and the adverbial *neuna* 'a bit', while in (3.76) and (3.77), *džyk* also adds an additional attenuation/ moderation due to negation.

(3.77) *Neuna   èz=džyk   voyšt,   no   sijö*
        a bit   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG reach.CNEG   but   3SG
        kuryštis   –   sudzödis   aslas   bagyrön.
        catch.3SG.PST   reach.3SG.PST own.GEN.3SG   catching hook.INSTR
        '[It] did not reach [him] by a little bit, but he could reach it with his own hook.'
        (Toropov 1967)

3.4. Other

In some peripheral cases, *džyk* may also function as a diminisher or an approximator. For example, in (3.78), *kažitčny* 'feel; seem' is used in the non-degree sense of *seem* and the clitic functions as a diminisher, which, in this case, seems to parallel moderation and could be paraphrased by 'it sort of seems'.

(3.78) *Student,   kaž'itčö=džyk,   aslys   ydžyd*
        student   seem.3SG.PRS=AUG   self.3SG   big
        mog   suvtödöma.
        task   put, set.PTCP.PST
        'The student, it rather seems, has set themselves a big task.' (Ignatov 1988)

In (3.79), the combination of *džyk* with negation functions as an approximator of totality, since it attenuates *dz'ik* 'completely' and gives the reading 'almost, but not completely, not quite'.

(3.79) *Dyr uzjan, köryd pyšjas, – špynnjalis Mitin.*
        – Dz'ik   öni   oz=džyk   na,   –   nora
           completely   now   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   PAR   pitifully
        artm'is   Kanevlön
        come from.3SG.PST   PN.GEN
        '[If] you sleep long, the reindeer run off, – laughed Mitin. – Not quite yet, –
        came from Kanev pitifully.' (Rochev E 1980)

3.5. Summary

This chapter introduced the main modification types that *džyk* can have with verbs – extent gradation and degree gradation, each divided into more specific sub-types or readings.

Extent gradation consists of the three reading types presented in Figure 2: event frequency, event quantity, and event duration. Event frequency combines with plural count-verbs and refers to how frequently the event takes place, e.g.,

kutis pyšjavnydžyk '(she) began to run away more (often)'. Event duration is infrequent and refers to how long an event lasts and can only appear with a single specific predication that has duration as its primary association, e.g., *mödys' ogdžyk kut uz'ny* 'next time I will not sleep as long'. Event quantity degree combines with mass verbs and refers to cumulative quantity, e.g., *tè nyvjas pövsas bergavlandžyk* 'you are around girls more'. With habitual or telic cyclic events, the reading depends on the interpretation of the event's structure – with reoccurring telic predications, often with a distributive subject, the reading is one of frequency, e.g., *ozdžyk velödčyny* '(the students) do not study (to become doctors) as often', but with (habitual) atelic predications, often with a collective subject, the reading is one of quantity degree, e.g., *köni jözys vetlödžyk* 'where people go more'.
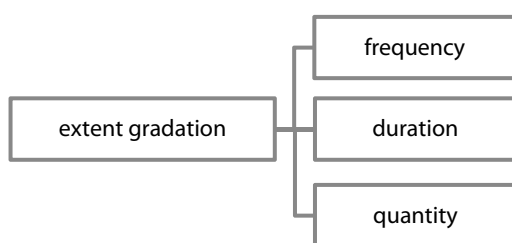
Figure 2. Types of extent gradation readings with *džyk*.

Degree gradation consists of intensity, quality, and tempo readings (see Figure 3), whereas quality and tempo can have either reference to high degree or manner. Intensity denotes general high degree readings, while quality and tempo are related to the high degree of their corresponding properties. The appearance of the intensity reading is influenced by event structure when telicity is relevant, i.e., intensity modification targets the general high degree of the state (*da, mi sèni kolamdžyk* 'yes, there we are needed more') or the process (*zil'isnydžyk* 'they worked more eagerly') with activities and active states, while with telic events and scalar atelic events the extent of the result is modified (*vežörsjalasdžyk* 'she will become more reasonable', *kubometryd sodödžyk i* 'the cubic metres will also increase more'). There are a number of predications that involve incremental themes, in which case high degree modification targets the volume of the associated entity, e.g., *da sèk'i kadys loasdžyk* 'and then there will be more time'. High degree may also be expressed by a quality reading, especially with states that do not combine with general high degree, e.g., *tatčös vörtö ozdžyk töd* 'does not know the forest here that well', or by a tempo reading that targets the speed of attaining the result *ozdžyk šonav* 'does not become warm as quickly'.

degree gradation

intensity
- general high degree
- extent of result
- volume of entity

quality
- high degree
- manner
- proneness

tempo
- high degree
- manner

moderation
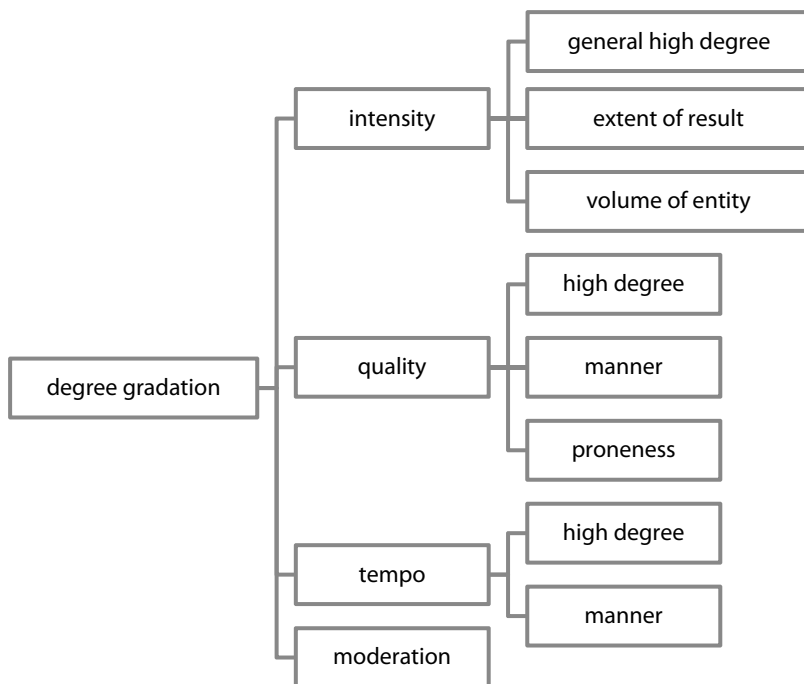
Figure 3. Types and sub-types of degree gradation readings with *džyk*.

Semantically, predications that allow degree modification require a modifiable scale, i.e., to be involved with verbs associating with degrees, while the predications modified for frequency or quantity may also involve verbs that do not associate with scales. In addition, quality and tempo manner readings require the verb to associate with the appropriate scales related to quality or tempo, e.g., *tajö rödtödžyk* 'this one trots better', *nimkodjas'igad s'ölömyd tipködžyk* 'when looking at beauty, the heart beats faster'. As a more peripheral case, *džyk* may also have the reading of proneness, e.g., *med lolöj vetlasdžyk* 'so it would be easier to breathe (lit. so my breath would go easier)', which is also related to manner.

Moderation appears only with negation and is part of degree modification, since it involves a scale of divergence or similarity, but differs from intensity modification by denoting that the intended event does not take place. The reading may involve degree verbs describing states that express incomplete property or insufficiency, e.g., *s'ömys ozdžyk sudzs'y* 'the money does not quite suffice', or non-degree verbs which are then modified for the prototypicality of the event, e.g., *Anna èzdžyk kydz'i kolö kut harejsö* 'Anna did not quite hold the driving stick as is necessary'.

Based on the results above, *džyk* is a semantically diverse degree expression with a much wider semantic scope than any of the single degree expressions discussed above in Chapter 2 (e.g., Komi *jona* and *jondžyka*, *una* and *undžyk*, *bura*, *burdžyka*, etc. and their equivalents in other languages). This diversity creates instances where the modified verb may have several interpretations, some of

which are clarified by context and intended reading, e.g., *artmynydžyk* 'succeed more = be more successful' or 'succeed better = be executed with better quality' depending on what is targeted. In other instances, it is verbal semantics (including the type of modified scale, the semantic type of the verb, etc.), and event structure (telicity, stativity, etc.) which determine the type of reading. The number of truly ambiguous instances, i.e., those where a single choice of reading cannot be made for certain, is marginal. In broad terms, this corresponds to the notions of verb gradability and other requirements discussed above that a verb must meet to be quantifiable or modifiable, i.e., *džyk* can quantify verbs that are quantifiable (by other quantifiers) and modify the degree of verbs that are gradable (by other degree expressions). How these notions are relevant with *džyk* in Komi and also which structural and semantic combinations are unlikely to combine with *džyk*, will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

4. *DŽYK* AS A DEGREE EXPRESSION IN KOMI

In this chapter, a closer look will be given to some general notions that apply to *džyk* as a degree expression, and to factors that determine its distribution with verbs in Komi. By this I mean the relevance of event structure (event and subject plurality, event complexity, telicity), scale structure (scalar and non-scalar verbs, scale types, open and closed scales), the semantics of the event, and the type of modification the *džyk*-element has with Komi verbs. This somewhat eclectic chapter tries to simultaneously discuss in more detail and also give a broader overview of *džyk* in the general context of verbal gradation, although some of these topics were also touched upon in Chapter 3.

I will begin with discussing how subject and event plurality are both attributable to the modification type *džyk* may have since frequency and event quantity degree call for different event structures. I will then turn to telicity in connection to degree modification, since there seems to be a shift in telicity with verbs that are involved with stative/eventive ambiguity, and with negated verbs. This will be followed by discussing *džyk* modifying verbs associating with different types of scales, *džyk* modifying verbs that have either open and closed scales or are non-scalar verbs, and, finally, modifying verbs that do not associate with certain scales. The last topic of this chapter will be a discussion of the types of verbs that combine with *džyk*. A part of that discussion is in response to Cypanov 2005, but the section also serves as an overview of different verb types that *džyk* modifies.

4.1. Frequency and event quantity degree

As was noted above in Section *2.1*, quantification and quantity degree modification require the predication to be either plural and allow for cumulative reference or be a mass verb. Some examples above have shown that additional parameters of the situation should be considered when differentiating between countable frequency and quantity degree. These notions (subject plurality, event plurality, and telicity) are discussed in more detail below. Event semantics is less relevant, however, since the situations which are once-only (*Mary was born yesterday*), individual-level (*be a superstar*), or collective (*the girls formed a circle*), cannot be modified for quantity (see Nakanishi 2004, 2007).

In a simplified manner, subject plurality can be divided into three types: single, collective, and distributive (see more, e.g., in Schwarzschild 2006, 2011; Syrett and Musolino 2013, etc.). A **single** subject is a single individual acting on its own behalf (*a woman drove a car*), a **collective** subject is a group acting as one entity (*the women drove a car*), a **distributive** subject is a group acting as separate individuals (*the women (each) drove a (separate) car*).

Events with a single or a collective subject may either be singular (simple telic or atelic) or plural (cyclic (*touch the painting*) or multiple/habitual (*go to the club*)) when unmodified. A distributive subject always calls for a plural event

since the subject stands for multiple individuals and requires the event to be executed on many unrelated occurrences. These events can be single events multiplied by a distributive subject (*predators notice rabbits*) or inherently plural (*go to the club*).

Plurality of the event expresses the inherent quantity or frequency of the event. Singular events are perfective (PFV) or progressive (PROG) single events, while plural events are imperfective-habitual (IMPF-HAB) multiple events. PFV and IMPF-HAB events may be quantified over the number of times the event takes place, but PROG events may be quantified by the event duration in time. (Wellwood et al. 2012: 216)

In addition, telicity is also relevant for distinguishing between measuring the frequency of the event (atelic and telic events) and the temporal or spatial duration of the event (atelic events only) (Wellwood et al. 2012: 217). For *džyk*, spatial duration does not appear to be in its semantic scope (i.e., run more ≠ run for a longer distance).

A simplified summary is presented below in Table 30. It could be said that predications expressing singular events have either a singular or collective subject and are either perfective or progressive, while predications expressing plural events may have a singular, collective, or distributive subject and are imperfective-habitual. Distributive subjects are only compatible with predications expressing plural events and are non-compatible with perfective and progressive tenses.

Table 30. Summary of event plurality combining with aspect and subject plurality.

event plurality	aspect	subject plurality
sg	PFV	sg, coll
	PROG	
pl	IMPF–HAB	sg, coll, dist

These notions are relevant to the quantity related readings of the clitic (frequency, duration, and event quantity). Below, relevant examples are discussed for frequency and event quantity readings, since generally, the other readings of *džyk* do not depend on event and subject plurality. Event duration is for most part left out due to the lack of relevant examples – so far, I have come across only one. But bear in mind that **event duration** requires the predication to be atelic and singular and to have a singular (or collective) subject. In addition, the verb should associate with duration and the context should semantically support the duration reading.

The examples with a singular subject are quite straightforward. In (4.1), the predication refers to the habitual occurrence of *being around girls* which is modified for event quantity degree.

(4.1) =(3.6) *Tè   nyvjas   bergavlan=džyk,   tödan   najös.*
2SG   girl.PL   be around.2SG.PRS=AUG   know.2SG.PRS   3PL.ACC
'You are around girls more, you know them.' (Juhnin 1941)

As was noted above, an event quantity reading is possible with habitual-re-occurring or frequentative event expressions that have a collective or distributive subject or with a single subject if the event is habitual. Occurring as a specific single event is possible with, for example, emission-related speech-verbs (4.2), manner-motion verbs with future reference (4.3), or other similar conditional constructions referring to would-be state of affairs.

(4.2)   *Ljuba! – Abu gortyn*. –
      Zev   *bur,*   *oz=džyk*   *p'injas'!*
      very   good   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   shout at.CNEG
      'Ljuba! – Not at home. – Very good, she will not shout as much!' (Rogova 1993)

(4.3)   *Menam kok tujöd mun.*
      On=džyk   *v'il'sjavny*   *kut.*
      NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   slide, slip.INF   begin.CNEG
      'Follow in my footsteps. You will not slip as much.' (Popov A 2008)

Note that in case of manner-entailing verbs (*zil'ny* 'do eagerly', *zörkjödlyny* 'shake', etc.), the modified scale is usually non-specific and calls for an intensity reading. For example, in (4.4), only intensity can be modified; event quantity, frequency or anything else would probably be rejected due to ambiguity.

(4.4)   –   *Zil'isny=džyk,*   *navernö.*
        work zealously.3PL.PST=AUG   probably
      '– They worked more eagerly, probably.' (Lyjurov 1951)

In (4.5), the subject is singular, but the predication refers to a multiple event, and the modification targets frequency. The difference between the event quantity examples above and (4.5) below lies in telicity – the former examples feature atelic predications while the latter is a telic cyclic achievement with a single subject.

(4.5) = (3.2) *Sèni sijö una žö vöč'is,*
             sömyn   *taj*   *börja*   *kadnas*   *kutis*
             only   PAR   latter   time.INSTR   begin.3SG.PST
    pyšjavny=džyk.
    run away.INF=AUG
    'There she got a lot done, it's just that lately she began to run away more often...'
    (Toropov 1974)

None of the examples above allow for a duration reading, since they are either not singular or do not entail duration in their scope (note (4.2)). The duration reading is not present when the modified event is inherently multiple or imperfective-habitual but may be possible if a plural event is carried out by a distributive subject. It is difficult to provide a non-ambiguous example of a distributive subject, but (4.6) illustrates the case well enough.

(4.6) *Šondi*   *petandoryd*   *utkajasyd*   *lebavny=džyk*   *pondasny*.
      sun   rising.2SG   duck.PL.2SG   fly.INF=AUG   begin.3PL.FUT
      'At dawn, the ducks will begin to fly more.' (Toropov 1974)

If in (4.6), the ducks were to be considered a collective subject, then the clitic would be interpreted to modify the quantity degree of the event expression (*ducks do more flying at dawn*); duration is possible, but contextually unlikely (?[41]*ducks fly for longer periods at dawn than at noon*). However if the ducks are considered a distributive subject then the clitic can either be attributed to modify the frequency (*ducks fly more often at dawn*) or quantity (*a duck flies more at dawn*) of the flying-events taking place, since each duck does their own flying; again, modifying the duration of each such flying event is unlikely (?*a duck flies for a longer period at dawn than at noon*).

    In (4.7), the subject is single, but it covers a collective group – the Komi people. (4.7) illustrates that when a single/collective subject is involved in a telic and possibly re-occurring event, the reading does not necessarily refer to the cumulative quantity, but it may target the non-specific high degree of the event taking place, which in (4.7) is the extent of illness spreading among the collective of the Komi people. If the subject were interpreted as distributive, the frequency interpretation would be primary (*Komis fall ill less often*), but this does not agree with the intended meaning of the statement, even though logically the outcome is the same. Furthermore, the choice of interpretation is entirely semantic and not really governed by event structure, since the reading of intensity/high degree of result itself is not sensitive to event or subject plurality.

(4.7) *A komiydlön genjasys abu njarös',*
      olömas   *bura*   *kutčys'öny*   *i*   *stav*
      life.INE/ILL.3SG   good.ADV   hang onto.3PL.PRS   PAR   all
      pölös   *pörös*   *vis'ömys*
      somekind.ACC   epidemic   illness.3SG
      oz=džyk   *kövjas'*   *syly.*
      NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   catch on.CNEG   3SG.DAT
      'The genes of the Komi people are not feeble, [they] hang onto life well and all kinds of epidemics-illnesses do not catch that much.' (km.05.05.07)

In (4.8), the subject is singular but it is used in a generic sense and, thus, the expressed event is a general state of affairs. Depending on event structure, the modified predication is ambiguous between the readings of event quantity and intensity. By event structure, *being ill* is a state that in this case illustrates all the possible occurrences of illness in a person's life and, thus, the main reading of the modification is the cumulative quantity of illness, i.e., event quantity (*if you take vitamins, you are ill less*). If the predication referred to a single case of being ill, then the intensity of the illness might be modified (?*if you had taken your*

---

[41]   I will use a preceding question mark to tag the interpretations I do not think likely for the given example in that particular context.

vitamins, your illness would be less severe). This also exemplifies that states need to have a transitory nature in order to be modified for quantity degree – the state needs to be able to end and then reoccur.

(4.8) *Zbyl'ys',*   *sèk'i*   *on=džyk*   *vis'.*
      indeed   then   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   be ill.CNEG
      'Indeed, then you are not as ill/ill less.' (km.18.10.07)

There are more examples with a generic subject that do not have a straightforward interpretation of the modified predication. Both examples below include a telic verb in a habitual (4.9) or frequentative (4.10) context. The general reading is of the high degree of the pistol or the feet getting wet (i.e., intensity modification). However, due to the habitualness of the event, there is also a dimension of frequency that is modified by the clitic – in this case, *not get as wet* entails both the high degree of getting wet and the frequency of it happening. The frequency reading would be excluded only if the predication expressed a single occurrence and/or was structurally non-habitual (*this time the pistol/the feet did not get as wet*).

(4.9)   /---/   *p'istonnöjys,*   *šuöny*   *oz=džyk*   *kötas'*
            pistol.3SG   say.3PL.PRS   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   get wet.CNEG
        i   *dröbjasys*   *munöny*   *pomečön.*
        and   buckshot.PL.3SG   go.3PL.PRS   help.INSTR
        '/---/ they say that the pistol does not get as wet, and the buckshot stay together.'
        (Juhnin 1941)

(4.10) /---/   *vevtt'ö pyšyn pomsö,*
            i   *tadz'ikön*   *sylön*   *oz=džyk*
            and   that way   3SG.GEN   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG
      kötas'ny   *kokjasys.*
      get wet.CNEG.3PL   leg.PL.3SG
      '/---/ the lower part is hemmed with fur, this way her feet do not get as wet.'
      (Juhnin 1941)

In (4.11), the impersonal statement is modified for quality reading in the sense of how easily the cancer spreads. The statement is general and refers to the influence of taking aspirin on getting cancer. The frequency reading is excluded by the impersonal construction, since frequency would call for a specific singular or distributive subject (*?among aspirin-takers, there is large intestine cancer less frequently*). The clitic could also modify the extent of affected people (as in *?aspirin-takers are affected to a lesser degree by the cancer*), but this also does not combine with the impersonal.

(4.11) *Byd*   *lun*   *asp'ir'in*   *juigön*   *oz=džyk*
        every   day   aspirin   drink.CNV.INSTR   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG
        kövjas'   *kyz*   *sjuvjö*   *ljok*   *pykös.*
        catch on.CNEG   thick   intestine.ILL   bad   tumor
        'Taking (lit. drinking) aspirin every day, you will not get large intestine cancer as easily (lit. cancer will not catch on that well/that easily).' (km.22.05.07)

It is definitely the case, that when there is ambiguity in subject plurality (see, e.g., Schwarzschild 2011), the reading of the modification is also open to interpretation to some extent. This is apparent in (4.12), where the predication indicates that more and more Russian is spoken in the village.

(4.12) *No*   *s'iktyn*   *ročas'öny=džyk*   *jözyd*
        but   village.INE   speak Russian.3PL.PRS=AUG   people.2SG
        da bara loi okota kominas lydd'ys'nysö.
        'But in the village people speak Russian more and again I wish to be considered as one of the Komis' (km.10.11.07a)

The subject in (4.12) leaves room for a different interpretation – if *jöz* 'people' were a distributive subject, the modification would be interpretable as frequency, since each individual would have their own instance of shifting in speaking either Russian or Komi. If the subject were considered a collective group (which it most likely is), then the focus would be on the cumulative quantity of speaking either language, with the predication describing the general state of affairs – more and more Russian is spoken in the villages. In either case, duration is contextually not suitable (?*speak Russian for a longer period of time*).

Also, in (4.13), the predication's reading depends on how the subject is interpreted. If the event is non-habitual, telic, and re-occurring with a distributive subject, then the subject consists of individuals with each having their own event of separating, and the end result is countable over all couples as the number of separations. So there is a fine semantic difference regarding whether the modification refers to cumulative quantity (*young people do not separate as much*) or frequency (*young people do not separate as often*).

(4.13) *Setisny*   *kö*   *ljučk'i-bura*   *byd*   *tom*   *gozjaly*
        give.3PL.PST   if   as they should   every   young   (married) couple.DAT
        patera,   *to*   *èz=džyk*   *ès'kö*   *torjödčavny.*
        apartment   then   NEG.3PL.PST=AUG   DP   separate.CNEG.3PL
        'If they gave every young couple an apartment, as they should, they would not separate as much/often, would they?' (Popov A 1991)

4.2. Telicity

When discussing verb gradation, telicity is always a relevant parameter. Firstly, telicity is parallel to the mass/count distinction of nouns, meaning that atelic verbs are structurally mass-like, consisting of homogenous intervals (like *run*), and telic verbs are count-like, consisting of several sub-events different from each other (like *make a chair*). The structure of telic verbs is relevant for distinguishing between measuring the frequency, quantity, and temporal duration of the event, as was already discussed above.

Secondly, atelic verbs have no inherent end point, while telic verbs have a natural point of termination or completion. From the end point perspective,

telicity distinguishes two types of intensity readings with *džyk* – with atelic events like *radejtny* 'love', the intensity of the ongoing situation is modified (e.g., *radejt-nydžyk* 'love more, with more intensity'), while with telic events like *k'iss'yny* 'tear up', the success of the result is assessed (*k'iss'ynydžyk* 'tear up more, to a greater extent').

With a quality reading, telicity does not seem to play a significant role – both telic and atelic verbs can be modified for quality and the reading does not vary for the two, while with tempo, telic verbs are concerned with the speed of attaining the end result, and atelics usually refer to manner-related tempo. For entity volume reading, no telic predications were modified among the analysed data set.

4.2.1. High degree modification of telic verbs

Since telic events have in their structure a momentaneous change-of-affairs (achievements) or a progress that leads up to an end result (accomplishments), then in those cases, intensifying targets the achieved end result on the scale of extent or the extent to which the progress reached. Unlike with event quantification, the intensity readings are not restricted by subject or event plurality. The only requirement is for the involved verb to be a degree verb, i.e., to have a non-specific modifiable scale that is not related to tempo, quality, quantity, etc.

(4.14) features an atelic verb *radejtyny* 'love' and (4.15) a telic verb *artmyny* 'succeed' modified for intensity. In the former, it is the intensity of love, while in the latter the extent of succeeding (i.e., how successful the trying turned out to be) that is described.

(4.14) | *Me* | *sijös,* | *bytja* | *surtö,* | *mös* | *vöra* |
1SG	3SG.ACC	foamy	beer.ACC.2SG	cow	udder
jöv	*dorys'*	*radejta=džyk.*
milk	PP.ELA	love.1SG.PRS=AUG

'I love you, frothy beer, more than milk from the cow's udder.' (Beznosikov 1977)

(4.15) | *Puktylim* | *nöšta* | *Prefekt* | *da* | *Leopol'd,* |
try.1PL.PST	also	Prefekt	and	Leopold,
no	*najö*	*èz=džyk*	*artmyny.*
but	3PL	NEG.3PL.PST=AUG	succeed.CNEG.3PL

'We also tried [the names] Prefekt and Leopol'd, but they were not as successful.' (km.11.10.07)

The group of examples that stand between atelic and telic verbs in their interpretations are directed activities. As has been said, structurally they have no inherent end point and no point of termination, and when modified for intensity, it is the point achieved by the process and not the intensity of the process that is targeted. For example, in (4.16), *s'irös'tny* 'dirty' operates on the scale of how much of the jumper is dirty and not how strong or intense are the stains (compare with *smell strongly* and *smell very bad*).

(4.16) *Zonka kor'sis pas'kyddžyk tröpajas,*
med   pu   lapjasys   èz=džyk   s'irös'tny
that   tree   needle.PL.3SG   NEG.3PL.PST=AUG   dirty.CNEG.3PL
nyvkalys'   džen'yd   soska   edžyd   kovtasö.
girl.ABL   short   sleeve.ADJ   white   coat.ACC.3SG
'The boy searched for wider paths, so [the resin from] the fir needles would not
dirty the girl's short-sleeved white jumper as much.' (Napalkov 1981)

Accomplishments are telic verbs that express a process or activity leading up to
an end result. For this reason, increasing the intensity of accomplishments targets
the extent of the process (4.17) or the extent of the result (4.18). In (4.17), the
focus is on the process, since the event has no clear resulting property, while in
(4.18), the scale of *(very/not very) drunk* is clearer for the resulting state of *be drunk*.

(4.17) *Kyknad   oz=džyk   vermyny.*
two.INSTR.2SG   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   gain victory.CNEG.3PL
'With two of us, they will not gain victory over us as much.' (Ognev 1993)

(4.18) *Sèk'i   oz=džyk   gažmyny.*
then   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   get drunk.CNEG.3PL
'Then they do not get as drunk.' (Popov A 2008)

4.2.2. Stative/eventive ambiguity

In this section, I will discuss some events that may appear as either states or
achievements, e.g., *know*, *see*, etc. This kind of ambiguity has been discussed in
more detail by Antonia Rothmayr (2009) as stative/eventive ambiguity, but the
notion itself is already mentioned by Dowty (1979). For cognitive perception
verbs, Dowty notes that in English they are ambiguous between pure statives and
inchoatives (1979: 132), as seems to be the case with, for example, Komi *kazjavny*
'notice' below. Croft (2012) calls them *inceptive states* since they can appear as
either states or achievements resulting in a state (see *2.1.3.1* above for more details).

   For example, the state in (4.19) is involved in a generic statement which uses
a 2SG form rather than the impersonal. The intended reading is intensity, i.e., how
noticeable are the holes in the ground when sitting on a seat of hay. The frequency
reading is intuitively present, but it is unlikely that the number of holes that one
notices is intended to be modified in this case (?*you notice fewer holes, not all
the holes you drive through; notice them less often*).

(4.19) *Da   i   turun   vylas   pukaligön   tujvyvsa*
and   also   grass   PP.ON.3SG   sit.CNV.INSTR   road.ADJ
tjopkanjassö   on=džyk   kazjav.
hole.PL.ACC   NEG.2SG.PRS   notice.CNEG
'You also notice the holes in the road less when sitting on the hay.' (Kodanjov
1975)

In (4.19), both before and after modifying with *džyk*, the predication clearly expresses a state – *notice* as an achievement cannot be done with more or less intensity, since it is a punctual event which the agent has no control over (if you try to *notice* something deliberately, it is actually *finding* or *seeing*). *Notice* also has no true result state other than the object being noticed, so the intensification cannot be focused on the end result either (compare this with accomplishments like *get hurt more* where an emotional or physical state is affected and which can be modified for intensity). Taking that into consideration, the habitual use of *kazjavny* 'notice' is in this context interpreted as a state that describes the property of the situation – the holes are less noticeable.

When comparing (4.19) above with (4.20) below, some similarities are found. Although *potlas'ny* 'break up' is an accomplishment, in this instance, it refers to a property of the situation – dry wood is not as breakable – and is, thus, much more of a state instead. Of course, the intended reading also plays a role, since the question lies in how high does dry wood position on the scale of 'breakability' (intensity of event = state) and not how broken will the timber be after breaking (intensity of result = accomplishment). The modification may also refer to the proneness of breaking.

(4.20) *Vodzvyv p'il'itöda 200mm kyzta koz puys' t'öc*
        (*oz=džyk   potlas'   tajö   puys*
        NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   break.CNEG   this   wood.3SG
        i   omöl'džyka   tyas'ö)
        and   bad.COMP.ADV   soak.3SG.PRS
        i tatčö žö sarajas tèča kos'tyny.
        'Firstly, I will let them saw 200 mm thick planks from dry spruce (that timber does not break up that much and does not get as wet) and I will stack them up to dry right here, in the shed.' (km.15.09.07d)

In (4.21), potatoes are seemingly in a similar position as dry wood – they tend to overgrow in certain circumstances. However, since in (4.21), 'potato' is used as a mass noun to mark a multitude of potatoes, the predication does not refer to a general property of all potatoes but applies to a certain mass of potatoes that in case of, e.g., suitably dry weather conditions, will not provide a crop of potatoes that are very overgrown and split. Although logically a property of breakability is expressed (*the potato (crop) is not very overgrown/split*), then structurally the event is still an accomplishment and the reading is for high degree of result (*the potato (crop) does not overgrow as much*).

(4.21) *Sèk'i   kartupel'ys   oz=džyk   potlas'*
        then   potato.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   split.CNEG
        da   loö   kotyradžyk.
        and   be.3SG.PRS   plentiful.COMP
        'Then the potato will not overgrow/split up as much and will be more plentiful.' (pg.22.05.07)

4.2.3. Telicity of negated verbs

It was established above that it is mainly subject plurality and event plurality that create contexts that allow for different interpretations of event quantity or frequency. In some instances, telic verbs do not appear as single events after modification. Rather, the clitic alters the event structure from single event to cyclic (i.e., cyclic repetitions of achievements) (4.22) or habitual (i.e., dynamic interpretations of re-occurring achievements and accomplishments) (4.23).

(4.22)   *Sèk'i*   *on=džyk*   *yvlaad*   *kortrav.*
       then   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   yard.INE/ILL.2SG   run, hurry.CNEG
       'Then you do not hurry off to the yard as much (/less often).' (Popov A 2005)

(4.23)   = (3.5)   *Öni*   *oz=džyk*   *n'in*   *kulakavny,*
             now   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   already   deculakise.CNEG.3PL
             a tijanös i važön oz kulakavny.
       'Now they do not dekulakise as often anymore, but you were earlier also not dekulakised...' (Juhnin 1983)

For example, (4.22) and (4.23) are cases of a predication involved with a non-distributive subject and in both, the unmodified predication refers to a stative situation (*on yvlaad kotrav* 'you do not hurry off to the yard' and *oz kulakavny* 'they do not dekulakise'). When modified for extent by *džyk*, both examples become similar to cyclic (or habitual) events where the same event takes place repeatedly but with low frequency. In principle, quantification of a stative situation creates telic events. Even though both (4.22) and (4.23) are telic in the affirmative (*hurry to the yard* and *dekulakise*), the non-occurrence of an event is stative (Arsenijević 2006: 35) and modification by *džyk* creates a shift in that.

A type of shift of telicity has been discussed by Caudal and Nicolas (2005) about activity verbs and they argue that the modifier (*a lot* in their discussion) closes the scale of an open-scaled event expression (*run > run a lot*) and creates a telic situation. Fleischhauer does not fully agree and instead claims that the situation is telic but the scale is not closed (2016: 221) since the process can be continued. In this instance I agree with the latter since the non-specific degree introduced by *džyk* also does not exclude further modification.

(4.24) exemplifies how degree modification similarly affects the inherent aspect of the predication, since the stative *not scare people* becomes a process-like *not scare people as much*, altering the dynamicity although not the telicity of the situation. The same happens with other aspectual classes – after modification they can be interpreted according to the aspectual class they would have in the affirmative.

(4.24)   *Jorčč'igtyrji pyvsjan lomti: med köt', m'isja, pös' vanas n'il'z'ödas nyr-vomsö*
       da   *bur*   *jözsö*   *oz=džyk*   *povz'ödly.*
       and   good   people.ACC   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   scare.CNEG
       'Cursing, I kept the sauna fire going: let [him], I said, soak his face with hot water and [then] not scare the good people as much.' (Beznosikov 1985)

Based on (4.22)–(4.24), with *džyk*, the shift of stative > telic only occurs with negated verbs modified for extent gradation (*not hurry to the yard* = state, *not hurry to the yard as often* = cyclic achievement), whereas negated verbs modified for degree are involved with the shift of stative > dynamic (atelic) (*not scare* = stative, *not scare as much* = dynamic). In the affirmative, degree-related readings do not alter telicity, e.g., (4.25) is atelic both before and after modification, but frequency and quantity degree readings may yield a telic > atelic shift if the predication expressing a telic single event is reanalysed as a habitual atelic event.

(4.25) *Dert,*   *šondi*   *pyr'ig*   – *petigön*   *čer'iyd*
        of course   sun   rise.CNV   go (out).CNV.INSTR   fish.2SG
        sjojö=džyk,   *kodi*   *ta*   *jylys'*   *oz*   *töd, /---/*
        eat.3SG.PRES=AUG   who   this   PP.onto   NEG.3SG.PRES know.CNEG
        'Of course, with the sun rising and going down (i.e., at sunrise and sunset), the fish bites better, who does not know that, /---/' (Timin 2000)

4.3. Scales

Among the verbs modified for degree by *džyk*, there are both scalar and non-scalar verbs, i.e., those that map onto an ordered set of degrees and those that do not. As has been said, the degrees of scalar verbs are associated with result, while degrees of non-scalar verbs are associated with manner. Below are examples of *džyk* appearing with verbs involved with different scale types, and also with non-scalar verbs and states. Some attention is also brought to the importance of verbs with open and closed scales and how this interacts with the degree modifier function of *džyk*.

4.3.1. Scale types and scalar verbs

As was noted above in Section *2.4.2.1* (see also Figure 1)*,* scalar verbs are associated with various scales: property, path, extent/volume/quantity scales, and divergence. Property and path scales are lexicalised in change-of-state verbs and may be two-point or multi-point; path scales are lexicalised in directed motion verbs. Extent/volume scales are not necessarily lexicalised in the verb itself and are only multi-point, since they are complex by nature. Divergence is involved with verbs that express difference and similarity, comparison, marked and erratic behaviour. Below are some examples of scalar verbs with different types of scales modified for or high degree by *džyk*.

A large number of the scalar verbs expressing change are complex and with a multi-point extent/volume scale (4.26).

(4.26) *Unanad*   *polömydly*   *on=džyk*   *setčy.*
        a lot.INSTR.2SG   fear.DAT.2SG   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   surrender.CNEG
        'In a group you do not give in to fear as much.' (km.22.03.07)

In (4.27) and (4.28), a directed activity *mudzny* 'tire' and an accomplishment *pörys'myny* 'age, become old', represent scalar verbs with property scales. In (4.27), the high degree of the result is modified, whereas in (4.28), the focus may also be on the speed of attaining the result. In principle, *mudzny* could also be modified for tempo in another, more suitable context, but for *pörys'myny*, both tempo and intensity (high degree of result) are possible in the same context. This depends on whether the predication is considered atelic (*become older*) and the scale two-point, or telic (*become old*) and the scale multi-point. For (4.28), the same context is suitable for modification that refers to a two-point scale of *not old - old*, and to the non-maximal degree of *not become as old* on a multi-point scale.

(4.27) *Tijan*   *tani*   *köt'*   *i*   *mu*   *kodjöm,*   *a*
        2PL.GEN   here   although   also   land   digging   but
        on=džyk   *setšöma*   *mudz.*
        NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   thus   tire.CNEG
        'Even though you have digging-related work here, but you do not tire as much.'
        (Ignatov 1988)

(4.28) = (3.43)   *Sèk'i*   *on=džyk*   *pörys'my*
                   then   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   age, become older.CNEG
        – *v'is'talis*   *kypyd*   *rua*   *bab*.
           tell.3SG.PST   happy, lively   tempered   old woman
        'Then you do not become old as quickly – said the good-humoured old lady.'
        (km.06.02.07)

Structurally, the instances I have referred to as object quantity involve VPs with an incremental theme that includes some object in the scope of the predication, and the modification is on the scale of the volume of the incremental theme. These VPs usually refer to some abstract notion or real entity sufficing or being in existence. For example in (4.29), the predication involves the quantity of vodka, in (4.30), the quantity refers to there being more benefit. Some other examples are *voödžyk udždonys* 'there will be more salary', *ebösyd loasdžyk* 'will have more strength', *sjojanys loödžyk* 'will be more food', etc. Note that the incremental theme involved here is always a mass noun and does not appear in a counting construction (e.g., *have three more vodkas*) or otherwise refer to countable entities (e.g., *have a glass of vodka*). This means that only atelic verbs are involved with this reading, since cumulative reference is only associated with atelic event expressions.

(4.29) *Jözys, dert, tajö pomečas ètšadžykön n'in völisny, közjainös èzdžyk radujtny,*
        da   *pomečalys'jasysly,*   *sy*   *pydd'i,*
        and   participant.PL.3SG.DAT   3SG   PP.for
        v'inays   *sjur'is=džyk:*   /---/
        spirits.3SG   get.3SG.PST=AUG
        'Furthermore, there were few people to help [them], [so] the host was not that happy [about that], but the partakers, for this reason, got more vodka: /---/'
        (Juhnin 1941)

(4.30) *Kolö*   *aslys*   *Zlob'inly*   *tšökyddžyka*
      be necessary.3SG.PRS   self.DAT.3SG   PN.DAT   frequent.COMP.ADV
      petavny   *komand'irovkajasö,*
      go out.INF   work trip.PL.ILL
      sèk'i   *i*   *tölkys*   *loas=džyk,*   /---/
      then   PAR   benefit.3SG   be.3SG.FUT=AUG
      'It is necessary for Zlobin himself to go to on work trips more frequently, then
      there will be more benefit, /---/' (Lyjurov 1991)

Other cases of existential events with *lony* 'be' and *vony* 'come, come to be'
express existence of some emotion or feeling and are then modified for intensity,
since these properties are not quantifiable. Note that some incremental theme
predications may also combine with quality modification, like in (4.31), where
the predication refers to the specific fabric keeping warmth better than some other
material. Logically, quantification can be possible, when the focus is on the
capacity of accumulating warmth in comparison with something else (*keep warmth
more (than, e.g., plastic)*).

(4.31) *Tatšömas*   *i*   *lolavs'ö*   *kokn'ia*
      this kind.INE/ILL.3SG   also   breathe.3SG.PRS   easily
      i   *šonydys*   *kutčys'ö=džyk.*
      and   warmth   keep, hold.3SG.PRS=AUG
      'In this kind, one can also breathe better and also it keeps warmth better.'
      (km.19.05.07a)

The type of scales involving path are not very common with *džyk*'s degree
modification reading. In (4.32), *lybny* 'rise' is involved in a reflexive predication
depicting inner conflict and a hand not raising itself. The event lexicalises a path
of moving up (and down). However, the reading of modification is somewhat
ambiguous as to whether the event took place to an insufficient degree (intensity
modification) or whether the event took place at all (moderation reading).

(4.32) *Njöjtny*   *kösji*
      beat (up).INF   want.1SG.PST
      da   *k'iöj*   *èz=džyk*   *lyb.*
      and   hand.1SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   rise itself.CNEG
      'I wanted to beat him, but my hand did not rise enough/as much.' (Kodanjov 1975)

Event expressions involving path scales have some similarities with event
expressions that denote directed motion or other types of scalarity, although it is
not always the extent of the path that is modified for such expressions, for example
in case of bounded occurrences, as in (4.33), where *šljuvdyny* 'slide down' is telic
and modification can only target quantity. Especially since the predication refers
to a habitual event and the subject is distributive.

(4.33) *Öni*   *so*   *turun*   *plastjasys*   *oz=džyk*   *n'in*
        now   PAR   hay   layer.PL.3SG   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   already
        šljuvdyny   *čövtys'ly*   *morösas,*   *a*
        slide down.CNEG.3PL   hay-pile-maker.DAT   chest.INE/ILL.3SG   but
        lös'yda   *vodöny*   *p'in'jas*   *kostas.*
        fine.ADV   lie down.3PL.PRS   hay-ladder.PL   PP.between.INE/ILL.3SG
        'Now the layers of hay do not slide down that much onto the chests of the hay-
        makers, but nicely lie down in between the hay-ladders.' (Beznosikov 1985)

As for the divergence scale, it is similar in reading to *džyk*'s moderation reading,
but it differs by denoting a realised event and also by being restricted to the verbs
described by Fleischhauer 2016, i.e., verbs of comparison and similarity, marked
behaviour, and erratic verbs.

    For example, (4.34) is an existential phrase referring to a scale of divergence,
or more accurately a level of dissimilarity of being like a child and old man at the
same time.

(4.34) *Sijö neuna lovz'yštiskod' da*
        èz=džyk   *n'in*   *lo*   *star'ik*   *da*
        NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   already   be.CNEG   old man   and
        kaga   *kod'*
        child   PP.like
        kodjasös sorlalöma öt'i mortö.
        'He became a bit more lively, and was not so much like an old man and a child,
        who are mixed together into an old person.' (Gor'kij 1949)

In (4.35), the achievement appearing with a moderation reading expresses the
success of the event. It appears in 1st past tense and denotes that some situation
has occurred but that the required outcome has not been reached. Semantically,
there are similarities to the case of divergence scale since the example includes
the distance from success – compare the examples below with *differ a lot* and *be
very similar* where difference and similarity are measured. In all instances, the
almost-reading is present, e.g., *did not quite succeed = almost succeeded*, and *be
very similar = be almost identical*, but in the examples with *džyk*, the almost-
reading is secondary to moderating the strength of negation, while with *differ a
lot*, etc., it is the intensity/measure of differing that is most relevant.

(4.35) – *Èn*   *d'iv'it,*   *m'ilaja*   *Sveta,*
           NEG.2SG.PST   be upset.CNEG   dear_RU   Sveta
           myj   *èz=džyk*   *sidz'i*   *lo.*
           CONJ   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   that way   be.CNEG
        '– Do not be upset, dear Sveta, that [it] did not quite come out like that.'
        (Toropov 1974)

4.3.2. Open and closed scales

One of the properties of gradable verbs is that the scale they possess can either be closed, i.e., no degree past the minimal and/or maximal degree exists (e.g., **s'ipty öš'in'sö undžyk* 'close the window more'), partially closed (lower, upper closed), or open, i.e., no limiting values exist. While atelic verbs are involved with open scales, telic verbs are involved with (partially) closed scales, and closed scales should not by definition allow further modification since they do not progress beyond their maximal degree (see Caudal and Nicolas 2005). As has been seen above, however, in its general degree modification function, *džyk* can modify both atelic and telic verbs, so at least some telic verbs must allow further degree intensification after their internal end point has been reached.

It was discussed above (Section *2.4.4*) that gradable accomplishments allow degree modification due to having two types of telos – standard and maximal. For *setčyny* 'surrender' (4.36) and *s'ölömyd burmyny* 'for the heart to calm' (4.37), which both have a closed scale since they combine with *n'öt'i* 'not at all' (only used with negation) and *dz'iködz* 'completely', the maximal telos denotes the point of *complete surrender/calm* which is at the end of the scale, while standard telos denotes a non-maximal degree where some result state of *surrender/calm* has been reached, but its extent is open for further degree modification.

(4.36) *Èn'ys   i   èz=džyk   setčy   polömysly,*
   female.3SG   PAR   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   give.CNEG   fear.3SG.DAT
   kol'ödičis   matödžyksö,
   stay.3SG.PST   close.COMP.EMPH
   sjödlis   da   žergödlis   pin'sö.
   hide.3SG.PST   and   show.3SG.PST   tooth.ACC.3SG
   'The female did not give in to fear as much, stayed closer, hid and showed her teeth.' (Jushkov 2001).

(4.37) *No   s'ölömyd   burmödžyk,   kužan   kö*
   but   heart.3SG   improve.3SG.PRS=AUG   can.3SG.PRS   if
   ljučk'ia   kyz'yny.
   well.ADJ   listen.INF
   'But the heart is calmed more (lit. improves more) when you know how to listen well.' (Valton 2006)

There is a group of telic verbs that do not combine with *n'öt'i* or *dz'iködz*, but are still associated with closed scales. For example Komi *vežörsjavny* 'smarten up, become reasonable' is not modified by *n'öt'i/dz'iködz*, but the existence of a standard telos is uncontradictable in the test **she has become reasonable, but she is not reasonable*, which indicates that there is a marked onset of a result state at a non-maximal degree. In broad terms, the verbs that reject maximisers lack complex degree structures (Caudal and Nicolas 2005: 282) and either involve a complex, non-gradual change, or involve a punctual change that is associated with two-point scales, like with achievements. In my data, most of the telic

predications that do not combine with *n'öt'i*/*dz'iködz* seem to be achievements like in (4.38), although there are also accomplishments which reject maximal degree modifiers due to their complex structure and lack of gradual change.

(4.38) *Tadz'i=sö*   *vör-vays*   *oz=džyk*   *dojmav.*
        this way.EMPH   nature.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   get injured.CNEG
        'This way nature does not get hurt as much.' (km.19.05.07b)

Directed activities (or degree achievements) are atelic but may seem to be associated with closed scales. For example in (4.39), the verb *mudzny* 'tire' is atelic, since *mudzis* 'she tired' does not necessarily entail that she has tired to the extent of her abilities (telic), but rather that she is not fully rested anymore (atelic). The same result is confirmed by the *almost*-test – *she almost tired*[42] can only refer to not getting tired, but coming close to it. A telic predication would, in addition, also have the reading of getting somewhat tired (see Dowty 1979; Hay *et al.* 1999). Logically, the event expression also combines with a maximal degree, e.g., *dz'iködz mudzis* 'she tired completely', but this is due to these kinds of verbs[43] often having two types of construals – accomplishments with a closed scale and directed activities with an open scale (Kennedy and Levin 2008: 159). The same can be seen in (4.40), which involves *vošny* 'waste away, disappear'. In both (4.39) and (4.40), the predications have atelic interpretations, whereas the telic interpretation is the one that combines with *dz'iködz*. Note, that with the modifier, a telic interpretation is not possible.

(4.39) *Sèssja*   *Kal'ö*   *Kolja*   *v'idlis*   *da*   *šuis:*
        Then   PN   PN   try.3SG.PST   and   say.3SG.PST
        Ljok   *gudöknas*   *mudzan=džyk.*
        bad   harmonica.INSTR.3SG   tire.2SG.PRS=AUG.
        'Then Kal'ö Kolja tried and said: – With a bad harmonica you tire more.'
        (Jushkov 1988)

(4.40) *Nöšta*   *tödčöda:*   *tadz=sö*   *udžaligön*
        moreso   stress.1SG.PRS   thus=EMPH   work.CNV.INSTR
        oz=džyk   *voš*   *dzon'v'idzalun.*
        NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   waste away.CNEG   health
        'I stress again: working this way does not damage health as much (lit. health does not waste away that much).' (pg.15.11.07)

I have already pointed out above that semantically the directed activities modified for intensity are more similar to telic verbs than they are to atelic verbs. This does not actually derive from telicity but from their association with scales with ordered values, i.e., from them being scalar verbs, since for scalar verbs, modifying the degree targets the high degree of result, and not the intensity of the

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[42] Komi would use *murtsa* 'almost' in the negative, e.g., *murtsa ez mudz* 'almost tired (lit. almost did not tire)'; see also Section *2.3.6*.
[43] That is "predicates describing a scalar change in a property" (Croft 2012: 73).

process. With *džyk*, telic/scalar verbs graded for intensity appear mainly in the negative. It seems that *džyk* is often used as a means of softening the statement, since *džyk* (like other degree modifiers in a similar position) adds a standard telos to an otherwise closed scale without contradicting the truth value of the proposition.

Since the intensity reading of *džyk* is not related to maximal or minimal degree, then it cannot modify the degree of such telic verbs that have a single point on their scale. These are the kind of telic verbs that have their standard and maximum telos fall together and that accept maximal degree modifiers such as *n'öt'i* and *dz'iködz*, or approximators like *murtsa* 'almost', but not general high degree intensifiers like *jona* 'a lot'. In other terms, this might be referred to as some telic verbs having restricted accessibility to high degree zones of the scale. Tracing such verbs is not entirely in the scope of this thesis, but in general, the verbs that reject *jona*, etc. and other degree intensifiers are likely to reject *džyk* as a degree modifier but may accept it as a quantifier. An example of this might be *ondžyk yvlaad kotrav* 'you do not hurry to the yard as often' from (4.22) above, where the event combines with *n'öt'i* and *murtsa* (*n'öt'i on yvlaad kotrav* 'you do no not hurry to the yard at all', *murtsa on yvlaad kotrav* 'you almost do not hurry to the yard'), but not with the intensifier *jona* (**jona on yvlaad kotrav* '?you do not hurry to the yard as intensely').

4.3.3. Verbs denoting non-scalar change

In some instances, verbs may express types of change and motion that do not lexicalise an ordered scale, i.e., they involve a non-scalar change. Fleischhauer draws attention to verbs like *verfärben* 'change colour' which denote a change and also possible values on the scale, but the values are not linearly ordered (Fleischhauer 2016: 193). In degree gradation, the intensification of such verbs targets the intensity of the manner the verb is involved with. For example in (4.41), two undirected activities are modified for intensity of manner.

(4.41) *Tom dojar dorö vočasön velalisny i mösjas:*

öni	*najö*	*oz=džyk*		*n'in*	*pedzny,*
now	they	NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG		already	stomp.CNEG

da	*bukšas'ny,*
and	resist.CNEG

dai võras'ys jõvsö medbörja vojtödz setöny.

'Also, the cows slowly got used to the young milk-lad: now they already do not stomp and resist as much, and they quickly give the milk to the very last drop.' (Beznosikov 1985)

Manner-related verbs like *zörkjödlyny* 'shake' also denote non-scalar motion that does not involve any kind of change or resulting states. The intensified property may be lexicalised in the verb (4.42) or be introduced by a manner adverbial (4.43).

(4.42) *Kyvzys'jasly dolyddžyk da i, kaž'itčö,*
mašina *kölesajas* *ödjödžyk* *tjuröny,*
car wheel.PL fast.COMP roll.3PL.PRS
oz=džyk *zörkjödly*
NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG shake, toss around.CNEG
i kadys kotörön munö.
'It is merrier for the listeners, and also, it would seem, the wheels of the car go around faster, it does not shake as much, and the time goes by fast (lit. running).' (Ignatov 1988)

(4.43) *Og* *gögörvo* *sömyn,*
NEG.1SG.PRS understand.CNEG only
myjla *Pan'ičevyd* *èz=džyk* *ves'kyda* *sjorn'it.*
why PN.2SG NEG.3SG.PST=AUG directly speak.CNEG
'I only do not understand, why did Panichev not speak more directly.' (Toropov 1964)

In the negative, some verbs may appear with manner-related proadverbs like *setšöma* 'this way', *sidz* 'like that', etc. In (4.44), the verb itself also lexicalises manner 'struggle, toss around', but in (4.45), the main verb is not manner-related.

(4.44) *Tani i zbyl'ys' šonyddžyk völi,*
da *i* *tölys* *èz=džyk* *setšöma* *pess'y.*
and par wind.3SG NEG.3SG.PST=AUG thus struggle.CNEG
'[There] was really more warmth here, and also the wind did not struggle as much.' (Kodanjov 1979)

(4.45) *Og=džyk* *sètšöma* *majšas'öj*
NEG.1PL=AUG thus worry.CNEG.1PL
muž'ičöj-b'iatlon'istjas *vösna.*
male biathlon skier.PL PP.about
'We do not worry that much/that way about the male biathlon skiers.' (km.2014)

Manner-related event expressions usually do not yield a quality or tempo reading with *džyk*, since these readings are also manner-related and may not be compatible with each other. Yet, in a suitable context, e.g., *shake faster* or *stuff better* may also be possible, one such instance might be comparison. However, in (4.46), the manner verb *termas'ny* 'rush' which is inherently involved with tempo, does does not combine with *ödjödžyka* 'faster' and is modified for general high degree. In fact, with *džyk*, I have not come across an example where a manner verb appears in a comparison function with any other reading than intensity.

(4.46) *Pörys' pastuklön kyvjas sert'i bydön tödisny: rytjadorys zèrmas libö ru puksjas,*
sidzkö, *talun* *muköd* *lunjas* *sert'i*
in that case today other day.PL PP.in comparison with
kolis *termas'ny=džyk.*
be necessary.3SG.PST rush.INF=AUG
'/---/ towards the evening it will start to rain or fog will roll in, in that case, today, in comparison to other days, it was necessary to rush more.' (Rochev E 1980)

States usually do not involve change (see Piñón 2000) but they associate with high degree and thus also with the degree modification reading of *džyk*. The derived reading of verbs expressing psychological states is straightforward – intensity or strength of feeling (comparable with intensity of manner-related predications), whereas with verbs of cognition and perception like *believe, trust*, and *be visible*, and physical states like *feel cold, be ill*, the measure of extent is present.

States also appear with quality-related modification if the verb is associated with *better* or *well*. However, with a number of verbs, the modification is rather that of a booster than a manner modifier, e.g., in (4.47), the *not suit as well* interpretation equals with that of *not suit as much*. Other similar instances are *ozdžyk töd* 'does not know that well', *èzdžyk lösjav* 'does not suit as well', etc. With some event expressions, the high degree of a property is more natural to express by quality-related means, while some event expressions reject high degree modification altogether (see Section *2.4.3* above and *4.3.4* below).

(4.47) – *Gölös   sert'iyd   tödčö,   myj   udžalan*
          voice   PP.by.2SG   be visible.3SG.PRS   that   work.PTCP.PRS
          uslov'ieys   tijanly   oz=džyk   lösjav.
          condition.3SG   2PL.DAT   NEG.2SG.PRS=AUG   like.CNEG
          'Judging by your voice the working conditions do not suit you that well.'
          (Kushmanov 1995)

In (4.48), *tydalönydžyk* 'they are visible instead' has a seldom-found moderative meaning which refers to sad and pitiful thoughts prevailing in the author's works. A native speaker confirms that with a different word-order (*nor da šog mövpjas tydalönydžyk*), the predication might be interpreted differently, i.e., the predication could have a quality reading *better* referring to good or bad visibility, or a general high degree *more* referring to high or low visibility.

(4.48) *Sylön   tomön   g'ižöm   kyvburjasas*
          3SG.GEN   young.SG.INSTR   write.PTCP.PST   poem.PL.INE/ILL.3SG
          tydalöny=džyk   nor   da   šog   mövpjas.
          visible.3PL.PRS=AUG   sad   and   pitiful   thought.PL
          'In the poems written in his youth, the sad and pitiful thoughts are visible instead.'
          (Martinov 1997)

Needless to say, states do not combine with tempo modifiers, unless in a strongly marked context where states act as activities (e.g., with *fast* in *live hard, love fast*, etc.)

4.3.4. Association with scales

Not all atelic verbs are associated with general high degree in Komi. Stative uses of verbs like *gögörvony* 'understand' (4.49) or *lad'itny* 'get along' (4.50) only appear in a quality-related use with *džyk*, since they do not combine with the

general intensifier *jona* 'a lot' or with *ödjödžyka* 'faster'. Quantifying is possible when the verb has a dynamic use – *understand a lot* but not **get along a lot*. Note that *understand a lot (of things)* refers to volume and not event quantity.

(4.49)   –   *Gaškö,*   *öta-mödös*   *og=džyk*
            maybe   one another.ACC   NEG.1PL.PRS=AUG
            gögörvoöj   *da...*
            understand.CNV.1/2PL   too
            '– Probably we do not understand each other that well...' (Toropov 1964)

(4.50)   *Ust'c'ilemcyköd*   *najö*   *kydzkö*   *èz=džyk*
            Ust'cilemyan.COM   3PL   somehow   NEG.3PL.PST=AUG
            lad'itny   *zavodö*   *voan*   *pervoj*
            get along.CNEG.3PL   factory.ILL   come.PTCP.PRS   first
            lunjass'an'.
            day.PL.EGR
            'With the Ust'c'ilemyans they somehow did not get along that well from the first day of coming to the factory.' (Rochev Ja 1951)

On the other hand, some verbs reject the quality-related readings. For example *povny* 'fear' in (4.51) does not combine with *burdžyka* 'better', but does with *jona*, since it can appear in a comparative construction with the reading *more*. Some states may even reject both general and quality related high degree, since they combine with a manner adverbial or only appear with comparison (Katz' (2008) *love deeply* vs *love more than...*)

(4.51)   *Polan=džyk*   *meys',*   *sidzkö.*
            fear.2SG.PRS=AUG   2SG.ELA   then
            'You are afraid more than me, you mean.' (Popov A 1994)

With undirected activities, high degree modification requires reference to some kind of manner or motion, but other activities usually reject high degree modification. In some instances, the high degree can only refer to quality. For example *kyvtyny* 'swim' (4.52) appears with a quality-related high degree reading, but would reject the general *jona* 'a lot'.

(4.52)   –   *Pötös*   *sjojan*   –   *juannad,*   *dert,*
            rich   food   drink.INSTR.2SG   of course
            kerjyd   *kyvtas=džyk...*
            log.2SG   swim (in a direction).3SG.FUT=AUG
            '– With rich food and drink, of course your log will swim better...' (Beznosikov 1977)

Telic events appearing with a quality reading mainly refer to something succeeding or the inception of high quality for some state of affairs (4.53).

(4.53) *Lèčča Kulöm ju vylö – sylön velödömtög oz žö kol':*
      tatčö   *pis'köd*   *roz'sö,*   *tatčö*   *vöjt,*
      to here   drill.IMP.2SG   hole.ACC   to here   sink.IMP.2SG
      tani   *šedö=džyk.*
      here   get caught.3SG.PRS=AUG
      'I descend to the Kulöm River – [he] does not leave without teaching you: drill
      a hole here, toss in [the hook] here, [it] catches better here.' (km.21.08.07a)

Since general high degree or *džyk*'s intensity reading calls for a multi-point scale,
then the true two-point verbs (i.e., achievements) do not combine with general high
degree and appear for the most part only with quality-related high degree (4.54).

(4.54) *Z'imstansajaslön, köt' i azyma žö bos'tč'isny šedödny I mesta,*
      vorsömys   *èz=džyk*   *artmy.*
      play.PTCP.PST.3SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   succeed.CNEG
      'For the Z'imstanians, although they eagerly tried to get 1st place, the game did not
      succeed that well.' (pg.14.04.07)

4.4. Verbal semantics

A parameter with considerable significance for describing the modifiability of
verbs is, of course, verbal semantics, which determines whether the verb is semanti-
cally suitable for combining with the reading(s) the modifier has. In broad terms,
quantification calls for a plural VP or a verb that allows for a plural reading, and
this is not usually related to verbal semantics. With degree modification, the verb
needs to be gradable, but not all verbs belonging to the same syntactic class are
gradable. In this section, I will give an overview of which semantic types of verbs
are modifiable by *džyk*, by first addressing the restrictions described by Evgeni
Cypanov (1996; 2005) and then turning to the general classes based on my data.

4.4.1. Cypanov 2005

Komi linguist Evgenij Cypanov (1996; 2005) has so far been the only one who
has pointed out which verbs can appear with *džyk* and which cannot. The general
notion is that verbs with an inherent ability to be intensified do appear with *džyk*,
while the verbs which cannot be intensified, do not. The group of gradable verbs
consists of verbs of movement, real actions, states, verbs of cognition, and verbs
expressing change in quality. The group of non-gradable verbs consists of
existential verbs, momentaneous verbs (i.e., achievements – T.T.), and verbs
expressing once-only actions. (Cypanov 2005: 249) Despite being accurate in
general terms, this classification omits the quantificational readings *džyk* has. It
also excludes verbs with a more complex structure, that is, aspectual types like
cyclic achievements and also VPs with incremental themes, both of which appear
with the comparison clitic (Todesk 2015). In addition, real language use also

gives many examples of existential verbs combining with *džyk*. Previous sources as well as my own examples show that degree gradation could not be explained by either the *Aktionsart* or the semantics of the verb alone.

In first order, I would like to address some issues based on the data I have analysed. Cypanov identified non-gradable verbs as semantically once-only (*čužny* 'be born', *pyrny* 'stop by, catch on'), existential (*vövny* 'be.PST'), and momentaneous (*lyjny* 'shoot, let out') (see *1.4.1.1.3. Distribution of* džyk *with events* for a more detailed account). Based on the data I have analysed, however, these verbs do appear with *džyk*, although not as expressing single events with a singular subject.

For a single subject, an verb like *kulavny* 'die off' would be once-only. In (4.55), however, it appears in a habitual-general context with a distributive subject and the reading refers to event quantity, while other readings are not acceptable, except perhaps quality in a comparative use, e.g., *larger ones die off better/more easily*. I agree with Cypanov that semantically once-only verbs do not accept modification by *džyk*, since for (momentaneous) once-only verbs, modification for frequency is not possible without the event appearing cyclic or re-occurring. Semantically once-only events also do not take an intensity reading, but I propose that *džyk* may be used to yield a quality reading in a comparative use without contradicting that the event is still once-only, since manner-related quality does not affect event structure.

(4.55) *Gyrys'džykjasyd*   *ès'kö*   *èz=džyk*   *kulavny,*
       large.COMP.PL.2SG   PAR   NEG.3PL.PST=AUG   die out.CNEG.3PL
       èz=džyk   *kos'mavny...*
       NEG.3PL.PST=AUG   dry up.CNEG.3PL
       'Larger ones do not die off as much, do not dry up as much...' (Toropov 1967)

As for the existential *vony* 'come, come to be', and the *be*-verbs *lony* 'be (NON-PRES)', *ovny* 'live, be', and *vövny* 'be (PST)', they are not rare among the examples found in the text corpus. The corpus findings attest almost 20 instances of *vony*, more than 20 instances of *lony*, and more than 30 instances of *vövny*; *ovny* was less frequent with fewer than 10 instances found. In the analysed examples, the existential verbs mainly have a quantity reading in the affirmative (*there will be more of smth*) (4.56), are modified for intensity in the negative (4.57), or refer to the extent of some property (4.58).

(4.56) *Sèni*   *voö=džyk*   *udždonys,*   */---/*
       there   be.3SG.PRS=AUG   salary.SG.3SG
       'There will be a larger salary, /---/ (Shahov 1972)

(4.57) *Tadznad*   *oz=džyk*   *lo*   *ködzyd.*
       thus.INSTR.2SG   neg.3SG.PRS=AUG   be.CNEG   cold.2SG
       'This way [they] will not be as cold.' (Kodanjov 1979)

(4.58) *Ped'ö*   *vočasön*   *bydmyštis*   *da*   *èz=džyk*
     PN   gradually   grow.3SG.PST   and   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG
     lo   *setšöm*   *vyl'yš.*
     be.CNEG   this kind   naughty
     'Ped'ö gradually grew up and was not as naughty anymore.' (Popov A 2005)

It is true that not all readings of the clitic seem to appear with the three *be*-verbs. As was said above, existential verbs seem to be modified for object quantity, intensity, and moderation. Also, *be*-verbs do not seem to appear alone and refer to the existence of the subject itself, but rather they are always part of a VP expressing the existence of some property, the inception of some state, etc.

    Aside from existential verbs, there are a few more verbs which are identified as non-gradable with *džyk* but which do appear in my dataset, e.g., *pyrny* 'enter, come in' (4.59) and *čužny* 'be born' (4.60) and (4.61).

(4.59) *No me ès'kö vek žö šui,*
     myj   *talunja*   *tom*   *jöz*   *oz=džyk*   *sètšöm*
     CONJ   today.ADJ   young   people   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   that
     jara   *pyrny*   *kom'i*   *literaturaö.*
     eagerly   enter.CNEG.3PL   Komi   literature.ILL
     'Well I would still say that young people nowadays do not get into Komi literature quite as eagerly.' (Toropov 2008)

(4.60) *Tatšöm*   *trassa*   *vyvtiys*   *munigön*
     this kind   path.ACC   PP.ALONG.3SG   go.CNV.INSTR
     oz=džyk   *čužny*   *s'ölömtö*   *gudyrtan,*
     NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   born.CNEG.3PL   heart.ACC.2SG   stir up.PTCP.PRS
     mustöm   *èmoc'ijajas.*
     unpleasant   motion.PL
     'Going along such a path, unpleasant emotions do not enter your heart (lit. are not born on your heart) as much.' (Vaneev 2007b)

(4.61) /---/ *A*   *tulysys*   *oz=džyk*   *na*   *čuž.*
         but   spring.3SG   NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   PAR   be born.CNEG
     '/---/ But spring is not about to be born quite yet' (Vaneev 2007a)

Even so, it does seem that these verbs may not be modifiable in their primary meaning in a simple clause (i.e., with a singular predication expressing a specific event with a single subject) and instead they need specific contexts to be modified, e.g., the *čužny*-verb is either a component of a phraseologism or appears with a subject that is born repeatedly (spring in this case), not to mention the accommodating power of negation. As I also said above – an exception might be found in manner-related comparison, since *better* does not interact with event structure, e.g., *my son was born better/easier(/faster) than my daughter*, but I have no examples from literature showing this.

    As for verbs that Cypanov identifies as appearing with *džyk*, some could not be found in the corpus, e.g., *pomnitny* 'remember' and *povz'yny* 'have a fright'. It must be noted that the text corpus at my disposal is not all-encompassing, and a

number of verbs which are semantically and structurally similar to *pomnitny* and *povz'yny* did appear. As for *vermyny* 'can, be able to' and *gögörvony* 'understand', there were about a dozen examples of each. However, the general claim holds that verbs of motion, real activities, stative and cognitive verbs, and verbs that are inchoative or express a change in state all combine with *džyk*.

4.4.2. Semantic types of modified verbs

Predications involving *be*-verbs were already discussed above as quite frequent, but other than that, there are certain types of verbs that make up the majority of the VPs modified by *džyk*. These are a) change-of-state verbs, b) experiencer verbs (i.e., expressing psychological states or physical states), c) perception verbs, d) cognition verbs, and f) certain verbs of motion. A group of evaluative verbs expressing 'succeed', 'suffice', and 'suit' are also frequent. In the following section I will illustrate each semantic group with some examples.

4.4.2.1. Change-of-state verbs

As was expected, change-of-state verbs occurring with *džyk* are numerous. This semantic type of verbs includes change of psychological state, e.g., *vežörsjavny* 'become reasonable', *šöjövošny* 'become shocked', *setčyny* 'surrender', *smelmyny* 'gain courage', etc., change of physical state, e.g., *kövjas'ny* 'catch on', *šedny* 'get caught', *bydmyny* 'grow', *dojmavny* 'get hurt', *mudžyny* 'tire', *potlas'ny* 'break up', and motion verbs that entail change of location, e.g., *v'iččys'ny* 'hide'. Most change-of-state events are involved with intensity scales (4.62), but other readings are not excluded, e.g., quality in (4.63), tempo in (4.64), and frequency/event quantity.

(4.62) *Pemydas* *Šan'* *Olysja* *oz=džyk*
   dark.INE/ILL.3SG Friendly House-Spirit NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG
   dojmav.
   get injured.CNEG
   'In the dark, the Friendly House-Spirit will not get hurt as much.' (Popov A 2005)

(4.63) *Söstöm* *vaas*   *čerys* *bydmas=džyk*
   clean water.INE/ILL.3SG fish.SG3 grow.3SG.FUT=AUG
   i tövnas ji gorulas oz pöd.
   'In clean water, the fish grows better and in the winter under the ice it does not suffocate.' (zv.26.09.07)

(4.64) =(3.42) *Oz=džyk*   *šonav,*
      NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG warm up.CNEG
      oz   *sim* *duköss'y* *n'i...*
      NEG.3SG.PRS rust smell.CNEG PAR
   '(About milk in a metal milkjar.) [It] does not become warm as quickly, [it] will not start to smell of rust...' (Toropov 1974)

4.4.2.2. Experiencer verbs

Experiencer verbs include verbs expressing feelings or psychological states, e.g., *dözmödčyny* 'annoy', *gažtömtčyny* 'miss, long for', *povny* 'fear', etc., and physical states, e.g., *v'is'ny* 'be ill, hurt', *kyvny ködzydzö/tšygjalömys* 'feel cold/hunger'. As was discussed above, it is to be expected that psychological and physical situations are expressed mainly by stative subject-experiencer verbs (4.65) and dynamic object-experiencer verbs (4.66). The verbs are usually modified for intensity or moderation.

(4.65) *Öni   köt'   tšyns'ys   s'injas   kurödis,*
       now   although   smoke.ELA.3SG   eye.PL   begin to hurt.3SG.PST
       pomjas   èz=džyk   lys'tny   matystčyny.
       thing.PL   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG   dare.CNEG.3PL   come closer.INF
       'Now, although their eyes began to hurt from the smoke, the things (i.e., mosquitos) did not really dare to come closer.' (Uljashev 1993)

(4.66) *Vonjas suvtödlisny matödžyk kyr jylö,*
       med   tövruys   inm'is   da   èz=džyk
       that   light wind.3SG   reach.3SG.PST   and   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG
       dözmödčyny   nomjas.
       annoy.CNEG.3PL   mosquito.PL
       'They put the tents up on top of the hill, so that the light wind would blow and the mosquitos would not annoy [them] as much.' (Napalkov 1981)

4.4.2.3. Gradable actions

Gradable actions include **processes** (like *udžavny* 'work', *sjojny* 'eat', etc.) and **motion** verbs (*vetlyny* 'go', *šedny* 'move', *vos'lavny* 'step', *čotny* 'limp', *vony* 'arrive', *inmyny* 'reach, get to', etc.). The process and motion verbs that are modified for intensity degree all seem to lexicalise or otherwise involve a manner reading, e.g., (4.67) and (4.68). In the latter, the scale associated with the verb refers to how carefully the event is carried out and can be paraphrased as 'I will choose my food more carefully'. This excludes any quantity-related readings that the presence of *sjojöm* 'food' might elicit.

(4.67) *Kor   pal'ödčan   sèk'i   udžyd*
       when   sober up.2SG.PRS   then   work.2SG
       oz=džyk   čot!
       NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   limp.CNEG
       'When you sober up, then your work will not limp [along] as much!' (Lebedev 1950)

(4.68) =(3.24) *Kuta   sled'itny=džyk   sjojöm   börsja,*
       start.1SG.PRS   keep an eye on.INF=AUG   food   PP.after
       da   lan'tas   ačys...
       and   pass.3SG.FUT   self, own.3SG
       'I keep an eye on my food more [carefully], and it will pass...' (Toropov 1964)

Other uses of verbs of motion or process are related to event quantity/frequency, or quality, the latter is especially prominent in the affirmative. With quality modification, the choice of interpretation is based on whether the verb combines with *better* or requires a general *more*, i.e., it is dependent on the semantic composition of the verb and the scales associated with it. In (4.69), the verb calls for a general high degree, while in (4.70), the stress is on how well something succeeded and *more* is not appropriate.

(4.69)   *Zbyl',*   *"ičöt*   *burjasyd*   *jona*   *kolö=džyk"*
             indeed   small   good.PL.2SG   a lot   be necessary.3SG.PRS=AUG
             pusta   *sjorn'ijasys'!.. (Ivan Kuratov)*
             empty   speech.PL.ELA
             'Indeed, "small good [things] [are] more necessary" than empty speeches!.. (Ivan Kuratov)' (zv.28.04.07)

(4.70)   *Tajö*   *pörjö*   *sjorn'iys*   *artmis=džyk.*
             this   time, turn   conversation.3SG   succeed.3SG.PST=AUG
             'This time the conversation was more successful.' (km.10.11.07b)

The same kind of dependency of associated scales is true for manner-related action verbs which may have a tempo reading with degree modification, i.e., the modified VP may be interpreted as *faster* which refers to greater intensity, e.g., *völyd vos'lalödžyk* 'the horse steps [home] faster' and *s'ölömyd tipködžyk* 'the heart beats faster'.

    Another larger group of activities are mainly involved with **communication** or **speech** (e.g., *sjorn'itny* 'speak', *p'injas'ny* 'curse', *oškyny* 'praise', *ročas'ny* 'speak Russian', etc.). These verbs do not in general seem to be involved with intensity modification, but can be modified for event quantity (4.71), (4.72) or quality.

(4.71)   *Kupeč'jasly*   *burdžyk*   *vuzas'ny*   *rytyn,*
             merchant.PL.DAT   good.COMP   sell.INF   evening.INE
             kor   *bos'tas'öny*   *nyv-zon,*   *najö*
             when   do shopping.3PL.PRE   youth   they
             oz=džyk   *donjas'ny.*
             NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG   bargain, haggle.CNEG.3PL
             'Shopkeepers do the best business in the evening, when young people do the shopping, they bargain less [about the price].' (Juhnin 1941)

(4.72)   *Sijö*   *as*   *jyvs'ys,*   *s'iktsa*   *olöm*
             3SG   self   PP.ELA.3SG   village.ADJ   life
             –   *tözd*   *jyvs'ys*   *v'is'tasis=džyk.*
                 doing   PP.ELA.3SG   tell.3SG.PST=AUG
             'She spoke more about herself, about village life [and] doings.' (km.23.06.07)

Although all speech verbs are logically connected to sound emission, only manner-related speech verbs may be involved with degree modification, e.g., *ozdžyk möd p'ilitny* 's/he will not begin to nag as much', from (3.9) above, where *pilitny* 'nag'

is marked for manner. In this context, the VP is actually graded for extent and it is the quantity of nagging that is modified, not the intensity.

4.4.2.4. Perception and cognition

Perception verbs are mainly *tydavny* 'be visible', *kazjavny* 'notice', *kaž'itčyny* 'seem', *addzyny* 'see', etc. Perception verbs can be either stative (Kimian states) or involve activity or inchoativity (Davidsonian states). With *džyk*, the stative perception verbs are involved mainly with intensity in the negative (4.73), but mainly with a quality reading of *better* in the affirmative (4.74).

(4.73) *Tadz'i*   *ès'kö*   *čukyrjasys*   *oz=džyk*
        this way   PAR   wrinkle.PL.3SG   NEG.3PL.PRS=AUG
        tödčyny   *da*.
        be noticeable.CNEG.3PL   PAR
        'This way the wrinkles are not as noticeable.' (Popov A 2008)

(4.74) *Tijanly*   *tydalö=džyk*.
        2PL.DAT   be visible.3SG.PRS=AUG
        'To you [it is] better visible.' (Popov A 2008)

As for the perception verbs that involve inchoativity, these cannot be modified for intensity, since achievements are involved with two-point scales but intensity requires the scale to have multiple points. Quality degree (4.75) and event quantity, however, are not excluded with telic perception verbs.

(4.75) *Tadz'i,*   *čajtisny*   *najö,*
        this way   believe.3PL.PST   3PL
        enjasys   *kazjalasny=džyk*.
        god.PL.3SG   notice.3PL.FUT=AUG
        'This way, they believed, the gods will notice [them] better.' (Timin 2000)

Verbs of cognition are in that respect similar – intensity (4.76) appears only with stative uses, while other readings may appear with dynamic verbs, e.g., quality, but also moderation (4.77) and event quantity.

(4.76) /---/   *tènad*   *muder*   *appart'jasly*
                2SG.INSTR.2SG   clever   apparatus.PL.DAT
                og=džyk   *sètšöma*   *èsky*.
                NEG.1SG.PRS=AUG   thus   trust.CNEG
        '/---/ I do not trust your clever apparatuses as much.' (Ignatov 1988)

(4.77) *Tol'kö*   *vot*   *sijö*   *neuna*
        only   PAR   3SG   a bit
        oz=džyk   *gögörvo*   *verössö*.
        NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   understand.CNEG   husband.ACC.3SG
        'Just that she did not quite understand her husband.' (Juhnin 1941)

4.4.2.5. succeed, suffice, suit

As for other stative verbs, there are three groups of semantically close verbs that are quite frequent with *džyk*: these are *succeed*-, *suffice*-, and *suit*-verbs. These verbs do not involve a change, even if some uses of the *succeed*-verbs are considered telic, but rather express some evaluation or property. When used with Komi *džyk*, these three groups of events usually appear with a quality reading and are paraphrased with *better* or *(not) as well*. Event and object quantity are also possible, but general high degree or intensity is rare and possible only when the high degree of success/suitability, etc. is relevant to stress. In the negative, the moderation reading that refers to not succeeding/sufficing/suiting is twice as frequent as *better* with these verbs, so it is the quality-related comparative use and moderation that account for the majority of these verbs with *džyk*.

The group of *succeed*-verbs mainly consists of *artmyny* 'come out; succeed' (4.78), *artmyvlyny* 'occur; succeed' (4.78), *udajtčyny* 'succeed; happen', and some instances of *lony* with attributes referring to success or achieving a result. As was said above, modification refers to quality (4.78) or moderation (4.79). The latter example features a manner adverb; however, the clitic does not target the manner alone (*very proper*) but also the predication of *not succeed as properly*.

(4.78) *Tènad*   *artmas=džyk.*
        2SG.INSTR.2SG   succeed.3SG.FUT=AUG
        'You will succeed better at it (lit. with you [it] will succeed better).' (Popov A 2005)

(4.79) *No   myjlakö   sylön   tajö*
        but   for some reason   3SG.DAT   that
        oz=džyk   ladön   artmyvly.
        NEG.3SG.PRS=AUG   properly   succeed.CNEG
        'But for some reason it does not succeed quite as well for him/her' (Rochev E 1976)

suffice-verbs consist mainly of *tyrmyny* 'suffice', but also *sudzs'yny* 'have enough' and *šedny (unpöyt)* 'get (enough sleep)'. In the negative, moderation (4.80) is the prevalent reading, but in the affirmative, quality (4.81), event quantity (4.82), and object quantity are also possible.

(4.80) *Sèssja i ljozdis Epimlön syvjö,*
        a   mödyslön   ebösys   èz=džyk
        but   other.3SG.GEN   strength.3SG   NEG.3SG.PST=AUG
        sudzs'y   s'ökyd   tušasö   kutny.
        suffice.CNEG   heavy   body.ACC.3SG   hold.INF
        'Then she fell into Epim's lap, but his strength did not quite suffice to hold up her heavy body.' (Beznosikov 1985)

(4.81) *Tövjasnad* *sèni,* *majbyr,*
winter.PL.INSTR.2SG there good, not bad
unpötyd *šedö=džyk.*
enough sleep.2SG get.3SG.PRES=AUG
'There in the winters, one has a better chance of getting enough sleep.' (Popov A 2008)

(4.82) *Dert,* *muköd* *kad* *sert'i* *gožömnad*
of course other time PP.in comparison summer.INSTR.2SG
tyrmö=džyk *tözd-nokys,* /---/
be enough.3SG.PRS=AUG activity.3SG
'Of course, in comparison to other seasons there is more to do in the summer, /---/' (km.02.06.07)

suit-verbs mainly consist of *lösjavny* 'suit; agree with', but also instances of *kaz'itčyny* 'seem; like', *skod'itny* 'suit; be similar', etc. Again, quality (4.83) and moderation are the central readings. (4.84) features an example of how occasionally, the degree of suitability is also modified – the preference of malt beer is rather related to intensity than quality, while quality would require reference to manner, e.g., about which drink tastes better.

(4.83) *I* *tajö* *bankyslön* *kred'it* *setan* *pöradokys*
PAR this bank.3SG.GEN credit give.NOML protocol.3SG
lösjalö=džyk *s'iktsa* *olys'ly.*
suit.3SG.PRES=AUG village.ADJ resident.DAT
'And this bank's credit-giving protocol suits the residents of the village better.' (pg.19.04.07)

(4.84) *A* *Tiköly* *čužva* *kaž'itčö=džyk*
but PN.DAT malt-beer suit.3SG.PRES=AUG
l'ibö *ködzyd* *yröš,* *gožsja* *lunö* *kö.*
or cold.2SG root beer, kvas summer.ADJ day.ILL if
'But Tikö likes malt beer more (lit. to Tikö malt beer appeals more), or cold kvas, if it is summer-time.' (Timin 2000)

4.4.2.6. Auxiliary verbs

Modal auxiliaries form a small separate group. It consists mainly of verbs like *kovny* 'be necessary', *sjammyny* 'can', *poz'ny* 'be possible', *kösjyny* 'want', etc. Modification is mainly for intensity (4.85) and moderation (4.86), but some examples of quality and event quantity modification (4.87) are also found.

(4.85) – *Sèni* *öd* *mi* *kolam=džyk?*
there PAR 1PL be necessary.1PL.PRES=AUG
'– We are more necessary there, right?' (Lyjurov 1988)

(4.86)   *Ènö*   *d'iv'itöj,*   *og=džyk*   *kö*   *sjammy*

NEG.2SG.PST   judge.CNEG.2PL   NEG.1SG.PRES=AUG   if   be able.CNEG

petködlyny   *tijanlys'*   *pytškössa*   *olömnytö.*

show.INF   2PL.ABL   inside.ADJ   life.1PL.ACC.2SG

'Do not judge me, when I cannot quite show your inner life that well.' (Toropov 1964)

(4.87)   *Čeljad'tö*   *pörjödlyny*   *sjamman=džyk.*

children.ACC.2SG   lie; let down.INF   be able.2SG.PRES=AUG

'You can let down/lie to the children more.' (Zhugyl 1959)

4.5. Conclusion

In conclusion, an overview can be given of *džyk* as a degree expression in Komi. It has been shown in this chapter that with *džyk*, the general cross-linguistic observations regarding quantification and quantity degree modification also apply. For example, the predication is required to be either plural and allow for cumulative reference or be a mass verb. Some examples above have shown that additional parameters of the situation like subject plurality, event plurality, and telicity should be considered when differentiating between countable frequency and quantity degree.

With event frequency, the predication should be telic and plural, i.e., cyclic with a single/collective subject (*sijö kutis pyšjavnydžyk* 'she began to run away more often') or habitual/general with a distributive subject (*tom gozja èzdžyk torjödčavny* 'young people would not separate as often'). Event duration requires the predication to be atelic and singular and to have a singular/collective, i.e., non-distributive subject. In addition, the involved verb should associate with duration and the context should support the duration reading. A duration reading was very rare with *džyk* in this data set. Event quantity requires the event to be habitual/general or re-occurring; the subject should be singular/collective (*ozdžyk möd p'il'itny* 'his wife will not begin to nag as much'), since a distributive subject would yield a countable frequency reading. The collectivity of the subject means that the cyclic events are reanalysed as atelic states or activities (*muž'ikjas vetlig-munigad addzyvlönydžyk* 'men encounter more (when) coming and going'). Verbal semantics is less relevant for frequency and event quantity; however, situations, which are once-only (*tani sijö čužl'is* 'he was born here'), individual-level (*nyvbaba tödö k'itaj kyv* 'the woman knows Chinese'), or collective (*čeljad' sulalöny ydžyd kytšön* 'the children are standing in a large circle'), cannot be modified for quantity (see Nakanishi 2007, examples adapted from KRS 2000 and EKS 2022).

It was established above that in some instances, telic verbs do not appear singular after modification. Rather, the clitic alters the event structure from single event to cyclic (for achievements) or habitual (for achievements and accomplishments), which also affects the telicity reading of the predication. Based on the examples I have analysed, with *džyk*, the shift of stative > telic only occurs when

negated predication that are modified for extent gradation (stative *on yvlaad kortrav* 'you do not hurry to the yard' > telic *Sèk'i ondžyk yvlaad kortrav* 'Then you do not hurry to the yard as often'), whereas negated predications modified for degree are involved with the shift of stative > dynamic (atelic) (stative *oz povz'ödly* 'not scare people' > dynamic *bur jözsö ozdžyk povz'ödly* 'not scare the good people as much'). In the affirmative, regardless of the reading, the predication's telicity is the same both before and after modification.

Telicity distinguishes two types of intensity readings with *džyk* – with atelic verbs, the intensity of the ongoing situation is modified (e.g., *radejtnydžyk* 'love more, with more intensity'), while with telic verbs like *k'iss'yny* 'tear up', the extent or scope of the result is assessed (*k'iss'ynydžyk* 'tear up more, to a greater extent'). With a quality reading, telicity does not seem to play a significant role – both telic and atelic verbs can be modified for quality and the reading does not vary for the two, while with tempo, telic verbs are concerned with the speed of attaining the end result, and atelics usually refer to manner-related tempo. No telic verbs were modified for an entity volume reading in the analysed data set.

Degree modification requires the verb to be gradable, and this also applies to modification by *džyk.* The semantics of the gradable verb and the scale they associate with determines the exact reading of the modification; and the scale can be either inherent (*kyvtyny* 'swim' associates with *well*) or be derived from context (*myjla Pan'ičevyd èzdžyk ves'kyda sjorn'it* 'why did Panichev not speak more directly'). For *džyk*, the readings I have distinguished are intensity or general high degree, quality, tempo, and moderation.

džyk can modify the intensity degree for both scalar and non-scalar verbs, i.e., those that map onto an ordered set of degrees and those that do not. The degrees of scalar verbs are associated with result, while degrees of non-scalar verbs are associated with manner. Scalar verbs are associated with various scales: property, path, extent/volume/quantity scales, and divergence. Property and path scales are lexicalised in change-of-state verbs and may be two-point or multi-point, path scales are lexicalised in directed motion verbs. Extent/volume scales are not necessarily lexicalised in the verb itself and are only multi-point, since they are complex by nature. Divergence is involved with verbs of difference, comparison, marked behaviour, and erratic verbs. Non-scalar verbs include verbs of change and motion that do not lexicalise an ordered scale. In degree gradation, the intensification targets the intensity of the manner that the event denotes.

The scale these verbs possess can either be closed with no degree past the minimal and/or maximal degree existing (e.g., **s'ipty öšin'sö undžyk* 'close the window more'), be partially closed (lower, upper closed), or it can be open, meaning no limiting values exist. Atelic verbs are involved with open scales, but telic verbs are involved with (partially) closed scales, which should not by definition allow further modification. However, *džyk* can modify both atelic and telic verbs, so at least some telic verbs must allow further degree intensification after their internal end point has been reached. This notion relates to standard and maximum telos, where the standard telos denotes the internal end point of the event (*mudz'is* 'she (became) tired') and maximum telos denotes the point beyond

which degree modification is not possible (*dz'iködz mudz'is* 'she (became) completely tired'). For gradable accomplishments, the two types of telos are distinct, but for ungradable accomplishments they coincide.

States usually do not involve change, but they still combine with the degree modification reading of *džyk*, since they involve gradable properties. Not all atelic verbs are associated with general high degree in Komi. Since the intensity reading calls for a multi-point scale (*vežörsjavnydžyk* 'become more reasonable'), then the true two-point verbs (i.e., achievements) do not combine with general high degree and appear for the most part only with quality-related high degree (*ozdžyk kazjavny* 'they do not notice (the rabbit) that well)'.

The final topic addressed is the semantics of the verbs that appear with *džyk*'s degree readings. The general notion for Cypanov (2005) is that verbs with an inherent ability to be intensified appear with *džyk*, while the verbs which cannot be intensified, do not. I would refine this and add that it is the entire VP that should be considered, not the verb alone, and that the gradability need not be inherent, since not all gradable verbs lexicalise the scales with which they are associated.

For Cypanov (2005), the group of non-gradable verbs consists of existential and momentaneous verbs, and verbs expressing single-occurring actions. In my data set, both existential verbs and achievements appear with *džyk*, and verbs like *čužny* 'be born' appear as plural event expressions, although I believe they might be used as once-only occurrences in a quality-related comparative use. While some of Cypanov's gradable verbs did not appear in my data set, the general claim holds that verbs of motion, real activities, stative and cognitive verbs, and verbs that are inchoative or express a change in state all combine with *džyk*.

Based on my data set, there are certain semantic classes of verbs that appear with *džyk*. These are change-of-state verbs, which mainly include verbs that express changes in psychological state, physical state, and verbs referring to change of location; then, experiencer verbs, which express psychological states or physical states; gradable actions that includes many (but not inclusively) manner related processes, motion verbs, and verbs of speech and communication; perception and cognition verbs, which can appear as either states or achievements with the former modified mainly for intensity and quality, while the latter reject intensity. A group of evaluative verbs expressing 'succeed', 'suffice', and 'suit' are also frequent; they are mainly modified for quality. Unsurprisingly, these classes correspond to Löbner's (2012) and Fleischhauer's (2016) accounts of verbs that are mainly involved in degree modification.

5. LINGUISTIC ASSESSMENT TEST

This chapter presents the results of questionnaire work with informants carried out in Syktyvkar in 2014. In general, the aim of the assessment test is to illustrate how young language users react to *džyk* in various linguistic contexts, of especial interest are those instances that differ from the contexts in which *džyk* usually appears. The assessment test complements the information provided in the earlier chapters, since the generalisations presented there are based on examples from literature, i.e., on written edited language use.

More specifically, the function of the assessment test is to gain information about which types of verbs are rated as more acceptable with *džyk* by speakers of Komi. Analysing the items in the assessment test also helps to ascertain the main factors that tend to restrict the use of *džyk* or some of its readings with verbs in Komi. The most direct approach for doing that is observing the appearance of certain linguistic characteristics in the test items with either higher or lower average ratings. The assumption is that the items with the highest ratings are involved with simple clauses in 3rd person forms and that the verbal stems appearing in those test items are among those that appear most frequently in literature. The items that receive lower ratings are assumed to be those where the involved verb is infrequently found in literature either due to its morphosyntactic traits or its semantics.

Since the raters were requested to provide translations of the items they rated with 3 or higher, the questionnaire also provides an interesting insight into how *džyk* is perceived and interpreted by native speakers.

The work with informants took place in the form of a written assessment test which consisted of 50 test items and was filled out by 40 bilingual Komi-Russian speaking students aged 17–22. Each informant was asked to give a rating on a scale of 1 to 5 to each test item based on how natural and frequent they found the item to be in their language use, 1 being 'impossible', 2 'unacceptable', 3 'acceptable', 4 'very acceptable', and 5 'very often used'. Note that there is no 'hard to say' or other similar option. The raters were also asked to provide an interpretation for the item if they had rated it with 3 or above.

Out of 50 test items, one was later discarded during analysis due to the occurrence of human error in the test compilation period which made the item unsuitable for use. Also, out of 40 informants, two were excluded for leaving half or more of the items unrated, so the responses of 38 raters were used in the analysis. In order to not diminish the pool of informants further, all other informants who had unrated items have been left in. There were 12 informants with up to 6 unrated items. Their mean ratings are based on the number of ratings provided, i.e., an unrated item does not equal 0, an unrated item is simply not taken into account.

The test items were composed of sentences randomly chosen from media texts of 2007 issues of the Komi newspapers *Komi Mu* 'Komi land', *Zvezda* 'Star', and *Vyl Tujöd* 'On a New Path'. A sentence was eligible for selection if it involved a verb+modifier construction, given that the modifier was known or assumed to be

part of the clitic's semantic scope. In a small number of instances, sentences with a maximiser or a proportional modifier which are not in the clitic's scope were also chosen for experimental reasons. The full list of substituted degree expressions is listed in Table 31.

Table 31. Degree expressions replaced during the compiling of test items.

modifier type	
manner	*jondžyka* 'stronger.ADV', *kokn'yddžyka* 'easier.ADV, more easily', *ödjödžyk* 'fast.COMP', *ödjödžyka* 'faster.ADV', *burdžyk*, 'good.ADJ.COMP', *burdžyka* 'better.ADV', *bura* 'well'
quantity	*etšadžyk* 'less', *undžyk* 'more'
high degree	*una* 'a lot', *jona* 'a lot, very', *zev jona* 'very much'
proportional[44]	*jondžykasö* 'mostly, for the most part'
maximiser	*dz'iködz* 'entirely'

The second point of relevance in choosing test items was that the verbs involved should be morphologically diverse, represent different lexical aspect classes, and include various semantic verb types. This means that verb forms in various persons and numbers were chosen from among verbs describing both stative and dynamic, atelic and telic, and punctual and durative situations. In addition, care was taken to include verbs of motion and other 'real' activities, verbs of cognition and perception, also verbs expressing change.

For the assessment tests, the modifiers were replaced by *džyk*, as in the example below, where (a) is the original clause and (b) has *džyk* attached to the VP. This method was chosen to arrive at test items that would have the minimal possibility of being ungrammatical. At the same time it would be known that the verbs are modifiable by degree modifiers or adverbs with similar or identical semantics to *džyk*.

a. *An'*   *oz*   *jona*   *radejt*   *kaz'tyvny.*
   woman   NEG.3SG   a lot   love.CNEG   recall.INF

b. *An'*   *oz=džyk*   *radejt*   *kaz'tyvny.*
   woman   NEG.3SG=AUG   love.CNEG   recall.INF
   'The woman does not like to recall very much.'

The test itself was conducted in a classroom environment with the test filled out by hand on paper. The directions were given in Russian, which was also the metalanguage of the tests. Firstly, the informants were asked to fill out the questionnaire about their sociolinguistic background (see below for details), and then to

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[44] The proportional modifier and maximiser were chosen with the expectation of being rejected, since they have not been noted as belonging to the semantic scope of *džyk* in Komi. Note that *-džyk* present in *jondžykasö* is not perceptible as a comparison element but instead is a grammaticalised part of an adverb with a superlative reading.

fill out the linguistic assessment test. There was no time frame for the test, but in most cases 1.5 hours, the average lecture time, was enough for completing both tasks. A small number of tests were taken home and returned at the following meeting.

The references of the original sentences used in the questionnaire feature the abbreviation of the newspaper's name – km = *Komi mu*, zv = *Zvezda*, vt = *Vyl′ Tujöd* – and the date of the issue, e.g., vt.02.07.07 = 2nd July 2007 issue of *Vyl′ Tujöd*. In the list of sources, the author and title of the source article are also made available. When referring to the test item, i.e., the modified sentence with the verb+*džyk* construction, the tag indicates the item's order in the questionnaire, e.g., Q21 = the 21st item of the questionnaire. For full list of test items, see Appendix 1.

In the second part to the questionnaire, detailed information about the sociolinguistic background of each rater was also acquired using the self-assessment tool LEAP-Q (more details below). This background information about each rater is relevant to assess the homogeneity of the group of raters, but also to find possible correlations between the sociolinguistic parameters like age of language acquisition, dominant language, (subjective) language proficiency, etc., and the ratings that each of the informants provides. My primary assumption is that raters with a stronger Komi background are also more reliable in their ratings, but I do not exclude any raters or ratings based on sociolinguistic traits. It emerged that the standard deviation (SD, i.e., whether the informants use a wide or narrow scale for rating) of an informant's ratings has statistically significant correlations with some parameters of their sociolinguistic background, so I will use simple correlation tests to illustrate this concept below.

Note that here, *more/less acceptable* usually refers to subjective assessments by the informants, and not to whether some verbs accept modification (unless stated otherwise).

In this chapter, I will begin with a short overview of the sociolinguistic background of the informants who provided the ratings, and a more detailed overview of raters with low, high, and medium SD. I will then move on to briefly introducing the test items and the linguistic variables observed for each test item. Each test item will be analysed qualitatively and examples of the items used in the assessment test will be given with comments on their linguistic composition. For some cases, extra-linguistic parameters will also be noted that might have had an impact on the item's ratings. The final section of the chapter presents and discusses the readings provided for *džyk* by the raters.

5.1. The general sociolinguistic background of the raters

The sociolinguistic background information for the informants was gathered in the form of a written self-assessment questionnaire introduced in Marian *et al.* 2007, called the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q). The questionnaire was developed for acquiring comparable data on language

acquisition for all the languages a multilingual speaks as well as for gathering further detailed information about the speaker's everyday language use and cultural background (including everyday exposure to language, cultural identity, time lived in the language environment, etc.).

Each of the informants completed the three parts of the questionnaire: one on a more general background concerning everyday language use, and one each for L1 and L2 on language acquisition and self-assessed proficiency. The questionnaires were filled out in a classroom environment, the metalanguage of the questionnaires and oral guidance was Russian. L1 and L2 were designated by the informants themselves as either Komi or Russian. Based on the information provided, I will give a general outline of the informants' sociolinguistic background and use the sociolinguistic data in later sub-chapters for illustrating the differences between informants.

As was stated above, the data were elicited from 38 informants, who are young bilingual Komi speakers (aged 17–22, average age 19.37). The age of beginning language acquisition[45] fell between ages 0–10 for Komi (average 3.11) and 0–8 for Russian (average 4.3). The language acquired first was marked as Komi in 30 instances (18 for Russian), while Komi was the dominant language for 21 informants, Russian for 15 informants, and two informants marking Komi and Russian as equal in dominance. Based on the questionnaire, cultural identity also leans towards Komi: rated on a scale of 1–10, the average for Komi is 8.8 (SD=1.9) and 6.7 (SD=2.5) for Russian. Yet, seeing as Komi is a minority language (and culture), it was not uncommon for the same informant to rate both cultures entirely or more or less equally as part of their identity. Although information about the informant's dialect background was collected, the group of informants was too small for comparing the responses with respect to dialect area, especially since a) not all areas were represented (7 dialects out of 10, in addition to the literary language) and b) the Upper Vyčegda area accounted for 16 informants, forming a disproportionately large group across all raters.

Of the general parameters concerning everyday use of either of the languages, average time spent in either language environment (i.e., exposure to language) is reported as 48% for Komi and 52% for Russian, although this does not really reflect that exposure to Russian was marked higher more often. Reading in either language is reported as 39.5% for Komi and 60.5% for Russian, while speaking either of the languages is 51.4% for Komi and 48.6% for Russian. General exposure and reading in either language are for the most part expected results, since not only is education given mainly in Russian, but most of the media (news-

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[45] The parameter of "age when began acquiring" was sometimes confused with another similar parameter, namely "age of acquisition of fluent speech". This was made apparent by the fact that for some informants, the age reported for the latter was earlier than the former. It is likely that the former was interpreted as "the age when one started studying (at kindergarten/school)". To have some comparable results, speech fluency is not regarded as a separate parameter in the analysis and from the two reported ages, the earliest is considered "age when began acquiring". The solution is not ideal, however, since even then, this "reports" some informants as not having started speaking at all until the age of 6 or 7.

papers, television, radio, etc.) and literature are also primarily in Russian. Speaking more Komi can probably be explained by using more Komi with family – on a scale of 1–10, the average rating for using Komi with family is 8.6 (SD=2.6) while for Russian it is 4.55 (SD=3.6). When speaking with friends, the figures already shift towards Russian – using Komi with friends has an average rating of 7 (SD=2.4), while Russian has 7.7 (SD=2.2).

For self-assessed proficiency in either language, understanding spoken language as well as proficiency in speaking and reading were rated. Firstly, Komi is rated slightly lower on all accounts – understanding spoken Komi is on average rated 8.76 (SD=1.38), while Russian is rated 9 (SD=1.35). Proficiency in speaking is 7.9 (SD=2) for Komi and 8.6 (SD=1.36) for Russian, proficiency in reading is 7.9 (SD=2) for Komi and 9 (SD=1) for Russian. While these are all self-assessments, they give a valuable insight into the speaker's confidence in their own language ability as well as reflect the role and dominance of either language.

In general, this group of informants are fluent bilingual speakers of Komi and Russian who have acquired both languages in childhood at a relatively early age and use both languages in their everyday lives. It can be noted that Komi is used more with family and as a spoken language while compared to Komi, Russian is used slightly more in written form. On average, the informants are also slightly more exposed to Russian, but Komi is still reported as both the dominant language and L1 for the majority of this group.

5.2. Correlations of item ratings and the sociolinguistic background of the informants

In this section, I will discuss whether there is some correlation between the sociolinguistic traits of the informants and the average ratings they provide. For this I use Spearman's rank correlation coefficient which is used for measuring the strength of association between two ordinal variables (Baayen 2008: 98), with Spearman rho indicating a positive or a negative correlation, and the strength of the association with 0.10 and 0.29 representing weak, 0.30 to 0.49 medium, and 0.50 and above representing strong association[46]. Since the Spearman rho shows only weak and medium association within this dataset, my main use of it is in combination with the p-value to assess whether a) the sociolinguistic variable has some statistically significant association with a parameter of the provided rating, and whether b) the association is negative or positive. The p-value is considered significant if <0.05. The null hypothesis is that there is no correlation between the raters' sociolinguistic background and the assessments they give for the test items, but I expect that the sociolinguistic background of a rater affects their

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[46] It is commonly agreed that 0–0.1 is negligible correlation and 0.9–1 is very strong or perfect correlation, but the area in between is often interpreted differently for different fields. For the purpose of this analysis, the cut-off points I have described above are sufficient for distinguishing between parameters that have at least some significance and those that do not.

rating confidence, e.g., that the informants who have acquired Russian before Komi or who regularly use Russian more than Komi may be less confident in their assessments and give either lower or less varied ratings.

It became apparent that the raw mean ratings of the informants do not have any statistically significant correlation with any of the sociolinguistic parameters, but some correlation became apparent when standard deviation of the mean ratings was used as a basis for evaluation. Standard deviation (SD) shows how much the informants' ratings deviate from the average of all raters and in that respect illustrates how diverse their responses are in comparison to other raters. In this data set, the mean standard deviation of the informants' responses is 0.87, maximal 1.54, minimal 0 (i.e., no variation in responses at all), and the square root variance of SD, i.e., one standard deviation is 0.4.

As said, SD of the item ratings shows significance in correlation tests (see Section *5.2.1*) and indicates that some sociolinguistic parameters influence the range of ratings the informant uses, while the same parameters have no statistically important influence on the average ratings themselves. In the following section, the relevant sociolinguistic parameters and their correlations to SD will be presented. I will illustrate the findings with comments on the background of some of the informants, who will be chosen based on 1) whether they give high or low ratings on average and 2) whether their responses have a high or low standard deviation.

5.2.1. Sociolinguistic parameters that correlate with standard deviation (SD)

Although it became apparent that some sociolinguistic parameters of the informants correlate with SD, then this applies only to some parameters while others have no statistical significance in that respect. Table 32 shows that SD is in medium correlation with choosing to speak Komi and with choosing to read in Russian. Also that SD is higher when the informant chooses to speak Komi more often (positive correlation), and SD is lower when the informant chooses to read in Russian more often (negative correlation). The correlation is even slightly stronger for reading in Russian than it is for speaking Komi, but both correlations show that the informants who choose to use Komi more and Russian less also use a wider range of ratings. This notion of confidence will also be approached below, but these correlations lead one to believe that the informants might be more confident in assigning higher and lower acceptability to Komi sentences.

Although choosing to read in Russian is in distribution with its Komi counterpart, there is no statistically significant correlation between SD and choosing to read in Komi (p-value 0.1666). It might be relevant to point out that choosing to read in Komi is seldom reported higher than choosing to read in Russian, the latter usually being rated between 50–80%.

Table 32. Correlations for exposure to Russian, choosing to speak or read in the language, and SD.

variable	p-value	Spearman rho
exposure to Russian	0.5495	0.1001865
choosing to speak Komi[47]	0.03934	0.3357132
choosing to read in Russian	0.008089	–0.4233457
choosing to read in Komi	0.1666	0.2290531

The age of language acquisition looks like a relevant parameter for influencing the ratings of the informants, but when testing the parameters across all informants, I found no statistically significant correlation between the age of acquiring either language (Table 33) and the SD of the informant's assessments.

Table 33. Correlations for age when informant began acquiring language, and SD.

variable	p-value	Spearman rho
age when began acquiring Komi	0.113	0.2613481
age when began acquiring Russian	0.211	0.2076261

Some language proficiency parameters seem to influence SD. As is shown in Table 34, there is a statistically significant correlation between understanding Komi speech and reading in Komi, and SD, but not for proficiency of speaking either of the languages. This might be somewhat surprising since for the informants with low SD and low mean ratings, the speaking proficiency of Russian differed very strongly from speaking proficiency of Komi. Yet, across all the informants, these parameters do not show statistical significance.

Table 34. Correlations for language proficiency and SD.

variable	p-value	Spearman rho
proficiency: understanding speech in Komi	0.03615	0.3410133
proficiency: understanding speech in Russian	0.2457	0.1930015
proficiency: speaking Komi	0.1243	0.2536849
proficiency: speaking Russian	0.9683	–0.006669102
proficiency: reading in Komi	0.03095	0.3505466
proficiency: reading in Russian	0.1784	0.2230008

On the other hand, with understanding speech as well as reading in Komi, there is a positive correlation, meaning the higher the proficiency, the higher the SD. This might again show that informants who are more confident in their language proficiency also use a broader scale for rating the items. The informant is thus led by how much they speak the language, as was shown in Table 32, but not by how

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[47]   In distribution with choosing to speak Russian.

high they assess their level of speaking proficiency to be. Also, understanding speech or text has more relevance than speech production.

In conclusion, the parameters with a positive correlation with SD are: choosing to speak Komi, proficiency of understanding Komi speech, and reading in Komi. SD is higher when these parameters are rated higher. There is a negative correlation between SD and choosing to read in Russian, meaning that when an informant chooses to read more in Russian, their SD is lower. Language acquired first is also in negative correlation with SD, meaning that when Komi is acquired first, the SD is higher.

The observations made in this section show that the sociolinguistic background of an informant has correlations with the standard deviation of their ratings. Although this does not directly influence the informant's capacity to assess the items reliably, SD does illustrate the informant's use of scale and shows that for the informants with some particular sociolinguistic properties, the use of scale is broader or narrower. It cannot be said that higher SD is better than lower, or vice versa, only that wider use of scale (higher SD) could refer to more confidence in ratings than narrower use of scale (lower SD).

To illustrate the case and to compare the informants, I will present three groups of raters based on their SD – those with high SD, those with low SD, and those with medium SD. The lines are drawn according to distance from mean SD, i.e., +/–0.75 standard deviations from the mean SD[48]. Low SD is thus everything below 0.57 and high SD everything above 1.17. In addition to the sociolinguistic parameters that correlated with SD, I will also comment on L1, age of language acquisition, language exposure, and the proficiency of speaking Komi and Russian of those particular informants.

5.2.2. Raters and their sociolinguistic background

For the informants with very low SD, the mean rating also tended to be low – between 0 and 2.18 (see Table 35 below). In their sociolinguistic background, it is common to have Russian as their first language[49] (L1), a high or very high percentage of choosing to read (reading %) and speak (speaking %) in Russian, very high proficiency marks in understanding (prof.sp.und), speaking (prof.sp), and reading (prof.read) in Russian. Also, the acquisition age (acq.age) of Komi is in most cases marked later than for Russian, in a few cases even as late as in the teen years. Based on this, it seems that the low responses are due to either poorer Komi language skills (speaking proficiency is always lower than for Russian) or uncertainty in language use which may be due to acquiring Komi as L2.

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[48]   For this data set, one Standard Deviation is 0.4, so +/– 1SD from the mean would account for 84% of the informants (31 out of 38), while +/– 0.75SD accounts for 64% of the informants (26 out of 38) and illustrates the situation better.

[49]   This is based on the self-reported *first language acquired* which for most cases is also reflected by *age of acquisition* (with a few exceptions like S17). In most cases, *first language acquired* is also marked *dominant language* but not as a rule of thumb.

Table 35. Sociolinguistic data of informants with low SD.[50]

	SD	mean	L1	acq. age (K/R)	lang.exp % (K/R)	reading % (K/R)	speaking % (K/R)	prof.sp.und. (K/R)	prof. sp (K/R)	prof. read (K/R)
S31	0	2	R	7/1	42/58	20/80	20/80	7/10	5/10	4/10
S32	0	2	R	7/1	37/63	10/90	10/90	8/10	2/10	2/10
S20	0.35	2.14	R	2/2	4/96	10/90	10/90	8/10	8/10	7/9
S15	0.43	2.06	R	10/2	47/53	5/95	29/71	3/8	2/8	3/9
S16	0.49	2.18	R	10/2	4/96	1/99	0/100	9/10	7/10	7/10

Informants S31 and S32 have no standard deviation to their responses, meaning that all the items received the rating of 2 'unacceptable'. Why that and not 1 'impossible' cannot be guessed from their responses alone. At least, based on their ratings, no linguistic variables can be assumed to be of relevance.

For S20, the rating of 3 'acceptable' has been used 7 times. These items include Q39, Q22, and Q26, which are the top 3 highest-rated items (all negated), also Q46, Q38, and Q34, which have their average ratings above 3.1 (see in Section *4.4.1*), and Q17 with an average rating of 2.5 (see below in section *4.4.2*; also see the full list of test items in Appendix 1).

S15 approves only a single item by giving Q26 (negated) a 5 'very often used' and 2 'unacceptable' to all the other items. S16 rated Q05 and Q39 (both negated) with 4 'very acceptable', and items Q11, Q13, Q22, Q26, and Q28 with 3 'acceptable'.

Although the number of responses given by these informants is too small to make any meaningful conclusions about either the single raters or the raters as a group, it is still relevant that even the raters with the fewest positive ratings have accepted some of the negated examples.

Among the informants who have high SD, most also have mean ratings above average (i.e., above 2.68). By sociolinguistic background and language proficiency, this group is divided into two – informants whose responses are more evenly distributed for both languages, and informants whose responses for language exposure – and in some cases also percentage of speaking and reading the languages – are tilted towards Russian (see Table 36).

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[50] For all parameters that reflect distribution with percentages (language exposure, choosing to read in the language, and choosing to speak in the language), I have normalised the values, since some but not all informants also reported on a third language (e.g., English). For the sake of comparability with others, I only use the values reported for Komi and Russian in their normalised form for those informants.

Table 36. Informants with high SD.

	SD	mean	L1	acq. age (K/R)	lang.exp % (K/R)	reading % (K/R)	speaking % (K/R)	prof.sp und. (K/R)	prof. sp. (K/R)	prof. read. (K/R)
S01	1.52	2.8	K	7/6	20/80	20/80	60/40	8/9	7/7	9/9
S03	1.52	2.43	K	5/7	50/50	50/50	74/26	10/10	10/10	10/10
S28	1.34	3.4	R	6/2.5	16/84	90/10	47/53	10/10	6/10	9/10
S09	1.25	2.84	K	1/1	50/50	50/50	90/10	10/10	10/10	10/10
S33	1.24	3.32	R	8/7	26/74	42/58	22/78	10/10	5/10	3/10
S18	1.22	2.2	K	2/2	44/56	41/59	61/39	9/10	10/10	8/10
S23	1.19	2.86	R	1/7	30/70	50/50	30/70	7/10	5/7	7/9

Note, however, that for many of those informants, language proficiency marks are also consistently high, the exception here being the informants whose L1 is Russian – their self-reported proficiency of speaking Komi is significantly lower than for Russian. At the same time, despite reporting lower speaking proficiency, their mean ratings are still quite high.

For the sake of comparison, Table 37 shows some informants whose SD is among the middle 64% across all raters. Unlike the informants with high SD in the previous group, language proficiency marks are more modest – there are few 10s and the proficiency marks are either equal between languages or in favour of Komi by a point. Language exposure is in general higher for Russian, choosing to read in a language is also either tilted towards Russian or equal between the languages. Percentages for choosing to speak either of the languages are more or less equal, with few cases of bigger differences between the languages (e.g., S05 and S02).

Table 37. Informants with average SD (between 0.57 and 1.17).

	SD	mean	L1	acq. age (K/R)	lang.exp % (K/R)	reading % (K/R)	speaking % (K/R)	prof.sp.und. (K/R)	prof. sp (K/R)	prof. read (K/R)
S10	0.64	3.96	R	NA	40/60	20/80	50/50	9/7	7/7	8/7
S24	0.66	2.7	K	7/7	84/16	50/50	60/40	7/5	8/7	7/8
S04	0.87	4.18	K	NA	40/60	50/50	50/50	8/8	7/7	9/9
S07	0.86	2.4	K	NA	40/60	30/70	50/50	10/9	10/9	10/9
S05	1.04	2.1	K	2/7	42/58	42/58	100/0	9/9	8/7	9/9
S02	1.05	2.1	K	2/6	63/37	40/60	80/20	9/9	8/7	9/9
S12	1.11	2.1	K	0/0	49/51	100/0	40/60	10/10	9/9	8/8

Interestingly, out of the 19 translations that S24 provided, 7 (37%) were readings that are outside of the clitics semantic scope. Also, S12 provided translations for 13 test items, 6 of those readings (46%) were outside of the clitic's semantic scope. I have no explanation for that based on the sociolinguistic data of those informants, I can only speculate that for some informants, the clitic's readings may not be entirely familiar, or that the clitic can be interpreted with more freedom than was previously expected – at least for some of the speakers of Komi in some particular cases (see more in *5.5. Provided readings.*)

In conclusion, on one hand, it would seem that low SD appears with informants whose dominant language is Russian and who have rated their proficiency in Komi (significantly) lower than for Russian. On the other hand, low SD can also appear with informants who are equally proficient in both languages and whose dominant language is Komi. The former group tends to yield low ratings while the latter gives medium to high ratings.

The data indicate to a degree that for informants with low SD and low mean ratings, the sociolinguistic background plays a significant role, since having Russian as the dominant (or even first) language leaves the use of *džyk* vague and foreign or the informant too insecure to rate the items with confidence. However, there are too few such informants in this data set to make any viable statements, and further work with language speakers who have a similar sociolinguistic background would be necessary to buttress this claim.

With high SD, a group of informants seem to be exposed more to Russian, including reading and speaking Russian more. These informants also use the maximum grades more when rating their language proficiency, and they have their mean ratings near the average or higher. Subjectively, responses from such informants should also be observed more closely to see whether there are any signs of over-compensation that yield high average ratings.

Based on the points above, I am not removing any informants as unreliable language users, nor do I question their interpretations of the test items. The responses of informants with various sociolinguistic backgrounds with varying (self-assessed) language proficiency help to determine which linguistic traits of the test items are more prominently acceptable and which appear with *džyk* less frequently and thus demand better command of language, etc. to be accepted. The prominence of different linguistic variables will be investigated in the following section.

5.3. Test items

In this section, I will briefly go over the properties of the test items that appear in the assessment test. As was said above in the introduction, the test items were compiled by substituting some degree expressions and manner adverbs with *džyk*. When discussing the test items below, I will refer to the substituted expression as the **intended reading**, while the **provided reading** reflects an interpretation provided by any the raters. The primary provided reading denotes the most frequent reading from the informants. It often overlaps with the intended reading,

but not always (see *5.5. Provided readings*). The provided reading helps, on one hand, to determine the semantic scope of *džyk* and, on the other hand, to describe the accommodative capacity of the context in the sense of which readings are possible in that specific sentence. In the analysis below, only the most frequent provided reading is discussed unless clearly stated otherwise.

As part of the composition of the assessment test, four test items were added with intended readings that are not in the semantic scope of the clitic (like *most (of all)*, *very much*, *entirely/at all*, *easier*), the results of which are discussed in the relevant places below. Also, there were several instances, where the provided reading was outside the semantic scope of the clitic, even to the extent of being non-augmenting. This will be discussed in *5.5. Provided readings* along with more detailed statistics on that part of the questionnaire.

Polarity-wise, the test items are not balanced, since only 5 out of 49 items are negated in this assessment test. This is without a doubt a shortcoming of the author and a more balanced selection of items would have been more beneficial. Yet, at the same time, negated examples are twice as frequent in the literature, so perhaps the affirmative might do with more attention in this instance. Even more so since of the five negated examples, three received the highest average ratings among all the items. The negated items will be discussed separately in *5.4.1.1*.

In terms of event complexity, I mostly distinguish only simple and complex VPs where **simple** is used for tautological finite verb forms or single infinitives, while **complex** is used for all complex verbal clauses, including both N+V (e.g., *make money*) and V+V (e.g., *help to open*) compound verbs, serial verbs (e.g., in *I'll **go** and **see** her*), phrasal verbs (e.g., in *I'll **ask** her **out***), and also auxiliary constructions (e.g., *start working*). The distinction is relevant for assessing whether the complexity of the VP affects the acceptability of the modification by *džyk*.

I also comment on the subject type according to collectivity and distributivity (following Nakanishi 2007) and subject drop. A **singular** subject denotes a single operator, e.g., *the lady longed for far-away lands*; **collective** subject involves a collective noun or several individuals acting as one unit, e.g., *two boys pushed a car*, where both boys are pushing the same car[51]; a **plural distributive** subject consist of at least two individuals, each of whom the event applies to separately, e.g., *two boys were riding a bike*, where each boy has a separate bike to ride; **general** denotes a generic law-like situation with a generic 2SG or 3PL pronoun, e.g., *travelling by bus you get more tired*; **none** denotes a generic situation with no overt subject, e.g., *it is necessary to hide away*.

In addition to the linguistic variables, the mean rating of each test item is important to observe, since based on that, the items will be divided into three groups (see below for more details) and an overall ranking will be formed. The

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[51]   A distributive interpretation is often also possible (each of the boys has a car to push), but every item in this data set is assigned only either a collective or distributive reading based on context. Some events are also semantically either exclusively collective (like *agree*, *meet*, etc.) and require a collective subject, or exclusively distributive (like in *two boys were asleep*, where sleeping cannot be a collective effort) and require a distributive subject.

mean rating thus refers to the arithmetic average rating (henceforth as *mean* or *mean rating*) of each item and is expressed as a numerical value calculated for each item based on the responses it received from the 38 informants on a scale of 1–5. The highest mean rating was 3.789, the lowest 1.919, the average 2.489.

5.4. Results based on average assessments

In this section, I will present the test items of the assessment test in three main groups according to the means of the sentences: the first group includes examples with the highest mean ratings (3.79–2.92). This group is the most similar to examples found in literature, as will be explained below. The second group includes the examples with medium mean ratings (2.79–2.24), which is about half of all test items. The third group includes the lowest mean ratings (2.189–1.919), which have a larger mismatch between the intended reading and *džyk*'s semantic scope, and also include some other mismatches.

The analysis is entirely qualitative and the aim is to determine the properties that are characteristic of items with high ratings and to see how they differ from items with low(er) ratings. The findings based on this set of data provide a preliminary understanding of which parameters should be investigated further for determining the contexts that do and do not allow for an verb to be modified by *džyk*.

5.4.1. High mean ratings

Based on average assessments given by the informants, a group of examples emerges with average means between 3.789–2.921. These examples are mostly characterised by being most like the examples of *džyk* found in literature – this includes typically modified verbs like the directed activity *bydmyny* 'grow' and achievement *artmyvlyny* 'succeed' as well as the readings of quantity *ozdžyk bos'tny* 'they do not employ as much', *myntönydžyk* 'they pay more' and intensity *torjalydžyk* '(it) differs more'.

To give a more precise overview, I will first comment on the negated test items, as although the questionnaire was not balanced for polarity, it is significant that all five of the negated examples appear among the top quarter of the ratings. An overview of the affirmative items will follow after the negated examples.

5.4.1.1. The negative

Semantically and structurally, the negated VPs are diverse but they all refer to some general or habitual state of affairs.

(5.1b)[52], which received the highest mean rating (mean 3.79), is modified for the level of intensity of the complex VP. Even though, as will be apparent below, complex predicates are less readily rated acceptable, it is likely the negated VP expressing a stative psychological state in combination with intensity that causes the high average rating.

(5.1) a. *Vojnabörsja*   *s'ökyd*   *vojas*   *jylys'*   *an'*
           after-war   difficult   year.PL   PP.on   woman
           oz   *jona*   *radejt*   *kaz'tyvny.*
           NEG.3SG.PRS   a lot   love.CNEG   recall.INF

       b. *Vojnabörsja s'ökyd vojas jylys' an'oz jona radejt kaz'tyvny.* [Q39]
           'About the post-war years, the woman does not like to recall as much.'
           (zv.02.11.07)

(5.2b) (mean 3.68) involves a habitual event and (5.3b) (mean 3.51) a general fact or belief of the interlocutor. In both instances, the original adverb was *jona* 'a lot' with reference to frequency of employing and quantity of earning.

(5.2) a. *Udžön*   *mogmödys'jas*   *oz*   *jona*   *bos'tny*
           work.INSTR   provide.PTCP.PST.PL   NEG.3SG.PRS   a lot   take.CNEG
           opyttöm   *da*   *staztöm*   *tomulovös.*
           experience.CAR   and   work experience.CAR   youth.ACC

       b. *Udžön mogmödys'jas ozdžyk bos'tny opyttöm da staztöm tomulovös.* [Q22]
           'Employers do not much employ youth without experience and length of service.' (zv.19.10.07)

(5.3) a. *Sijön*   *as*   *s'iktsaly*   *jöv*   *vuzalömys'*
           3SG.INSTR   self   village.ADJ.DAT   milk   selling.ELA
           s'ömtö   *jona*   *on*   *nažöv'it.*
           money.ACC.2SG   a lot   NEG.2SG.PRS   acquire.CNEG

       b. *Sijön as s'iktsaly jöv vuzalömys's'ömtö ondžyk nažöv'it.* [Q26]
           'By selling milk to the people of your own village, you do not earn much money.'
           (zv.10.07.07)

For the fourth negated example (5.4) (mean 3.37), I changed the affirmative polarity of the original into negative with *džyk*, since the original adverb *ètšadžyk* 'less' is a negative quantifier. The provided reading for *odžyk lo* 'will not be as many' roughly matched that of *loas ètšadžyk* 'will be less', and this was for the most part supported by the informants for whom Ru. *men'she* 'less' was the primary provided reading.

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[52] For each example, the glossed line in a. is the original sentence, and b. is the test item with *džyk*. The translation reflects them both, unless presented otherwise.

(5.4) a. *St'ipend'ija*   *sodas,*   *no*   *sijös*   *bos'tys'ys*
         stipend   rise.3SG.FUT   but   that.ACC   recipient.3SG
         loas   *ètšadžyk.*
         be.3SG.FUT   less
         'The stipend will rise, but there will be fewer recipients of it.' (vt.13.06.07)

       b. *St'ipend'ija sodas, no sijös bos'tys'ys ozdžyk lo.* [Q13]
       'The stipend will rise, but the recipients of it will not be as many.'

(5.5b) has the lowest rating (mean 2.92) among the negated examples and is also the most curious – the intended original meaning was 'easier, simpler[53]' which is not in the semantic scope of *džyk* and no such reading has been provided by any of the informants. Instead, many of the raters interpreted the VP as '(not) at all' which is also not in the semantic scope of *džyk*. It is interesting to see that negation has enough accommodating power to make a non-scope reading also possible, even though the context has no external reference to a specific reading and is somewhat vague. Since modifying *ez vöv* 'is not' itself is possible, the informants have invented a suitable reading that fits the context, e.g., '(not) really' was provided as an interpretation by the highest rating informant.

(5.5) a. *Èz*   *kokn'idžyk*   *vöv*   *konkurslön*   *i*
         NEG.3SG.PST   easy.COMP   be.CNEG   competition.GEN   PAR
         möd   *jukön*   –   *mös*   *lys'töm.*
         second   part   cow   milking
         'The second part of the competition was not easier either – milking a cow.' (zv.11.05.07a)

       b. *Èzdžyk vöv konkurslön i möd jukön – mös lys'töm*. [Q05]
       'Also there was no second part to the competition – milking a cow.'

Although five examples are hardly enough for making generalisations, negation seems semantically more accommodating than the affirmative and is thus more easily accepted. As (5.5b) illustrates, in combination with negation, the clitic might even elicit readings that are normally not in its semantic scope (see more in *5.5.2*).

5.4.1.2. The affirmative

As for the top affirmative examples, they are typical gradable verbs – directed or undirected activities, which express some change-of-state, or states, and they convey some habitual or general state of affairs. For example in (5.6) (mean 3.47), the predication expresses a general statement modified for manner-related quality (*children develop better in kindergarten*), whereas it might be possible to claim that the children also develop *more* (results *better developed* vs *more developed*).

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[53] Recall from *3.4* above that the proneness reading of *more easily* is in the sense of 'with more ease'. However, as an adjective in comparative degree, *easier, simpler* is not in the clitic's scope.

(5.6)   a. *Me   sert'i   byd   čeljad'ös   kolö*
            1SG   PP.according   every   children.ACC   be necessary.3SG.PRS
            v'idzny   detsadjyn,   öd   najö   sèni   burdžyka
            go.INF   kindergarten.INE   because   3PL   there   good.COMP.ADV
            sövmyöny   i   s'ibyddžykös'   loöny.
            develop.3PL.PRS   and   sociable.COMP.PRED.PL   be.3PL.FUT

      b. *Me sert'i, byd čeljad'ös kolö v'idzny detsadjyn, öd najö sèni sövmönydžyk i s'ibyddžykös' loöny.* [Q40]
         'I think that children need to go to kindergarten, there they develop better and become more sociable.' (zv.13.03.07)

A different kind of quantification is present in (5.7) (mean 3.16), where there has been an increase in the number of motorbikes, which is a directed activity that expresses change or transformation. The original sentence features *jona* 'a lot' while the raters have provided Ru. *bol'she* 'more' as a comparative degree form, which expresses high degree for *džyk* in the affirmative. *a lot* and *more* should have no distributional differences here.

(5.7)   a. *Börja   kadö   rajonsa   s'ikt   –   grezdjaslön*
            recent   time.ILL   district.ADJ   village   hamlet.PL.GEN
            tujjas   vylyn   jona   sodis   motociklön
            road.PL   PP.ADE   a lot   rise.3SG.PST   motorbike.INSTR
            vetlys'lön   lydys.
            ride.PTCP.PRS.GEN   number.3SG

      b. *Börja kadö rajonsa s'ikt-grezdjaslön tujjas vylyn sodisdžyk motociklön vetlys'lön lydys.* [Q29]
         'Recently, the number of motorcyclists has increased a lot (//more)[54] on the roads of villages and hamlets.' (zv.02.10.07)

(5.8) (mean 3.39) and (5.9) (mean 3.37) are good examples of typical gradable verbs – the former is a directed activity modified for quality, and the latter a stative verb of comparison modified for high degree. High ratings are likely due to these being very typical examples.

(5.8)   a. *I   puktasyd   da   dzor'idzyd   burdžyka*
            PAR   vegetable.2SG   and   flower.2SG   good.COMP.ADV
            bydmöny   kor   naköd   sjorn'itan.
            grow.3PL.PRS   when   3SG.COM   speak.2SG.PRS

      b. *I puktasyd da dzor'idzyd bydmönydžyk kor naköd sjorn'itan.* [Q10]
         'Both vegetables and flowers grow better when you speak to them.' (km.18.10.07)

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[54] In case the intended reading and the primary provided reading differ, the intended reading is offered first to match the original predication of sentence a., while the provided reading that matches sentence b. follows in parentheses. If only one reading is provided, the intended reading matches the primary provided reading.

(5.9) a. *I   zbyl',   sijö   talun   jona   torjalö*
PAR   actually   that   today   a lot   differ.3SG.PRS
sijös   kytšalys'   muköd   kerkays'.
3SG.ACC   surround.PTCP.PRS   other   house.ELA

b. *I zbyl', sijö talun torjalödžyk sijös kytšalys' muköd kerkays'.* [Q38]
'Indeed, today it differs a lot (//more) from the surrounding houses.'
(zv.30.03.07)

(5.10) (mean 2.93) and (5.11) (mean 3.34) feature *artmyny* 'appear; succeed' and
artmyvlyny 'succeed, pull off', which are one of the most common stems to
appear with *džyk* in literature (see *1.3.1.1.3*) Note that for both, the original
sentence has *bura* 'well' which is not itself in the scope of *džyk* in the affirmative,
but since in both instances the context allows the quality *better* equally well (see
5.5.1 for contexts where *bura* cannot be replaced as easily), then the test item is
accepted by most raters. Note that again, *džyk* uses the comparative form *better* in
the affirmative, while the original base for the test item had the positive form *well*.

(5.10) a. *Bumaga   vylad,   dert,   stavys   ljučk'i*
paper   PP.ADE.2SG   of course   all.3SG   alright
da   bura   artmylö.
and   good.ADV   appear.3SG.PRS

b. *Bumaga vylad, dert, stavys ljučk'i da artmylödžyk.*[Q08]
'On paper, of course, everything is alright and appears well (//better).'
(vt.20.01.07)

(5.11) a. *Öd   Evgen'ij   Stepanov'ičly   njumsera   g'ižödjasyd*
DP   PN   PN.DAT   humorous   text.PL.2SG
pyr   bura   artmyvlisny.
always   good.ADV   succeed.3PL.PST

b. *Öd Evgen'ij Stepanov'ičly njumsera g'ižödjasyd pyr artmyvlisnydžyk.* [Q35]
'But E. S.'s humorous writings always succeeded well (//better).' (vt.27.10.07)

(5.12b) (mean 3.02) is one of the few instances where the verb is modified for
tempo, whereas in most cases, a more general reading is provided by the raters
(see *5.5. Provided readings*). In (5.12), tempo is the only suitable reading, since
the general context with a telic verb cannot be quantified or intensified (?*you
grow up a lot*), and comparison is also not suitable *(?you grow up more/better)*.
The different kinds of tempo modification as readings of *džyk* were discussed in
3.2.2. Tempo.

(5.12) a. *Vövlöm   saldatlön   vis'talöm   sert'i,   arm'ijaö*
former   soldier.GEN   tell.PTCP.PST   PP.according   army.ILL
tom   muž'ičöjjasly   kolö   byt'
young   man.PL.DAT   be necessary.3SG.PRS   definitely
vetlyny,   sèni   pö   ödjödžyk   verstjamman.
go.INF   there   apparently   fast.COMP   grow up.2SG.PRS

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b. *Vövlöm saldatlön vis'talöm sert'i, armijaö tom muž'ičöjjasly kolö byt' vetlyny, sèni pö verstjammandžyk.* [Q28]
'According to a former soldier, a young man must definitely go to the army, there, apparently, you grow up faster.' (km.22.02.07)

As a generalisation for the group of high mean ratings, the negative appears exclusively in this group and is usually rated higher than the affirmative. Apart from one complex predication (in the negative), the clauses are simple, mainly habitual (or if singular, then with future or past reference), and for the most part in the present tense (except for (5.5) and (5.11), where the VP is in 1st past tense, and (5.4) and (5.6) which are in future tense).

5.4.3. Medium mean ratings

If the highest-rated test items are very similar to the examples found in literature, then the test items in the mid-field show some differences between the intended and provided readings, which usually do not cause *džyk* to be fully rejected but may mean that the clitic needs to be accommodated to fit the context and that reduces acceptability. Some test items with complex VPs also show that the position of the clitic is contextually relevant, since both components of the VP may not allow for the same kind of modification that the context dictates.

Among the complex VPs there are for example comparative constructions, as in (5.13) (mean 2.76) which has the intended reading of tempo, while the primary provided reading is intensity (*more*). The difference comes from the position of the modifier – in the former case, *ödjödžyk* modifies *n'öbny* 'buy', while the clitic attaches to *vermyny* 'be able to'. In general, *vermyny* as an auxiliary regularly takes the *džyk*-element but in this context, the intensity of *being able to* is not as logical as the intensity or tempo of *buying* would be, which might explain why the mean rating is relatively low. More so, since aside from the few quantity-related interpretations of *more*, other provided readings are vague and stress the possibility of being able to buy (e.g., Ru. *smogli hot' kupit'* 'could at least buy', etc.)

(5.13) a. *S'ömsö   setasny   kar   –   rajonsa   bjudžetjasö*
money.ACC.3SGgive.3PL.FUT   city   district.ADJ   budget.PL.ILL
sodtödön,   medym   sèni   verm'isny   ödjödžyk
increase.INSTR   so that   there   be able to.3PL.PST   fast.COMP
n'öbny,   l'ibö   kypödny   Vel'iköj   Otečestvennöj   vojnasa
buy.INF   or   raise.INF   Great   Fatherland   war.ADJ
veteranjasly,   invalydjasly,   saldat   dövajasly   olanin.
veteran.PL.DAT   disabled.PL.DAT   soldier   widow.PL.DAT   living

b. *S'ömsö setasny kar-rajonsa bjudžetjasö sodtödön, medym sèni verm'isnydžyk n'öbny, l'ibö kypödny Vel'iköj Otečestvennöj vojnasa veteranjasly, invalydjasly, saldat dövajasly olanin.* [Q09]
'They will increase the money of the district-centre budget, so they can buy faster (//more) or raise the pension for the veterans of the Great Fatherland war, for the disabled, to the widows of soldiers.' (km.12.05.07)

In (5.14) (mean 2.69), I substituted two adverbs with *džyk – kokn'yddžyka* 'more easily' and *undžyk* 'more (quant.)'. The quantificational reading of *more* should be suitable, but the ratings are quite modest, only 3 maximal ratings across all raters.

(5.14) a. *Abu   gusjator,   myj   könkö   poz'ö*
        without   secret   what   somewhere be possible.3SG.PRS
        kokn'yddžyka   i   undžyk   nažöv'itny   rul'
        easy.COMP.ADV   and   more   earn.INF   steering wheel
        bergödlömnad.
        turning.INSTR.2SG

   b. *Abu gusjator, myj könkö poz'ö nažöv'itnydžyk rul' bergödlömnad.* [Q45]
   'It is not a secret that somewhere it is possible to earn [money] more easily and [get] more (//more[55]) [money] by turning the steering wheel.' (vt.20.06.07)

The inception construction (5.15) (mean 2.7) is modified in the original by a complex adverbial *tödčymön burdžyka* 'significantly better'. With adjectives, *tödčymön* appears with comparatives, e.g., *tödčymön ydžyddžyk* 'significantly bigger', but the kind of instance with a complex VP was not approved very widely by the informants. Furthermore, the standard deviation across raters is 1.27 (average SD is around 1), which is one of the highest. Perhaps *džyk* would be more acceptable with *tödčymön* if the clitic modified a single verb.

(5.15) a. *No   sezon   šöras   Zen'it   tödčymön*
        but   season   middle.INE/ILL.3SG PN   significantly
        burdžyka   zavod'itis   vorsny.
        good.COMP.ADV   begin.3SG.PST   play.INF

   b. *No sezon šöras Zen'it tödčymön zavod'itis vorsnydžyk.* [Q32]
   'But at the end of the season, Zenit began to play significantly better.' (km.15.11.07)

In (5.16) (mean 2.43), the state is modified for quality. The relative vagueness of the sentence (what was apparent and why that is relevant) may contribute to the lower rating along with the past tense and singularity of predication.

(5.16) a. *Zbyl'ys'   mort   sajyn   unator   i   tajö   bura*
        in fact   person   PP.on   a lot   and   3SG   good.ADV
        petködč'is   tavosja   gožsja   strada   dyrji.
        be visible.3SG.PST   this year   summer.ADJ   harvest time   PP.near, by

   b. *Zbyl'ys' mort sajyn unator i tajö petködč'isdžyk tavosja gožsja strada dyrji.* [Q49]
   'In fact, a lot depends on the person and this was well (//more) apparent around this year's haymaking season.' (vt.03.10.07)

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[55]   This refers to the provided reading being only *more*, whereas the original was *more easily and more*.

In (5.17) (mean 2.26), the VP consists of a paired verb *pel'ködny* 'tidy; decorate' and *mičmödny* 'decorate', the aim of such a construction is most likely not to intensify or quantify (see Beznosikova 1990), but simply to describe the semantic magnitude of the event. The intended reading was *well* while the provided reading was *more*, the latter referring to event quantity or intensity, although *tidy* and *decorate* are not degree verbs and would instead favour a quality comparison. The context refers to some previously mentioned activity or the activities of somebody else who is unknown to the raters, which may make the situation vague without additional context.

(5.17) a. *Pr'imer   vylö,   Važgortyn   nyv-zon   bura*
            example   PP.onto   PN.INE   youth   good.ADV
            pel'ködisny   –   m'ičmödisny   ass'ynys   čušan
            decorate.3PL.PST   decorate.3PL.PST   3PL.ELA   birth-
            s'ikt,   a   Ködža   čeljad'   das'tisny
            village   but   PN.ADV   children   prepare.3PL.PST
            grezdsö.
            hamlet.ACC.3SG

       b. *Pr'imer vylö, Važgortyn nyv-zon bura pel'ködisnydžyk-m'ičmödisnydžyk ass'ynys čušan s'ikt, a Ködža čeljad' das'tisny grezdsö.* [Q30]
           'For example, the young people in Vazhgort tidied-decorated their native village well (//more), and the children of Ködzh [Köj] prepared the hamlet.' (vt.18.08.07)

In (5.18) (mean 2.27), the verb expresses an undirected activity modified originally by *burdžyk* 'better'. The intended reading was that of adjectival *better* (it is good > better) and not adverbial (it is well > better), the former is not in the scope of *džyk*. *verdnydžyk* is not suitable in this context where the focus is not on the manner of feeding ('to feed better') but on what would be more preferable ('better to feed (with local food'), and this probably accounts for the low acceptability of this sentence.

(5.18) a. *Völi   pasjöma,   myj   burdžyk   verdny*
            be.1SG.PST   note.PTCP.PST   what   good.COMP   feed.INF
            bydmys'   vojtyrös   as   ovmösjasys'
            grow.PTCP.PRS   people.ACC   own   agriculture.PL.ELA
            jöv   –   jajön   bokys'   vajöm   dorys'.
            milk   meat.INSTR   out.ELA   bring.PTCP.PST   PP.from

       b. *Völi pasjöma, myj verdnydžyk bydmys' vojtyrös as ovmösjasys' jöv-jajön bokys' vajöm dorys'.* [Q50]
           'It was noted, that better to feed the growing population/people with their own (i.e., local) milk and meat products than to bring it from somewhere.' (zv.20.04.07)

In case of complex verbs, there is no rule affecting the position of the clitic other than that of semantics of the proposition – based on the examples found in literature, the clitic is attached to the verb, which is subject to modification. In the examples below, however, the position of the clitic seems to be the cause of the logical mismatch.

(5.19) (mean 2.51) contains a V+V complex predication which is not an auxiliary construction. The position of the clitic depends on which verb is intended to be modified. Although I attached the clitic to *otsavny* 'help', contextually, it would probably be more suitable for it to be on the non-finite main verb, e.g., *otsalisny vöčnydžyk* 'help to get done faster' pro *otsalisnydžyk vöčny* 'help better/ more to get done'. With this test item, the maximal rating is only given twice.

(5.19) a. *Meždurečenskyn*   *on*   *addzy*   *vojtyrös,*   *kodjas*
      PN.INE   NEG.2SG.PRS   find.CNEG   people.ACC who.PL
      ès'kö *otsalisny*   *ödjödžyk*   *vöčny*   *kolana*   *udžsö.*
      PAR   help.3PL.PST fast.COMP   get done.INF necessary   work.ACC
      'In Mezhdurechensk, you do not find the people who would help to get the necessary job done faster.' (vt.01.08.07)

     b. *Meždurečenskyn on addzy vojtyrös, kodjas ès'kö otsalisnydžyk vöčny kolana udžsö.* [Q47]
     '??In M., you do not find the people who would help more to get the necessary job done.'

In (5.20b) (mean 2.55), there is a mismatch between the intended reading and the provided reading given by the informants. The intended meaning refers to tempo, but for the informants, the manner-related intensity reading 'strongly; more painfully' is instead the one most often provided. Both tempo 'fast, quickly' and intensity 'strongly, painfully' are in the scope of the verb *bite*, but not in the immediate scope of *džyk*. This means that although *džyk* does modify intensity and also manner-related intensity[56], the manner should be provided by the verb itself or by the context in which it appears. It is likely that the lack of such a specific reference to manner results in the reduced acceptability of (5.20b).

(5.20) a. *Nomjyd*   *zil'ö*   *puks'yny*   *da*   *kydz*
      mosquito.2SG strive to.3SG.PRS sit down.INF and   how
      poz'ö   *ödjödžyk*   *kurččyny.*
      be possible.3SG.PRS fast.COMP   bite.INF
      'The mosquito strives to sit down and bite as fast as possible.'

     b. *Nomyd zil'ö puks'yny da kydz poz'ö kurččynydžyk.* [Q36]
     'The mosquito strives to sit down and bite as strongly/painfully as possible.' (km.10.07.07)

It is worth mentioning that tempo was the intended reading for a fifth of the test items, but was the dominant provided reading for only three examples. Instead of tempo, general high degree or *more/a lot* was usually provided by the raters and there is reason to believe that this matter is related to whether the verb has tempo in its immediate scope. See more on this in *5.5. Provided readings*.

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[56] For example, with *zil'ny* 'work eagerly', the verb itself carries the manner reading which can then be modified by *džyk* for intensity – *zil'nydžyk* 'work more eagerly'. It is a matter of further research to determine whether or not other readings of the clitic are possible with such verbs in Komi.

Apart from the complex predication examples above that also featured telic verbs, the highest rated achievement of this group is in (5.21) (mean 2.55) and the corresponding accomplishment in (5.22) (mean 2.5). (5.21) is a singular predication in past tense with an intensity reading, which makes it quite specific and allows only a narrow interpretation of the modified VP. (5.22) is a general statement in future tense with an intensity reading and is thus not very different from other general statements above. However, it might be that the VP itself is too vague for wider acceptability (who will benefit and in what sense).

(5.21) a. *Nem'inuča*   *dyrji*   *jona*   *dojmalisny*   *motoc'ikl*   *vylyn*
        accident   PP.IN   a lot   get injured.3PL.PST   motorbike   PP.ADE
        pukalys'   *19*   *da*   *7*   *arösa*   *zonkajas,*
        sitter   num   and   num   year-old   boy.PL
        börjays   *bol'n'ičaö*   *nuigön*   *kuvs'is.*
        latter.3SG   hospital.ILL   carry.CNV.INSTR   die.3SG.PST

    b. *Nem'inuča dyrji dojmalisnydžyk motoc'ikl vylyn pukalys' 19 da 7 arösa zonkajas, börjays bol'n'ičaö nuigön kuvs'is.* [Q06]
    'In the accident, the 19- and 7-year-old boys sitting on the motorbike got very injured, the latter died on his way to the hospital.' (zv.02.10.07)

(5.22) a. *Undžyk*   *v'ičmas*   *sèk'i,*   *kor*   *nyv-zon*
        more   get.3SG.FUT   then   when   youth
        zil'öny   *as*   *vylö*   *udžalys'jas*   *doryn.*
        work on.3PL.PRS   self   PP.onto   worker.PL   PP.near

    b. *V'ičmasdžyk sèk'i, kor nyv-zon zil'öny as vylö udžalys'jas doryn.* [Q14]
    '[One] will benefit more when young people work for private entrepreneurs (lit. those, who work for themselves).' (vt.18.08.07)

The lowest-rated atelic verbs of this group are (5.23) (mean 2.58) and (5.24) (mean 2.51). (5.23) is an undirected activity with a quality reading and features the verb in the imperative 2SG. Although most examples of *džyk* with verbs are in the indicative, there are a handful of examples in literature where morphological imperatives are modified, not to mention that optative constructions with *med* 'let' are also found and conditional constructions are frequent enough. In (5.24), the state appears with an intensity reading. (5.23) and (5.24) are both singular, non-habitual events that refer to some specific state of affairs, which might also reduce acceptability since singularity narrows the choice of possible interpretations of the clitic.

(5.23) a. *"Tè,*   *Van'ö,*   *burdžyka*   *dumyštly*   *gaškö*
        2SG   PN   good.COMP.ADV   think about.IMP.2SG   maybe
        šan'   *djad'öyd*   *zbyl'*   *sjuras."*
        good   uncle.2SG   actually   show up.3SG.FUT

    b. *"Tè, Van'ö, burdžyka dumyštly, gaškö, šan' djad'öyd zbyl' sjuras."* [Q48]
    '"You, Vanya, think better, maybe then a good uncle will come/appear."' (km.15.09.07a)

(5.24) a. *Zev   jona   čujmödisny   oš gudök,   brungan,   s'igudök*[57].
          very   a lot   interest.3PL.PST   harmonica   brungan   sigudök
    'Oš gudök, brungan and sigudök were very, very interesting.' (zv.11.05.07c)

   b. *Čujmödisnydžyk oš gudök, brungan, s'igudök.* [Q24]
   'Oš gudök, brungan and sigudök were more interest.'

In this group of medium mean ratings, the acceptability seems to be influenced by the mismatch of intended and provided readings, i.e., the substituted adverb had not matched *džyk*'s semantics in full. The position of the clitic depends entirely on which verb is the subject of modification, and not on finiteness/non-finiteness.

5.4.4. Low mean ratings

As for the lowest mean ratings, the cause for low acceptability seems to be mainly the mismatch between the context and *džyk*. This means that *džyk* has replaced an adverb(ial) that appears in a context different than one in which the clitic can appear, or that the verb itself rejects any of the readings *džyk* may have. Also, ambiguity or vagueness of context may contribute negatively.

   In (5.25) (mean 2.16), the low mean rating is likely due to the logical mismatch of lexical aspect class and intended meaning. The predication involves an achievement, a momentaneous telic verb in future tense, which was originally modified by *ödjödžyk* 'sooner, faster'. A momentaneous event could take place sooner but not faster, and while a similar reading can be found in literature (see example (4.46) in 4.2.2. Tempo) and *sooner* may appear in the semantic scope of the clitic, it is very rare. Not to mention that even a more general tempo reading is a relatively infrequent interpretation of *džyk*.

(5.25) a. *Zev   jona   kös'ja,   med   Vörsayd   ödjödžyk*
          very   a lot   wish.1SG.PRS   that   Forest Spirit.2SG   fast.COMP
       ledzas   Iölatö   gortas.
       release.3SG.FUT   PN.ACC.2SG   home.INE/ILL.3SG

   b. *Zev jona kös'ja, med Vörsayd ledzasdžyk Iölatö gortas.* [Q19]
   'I very much wish that the Forest Spirit would let Iöla go home sooner (/faster, quicker).' (km.15.09.07b)

In (5.26) (mean 2.0), the presence of adverbs may make the context unsuitable for the intended meaning. *Dz'iködz* 'entirely' does not support the addition of *džyk* since maximisers do not combine with degree modifiers (see Section *4.3.2*), there is no reading in the clitic's scope other than *faster* that would allow for 'become entirely empty', and since 'become entirely empty faster' is not suitable in this context, the sentence receives low ratings.

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[57]   Brungan = harp-like instrument, sigudök = three-stringed bow-instrument.

(5.26) a. *Tavo Stroitel' ljoka vorsö da, čajti,*
this year Stroitel' badly play.3SG.PRS and think.1SG.PST
myj tr'ibunajasyd dz'iködz kušmasny.
what stand.PL.2SG totally become empty.3PL.FUT
'This year Stroitel plays poorly, I thought that the stands would become entirely empty.' (km.31.01.07)

b. ??*Tavo Stroitel' ljoka vorsö da, čajti, myj tr'ibunajasyd dz'iködz kušmasnydžyk.* [Q21]

(5.27) (mean 1.92) is a similar case in the sense that a nearby adverb significantly narrows the allowed reading – *medsja* 'most' as a superlative maximiser does not combine with *džyk* in th Komi literary language and this reduces the acceptability of the whole sentence.

(5.27) a. *Medsja jona kač'isny donjas töv šör tölys'ö*
most a lot rise.3PL.PST price.PL January month.ILL
Körtkerösyn morkov da jablög vylö
Körtkerös.INE carrot and apple PP.onto
kartupel' vylö donys tani med ičöt.
potato PP.onto price.3SG here most small

b. *Medsja kač'isnydžyk donjas töv šör tölys'ö Körtkerösyn morkov da jablög vylö kartupel' vylö donys tani med ičöt.* [Q15]
'Most of all the prices rose this autumn-winter in K. for apples and carrots, least of all for potatoes.' (zv.20.02.07)

A complex predication with a tempo reading appears in (5.28) (mean 2.11) where the state *kovmis pröjditny* 'was necessary to pass' has the clitic attaching to the non-finite verb. Semantically, this is fine since the intended reading has been meant to refer to the speed of passing the third course, and not, e.g., the intensity of necessity, etc. The statement is general and has no overt subject so this leads one to believe that it is the vagueness and lack of context that causes the low mean rating.

(5.28) a. *Kojmöd kurs sèssja ödjödžyk kovm'is*
third course thus fast.COMP be necessary.3SG.PST
pröjd'itny, vo džynjön.
pass.INF year one and a half

b. *Kojmöd kurs sèssja kovm'is pröjd'itnydžyk, vo džynjö.* [Q04]
'Thus, the third course had to be passed faster, in 1–1.5 years.' (vt.7.05.07)

A similar case of vagueness may be present in (5.29) (mean 2.08) where the predication expresses an undirected activity modified for event quantity (or interpretable as object quantity, although the number of offspring is not incremental but inherent to the verb). There is no overt subject and the predication itself is a single process without much context.

(5.29) a. *Med   radejtčöny   da   undžyk   p'ialöny*
           let   fall in love.3PL.PRS   and   more   have offspring.3PL.PRS
           ar   –   töv   kežas!
           autumn   winter   turn

    b. *Med radejtčöny da p'ialönydžyk ar-töv kežas!* [Q25]
    'Let [them] fall in love and have more offspring (// reproduce more[58]) by autumn and winter!' (vt.02.05.07)

Although *džyk* can attach to both finite and non-finite verb forms, there are fewer examples known to me, which have a serial verb with two non-finite forms, as in (5.30), where the low rating is probably due to several reasons. Firstly, much as to (5.19) in the medium mean ratings group, the intended meaning was one of preference 'where better to go to study' and not manner 'where to go to study better'. It is also likely that semantically, the clitic should be attached to the other stem – it is rather *munny* 'to go' that should instead be modified, since the most suitable intended meaning would be 'where better to go for the children to study'. Note, that (5.30) had no reading provided by the informants.

(5.30) a. *Najö   jona   otsalisny   sövetön   kytčö   burdžyk*
           3PL   a lot   help.3PL.INF   advice.INSTR   where   good.COMP
           munny   čeljad'ysly   velödčyny.
           go.INF   children.DAT.3SG   study.INF
    'They helped much with advice [on] where it is better for the children to go to study.' (zv.02.06.07)

    b. ??*Najö jona otsalisny sövetön, kytčö munny čeljad'ysly velödčynydžyk.* [Q07]
    '??They helped much with advice [on] where the children could go to study better.'

Among the examples with the lowest mean ratings, the contextual mismatch between modification and verb/context is the largest cause for low acceptability. This may be expressed in either the clitic modifying the "wrong" component of the complex VP, the context not being clear enough for the modification to be meaningful, or the presence of some other adverb not supporting *džyk*, for example *dz'iködz kušmasny(*džyk)* 'become entirely empty (*more)', etc.

5.4.5. Morphosyntactic tendencies in test items

Based on the examples discussed above, there also appear to be some morphosyntactic tendencies that follow the mean rating. For example, simple verbs are more commonly found in test items with higher ratings, while complex VPs are in items with lower ratings, etc. Below (see Table 38), I will give an overview of the general tendencies of typical > less typical types as much as it is possible based on such a small set of data.

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[58] Both *have more offspring* (object quantity) and *multiply more* (event quantity) were offered as provided readings.

I point out, however, that these tendencies apply to the acceptability of the items in the assessment test but they do not necessarily reflect the typicality of linguistic parameters in all examples with *džyk*. For example, although atelic verbs and negated verbs appear more often in literature, telic verbs and verbs in the affirmative are perfectly normal with *džyk*.

Table 38. Summary of the linguistic variables of the assessment test.

TYPICAL				LESS TYPICAL
	generic/Ø subject	plural subject	collective/single subject	
	general/habitual event		singular event	
	3SG/3PL person	2SG person	other	
	present tense		non-present tense	
	negative		affirmative	
	simple clause		complex clause	
	atelic		telic	
	specific context		vague context	
	general (multiple) reading		narrow (single) reading	

The test items show that subject type tends to be generic or dropped in the highest-rated cases and singular/collective in the examples with middle and bottom ratings. Plural-distributive stands somewhere in the middle due to not being very numerous but at the same time instead appearing among the examples with middle ratings.

General and habitual (i.e., plural atelic) predications appear most frequently among the highest rated examples. While certain singular events are also rated high (usually when the predication is mass-like), most of them receive lower average ratings than general or habitual events. Plural telic predications are not frequent enough in this data set to be commented on.

Third person is the most common among all examples involved; 3SG is slightly more numerous and also ranks higher than 3PL. 2SG ranks next here due to being used in a generic sense, but it is a matter of further investigation whether it is more common than all other persons aside from 3SG/3PL. Present tense dominates among the highest-rated examples while examples with middle and lower ratings are more often non-present – either 1st past tense or future tense. Although 1st past is more numerous in this dataset, it still requires further investigation whether this applies to actual language use and whether past tense indeed is more preferred than future tense.

Based on the notion that the few negated verbs appear only among the highest-rated examples and also due to negation being more often found in literature with *(-)džyk* (see *1. Introduction*), I put negation down as more typical and more preferred. Negation also seems more accommodating both semantically (more predications allow for modification in negation) and syntactically (more complex constructions among high-rated items).

Simple clauses are in general preferred to complex clauses, seeing as among the top quarter ratings, only one example appeared in a complex clause (as a serial verb) while 50% of the examples with medium ratings are complex clauses.

The ratings indicated a specific context, using fewer pronouns and less referential to old information not included in the single item under question, is more preferred to vague contexts that need more thorough background knowledge of a specific context. However, I do not think that vagueness itself affects the appearance of *džyk*, because in natural language use, the speaker knows the context in detail and the items deemed vague in this assessment test may be perfectly acceptable when surrounded by its proper context. But I do believe that in this test, items with vague or unclear context have elicited lower ratings.

On the other hand, the data suggest that context is relevant in connection to *džyk* semantics, since for some of the readings (e.g., tempo and quality, which are manner-related), the reference to manner must come from the context, otherwise the clitic can have several interpretations or cannot be used at all. Not all verbs allow for all the readings in *džyk*'s scope either due to verbal semantics or *Aktionsart*, or there may be adverbs present which do not combine with *džyk* (e.g., maximisers) or narrow the context. Such instances lead to either *džyk* being entirely unsuitable or redundant in some particular contexts or only being suitable with one particular reading. Since some contexts are more general in terms of allowing several interpretations, they are then more preferred over very narrow contexts which require one specific reading.

5.5. Provided readings

Although some of the provided readings were already presented in-text in the subchapters above, I will now give a more detailed account of the readings then informants provided, since aside from yielding a rating, providing a translation was the only other thing requested from the raters. The informants were given guidelines to provide a translation for the entire sentence or only the verb phrase where possible, i.e., when they assessed the sentence with 3 ('acceptable') or higher.

Out of 38 informants, only 5 provided no translations for the assessed sentences, for the other 33, the number of translations per informant varied between 1 and 22, the average being 8.47. Not all informants were consistent in translating all their positive assessments, and in some cases, only the verb itself was translated and not the modification added by the clitic. The latter leaves it unclear whether the informant had partially understood the assignment or whether in some of these cases the informant perceived *džyk* to have no semantic reading at all.[59]

Across raters, the number of translations provided does not correlate with whether the informant has on average given high ratings to the test items. How-

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[59] One of the reviewers suggests that the fact that Russian has no complete equivalent may also contribute to interpretational difficulties, but I believe it to be a question of the informants' familiarity with *džyk*.

ever, there is a correlation between SD and the number of translations (p-value = 0.01626) indicating that the informants with higher standard deviation for their ratings (i.e., larger variation in their ratings) also have been more likely to give more translations than the informants with smaller SD.

I would not read too much into the number of translations each of the informants provided, since the human factor is unpredictable – the informant might not have bothered with translating, or there were too many items and they got tired, or the assignment was poorly presented and the translation part was overlooked, etc. However, qualitatively, the provided content is quite interesting and will be presented below. I will first present an overview of primary and secondary provided readings, which include some unexpected readings, like *a bit* in the affirmative. The second section will discuss readings that are not in the semantic scope of *džyk*, but were used in the translations.

5.5.1. Primary and secondary provided readings

The number of translations provided per sentence was in accordance with acceptance rates – the more acceptable the sentence, the more times it was also interpreted. This is relevant to point out, since not all positive (3 or higher) ratings were translated and deriving from that, there seems to be a tendency that more acceptable sentences were perhaps more easily interpreted.

Altogether, 47 items out of 49 were provided with some kind of reading, a further 34 were provided with at least two readings, and 21 items were provided with at least three readings. That is, a small group of informants provided the sentence with readings that differed from the majority, usually within the semantic scope of *džyk*, but with some exceptions which are discussed further below. The number of readings provided is, of course, across raters, meaning that the primary provided reading is the most frequent offered interpretation, followed by the second most frequent, etc. As a rule of thumb, the informants only provided one reading each.

Although on average each sentence was provided with 2.55 readings, varying between 8 (1 case) and 0 (2 cases) interpretations, in most cases one of the readings was usually the primary by a clear margin. The interpretations were mostly given in Russian but paraphrasing in Komi was also used. When presenting the results, both the Komi paraphrasings and the Russian translations are being considered together as uniform semantic reading types (see Table 39).

Ru. *bol'she* 'more' and *lutshshe* 'better' (20 and 13 cases respectively) were the most frequent used adverbs for the primary provided readings for the affirmative, and Ru. *n'e ochen'* 'not very' for the negative (2 cases). The distribution of translations is provided below in Table 39, the reading type is followed by the adverbs and phrases used by the informants, since most of the provided adverbs have several readings in Russian and Komi. The table reads as follows: the entity volume reading was paraphrased by Ru. *bol'she, sil'nee, bolee* in the affirmative and by Ru. *nemnogo, men'she* in the negative, and it was the primary reading for 11 test items, and the secondary reading for 6 test items, etc.

Table 39. 1st and 2nd provided paraphrasings by reading type, and number of items per reading type.

reading type	provided paraphrasing		1st[60] reading	2nd reading
	AFF	NEG		
entity volume	*bol'she, sil'nee, bolee* all 'more'	*nemnogo* 'a bit'; *men'she* 'less'	11	6
event quantity degree	*bol'she, sil'nee*	*ne ochen', ne sil'no* both 'not very'; *men'she*	8	7
intensity / w atelics	*bol'she, sil'nee*	*ne ochen', ne sil'no*	8	2
intensity / w telics	*bol'she, sil'nee, sil'no* 'more', *bolee*	–	–	5
quality	*lutshshe* 'better', *horosho* 'well'	–	13	2
tempo	*bystree* 'faster'	–	4	1
maximiser	*sovsem* 'at all', *bol'she vsego* 'most of all'	–	3	2

Event duration (*longer/shorter period of time*) and moderation (*(not) like that*; *(not) quite*) which are among the readings of *džyk*, were not provided as possible interpretations in this questionnaire. Event frequency (*often*, *more often*) was offered on four occasions but by single informants and this placed its frequency only as the 3rd or 4th reading after other possible variants.

In most cases, the provided reading is as expected, i.e., it matches the intended reading deriving from the substituted adverbial. In case the provided interpretation differs from the intended reading, the context is ambiguous or the readings are close enough to be interchangeable. For example, if *better* was the primary reading, *more* was usually also provided 2–3 times for the same item as the secondary reading. In sentences like (5.31b) and (5.32b), *better* was the primary and *more* the secondary provided reading. Modification with *better* is more precise while modification with *more* is more general and could also contain the notion of *better*.

(5.31) (=4.6b)[61] *Me sert'i, byd čeljad'ös kolö vidzny detsadjyn, öd najö sèni sövmönydžyk i sibyddžykös' loöny.* [Q40]
'I think that children need to go to kindergarten, there they develop better (//better/more/faster)[62] and become more sociable.'

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[60] Note that the number totals to 47 and not 49; this is due to two examples receiving no provided meanings at all.

[61] Seeing as most of the examples have already been presented above, I only give the test item line and translation here, while full glosses are provided for examples that have not appeared above.

[62] Keep in mind that text in the parentheses shows provided readings ordered by frequency. The main translation line shows the intended reading of the test item.

(5.32) a. *Öt'i-kö,*   *jözysly*   *kivyv*   *öt'ilays'*   *stav*
          firstly   people.DAT.3SG   comfortable   from one place   all
          kolana   *völögasö*   *n'öbny,*   *möd-kö,*   *völöga*
          necessary   foodstuff.ACC   buy.INF   secondly   food-stuff
          vöčys'jas   *ödjödžyk*   *da*   *burdžyka*   *inalöny*
          making.PL   fast.COMP   and   good.COMP.ADV   sell.3PL.PRS
          ass'ynys   *tövarvuzössö.*
          3PL.ELA   goods.ACC

      b. *Öt'i-kö, jözysly kivyv öt'ilays' stav kolana völögasö n'öbny, möd-kö, völöga vöčys'jas inalönydžyk ass'ynys tövarvuzössö.* [Q17]
      'Firstly, it is more comfortable for the people to buy all the necessary foodstuffs from one place, secondly, food manufacturers are selling [off] their produce faster and better (//better/more/faster).' (km.13.10.07)

However, the same does not apply the other way around – *more* may follow *better* in most cases, but *better* is the secondary reading to *more* only twice, while in other instances, *more* is either the only reading (six cases), or is followed by a semantic reading (e.g., *bite more painfully*) or a reading outside of the scope of *džyk* (e.g., *could buy houses, rose most of all*).

    Aside from (5.32), there were only four other items that were provided with three separate readings, which were all in the semantic scope of *džyk*, e.g., (5.33), (5.34), and (5.35) have their provided readings as *better*, *more*, and *faster* (5.33) or *more often* (5.34) and (5.35). The common denominators for those five sentences are a plural or collective general or single habitual subject (as opposed to a singular subject) and a verb with suitable semantics. With *sövmyny* 'develop', *inavny* 'sell off', and *bydmyny* 'grow', different types of degree gradation are possible in those contexts, but not modification for frequency (except perhaps for *inavny* which is telic but would still be awkward, *?sell off their goods more often*). *artmyvlyny* 'succeed' and *artmyny* 'succeed; seem' on the other hand are not compatible with the tempo reading in those contexts, but as a telic accomplishment, *artmyvlyny* is open for frequency modification. For *artmyny* in (5.34), the many interpretations are due to the fact that in this context, the verb can be interpreted as either a state (*everything /---/ seems better*) or an accomplishment (*everything /---/ succeeds more/more often*).

(5.33) =(5.8b) *I puktasyd da dzor'idzyd bydmönydžyk kor naköd sjorn'itan.* [Q10]
      'Both vegetables and flowers grow better (//better/more/faster) when you speak to them.'

(5.34) =(5.10b) *Bumaga vylad, dert, stavys ljučk'i da artmylödžyk.* [Q08]
      'On paper, of course, everything is alright and appears well (//better; succeeds more/more often).'

(5.35) =(5.11b) *Öd Evgen'ij Stepanov'ičly njumsera g'ižödjasyd pyr artmyvlisnydžyk.* [Q35]
      'But E.S's humorous writings always succeeded better (//better/more/more often).'

A point of interest between the differences of intended and provided readings is tempo, which was the intended reading for 12 test items but was the primary provided reading in only four instances, secondary twice, and third three times; therefore, it was provided in 9 test items. Most often, the intended tempo reading was substituted with *more*, which probably occurred for similar reasons why *better* might be substituted with *more* – the latter is more general and when the context allows (i.e., it does not require the more specific reading), the more ambiguous *more* is preferred.

For example in (5.32) and (5.33), *faster* is the third provided reading after *better* and *more* because it is possible in that context but not required by it. However, in (5.36), *better* and *more* are not possible, while *faster* is.

(5.36) =(5.25b) *Zev jona kös'ja, med Vörsayd ledzasdžyk Iölatö gortas.* [Q19]
'I very much wish that the forest spirit would let Iöla go home faster.'

With both *faster* and *better*, the modified event expression must include the appropriate manner reading in their scope, otherwise manner-modification is not possible. *faster* is more specific in that sense and seems to feature less frequently. For *ledzny gortas* 'let (smb go) home', quality is not possible in this context (**let smb go home better*), and the use of *more* is curbed by the VP's telicity, since telic predications have an end point and cannot be quantified further from a certain point (**let smb go home more*).

A similar point could be made about (5.37) (mean 2.32), where the provided reading was the quantity *more*, and seeing that the predication involves an incremental substance (*gas arrives*), then this fits the provided context. At the same time, the sentence would be perfectly correct also without modification and might actually need more context to increase the necessity of adding *džyk*, since the unmodified VP of *the gas arrives* itself is an unmarked occasion but *the gas arrives faster* is marked and might require a narrower context.

(5.37) a. *Sidz,*   *ta*   *dyrji*   *ödjödžyk*   *voas*
            thus   it   PP.IN   fast.COMP   arrive.FUT.3SG
            rajonsa   *olys'jasly*   *i*   *gaz.*
            district.ADJ   resident.PL.DAT   PAR   gas

        b. *Sidz, ta dyrji voasdžyk rajonsa olys'jasly i gaz.* [Q03]
            'This way, there will be gas [available] faster (//more) for the residents of the district.' (vt.21.03.07)

A bit

An unexpected provided reading was *a bit/a little* which in itself may be an interpretation of a negated VP modified by *džyk* but is not a reading of *džyk* in the affirmative. *a bit/a little* was provided by a total of 12 informants for 12 separate test items.

For two of such sentences, the diminishing use is probably derived from the negative implication of the verb itself – in (5.38) and (5.39), the directed activity *č'inny* 'reduce' and the achievement *dugdyny (petködlyny)* 'stop (showing)', respectively, may have influenced the reading attributed to the clitic. In fact, for both of these examples, Ru. *men'she* 'less' was the primary reading provided, even though semantically, the context calls for boosting the event.

(5.38) a. *Kutam   lača,   myj   juörtög   vošöm*
           begin.1PL.PRS   hope.PL   what   news.CAR   lose.PTCP.PST
           saldatjaslön   lydys   jona   č'inas,   /---/
           soldier.PL.GEN   amount.3SG   a lot   reduce.3SG.FUT

        b. *Kutam lača, myj juörtög vošöm saldatjaslön lydys č'inasdžyk, /---/* [Q46]
           'We are hoping that the number of soldiers missing in action will decrease more (//less/more/a bit), because they organise search parties also for that purpose.' (zv.23.01.07)

(5.39) a. *A   med   ödjödžyk   dugdisny   petködlyny   kovtömtorsö   /---/*
           but   let   fast.CMPR   stop.3PL.PST show.INF   unnecessary.ACC

        b. *A med dugdisnydžyk peködlyny kovtömtorsö* /---/ [Q42]
           'But let them stop showing what is unnecessary faster (//less/more/a bit), /---/' (km.28.04.07c)

For (5.40), three of the four informants who translated that particular sentence attributed *(re)construct a bit* as the predication's reading. This seems likely to be due to the lack of a context that requires modification in the test item – the intended meaning for the modified predication had been *better and faster*. In itself, the sentence is perfectly normal without being modified – *Then the complex makes it possible to (re)construct materials* and thus it relies entirely on the informant to provide a reading for the clitic. In that case, perhaps the provided reading reflects the language use of some informants who may be unsure which readings *džyk* carries. Recall, that there are also the attenuative clitics *kod'* and *moz* in Komi, which are used similarly to *džyk* but differ semantically and cannot be used interchangeably with *džyk*

(5.40) a. *Sèssja   i   kompleksys   setö   pozjanlun*
           afterwards   PAR   complex.3SG   give.3SG.PRS possibility
           ödjödžyka   da   burdžyka   mont'irujtny
           fast.COMP.ADV   and   good.COMP.ADV   construct.INF
           mater'ial'jassö.
           material.PL.ACC

        b. *Sèssja i kompleksys setö pozjanlun mont'irujtnydžyk mater'ial'jassö.* [Q02]
           'Then the complex makes it possible to (re)construct materials faster and better (//a bit/more).' (km.21.08.07b)

A similar case can be seen in (5.41), where the context is straightforward and does not require modification, but accepts it easily.

(5.41) a. *A   med   najö   burdžyka   kutčys'isny   va*
           but   that   3PL   good.COMP.ADV   keep.3PL.PST   water
           vylas   pytškösas   sjujalam   penoplast.
           PP.ADE.3SG   inside.INE/ILL.3SG   stuff with.1PL.PRS styrofoam

        b. *A med najö kutčys'isnydžyk va vylas pytškösas sjujalam penoplast.*   [Q16]
           'In order to keep them above the water better (//better/more/a bit), they stuffed
           styrofoam inside them.' (km.16.10.07)

Apart from the use of *a little/a bit* in the affirmative, the primary provided
readings offered few surprises – the main intensifying and quantifying readings
of the clitic were represented and in most cases, the informants' responses
provided clear primary readings. However, as peripheral and sometimes singular
readings, there were a number of interpretations that do not belong to the scope
of *džyk* and were a surprising outcome of the questionnaire. These readings are
presented and discussed below.

5.5.2. Readings outside the scope of *džyk*

There were 20 informants out of 38 who provided at least one reading that is not
part of the *džyk*-clitic's semantic scope. One of the informants had 7 out of 19
(37%) and another 6 out of 13 (46%) of their provided interpretations not within
džyk's scope (see Table 40).

**Table 40. Number of readings outside of the scope of *džyk* per informant, and the
number of informants providing that number of readings.**

no of readings	no of informants
7	1
6	1
4	2
3	1
2	3
1	12
total	20

Altogether, there were 15 different readings that are not actually part of *džyk*'s
semantic scope (I will refer to them as non-*džyk* readings) and some of these were
already present in the translation lines in the previous section. An overview of
such readings is presented in Table 41.

    Some of the provided non-*džyk* readings are closely related to what *is* in the
clitic's semantic scope while others were derived from the context in which they
appeared. A borderline case of *a little/a bit* used in the affirmative was already
discussed above. Also, *more often* is an interpretation of *džyk*, but *often* alone
usually is not. The manner-related Ru. *ne tak okhotno* 'not as gladly' and Ru.

bol'nee 'more painfully' were derived from the context and provided as liberal translations of the situation. The maximiser-readings (see examples below) were also partially derived from the context.

Table 41. Non-džyk readings provided by the informants in Russian.

type	reading	adverb(ial) in Russian	occcurrences
frequency	not always	*ne vsegda*	3
	often	*chasto*	2
	rarely	*redko, ne chasto*	2
	sometimes	*inogda*	2
	usually not	*obychno ne*	2
degree	more or less ('so-so')	*bolee menee*	2
	less and less	*vse men'she*	1
manner	not as gladly	*ne tak okhotno*	2
	more painfully	*bol'nee*	3
maximiser	most of all	*bol'she vsego*	8
	at all	*sovsem*	12
other	a bit later	*tchut (po)požže*	2
	could be	*by/hot'*	7
	even, at least	*hot'*	1
	necessary	*nado*	1

The most frequent non-*džyk* readings are the maximisers *at all* (provided as *sovsem* 'at all, entirely') and *most of all* (provided as *bol'she/bolee vsego* 'most of all'). *at all* was provided for five separate test items, three of which featured negated verbs. Also, with the negated sentences, the *at all* reading is provided by the same 3-4 informants.

For (5.42), *at all* was the primary reading provided by four informants, although the intended reading was *èz kokn'nyddžyka* 'not easier, simpler' which is not in *džyk*'s semantic scope. It was noted above that Q05 was a problematic item for the informants, since the context is vague and does not necessarily call for any modification at all. (5.42) was also the only negated example to receive the moderative reading of *potchti* 'almost', which in a negated construction denotes that the event almost took place, but not really.

(5.42)   =(5.5b) *Èzdžyk vöv konkurslön i möd jukön – mös lys'töm.* [Q05]
             'Also there (//almost) was no second part to the competition at all – milking a cow.'

Another maximiser interpretation provided was *most of all*. This appeared only with verbs in the affirmative and again with contexts that allowed the use of a maximiser. Curiously, for (5.43), one informant provided a reading of *most of all*, two others provided *a bit,* while both the primary provided and intended reading was general high degree with *more*.

(5.43) =(5.21b) *Nem'inuča dyrji dojmalisnydžyk motoc'ikl vylyn pukalys' 19 da 7 arösa zonkajas, börjays bol'ničaö nuigön kuvs'is.* [Q06]
'In the accident, the 19- and 7-year-old boys sitting on the motorbike got strongly/very (//more/more painfully/a bit/most of all) injured, the latter died on his way to the hospital.'

In (5.44), the maximiser reading is due to the co-occurring superlative adverb *medsja* 'most', which appeared in the original sentence together with *jona* 'stronger; more' – *medsja jona* is a compound adverb similar to Russian *bol'she* 'more' + *vsego* 'of all' and is used to mark the superlative form of comparison. Based on the fact that Q15 received the lowest mean rating among the 49 sentences (1.92), it appears that according to these raters, the construction [*medsja* + V.*džyk*] cannot be used identically to [*medsja jona* + V].

(5.44) =(5.27b) *Medsja kač'isnydžyk donjas töv šör tölys'ö Körtkerösyn morkov da jablög vylö kartupel' vylö donys tani med ičöt.* [Q15]
'Most of all the prices rose this autumn-winter in K. for apples and carrots, least of all for potatoes.'

A reading occurring three times with the negated examples was Ru. *ne vsegda* 'not always' (e.g., (5.45)), which attributes to the clitic a reading of assessment of event frequency. For each item, the reading was provided once and not as a primary or secondary reading. Similar cases to this are Ru. *obychno ne* 'usually not' (5.46), provided once for one item, and Ru. *inogda* 'sometimes' (5.47), provided once for two items, each of the readings ranked fourth or fifth. While event frequency and quantity are in the scope of the clitic, those instances refer to countable frequency (*more/less often*) or quantity degree (*a lot, more*; *longer*), both of which can be graded, while the abovementioned readings relate to the habituality of the state of affairs and do not seem to have a higher/lower reading (e.g., **more/less sometimes*).

(5.45) =(5.1b) *Vojnabörsja s'ökyd vojas jylys' an'oz jona radejt kaz'tyvny.* [Q39]
'About the post-war years, the woman does not like to recall as much (//at all/not always).'

(5.46) =(5.2b) *Udžön mogmödys'jas ozdžyk bos'tny opyttöm da stažtöm tomulovös.* [Q22]
'Employers do not much (//at all/not always) employ youth without experience and length of service.'

(5.47) a. *Kolö,*   *med*   *tom*   *jözly*   *burdžyka*
        be necessary.3SG.PRS that   young   people.DAT   good.COMP.ADV
        otsalisny   *n'imalana*   *n'in*   *gižys'jas*
        help.3SG.PST recognise.PTCP.PRS.ADJ   already   writer.PL
        vos'tyny   *mövpnysö,*   *kors'ny*   *stöčdžyk*   *obrazjas.*
        open.INF   thought.3PL.ACC   search.INF   accurate.COMP   figure.PL

b. *Kolö, med tom jözly otsalisnydžyk n'imalana n'in gižys'jas vos'tyny mövpnysö, kors'ny stöčdžyk obrazjas.* [Q12]
'Already established writers need to help more (//better/more/sometimes) to expand the ideas of young writers, to search for more accurate figures.' (zv.11.05.07b)

Another moderating or compromising adverbial used was *bolee-menee* 'more or less' which was provided twice by the same informant. Judging by the examples (5.48) and Q32, *džyk* has been interpreted as a moderator that targets the degree of adequateness associated with the predication – *there will be gas more or less* 'the gas supply will be satisfactory', and *began to play more or less* 'began to play adequately'. For (5.48), one of the informants supplied a translation of Ru. *stal igrat' hot'* 'even began to play' which also refers to some degree of satisfactory performance.

(5.48) = (5.37b) *Sidz, ta dyrji voasdžyk rajonsa olys'jasly i gaz.* [Q03]
'This way, there will be gas [available] more (//more or less/a little) for the residents of the district.'

(5.49) = (5.15b) *No sezon šöras Zen'it tödčymön zavod'itis vorsnydžyk.* [Q32]
'But at the end of the season, Zenit began to play significantly better (//began to play more or less/even began to play).'

Other sporadic single readings that will not be discussed further featured semantic interpretations applicable to the entire predication. This included *do not earn money > do not live off/do not get rich*, *be apparent > became apparent*, *grow up > be more adult*, etc.

In conclusion, the non-*džyk* readings were for the most part interpretations based on context and to a lesser degree derived from the intensifying or frequency modifying readings that are in *džyk*'s semantic scope. These non-primary readings provided a valuable insight into how strict or free the use of *džyk* may feel to language users and how much weight the clitic has in peripheral contexts – it seems that in some cases where the reading was ultimately derived from the context, the clitic bore more emphatic weight and less semantic meaning. Although there is always room for human error and all the interpretations provided should not be taken as productive uses of the clitic, the findings are still a valuable basis for further research.

5.6. Summary

This chapter introduced the results of a linguistic assessment test carried out among young bilingual Komi and Russian speakers, whose dominant language was Komi for the majority of cases, but also including speakers with better self-reported command of Russian than of Komi. There were no correlations between the sociolinguistic background and the average ratings the informants provided,

but the use of scale (expressed by the standard deviation of the ratings a single speaker gave) proved to be dependent on some sociolinguistic parameters. Namely, choosing to speak Komi, proficiency of understanding Komi speech, and proficiency of reading in Komi showed positive correlation with SD, while Russian as language acquired first and choosing to read in Russian showed negative correlation with SD.

Based on the assessments provided by the group of informants, a set of tendencies emerged that seemed to influence the acceptability of sentences with VP+*džyk*. In broad terms, when modified by *džyk*, sentences that express a generic subject involved in a general or habitual event in present tense are rated more acceptable than singular events carried out by a single subject in a vague context. Also, a simple clause, an atelic predication and general reading of the clitic also increase acceptability, while a complex clause, a telic predication and a narrow reading of the clitic reduce it.

Another interesting finding was the readings provided by the informants. In general, readings that have previously been known to be in the clitic's semantic scope were generally provided as primary meanings by a clear margin. In comparison with intended readings, however, the general comparison by Ru. *bol'she/ sil'nee* 'more' was preferred to the manner readings Ru. *lutshshe* 'better' and *bystree* 'faster'. Also, as many as 15 different readings and interpretations that are not in *džyk*'s scope were offered, among these some that are related to the clitic's readings, like Ru. *chasto* 'often' (instead of *more often*), some which were derived from context (like Ru. *sovsem* 'at all', Ru. *bol'she vsego* 'most of all'), and some that may appear in the negative but not the affirmative (like Ru. *chut'-chut'* 'a bit', *men'she* 'less').

6. SUMMARY

In this thesis, I have shown the functions of the Komi cross-categorical degree expression *džyk* which is applied to verbs as a quantifier and degree modifier. Combining with verbs is relatively infrequent for *džyk* (the data set of this study makes up 1.4% of all instances of word-final *džyk*s), but the phenomenon seems to be morphosyntactically unrestricted – it appears with all numbers and persons, in all simple tenses and moods, and both in the negative and affirmative. The appearance of *džyk* with complex tenses was not in the scope of this study, but there is little reason to believe that there are significant differences between using *džyk* with VPs in simple vs. complex tenses. The most typical instance of VP+*džyk* is negative 3SG in present tense, preferably with a simple verb.

There are examples of *džyk* occurring also in dialectal varieties of Komi; however, the exact distribution has not yet been fully explored. In Komi-Zyrian, verbal modification is attested with examples in the literary language and its basis, the Prisyktyvkar dialect, and in Udora, while in Komi-Permyak, examples of verbal modification can be found in the Northern dialects, i.e., Kosa-Kama, Mysy, and Kočjovo. As for the neighbouring areas of Komi, *(-)džyk* has also been borrowed into some Udmurt dialects as a comparison element or moderator, and into Khanty as a comparison element, although its use with verbs is currently unattested. In general, the phenomenon of the comparison element acting as a degree expression and quantifier with verbs seems to have an areal distribution, since aside from Komi, it also appears with the comparison elements of Udmurt and Mari. The Udmurt *ges* (seldom *gem*) appears to have almost the identical use as *džyk*, while the Mari *rAk* (originally borrowed from Chuvash) has semantic differences and does not combine with finite verbs.

The use of *džyk* with verbs is more similar to the augmenting suffixoids found in, e.g., Swedish and Tundra Nenets, which show cross-categorical behaviour and occur more often with an intensifying reading and do not express negative attitude or doing in excess, as is more usual with augmenting derivational suffixes. In general, other Uralic languages do not have similar cross-categorical enclitic elements similar to *džyk*, *ges*/*gem*, and *rAk*, only Tundra Nenets shows multibased suffixes/suffixoids, and Northern Mansi has a cross-categorical diminutive suffix. Nganasan, Forest Nenets, Forest Enets, Selkup, and Kildin Saami have nominal diminutive and augmentative suffixes, while South Estonian Mulgi has diminutive optative forms – likely a Latvian influence.

The second chapter of this study introduced the concept – following the main points of Dwight Bolinger (1972) and the subsequent works of Löbner (2012) and Fleischhauer (2016) – that verb modification is divided into extent and degree gradation, where extent modification is a case of verbal quantification and degree modification a case of verbal intensification.

It has been established that extent gradation (or quantification) is concerned with the frequency (*rain often* or *rain a lot*) and duration of the event (*rain (for a) long (time)*). *often* with its corresponding equivalents in other languages is a

quantifier, while Eng. *a lot*, Ger. *viel*, Komi *una*, etc. modify the quantity degree of the event. For the quantity-related types (frequency and quantity degree), the predication should be plural or have cumulative reference (i.e., involve a mass verb). It has also been noted that measure functions (i.e., quantification) have more or less universal distributional constraints, meaning that repeatable, stage-level, and distributive events can be measured, while once-only, individual-level, and collective events cannot.

Degree gradation is concerned with modifying the degree of a property on some scale, while the modification can be either reinforcing or downtoning, which in turn is divided into scalar (boosters, moderators, diminishers) or totality modifiers (maximisers, approximators). For this thesis, the scalar modifiers are mainly of interest, e.g., those related to high degree (*a lot* and its equivalents) which combine with gradable verbs, i.e., those verbs that are involved with some scale, either by lexicalising one inherently or having it introduced externally. Some languages like English and French use the same high degree modifiers for both quantity degree modification and intensification (Eng. *a lot*, Fr. *beaucoup*), while some languages like German and Komi use one modifier for quantity degree (Ger. *viel*, Komi *una*) and another for intensification (Ger. *sehr*, Komi *jona*).

Other modification types relevant to this thesis are moderation and proneness. Moderation refers to either the non-sufficient degree of realisation or to the degree of prototypicality of the event, and also proneness which refers to the ease of something happening. Both extent and degree gradation may be involved with comparison. In this thesis, the relevant degrees of comparison are equative (mainly in the negative) and comparative (mainly in the affirmative).

Apectually, the telicity of the verb often plays a role when combining with different modifiers. Namely, in case of comparison with the quantifier *more*, atelic verbs may have either cardinal (count) or cumulative (mass) reference, e.g., *Mary ran more than Joseph* can refer to running more often or running a longer distance/period, while telic verbs may only have the cardinal reading, e.g., *Mary ran to the store more than Joseph* can only mean running to the store more often. The same generalisation holds for non-comparatives. With degree modification, aside from having a gradable scale, the important factor is whether the scale is open or closed, since this determines with which kinds of modifiers (totality or scalar) the verb can combine with. High degree modifiers generally combine with atelic verbs, but also with such accomplishments that have a separate relative and maximal telos (*stabilise > stabilise more*), whereas accomplishments with coinciding standard and maximal value (*close the door > *close the door more*) are rejected.

Following the notion of subcompositionality (Löbner 2012), verb gradability should be viewed according to its semantic composition and not its *Aktionsart* class or general semantic class, meaning that there may be semantically different types within the same syntactic construction. The main types of gradable verbs are change-of-state verbs, verbs of emission, and experiencer verbs, but also verbs of comparison, verbs of marked behaviour, etc. These types are formed based on sharing a similar gradable dimension and not necessarily on their syntactic

behaviour or semantic class. Gradable verbs may be scalar or non-scalar, depending on whether they involve scalar, i.e., result-type changes or non-scalar, i.e., manner-type changes. Non-scalar verbs are not involved with scales (but may associate with them), while for scalar verbs, there are several types of scales distinguished: property, path, extent/volume/quantity, and divergence scales.

The third chapter introduced the two main modification types that Komi *džyk* may have with events: extent gradation and degree gradation, both divided into specific readings or sub-types.

Extent gradation with *džyk* as a quantifier/extent modifier consists of three reading types: event frequency, event quantity, and event duration. Extent gradation readings in general appear to be rare with *džyk*, seeing that duration appeared only once, frequency nine times (mainly in the negative), and event quantity just over 20 times out of a data set of more than 300 examples. As expected, event frequency combines with plural count verbs and refers to how frequently the event takes place, e.g., *kutis pyšjavnydžyk* '(she) began to run away more (often)'. Event duration, a very rare reading in this dataset, refers to how long some event lasts, e.g., *mödys' ogdžyk kut uz'ny* 'next time I will not sleep as long'. Event quantity degree combines with mass verbs and refers to cumulative quantity, e.g., *tè nyvjas pövsas bergavlandžyk* 'you are around girls more'.

Degree gradation readings of *džyk* are more varied and more frequent, and consist of intensity, quality, and tempo readings, whereas quality and tempo can have either reference to high degree or manner. The central reading of *džyk* is intensity (or general high degree), which makes up almost a half of the instances of this dataset, followed at some distance by quality, which may denote either quality-related high degree, or manner. The intensity reading depends on event structure, mostly meaning that depending on telicity, different dimensions of the events are targeted, e.g., it is the intensity of the state (*da, mi sèni kolamdžyk* 'yes, there we are needed more') or the process (*zil'isnydžyk* 'they worked more eagerly') that is targeted with states and activities, while with telic verbs and scalar atelic verbs it is the extent of the result that is modified (*vežörsjalasdžyk* 'she will become more reasonable', *kubometryd sodödžyk i* 'the cubic meters will also increase more'). Aside from verbs associating with high degree and intensity of manner, there are a number of VPs that involve incremental themes in which case the degree modification targets the quantity of the associated entity, e.g., *da sèk'i kadys loasdžyk* 'and then there will be more time'. High degree may also be expressed by a quality reading, especially with states that do not combine with general high degree, e.g., *tatčös vörtö ozdžyk töd* 'does not know the forest here that well'.

It was discussed above that degree modification of event expression requires the verbs to have a modifiable scale, i.e., they need to associate with some gradable dimension, while frequency or quantity modification is possible with verbs that do not associate with scales, and this was also shown in Komi. In addition, quality and tempo manner readings require the scalar verb to associate with the appropriate scales related to quality or tempo, e.g., *tajö rödtödžyk* 'this one trots better', *nimkodjas'igad s'ölömyd tipködžyk* 'when looking at beauty, the heart

beats faster', otherwise the verb may reject that specific type of modification. The third manner-related reading with *džyk* is the more peripheral reading of proneness, which is related to the ease of something happening, e.g., *med lolöj vetlasdžyk* 'so it would be easier to breathe (lit. so my breath would go easier)'.

Another reading type of degree modification is moderation, which appears only with negation and is comparatively frequent (41 instances in 189 examples). Compositionally, it is part of degree modification, since it involves a scale of divergence or similarity, but differs from other instances of degree modification with *džyk* by denoting that the intended event does not take place. This kind of a structure can also be seen with the Komi adverb *murtsa* 'almost' which uses a negative construction to convey that something almost happened, e.g., *murtsa ez us'* '(s/he) almost fell (lit. almost did not fall)'. The reading may involve states that express the similarity to or divergence from some property, e.g., *s'ömys ozdžyk sudzs'y* 'the money does not quite suffice', or non-degree verbs which are then modified for the prototypicality of the event, e.g., *Anna èzdžyk kydz'i kolö kut harejsö* 'Anna did not quite hold the driving stick as is necessary'. With respect to more random uses of *džyk*, the clitic can also be interpreted as a diminisher, e.g., *kaž'itčödžyk* 'rather seems' or an approximator, e.g., *dz'ik öni ozdžyk na* '(they) do not (run off) quite yet'.

Seeing as *džyk* is semantically a combination of various degree expression and quantifiers with verbs in Komi, the fourth chapter approached some notions concerning verb gradation and quantification in a wider perspective than the semantic scope of the modification, touching upon the topics of event and subject plurality, telicity, scale types and scalar verbs, verbal semantics, etc., which are the main cross-linguistic factors relevant for extent and degree gradation.

It was shown above that with *džyk*, the general cross-linguistic observations regarding quantification and quantity degree modification also apply, and that in general, there are no additional restrictions to the use of *džyk* with verbs. With extent gradation readings, the predication is required to be either plural – and allow for cumulative reference – or involve a mass verb. In addition, different combinations of subject plurality, event plurality, and telicity are relevant with different extent gradation reading types.

For example with event frequency, the event expression should be telic, and plural, i.e., cyclic with a single/collective subject (*kutis pyšjavnydžyk* 'she began to run away more often') or habitual/general with a distributive subject (*èzdžyk torjödčavny* '(young people) would not separate as often'). Event duration requires the event expression to be atelic and singular and to have a singular/collective, i.e., non-distributive subject, in addition, the verb should associate with duration and the context should support the duration reading. Since duration was extremely rare in this dataset, I can only present the same example as above: *mödys' ogdžyk kut uz'ny* 'next time I will not sleep as long'. Event quantity requires the event expression to be habitual/general or re-occurring, the subject should be singular/collective (*ondžyk v'il'sjavny kut* 'you.SG will not slip as much'), since a distributive subject would yield a countable frequency reading (*ozdžyk velödčyny* '(the students) do not study (to become doctors) as often'). If

analysed as a collective subject, the cyclic predications should also be reanalysed as atelic (*sèk'i ondžyk v'is'* 'then you are not as ill'). In general, the situations which are once-only, individual-level, or collective (*the girls formed a circle*) cannot be modified for quantity (see Nakanishi 2007).

Another general topic relevant to verb gradation is telicity. For *džyk*, this includes the two kinds of high degree readings, stative/eventive ambiguity, and the telicity of negated events. Firstly, it was observed that telicity distinguishes two types of intensity readings with *džyk* – with atelic verbs, the intensity of the ongoing situation is modified (e.g., *radejtnydžyk* 'love more, with more intensity'), while with telic verbs like *k'iss'yny* 'tear up', the extent or scope of the result is assessed (*k'iss'ynydžyk* 'tear up more, to a greater extent'). With the quality reading, telicity does not seem to play a significant role – both telic and atelic verbs can be modified for quality and the reading does not vary for the two, while with tempo, telic predications are concerned with the speed of attaining the end result, and atelics usually refer to manner-related tempo. No telic verbs were modified for an entity volume reading among the analysed data set.

In some instances, the verbs involved with *džyk* exhibit stative/eventive ambiguity when combining with degree modification. This means that the predication can be interpreted as either a state or an eventive verb (usually achievement). With *džyk*, there is a shift of stative > telic that only occurs when negated verbs are modified for extent gradation, whereas negated verbs modified for degree are involved with the shift of stative > dynamic (atelic). In the affirmative, regardless of the reading, the event expression's telicity is the same both before and after modification.

The examples discussed above confirmed that similarly to semantically corresponding degree expressions, degree modification with *džyk* requires the verb to be gradable and to be involved with some dimension or scale. The semantics of the gradable verb and the scale with which they associate (either inherently or by deriving from context) determine the exact reading of the modification. For *džyk*, the readings that can be distinguished are intensity or general high degree, quality, tempo, and moderation.

Among the verb modified for degree by *džyk*, there are both scalar and non-scalar verbs, i.e., those that map onto an ordered set of degrees and those that do not. The degrees of scalar verbs are associated with result, while degrees of non-scalar verbs are associated with manner, and both these structural types also appear with *džyk*. The scalar verbs appearing with *džyk* are associated with various scales: property (*ondžyk setšöma mudz* 'not tire like that/as much' = intensity of tiredness), path (*k'iöj èzdžyk lyb* 'my hand did not lift itself as much'), extent/volume/quantity (*polömydly ondžyk setčy* 'not give in to fear as much' = extent of fear) scales, and divergence (*èzdžyk n'in lo star'ik da kaga kod'* 'not as much like an old man and a child'. Non-scalar verbs include verbs of change and motion that do not lexicalise an ordered scale, so when combining with *džyk*'s degree gradation reading, the intensification targets the intensity of the manner the predication denotes (*ozdžyk n'in pedzny da bukšas'ny* 'they do not stomp and resist as

much'), whereas the intensified property may be derived from the context as well as be inherent to the verb.

The scale that scalar verbs possess can be closed, partially closed (lower, upper closed), or open. Atelic verbs are involved with open scales, but telic verbs are involved with (partially) closed scales, which allow further modification only under specific conditions. *džyk* can modify both atelic and telic verbs, since some telic predications allow further degree intensification after their internal end point has been reached. This notion relates to standard and maximum telos, where the standard telos denotes the internal end point of the event (*mudzny* 'become tired') and maximum telos denotes the point beyond which degree modification is not possible (*dz'iködz mudzny* 'become completely tired'). For gradable accomplishments, the two types of telos are distinct, but for ungradable accomplishments they coincide and in the latter case, *džyk* could only quantify or modify the manner of the event, if the event's semantics allows for manner modification. It also became apparent that since the intensity reading calls for a multi-point scale (*be more and more of smth*), then the true two-point verbs (i.e., achievements) do not combine with the general high degree reading of *džyk* and appear in this data set for most part only with the quality-related high degree reading (*notice the rabbit better* < the rabbit is more noticeable).

States usually do not involve change, but they combine with the degree modification reading of *džyk*, since they involve gradable properties, although not all states associate with all the degree readings in *džyk*'s scope. For example, *gögörvony* 'understand' accepts the reading *better* but not *more*, *a lot*, while *povny* 'fear' rejects *better*, but not the general high degree *more*.

The moderation reading of *džyk* functions as a degree modifier called a moderator (or hedge or compromiser), like *sort of*, *kind of*, *quite*, etc. With *džyk*, moderation usually diminishes negation and with degree verbs, it has a moderative reading (*not quite succeed*), meaning that the event has not taken place in the desired way or some required degree has not been reached (*èzdžyk artmy* 'did not quite succeed'). With manner-related events, the modification targets the event's distance from a prototypical situation (Eng. *sort of succeeded = did something like succeeding*, Komi *ondžyk sidz sy jylys' dumajt* 'do not quite think about her like that'). Semantically, *džyk*'s moderation reading is similar to the divergence scale associated with verbs of comparison and similarity, since this reading denotes the distance from the prototypical event and the real event. Moderation differs from intensity modification by indicating that the event was not realised, whereas with a degree reading, there is a clear reference to the event taking place.

The final topic addressed is the fourth chapter was the semantics of the verbs that appear with *džyk*'s degree readings. The general notion presented in Cypanov (2005) is that verbs with an inherent ability to be intensified appear with *džyk*, while the verbs which cannot be intensified, do not. I would refine this notion and add that it is the entire VP that should be considered, not the verb alone, and that the gradability need not be inherent, since not all gradable verbs lexicalise the scales with which they are associated. In addition, *džyk* also involves quantification and extent modification which does not require the verb to be gradable.

For Cypanov (2005), the group of non-gradable verbs consists of existential and momentaneous verbs, and verbs expressing single-occurring actions, although my data show that both existential verbs and achievements do appear with *džyk*. For events like *čužny* 'be born', I propose that they might appear as once-only occurrences with *džyk* in a quality-related comparative use (e.g., *be born better*, although I have no Komi example to present), but in my data set the verb *čužny* only appears as a plural predication. While some of the verbal stems that Cypanov claims as gradable did not appear in my data set, the general claim certainly holds that verbs of motion, real activities, stative and cognitive verbs, and verbs that are inchoative or express a change in state all combine with *džyk*.

One of the relevant outcomes of this dissertation is the overview of the verb types that appear with *džyk*. In my data set, *džyk* appears with **change-of-state verbs**, which mainly includes verbs that express changes in psychological (*šöjövošnydžyk* 'become shocked more') or physical state (*ozdžyk dojmav* 'not get hurt as much'), and verbs referring to change of location (*kolö v'iččys'nydžyk* 'is necessary to hide more'); then **experiencer verbs**, which express psychological states or physical states and can be divided into subject-experiencer verbs (*èzdžyk dözmöčyny nomjas* 'the mosquitos would not annoy as much' and object-experiencer verbs (*pomjas èzdžyk lys'tny matystčyny* 'the things did not dare to come closer that much'; also **gradable actions** that include many (but not inclusively) manner-related processes (*udžavnydžyk* 'work more'), motion verbs (*sèk'i udžyd ozdžyk čot* 'then your work will not limp [along] as much'), and a relatively large group of verbs of speech and communication (*ozdžyk donjas'ny* 'they do not bargain as much'); and **perception and cognition verbs**, which can appear as either states or achievements, the former are modified mainly for intensity and quality (*čukyrjasys ozdžyk tödčyny* 'the wrinkles are not as noticeable'), while the latter reject intensity (*enjasys kazjalasnydžyk* 'the gods will notice [them] better'). Unsurprisingly, these abovementioned classes correspond to Löbner's (2012) and Fleischhauer's (2016) accounts of the verbs that are mainly involved in degree modification. In addition to the semantic types above, there is also a group of evaluative verbs expressing 'succeed' (*tènad artmasdžyk* 'you will succeed better (at it)'), 'suffice' (*ebösys èzdžyk sudzs'y s'ökyd tušasö kutny* 'the strength did not quite suffice to hold up her heavy body'), and 'suit' (*T'iköly čužva kaž'itčödžyk* 'Tikö likes malt beer more (lit. to Tikö malt beer suits/appeals more)') that are frequent with *džyk*. These verbs usually take the quantity or moderation reading or seldom also extent modification, seeing as they are not degree verbs and do not involve change.

The fifth and final chapter introduced the results of a linguistic assessment test carried out in 2016. The aim of the test was to gain additional information about the acceptability of *džyk* with various verbs, and also to confirm which readings are associated with *džyk*. In addition, a small cross-section of the sociolinguistic background of young Komi speakers was also collected, seeing as the informants were young bilingual Komi-Russian speakers whose dominant language was Komi for the majority of cases, though the sample set also included speakers with better self-reported command of Russian than of Komi. The analysis revealed that

there were no correlations between the sociolinguistic background and the average ratings the informants provided, but the use of scale (expressed by standard deviation of the ratings a single speaker gave) proved to be dependent on some sociolinguistic parameters. Namely, choosing to speak Komi, proficiency in understanding Komi speech, and proficiency of reading in Komi showed positive correlation to SD, while Russian as the language acquired first, and choosing to read in Russian showed negative correlation with SD. I believe this shows the tendency that informants who have assessed their proficiency of Komi higher are also more confident in using a broader scale when rating the acceptability of *džyk*, while informants who have better proficiency in Russian are more conservative with their ratings.

The test items were compiled by substituting a relevant verb-modifying degree expression (e.g., *jondžyka* 'stronger', *undžyk* 'more', etc.) with a VP that contained *džyk*. This approach allows for grammatically correct test items that involve verbs that are known to accept at least some degree expressions. Most of the substituted expressions were known to be in *džyk*'s semantic scope, while some expressions like *dz'iközd* 'entirely' and *jondžykasö* 'mostly' were not. The comparison of intended (i.e., the substituted expression) and provided readings gave valuable information on the suitability of *džyk* in various contexts and also about the preferred primary reading of *džyk*.

Based on the assessments provided by the group of informants, a set of tendencies emerged that seem to influence the acceptability of sentences with VP+*džyk*. In broad terms, when modified by *džyk*, the sentences with a generic subject involving a predication expressing a general or habitual event in present tense were rated more acceptable than singular predications carried out by a single subject in a vague context, probably because in the latter case it remains unclear if *džyk* is suitable in the context. Also, a simple clause, atelicity and general reading (i.e., several possible readings) of the clitic seemed to increase acceptability, while a complex clause, telic predication and narrow reading (i.e., only a single suitable reading) of the clitic seemed to reduce it.

Another interesting finding was the readings provided by the informants. In general, readings that have previously been known to be in the clitic's semantic scope were for the most part provided as primary meanings by a clear margin. However, when comparing with intended readings, the general comparison *more* was preferred to the manner readings *better* and *faster*. Also, as many as 15 different readings and interpretations were offered that are not in *džyk*'s scope. Among the new readings, some are more closely related to the known readings, like *often* (instead of *more often*), while some readings are derived from context (like *none at all*, *most of all*), and some of the readings may appear in the negative but not in the affirmative (like *a bit*, *less*).

As many questions as this thesis may have answered, there is still plenty that is unanswered and this identifies several topics for further research. Firstly, there is no overview of *džyk* as a cross-categorical element. It is known and referred to in the literature that other than with adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, *džyk* may also appear with nouns, pronouns, postpositional phrases etc., but there is no detailed

account of such examples and their functions as well as no understanding of how frequent any of these occurrences may be. Distributionally, *džyk* appearing with complex tenses is still for the most part unstudied, since only the analytical future tense was included in the scope of this thesis in addition to the simple tenses. Even though there is no reason to believe that complex tenses should have semantic differences in comparison to simple tenses, it might be relevant to take into consideration the aspectual properties of complex tenses. Deriving from that, instances with negation particles like *abu* and *ne* should also be considered.

Similarly, the exact functions and areal distribution of *(-)džyk* in Komi dialects has not been in the scope of this thesis, but it would be a relevant contribution to the topic. *džyk* as a degree expression of verbs if found in literary Komi and Komi Udora, and the Northern dialect group of Komi Permyak, but is possible that some dialect areas do not use *džyk* with all word classes or have a narrower choice of functions. This could be clarified through consultant work and the findings supported with further explorations of text collections, the latter might also add a diachronic dimension to the investigation. In addition, the cross-categorical distribution of both Udmurt *ges*/*gem* and Mari *rAk* and their modification of different semantic verb types could be studied in comparison to Komi. From a broader perspective, the distribution of the phenomenon should be studied cross-linguistically and with linguistic contacts in mind, since among the Uralic languages, this phenomenon is only known in the languages of the Volga-Kama area.

Another aspect concerns degree expressions and verb gradability. Although this study did somewhat approach the topic based on what was relevant for describing *džyk*, a more systematic overview and analysis would be required in terms of verb gradability and degree expressions in Komi, and also the distribution of degree expressions like the degree/extent-adverbial *jona* 'a lot' and the extent-adverbial *una* 'a lot' – especially in comparison to Russian. Also, a more detailed study of gradable verbs, including scalar and non-scalar verbs, gradable and non-gradable accomplishments, verbs with standard/maximal telos, etc. in Komi would be relevant, seeing how verb gradability is language dependent.

Concerning the readings of *džyk*, extent readings of duration and length of spatial path as well as the degree reading of path scales deserve further investigation in the form of elicitation and informant work, since the current work features few to no relevant examples.

ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical abbreviations

1,2,3	person	HAB	habitual
ABL	ablative case	ILL	illative case
ACC	accusative case	IMP	imperative
ADE	adessive case	IMPF	imperfective
ADJ	adjectiviser	INE	inessive case
ADV	adverbialiser	INF	infinitive
APPR	approximative	INSTR	instrumental case
AUG	augmentative	ITER	iterative
CAR	caritive	NEG	negative (auxiliary)
CNEG	connegative	NOML	nominaliser
CNV	converb	NUM	numeral
COMP	comparative	PAR	particle
CONJ	conjunction	PFV	perfective
COM	comitative case	PN	proper name
DAT	dative case	PL	plural
DIM	diminutive	PP	postposition
DP	discourse particle	PRECL	preclusive case
EGR	egressive case	PRED	predicative
EMPH	emphatical particle	PROG	progressive
ELA	elative case	PRS	present
FUT	future	PST	past
GEN	genitive case	SG	singular

Languages and dialects

Du.	Dutch	L-VY	Komi Lower Vyčegda dialect
Eng.	English		
Est.	Estonian	Mex. Span	Mexican Spanish
EstS.	South Estonian	M-SY	Komi Middle Sysola dialect
Fin.	Finnish	PCH	Komi Pečora dialect
Ger.	German	Ru.	Russian
Hebr.	Hebrew	SYKT	Komi Syktyvkarskij dialect
Hung.	Hungarian	Tib.	Tibetan
Ing.	Ingrian	UD	Komi Udora dialect
IZH	Komi Ižma dialect	Udm.	Udmurt
Kar.	Karelian	U-SY	Komi Upper Sysola dialect
KomiP	Komi-Permyak	U-VY	Komi Upper Vyčegda dialect
Liv.	Livonian		
LL	Komi Luza-Letka dialect	Vot.	Votic
		Vps.	Veps

Other abbreviations

coll	collective	lit.	literally
distr	distributive	SD	standard deviation

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RESÜMEE

*Ogdžyk töd ʼ*ma väga hästi ei teaʼ:
džyk tegusõnade määraväljendina komi keeles.

Siinne doktoritöö käsitleb komi sõnaliigiülese määraväljendi, kliitiku *džyk* esinemist tegusõnadega. Ehkki *džyk* on komi keeles esmajärjekorras omadus- ja määrsõnade võrdlussufiks, on teada, et see võib liituda ka nimi- ning asesõnade, kaassõnafraaside ning tegusõnadega. Tegusõnafraaside puhul toimib *džyk* olukorra hulgamäärusena või määramäärusena, vastavalt siis muutes kas olukorra sagedust või hulka, või intensiivistades tegusõnafraasi väljendatavat tegevust või seisundit. Pöördeliste tegusõnafraaside modifitseerimine on *džyk*-i puhul võrdlemisi harv – 30,5 miljoni sõnelises tekstikorpuses leidus vaid ligi 1100 juhtu, kus *džyk* modifitseeris pöördelist tegusõnafraasi. Sellest hoolimata ei ole pöördeliste tegusõnavormidega liitumine kõnealuse kliitiku jaoks morfosüntaktiliselt piiratud, kuna *džyk* võib esineda kõikide isikute ning arvudega kõigis lihtaegades ning kõneviisides ning seda nii eituses kui ka jaatuses. Kõige tüüpilisemal juhul liitub *džyk* ainsuse kolmanda isiku eitusverbile, sagedased on ka ainsuse kolmanda isiku jaatavad vormid ning mitmuse kolmanda isiku vormid. Kõige harvemad on esimese ja teise isiku mitmuse vormid.

Siinne töö uurib *džyk*-i esinemist pöördeliste tegusõnafraasidega, keskendudes ennekõike kliitiku antavatele tähendustele, *džyk*-iga kombineeruvate verbide tähenduslikele tüüpidele ning väljendatavate olukordade sisestruktuurile. Töö eesmärk on anda detailne ülevaade *džyk*-i kasutusfunktsioonidest ning tähenduslikest erinevustest, kuna mainitud aspekti on varasemates *džyk*i käsitlevates uurimustes küll ülevaatlikult tutvustatud, kuid mitte väga põhjalikult kirjeldatud. Ka on töö eesmärk selgitada välja, milline on *džyk*-i distributsioon erinevat tüüpi olukordadega, kuna on teada, et kõikide tegusõnadega *džyk* ei kombineeru. Komi keele uurija Evgeni Cypanov (2005) toob mittekombineeruvate tüvedena välja eksistentsiaalsed tegusõnad (*vövny* ʼolemaʼ), momentaanid (*lyjny* ʼvälja laskmaʼ) ja ühekordsed tegevused (*čužny* ʼsündimaʼ), samas kui liikumisverbid, ʼʼkonkreetseid tegevusiʼʼ väljendavad verbid, seisundid ja mõtlemisverbid, olukorra muutumist väljendavad verbid ja kvaliteedi algust märkivad verbid kombineeruvad *džyk*-iga vabalt. Siinne töö annab *džyk*-i distributsioonist mõnevõrra detailsema ülevaate ning toob selgemalt välja aspektid, mis määravad kliitiku kombineerumist erinevat tüüpi tegusõnadega.

Tähenduselt sarnaneb *džyk* kõige enam augmentatiivsete sufiksoididega, mis on intensiivsust tõstva tähendusega ning mida võib leida näiteks rootsi ning tundraneenetsi keeles. Sufiksoidid on derivatsioonilised elemendid, mis ei muuda alussõna sõnaliiki, kuid võivad ise olla samuti sõnaliigiülese esinemisega. Lisaks ei ole augmentiivsed sufiksoidid enamasti negatiivse varjundi või liialdamist märkiva tähendusega nagu augmentatiivsed tuletussufiksid seda enamasti on. Teistes uurali keeltes *džyk*-i, *ges*/*gem*-i ja *rAk*-iga sarnanevaid kliitikuid ei esine, kuid tundraneenetsi keeles esineb hulgaliselt sõnaliigiüleseid sufiksoide ning põhjamansi keeles esineb sõnaliigiülene deminutiivsufiks. Lisaks on nganassaani,

metsaneenetsi, metsaeenetsi, sölkupi ja kildinsaami keeles noomenitega liituvad deminutiiv- ning augmentatiivsufiksid, ning lõunaeesti mulgi keeles leidub deminutiivse optatiivi vorme, mis on tõenäoliselt läti keele mõju.

Džyk esineb sõnaliigiülese kliitikuna ka komi murretes, ehkki täpne geograafiline ning sõnaliigiline levik ei ole välja selgitatud. Olgu siinkohal öeldud vaid niipalju, et lisaks komi kirjakeelele (ning eelduslikult ka kirjakeele aluseks olevale Sõktõvkari murdele) esineb *džyk* tegusõnadega sürjakomi Udora murdes, kuna selle toetuseks on tuua näiteid vastava murde grammatikast. Permikomi murretes esineb tegusõna määra modifitseerimist põhjapoolsetes murretes, s.o. Kosa-Kama, Mõsõ, ja Kočjovo murretes. *džyk* esineb laenatud elemendina ka komi naaberkeeltes, näiteks udmurdi keele mõningates murretes võib see esineda võrdlusmarkerina (*ćeberdžyk* 'ilusam'), moderatiivsete omadussõnade moodustussufiksina (*keźyddžyk* 'külmavõitu'), või lisanduda udmurdi oma võrdlussufiksile (*-ges/-gem*) ning väljendada seega ülivõrret (*gördgezdžyk* 'kõige punasem'). Põhjahandi keeles võib *džyk*-element esineda nii võrdluselemendi kui ka moderatiivsete omadussõnade moodustussufiksina (*ūnə-šǝk* 'natuke suurem'), samas kui lõunahandi keeles esineb vaid moodustussufiksiline kasutus (*ai-džek* 'väiksevõitu'). Ei ole selge, kas *džyk* handi keeltes ka tegusõnadega esineda võib.

Üldjoontes on võrdluselemendi sõnaliigiülene kasutamine areaalse levikuga nähtus, kuna ka udmurdi võrdluselement *ges/gem* ja mari *rAk* liituvad lisaks eeldatud omadus- ja määrsõnadele ka nimi- ning tegusõnadega. Udmurdi *ges/gem* on komi *džyk*-iga võrreldes identsete funktsioonide ning distributsiooniga, olles nii võrdlussufiks (*lapegges* 'madalam'), moderatiivne tuletusliide (*čagyrges* 'helesinakas') kui ka erinevate sõnaliikidega esinev määraväljend (*fal'šit karis'koges, engek* 'Ma teesklen natuke, kurat'). Mari *rAk* on algselt laenatud tšuvaši keelest, on samuti semantiliselt *džyk*-iga sarnane ja toimib esmajärjekorras võrdlussufiksina (*kugurak* 'suurem'), aga võib olla ka intensiivsust pehmendav (*puškydyrak* 'a bit soft'), või kasutatav rõhupartiklina, millel puudub kindel semantiline tähendus (*kuzerak?* 'kuidas.PAR?'). Siiski erineb *rAk džyk*-ist sõnaliigilise jaotuse poolest, kuna *rAk* ei liitu pöördeliste tegusõnavormidega ning on mari keeles leitavad vaid nt konverbidega.

Töö teoreetiline taust

Siinse töö teine peatükk tutvustab teoreetilist tausta, mis puudutab olukordade hulga ja määra muutmist. Tööd läbib keskne teooria, mis põhineb Dwight Bolingeri (1972) jaotusel ning tema töö hilisematel käsitlustel Sebastian Löbneri (2012) ning Jens Fleischhaueri (2016) poolt, mille järgi jaguneb tegusõnade modifitseerimine tegevuse ulatuse (*extent*) ja määra (*degree*) muutmiseks, kus **ulatuse muutmine** on olukorra sageduse või hulga muutmine ehk kvantifitseerimine ning **määra muutmine** on olukorra intensiivsuse muutmine.

Ulatuse muutmine (või kvantifitseerimine) hõlmab endas verbifraasiga väljendatava olukorra sagedust (*sajab tihti* või *sajab palju*) ja olukorra ajalist või distantsilist kestust (*sajab kaua* või *jookseb palju*). Määrsõna *tihti* (ja selle vasted

teistes keeltes nt inglise *often* ja komi *tšökyda*) on kvantor, mis muudab olukorra toimumiskordade arvu, samas kui *palju* (ja selle vasted nt inglise *a lot* ja komi *una*) muudavad olukorra hulga määra, mis on skalaarne muutus ning seda tüüpi modifitseerimise puhul ei hõlma muutus terve olukorra sagedust. Nii sageduse kui ka hulga määra muutmine eeldab olukorralt mitmuslikkust (nt *Alan käib tihti teatris* hõlmab mitut erinevat teatriskäiku) või kumulatiivsust, st inherentset mitmuslikkust (nt *Ann jookseb palju* hõlmab erinevaid toimumiskordi, mille kestus on võimalik kokku arvestada). Ajaline ja ruumiline kestus viitavad tavaliselt kindla ühekordse tegevuse kestusele (nt *luges kolm tundi raamatut* või *jooksis viis kilomeetrit*). Lisaks on välja toodud, et kvantifitseerimisel on suuremas osas universaalsed piirangud, mis näevad ette, et korratavad (*repeatable*; *lööb jänest*), etapilised (*stage-level*; *on saadaval*), ja jaotavad (*distributive*; *tüdrukud tõstavad kätt*) olukorrad on kvantifitseeritavad, samas kui ühekordsed (*once-only*; *tapab jänese ära*), individuaalsed (*individual-level*; *on superstaar*), ja ühised (*collective*; *tüdrukud moodustasid ringi*) ei ole (vt veel Nakanishi 2004, 2007; Wellwood *et al.* 2012).

Määra muutmine hõlmab endas mingi teatud tunnuse määra (nt intensiivsuse vm) muutmist mingil teatud skaalal, kusjuures võib muutus olla olukorda tugevdav või nõrgendav, kumbki tüüp jaguneb veel omakorda **skalaarseteks muutusteks** (määrsõnad jagunevad intensiivistajateks (*boosters*), mõõdukuse väljenditeks (*moderators*), ja pehmendajateks (*diminishers*) ja **totaalseteks muutusteks** (määrsõnad jagunevad maksimiseerijateks (*maximisers*), ja ligikaudsuse väljendajateks (*approximator*). Siinses töös on kõige olulisemad just sellised skalaarset muutust puudutavad määrsõnad, mis on seotud kõrge intensiivsuse määraga (*high degree modifiers*, nt *palju*, inglise *a lot*, komi *jona*, jne.) Need määrsõnad kombineeruvad erinevaid määraastmeid lubavate tegusõnadega (gradable verbs), mis on seotud mingi skaalaga, olgu see skaala või tunnus siis inherentne või kontekstist tuletatav. Konkreetsete määramäärsõnade jagunemine võib keeliti olla erinev. Näiteks inglise ja prantsuse keeles kasutatakse sedasama kõrge määra määrsõna nii hulga kui ka määra muutmiseks (*works a lot* 'töötab palju' – hulk, *grows a lot* 'kasvab palju' – määr), samas kui näiteks saksa ja komi keeles kasutatakse hulga väljendamiseks üht määrsõna (saksa *viel arbeitet*, komi *una udžalö* 'töötab palju'), määra väljendamiseks aga teist määrsõna (saksa *wächst sehr*, komi *jona bydmö* 'kasvab palju').

Lisaks olukordade ulatuse või kvantiteedi muutmisele ning kõrget intensiivsuse määra puudutavatele muutustele on siinses töös olulised veel **mõõdukust** väljendavad skalaarsed määrsõnad (moderators, nt *(mitte) eriti*, *pigem (mitte)*, jne.) ning **kalduvust** väljendavad määrsõnad (proneness modifier, nt *kergemini*), viimased väljendavad seda, kui kergelt või lihtsalt olukord toimub, kuid ei ole sealjuures viisimäärused (*sulgub kergesti/lihtsalt* pro *kirjutab lihtsalt*). Nii hulga kui ka määra muutmine võib olla seotud võrdlusastmetega (*töötab rohkem* ja *kasvab rohkem*). Siinse töö seisukohalt on olulised võrdsust väljendav võrdlusaste, mis esineb enamasti eituses (*ma ei tööta nii palju kui tema*), ja võrdlust väljendav võrdlusaste, mis esineb jaatuses (*ma töötan rohkem kui tema*).

Aspektiliselt on olukordade määra muutmise puhul oluline olukorra teelisus, st see, kas tegusõnafraasi väljendatud tegevus eeldab mingit lõpp-punkti või mitte. Näiteks võib kvantorit *rohkem* sisaldavate võrdluste puhul ateelistel (s.o. lõpp-punktita) olukordadel olla nii loendatav (*count*) sagedusele viitav tähendus kui ka kumulatiivne (*mass*) kestusele viitav tähendus, nt *Mary jooksis rohkem kui Joseph* võib viidata nii jooksmise sagedusele kui ka sellele, et Mary jooksis kauem või kaugemale. Samas on teeliste olukordade puhul võimalik ainult loendatav ja sagedusele viitav tähendus, nt *Mary jooksis rohkem poodi kui Joseph*. Sama üldistus kehtib ka juhul, kui tegu pole võrdlusega. Lisaks määraastmete lubamisele on määra muutuse puhul oluline ka see, kas muudetav skaala on avatud või suletud, kuna sellest sõltub, milliste määrsõnadega olukord kombineeruda võib. Kõrget määra väljendavad määrsõnad modifitseerivad üldiselt ateelisi olukordi ning selliseid sooritusi, mille standardne ning maksimaalne lõpp-punkt (*standard and maximal telos*) ei lange kokku (nt inglise keeles *stabilise > stabilise more* 'stabiliseeruma > rohkem stabiliseeruma'), samas kui need sooritused, mille standardne ja maksimaalne lõpp-punkt kokku langevad ei saa kõrget määra väljendavate määrsõnadega kombineeruda (nt *ust sulgema > *rohkem ust sulgema*).

Löbneri (2012) subkompositsionaalsuse järgi tuleks olukorra määraastmete lubamist vaadelda selle järgi, milline on olukorra semantiline ülesehitus, mitte aga selle järgi, millisesse *Aktionsart*'i klassi või üldisesse semantilisse klassi olukord kuulub. See tähendab, et üks süntaktiline konstruktsioon võib endas hõlmata mitmeid erinevaid semantilisi tüüpe. Peamised määraastmeid lubavad olukorrad on olukorra muutust väljendavad verbid (*change-of-state verbs*), eritusverbid (*verbs of emission*), ja kogejaverbid (*experiencer verbs*), aga ka võrdlust väljendavad verbid (*verbs of comparison*), markeeritud tegevust märkivad verbid (*verbs of marked behaviour*), määraastmeid lubavad tegevused (*gradable actions*), jne. Need tüübid põhinevad sarnastel modifitseeritavatel dimensioonidel ja mitte tingimata süntaktilistel sarnasustel. Määraastmeid lubavad olukorrad võivad olla skalaarsed või mitteskalaarsed vastavalt sellele, kas nad on seotud skalaarsete ehk tulemus-tüüpi muutustega (*result-type*) või mitteskalaarsete ehk viisi-tüüpi muutustega (*manner-type*). Mitteskalaarsed olukorrad ei ole skaaladega seotud (kuid võivad nendega siiski seotud olla), samas kui skalaarsed olukorrad on seotud näiteks omadust (*property*), teekond (*path*), ulatust/mahtu/kogust (*extent/volume/quantity*), ja kõrvalekaldumist (*divergence*) märkivate skaaladega.

džyk-i tähendused

Töö kolmas peatükk tuvustab peamisi tähendustüüpe, mis komi *džyk*-il tegusõnu modifitseerides esinevad. Kaks põhitüüpi on **kvantifikatsioon ehk ulatuse muutus** ja **määragradatsioon ehk määra muutus**, ja need on omakorda jagatud konkreetseteks tähendusteks või alamtüüpideks.

Kvantori või olukorra ulatuse määrusena on *džyk*-il kolm alamtüüpi: **olukorra sagedus**, **olukorra hulk**, ja **olukorra ajaline kestus**. Olukorra ulatuse tähendused

näivad üldiselt *džyk*-i puhul olevat haruldased, kuna enam kui 300 näitest koosnevas andmestikus esines olukorra ajaline kestus vaid ühel korral, olukorra sagedus üheksal korral (peamiselt eituses), ja olukorra hulk veidi üle 20 korral. Ootuspäraselt esineb olukorra sagedus mitmuslike olukordadega ja viitab sellele, kui sageli sündmus toimub, nt *kutis pyšjavnydžyk* '(ta) hakkas rohkem (tihedamini) ära jooksma'. Olukorra hulga määr esineb massiverbidega ja viitab kumulatiivsele hulgale, nt *tè nyvjas pövsas begavlandžyk* 'sa oled rohkem tüdrukute läheduses'. Olukorra ajaline kestus viitab sellele, kui kaua mõni olukord kestab, nt *mödys′ ogdžyk kut uz′ny* 'järgmine kord ma ei maga nii kaua'.

džyk-i määra muutuse tähendused on mitmekesisemad ja sagedasemad ning koosnevad intensiivsuse, kvaliteedi ja tempo tähendusest, samas kui kvaliteet ja tempo võivad viidata kas kõrgele intensiivusele või kvaliteedi või tempoga seotud viisile. *Džyk*-i keskne näit on intensiivsus (või üldine kõrge aste), mis moodustab peaaegu poole selle andmestiku juhtudest. Intensiivsusele järgneb mõneti harvem kvaliteedi tähendus, mis võib tähistada kas kvaliteediga seotud kõrget taset või olukorra sooritamise viisi kvaliteeti. Intensiivsuse täpne tõlgendus sõltub olukorra struktuurist, mis tähendab enamasti seda, et olenevalt teelisusest võivad fookuse all olla verbifraasiga väljendatavate olukordade erinevad dimensioonid, nt seisundite ja tegevuste puhul modifitseeritakse seisundi või protsessi intensiivsust (*da, mi sèni kolamdžyk* 'jah, seal on meid vaja rohkem') või protsessi (*zil'isnydžyk* 'nad töötasid innukamalt'), samas kui teeliste olukordade ja skalaarasete ateeliste verbifraaside puhul muudetakse tulemuse ulatust (*vežörsjalasdžyk* 'ta muutub mõistlikumaks', *kubometryd sodödžyk i* 'kuupmeetrid kasvavad ka rohkem'). Peale verbifraaside, mis on seotud kõrge määra ja viisi intensiivsusega, on veel mitmeid olukordi, mille puhul määraastme muutmine muudab olukorraga seotud olemi kogust, nt *da sèk'i kadys loasdžyk* 'ja siis on rohkem aega'. Kõrget intensiivsuse määra võib väljendada ka kvaliteedi tähenduse kaudu, eriti seisundiverbidega, mis ei kombineeru üldise kõrge määraga, nt *tatčös vörtö ozdžyk töd* 'ei tunne siinset metsa nii hästi' ≠ ei tunne nii intensiivselt.

Eespool oli juttu, et olukorra määraastme muutmine eeldab, et tegusõnal on muudetav skaala, st tegusõna väljendatav olukord peab seostuma mingi astmelise dimensiooniga, samas kui sageduse või hulga määra muutmine on võimalik ka tegusõnadega, mis ei seostu skaaladega, ja see saab kinnitust ka komi näitel. Lisaks skaala olemasolule nõuavad viisiga seostuvad kvaliteedi ja tempo tähendused, et muudetav olukord seostuks samuti asjakohaste kvaliteedi või tempoga seotud skaaladega, nt. *tajö rödtödžyk* 'see traavib paremini', *nimkodjas'igad s'ölömyd tipködžyk* 'ilu vaadates lööb süda kiiremini', vastasel juhul võib tegusõna seda tüüpi modifikatsiooni tagasi lükata. Kolmas viisile viitav tähendus on *džyk*-i puhul nö olukorra kalduvus (*proneness*), mis viitab millegi toimumise kergusele, nt *med lolöj vetlasdžyk* 'et oleks kergem hingata (lit. et mu hingamine läheks kergemini)'.

džyk esineb veel mõõdukust (moderation) väljendava tähendusega, mis esineb ainult eitusega ja on suhteliselt sage (41 esinemist 189 näite hulgas). Kompositsiooniliselt on see osa määraastme muutmisest, kuna see hõlmab kõrvalekaldumise või sarnasuse skaalat, kuid erineb teistest määragradatsiooni juhtudest

selle poolest, et väljendatud sündmus ei leia tegelikult aset. Sellist konstruktsiooni võib näha ka komi adverbiga *murtsa* 'peaaegu', mis eitava konstruktsiooni abil väljendab seda, et midagi oleks peaaegu juhtunud, nt. *murtsa ez us'* '(ta) peaaegu kukkus (lit. peaaegu ei kukkunud)'. See tähendus esineb ka seisunditega, mis väljendavad mõne omaduse sarnasust või lahknemist, nt *s'ömys ozdžyk sudzs'y* 'rahast päriselt ei piisa', ning määraastmeid mitte lubavate verbide või sündmustega, mille puhul modifitseeritakse siis olukorra prototüüpsust, nt. *Anna èzdžyk kydz'i kolö kut harejsö* 'Anna ei hoidnud sõidukeppi päris nii kuidas vaja'. Üksikute ning juhuslikumat laadi kasutusviisidena võib *džyk*-i tõlgendada ka vähendajana (*diminisher*), nt *kaž'itčödžyk* 'pigem näib' või ligikaudsust märkiva määrusena (*approximator*), nt *dz'ik öni ozdžyk na* '(nad) ei (jookse) veel päris ära'.

džyk määraväljendina

Neljas peatükk lähenes mõningatele verbide gradatsiooni ja kvantifitseerimise mõistetele laiemas perspektiivis kui vaid *džyk*-i enda semantika ja võimalikud tähendusvarjundi, kuna semantiliselt on *džyk* koos olukordadega esinedes kombinatsioon erinevatest määraväljenditest ja kvantaatoritest. Olulised parameetrid on sealjuures olukordade ja subjekti mitmuslikkus, teelisus, muudetavate skaalade tüübid ja skalaarsed olukorrad üldisemalt, verbisemantika jne, mis on ka keeleüleselt peamised tegurid, mis ulatuse ja määra gradatsiooni puhul rolli mängivad.

Töö tulemusena võib väita, et kui üldised olukordade ulatuse ja määra muutmise puhul olulised tingimused on täidetud, siis tegelikult *džyk*-i kasutamisel olukordadega täiendavaid piiranguid ei ole. See tähendab näiteks juba eespoolgi mainitud üldistusi, et kvantifitseerivate tähenduste puhul peab sündmus olema mitmuslik või võimaldama kumulatiivset viidet või olema massiverb. Lisaks on erinevate kvantiteeti puutuvate tähenduste puhul oluline subjekti mitmuslikkuse, olukorra mitmuslikkuse, ja olukorra teelisuse kombinatsioonid.

Ka komi *džyk*-i puhul kehtib üldistus, et tegevuse sagedusele viitava muutuse korral peaks tegusõnafraas olema teeline ja mitmuslik, st tsükliline ainsusliku/kollektiivse subjektiga (*kutis pyšjavnydžyk* 'ta hakkas sagedamini ära jooksma') või habituaalne/üldine jaotava subjektiga (*èzdžyk torjödčavny* '(noored inimesed) ei läheks nii sageli lahku'). Olukorra kestusele viitav muutus eeldab, et tegusõnafraas on ateeliline ja ainsuslik ning selle subjekt oleks samuti ainsuslik/kollektiivne, st mittejaotav, lisaks peaks olukord ise seostuma kestusega ja kontekst peaks kestuse tähendust toetama. Kestus oli selles andmestikus äärmiselt harudane ja saan tuua vaid sama näite nagu ülal: *mödys' ogdžyk kut uz'ny* 'järgmisel korral ma enam nii kaua ei maga'. Olukorra hulga määra muutmine eeldab, et seda väljendav tegusõnafraas oleks habituaalne/üldine või korduv ning subjekt peaks olema ainsuslik/kollektiivne (*ondžyk v'il'sjavny kut* 'sa ei libise nii palju'), samas kui jaotav subjekt annaks loendatava sageduse tähenduse (*ozdžyk velödčyny* '(õpilased) ei õpi nii sageli (arstiks)'). Kui korduvat olukorda analüüsida koos kollektiivse subjektiga, tuleks need olukorrad ümber tõlgendada ateeliste olukordadena (*sèk'i ondžyk v'is* 'siis sa pole nii haige'). Nagu ka varem mainitud, siis

üldiselt ei saa kvantifitseerida olukordi, mis on ühekordsed, individuaalsed või kollektiivsed (vt Nakanishi 2007).

Teine verbi gradatsiooniga seotud üldine teema on teelisus. Teelisus eristab *džyk*-i puhul kaht tüüpi intensiivsuse tähendust – ateeliste tegusõnafraaside puhul muudetakse väljendatava olukorra intensiivsust (nt *radejtnydžyk* ’rohkem, intensiivsemalt armastama’), teeliste tegusõnafraasidega väljendatavate olukordade puhul muudetakse tulemuse ulatust (*k'iss'ynydžyk* ’rebima rohkem, suuremal määral’). Kvaliteedi muutmise puhul ei paista teelisus erilist rolli mängivat – nii teelistel kui ka ateelistel tegusõnafraasidel saab kvaliteeti suurendada/vähendada ning mõlema tüübi puhul on tähendus enam-vähem sama. Teisalt aga tempo modifitseerimine on teeliste olukordade puhul seotud tegevuse lõpp-punkti saavutamise kiirusega, samas kui ateeliste olukordade puhul viidatakse tavaliselt sooritusviisiga seotud kiirusele (või intensiivsusele).

Mõnel juhul kombineeruvad *džyk*-iga olukorrad, mille puhul esineb statiivset/sündmuslikku mitmetähenduslikkust. See tähendab, et sündmust saab tõlgendada kas seisundi või sündmusliku olukorrana (tavaliselt saavutusena). *džyk*-i puhul toimub statiivse > teelise nihe siis, kui eituses olukordi kvantifitseeritakse, samas kui intensiivistatud eitatud olukorrad on seotud statiivse > dünaamilise (ateelise) nihkega. Jaatuses selliseid olukorra struktuuri nihkeid ei esine.

Olukordade hulgas, millel *džyk* on intensiivsuse määra muutnud, on nii skalaarseid kui ka mitteskalaarseid sündmusi, st selliseid, mille väljendatav muutus on astmeline, ja selliseid, mille muutus on kompleksne ning mitteastmeline. Skalaarsete sündmuste astmed on seotud tulemusega, mitteskalaarsete sündmuste astmed aga viisiga ning mõlemad struktuuritüübid esinevad ka *džyk*-iga. *džyk*-iga esinevad skalaarsed sündmused on seotud erinevate skaaladega: omadus (*ondžyk setšöma mudz* ’ei väsi nii/nii palju’ = väsimuse intensiivsus), teekond (*k'iöj èzdžyk lyb* ’mu käsi ei tõusnud nii palju’), ulatus/maht/kogus (*polömydly ondžyk setčy* ’ei anna hirmule nii palju järele’ = hirmu ulatus), ja kõrvalekaldumine (*èzdžyk n'in lo star'ik da kaga kod'* ’mitte nii palju vana mehe ja lapse moodi’). Mitteskalaarsed olukorrad hõlmavad muutumist ja liikumist väljendavaid verbe, mis ei leksikaliseeri järjestatud astmetega skaalat, nii et kui *džyk* muudab nende olukordade määra, on intensiivistamine suunatud olukorra väljendatava tegevuse viisi intensiivsusele (*ozdžyk n'in pedzny da bukšas'ny* ’nad ei trambi ja ei pane nii palju vastu (lehmadest)’), samas kui intensiivistatav omadus võib tuleneda nii kontekstist kui ka olla tegusõnale inherentselt omane.

Skalaarsete olukordade skaala võib olla täiesti suletud, osaliselt suletud (alt või ülalt) või skaala võib olla avatud. Ateelised olukorrad on seotud avatud skaaladega, kuid teelised olukorrad on seotud (osaliselt) suletud skaaladega, mis võimaldavad edasist määra muutmist ainult teatud tingimustel. *džyk* võib muuta nii ateelisi kui ka teelisi tegusõnafraase, kuna mõned teelised sündmused lubavad pärast sisemise lõpp-punkti saavutamist intensiivsuse astet tõsta. See on seotud standardse ja maksimaalse lõpp-punktiga, kus standardne lõpp-punkt tähistab olukorra sisemist lõpp-punkti (*mudzny* ’väsima’) ja maksimaalne lõpp-punkt tähistab punkti, millest kaugemale ei ole võimalik määra muuta (*dz'iködz mudzny* ’täiesti ära väsima’). Määra muutmist lubavate soorituste puhul on need kaks

lõpp-punkti teineteisest eraldi, kuid määra muutmist mitte lubavate soorituste puhul langevad need kokku ja sel juhul pole edasine määra muutmine enam võimalik. Määra muutmist mitte lubavad olukorrad lubavad siiski kvantifit-seerimist või olukorra viisi intensiivistamist juhul, kui olukord viisi muutmist semantiliselt võimaldab. Samuti on ilmnenud, et kuna intensiivsuse näit nõuab mitmepunktilist skaalat (*rohkem ja rohkem väsima*), siis tõelised kahepunktilised sündmused (s.o saavutused) ei kombineeru *džyk*-i üldist kõrget taset muutva tähendusega ja ilmnevad selles andmestikus enamasti ainult kvaliteediga seotud kõrge astme tähendusega (*märkab jänest paremini = jänes on väga märgatav*).

Seisundid tavaliselt muutusi ei hõlma, kuid siiski kombineeruvad nad *džyk*-i intensiivistava tähendusega, kuna seisundid hõlmavad astmelisi, intensiivis-tatavaid omadusi. Samas ei seostu kõik seisundid sugugi mitte kõigi *džyk*-i määra muutvate tähendustega. Näiteks *gögörvonydžyk* 'paremini aru saama' kombi-neerub kvaliteedile viitava tähendusega, kuid mitte üldisele kõrgele intensiiv-susele viitavat tähendusega (**rohkem aru saama*), samas kui *povnydžyk* 'rohkem kartma' ei luba kvaliteedi tähendust (**paremini kartma*), kuid lubab üldist kõrget intensiivsust.

džyk-il võib olla ka mõõdukusele viitav tähendus, mis sarnaneb määraväljen-ditele, mida kutsutakse moderaatoriteks (*moderators*) või hekkideks (*hedges*) või kompromiseerijateks (*compromisers*), nagu inglise *sort of*, *kind of* 'nagu, oma-moodi', *quite* 'üsna; päris', jne. *džyk* puhul pehmendab mõõdukus ainult eitust. Määra muutmist lubavate tegusõnafraaside puhul on sellel mõõdukusele viitav tähendus (*mitte päriselt õnnestuma*), mis tähendab, et sündmus ei ole soovitud viisil toimunud või ei ole saavutatud mingit nõutavat taset. Viisi märkivate olu-kordade puhul muudab modifikatsioon sündmuse kaugust prototüüpsest olu-korrast (*nagu õnnestus = see, mis juhtus on õnnestumise moodi*). Semantiliselt on *džyk*-i mõõdukusele viitav tähendus sarnane võrdlus- ja sarnasusverbidega seotud kõrvalekaldumisskaalaga, kuna see tähendus tähistab kaugust prototüüpse olu-korra ja tegelikult aset leidnud olukorra vahel.

džyk-iga kombineeruvad tegusõnatüübid

Viimane neljandas peatükis käsitletud teema on *džyk*-iga kombineeruvate olu-kordade semantika. Cypanovi (2005) üldine väide on, et tegusõnad, mida on või-malik intensiivistada, esinevad koos *džyk*-iga, samas kui tegusõnad, mida ei saa intensiivistada, ei esine koos *džyk*-iga. Oma töö põhjal saan seda väidet täpsus-tada ja lisada, et arvesse tuleks võtta kogu tegusõnafraasi, mitte ainult tegusõna ennast. Lisaks veel, et tegusõna ei pea tingimata olema inherentselt määra astmeid lubav, kuna mitte kõik astmelised olukorrad ei leksikaliseeri neid skaalasid, millega nad seotud võivad olla, vaid skaala võib tuleneda ka kontekstist. Lisaks hõlmab *džyk* ka kvantifitseerimist ja ulatuse muutmist, mis ei nõua, et olukord lubaks määra astmete muutmist.

Ehkki Cypanovi (2005) järgi ei saa *džyk* kombineeruda eksistentsiaalsete ja momentaalsete tegusõnade ning ühekordseid olukordi väljendavate tegusõnadega,

siis minu andmed näitavad, et *džyk*-iga esinevad nii eksistentsiaalsed tegusõnad kui ka saavutusverbid, mis ongi oma olemuselt momentaansed. Selliste sünd-muste puhul nagu *čužny* 'sündima' pakun, et need võiksid esineda ka ühekordsete olukordadena (st ilma, et *džyk* nende sagedust muudaks), kuid seda vaid kvali-teedi astet väljendavas võrdlevas kasutuses (nt *sündida paremini*, kuigi mul pole selle kohta komikeelset näidet esitada). Minu andmetes *čužny* 'sündima' küll esineb, kuid ainult mitmuslikuna. Ehkki minu andmestikus ei esinenud kõiki Cypanovi nimetatud tüvesid, millega *džyk* kombineeruda võiks, kehtivad tema üldised väited, et komi *džyk*-iga kombineeruvad liikumisverbid, reaalsed tege-vused, seisundid ja kognitiivset tegevust väljendavad verbid ning verbid, mis on inhoatiivsed või väljendavad oleku muutust.

Üks selle väitekirja olulisemaid tulemusi on kirjeldus olukordadest, mida *džyk* modifitseerida võib. Minu andmestikus esineb *džyk* koos olukorra muutust väljendavate tegusõnadega, mis hõlmavad peamiselt psüühilise seisundi muutusi (*šöjövošnydžyk* 'saada rohkem šokeeritud') või füüsilise seisundi muutusi (*ozdžyk dojmav* 'ei saa nii palju haiget'), ja tegusõnu, mis viitavad asukoha muutusele (*kolö v'iččys'nydžyk* 'on vaja rohkem varjata'). *Džyk*-iga esinevad ka kogeja-verbid, mis väljendavad psüühilisi või või füüsilisi seisundeid ja mida saab jagada subjekti-kogeja tegusõnadeks (*èzdžyk dözmöčyny nomjas* 'sääsed ei häiriks nii palju' ja objekti-kogeja tegusõnadeks (*pomjas èzdžyk lys'tny matystčyny* 'asjad (st sääsed) ei julge tulla nii palju lähemale'. Veel esinevad *džyk*-iga määra astmeid lubavad tegevused, mis hõlmavad paljusid (kuid mitte ainult) viisiga seotud protsesse (*udžavnydžyk* 'rohkem/kõvemini töötama'), liikumist väljendavaid tegusõnu (*sèk'i udžyd ozdžyk čot* 'siis sinu töö ei lonka nii palju'), ja suhteliselt suurt rühma kõne- ja suhtlusverbe (*ozdžyk donjas'ny* 'nad ei kauple nii palju').

Džyk-iga esinevad ka taju- ja tunnetusverbid, mis võivad ilmneda kas sei-sundite või saavutustena, tajuverbid lubavad intensiivsuse ja kvaliteedi muutmist (*čukyrjasys ozdžyk tödčyny* 'kortsud ei ole nii märgatavad', samas kui tunnetus-verbid keelduvad intensiivsusest (*enjasys kazjalasnydžyk* 'jumalad märkavad [neid] paremini'). Need ülalmainitud klassid vastavad Löbneri (2012) ja Flei-schhaueri (2016) ülevaadetele nendest olukordadest, mis määramäärsõnadega kombineeruvad. Lisaks ülalmainitutele esineb *džyk*-iga ka rühm hinnangut väljen-davaid olukordi, mis väljendavad olukordi nagu 'õnnestuma' (*tènad artmasdžyk* 'sinul õnnestub paremini'), 'piisama' (*ebösys èzdžyk sudzs'y s'ökyd tušasö kutny* 'jõudu ei piisanud, et hoida tema rasket keha üleval') ja 'sobima' (*T'iköly čužva kaž'itčödžyk* "Tiköle meeldib (lit. sobib) linnaseõlu rohkem'). Kuna need olu-korrad ei ole määra muutust lubavad olukorrad, siis tavaliselt väljendavad need koos *džyk*-iga koguse muutust või mõõdukust, harvem ka ulatuse muutust.

Keelelise hindamistesti tulemused

Viiendas ja viimases peatükis tutvustati 2016. aastal läbiviidud keelelise hin-damistesti tulemusi. Testi eesmärk oli saada lisateavet *džyk*'i vastuvõetavuse kohta erinevate sündmustega ning ühtlasi kinnitada, millised tähendused *džyk*'iga

seotud on. Lisaks saadi ka väike läbilõige noorte komi keele kõnelejate sotsiolingvistilisest taustast, kuna informantideks olid noored kakskeelsed komi ja vene keele kõnelejad, kelle domineeriv keel oli enamikul juhtudel komi keel, kuid valimisse kuulusid ka kõnelejad, kes hindasid oma vene keele oskust (tunduvalt) paremaks kui komi keele oma. Analüüsist selgus, et sotsiolingvistilise tausta ja informantide antud keskmiste hinnangute vahel statistiliselt olulisi seoseid ei olnud, kuid skaala kasutamine (väljendatuna ühe kõneleja antud hinnangute standardhälbega (SD)) osutus sõltuvaks mõnest sotsiolingvistilisest parameetrist. Nimelt näitasid komi keele valimine suhtluskeeleks, komi kõne mõistmise oskus, ja komi keele lugemisoskus positiivset korrelatsiooni SD-ga, samas kui vene keele kui esimesena omandatud ning venekeelse lugemise valimine näitas negatiivset korrelatsiooni SD-ga. Usun, et see näitab tendentsi, et oma komi keele oskust kõrgemaks hinnanud informandid kasutavad *džyk*-i sisaldavaid lauseid hinnates laiemat skaalat, samas kui vene keelt paremini valdavad informandid on oma hinnangutes konservatiivsemad.

Testlaused koostati nii, et tähenduslikult sobiv määraväljend (nt *jondžyka* 'kõvemini; rohkem', *undžyk* 'rohkem' jne) asendati *džyk*-iga. See lähenemisviis võimaldab grammatiliselt õigeid testlauseid, mis hõlmavad just neid sündmusi, mida saab määra muutvate väljenditega modifitseerida. Teadaolevalt kuulus enamik asendatud väljendeid *džyk*-i semantilisse välja, samas kui mõned väljendid, nagu *dz'iközd* 'täiesti' ja *jondžykasö* 'enamasti, suuremas osas', ei kuulunud. Algsete (s.o. *džyk*'iga asendatud määraväljendi) ja keelejuhtide poolt esitatud tähenduste võrdlus andis väärtuslikku teavet *džyk*'i sobivuse kohta erinevates kontekstides ja ka selle kohta, mis võiks olla *džyk*'i peamine eelistatud tähendus komi keele kõnelejate hinnangul.

Informantide rühma antud hinnangute põhjal ilmnes tendentside kogum, mis näib mõjutavat VP+*džyk*'iga lausete vastuvõetavust. Laias laastus hinnati neid *džyk*-i sisaldavaid lauseid vastuvõetavamaks, mis väljendavad üldise või harjumuspärase sündmusega seotud üldist subjekti olevikuvormis, vähemvastuvõetavaks aga neid lauseid, kus on üksiku subjekti poolt ebamäärases kontekstis läbi viidud üksikud sündmused. Samuti näib, et kliitiku esinemine lihtlauses, väljendatava olukorra ateelisus, ja *džyk*-i mitu võimalikku tähendust suurendavad vastuvõetavust, samas kui kliitiku esinemine liitlauses, väljendatava olukorra teelisus, ja *džyk*'i kitsas tähendus (st vaid üks konteksti sobiv tähendus) näivad seda vähendavat.

Huvitav tulemus oli ka informantide esitatud tähendused. Üldiselt esitati esmastena just need tähendused, mis olid ka varem teada, et need *džyk*-i tähenduste hulka kuuluvad; esmaseid ehk kõige sagedasemaid tähendusi pakuti kõige rohkem üsna suure varuga. Siiski eelistati kavandatud näidete võrdlemisel üldist kõrge määra tähendust viisile viitava kvaliteedi või tempo tähendusele . Samuti pakuti välja koguni 15 erinevat tähendust ja tõlgendust, mis ei kuulu *džyk*'i tähenduste hulka. Mõned nende tähenduste hulgast on seotud teadaolevate tähendustega, nagu *sageli* (*sagedamini* asemel), samas kui mõned tähendused olid tuletatud kontekstist (nagu *üldse mitte*), ja mõned tähendused esinevad *džyk*-iga tavaliselt eituses, kuid mitte jaatuses (nagu *natuke*, *vähem*).

Edasised uurimisküsimused

Nii paljudele küsimustele kui see uurimus ka vastuseid andis, on veel palju vastamata küsimusi, mis viitavad mitmele teemale, mida edasi uurida. Esiteks puudub ülevaade *džyk*ist kui kategooriaülesest elemendist. Kirjanduses on viidatud, et peale omadussõnade, määrsõnade ja tegusõnade võib *džyk* esineda ka nimisõnade, asesõnade, postpositsiooniliste fraaside jne. modifitseerijana, kuid sellest leidub vähe näiteid ja pole teada, kui sagedased need juhud võivad olla. Ka puudub ülevaade sellest, mis on sellisel juhul *džyk*'i funktsioonid. Jaotuslikult on *džyk*'i esinemine liitaegades veel suures osas uurimata, kuna käesolevas töös käsitleti lihtaegade kõrval ainult analüütilist tulevikuvormi. Ehkki pole põhjust arvata, et liitaegadel peaks olema lihtaegadega võrreldes semantilisi erinevusi, võib olla asjakohane arvestada liitajavormide aspektuaalseid omadusi. Sellest tulenevalt tuleks arvesse võtta ka eituspartiklite *abu* ja *ne* kombineerumist *džyk*-iga.

(-)*džyk*-i täpsed funktsioonid ja piirkondlik jaotus komi murretes ei olnud käesoleva väitekirja raamesse, kuid see oleks asjakohane panus teemasse. Võimalik, et mõnes komi murdes ei kasutata *džyk*-i kõigi sõnaklassidega või siis on *džyk*-i funktsioonide valik kitsam. Seda saaks täpsustada .

Teine aspekt puudutab määraväljendeid ja verbide astmelisust. Kuigi siinne väitekiri käsitles seda teemat mõnevõrra selle põhjal, mis oli *džyk*-i kirjeldamise jaoks asjakohane, oleks vaja süstemaatilist ülevaadet ja analüüsi tegusõnade astmelisuse ja astmeväljendite osas komi keeles; uurida tuleks ka seda, kuidas täpselt käituvad astme/ulatuse-määrsõna *jona* 'palju' ja ulatuse-määrsõna *una* 'palju', seda eriti võrdluses vene keelega. Samuti oleks asjakohane uurida komi keele astmelisi tegusõnu, sh skalaarseid ja mitteskalaarseid tegusõnu, astmelisi ja mitteastmelisi saavutusi jne, sest tegusõna astmelisus ei ole keeleüleselt ühene.

džyk-i tähenduste vaatenurgast vääriks täpsemat uurimist need ulatuse astmesse puutuvad tähendused, mis väljendavad ajalist kestust ja ruumilist teekonda, ning määra astmesse puutuv teekonna skaala, kuna nende parameetritega näited esines siinses töös väga vähe või üldse mitte.

APPENDIX 1. Test items of the linguistic assessment test

tag	test item and translation
Q01	*Ыджыдвиддзысь Афанасий Габов быд чукӧртчылігӧн <u>чуксалӧджык</u> став войтырӧс <u>сӧвмӧдны</u> районын спортлысь национальнӧй видъяс.*[63] 'At every meeting, A.G. from Bol'sheluga (Ydzhydviddz) encourages=džyk the people to develop the national disciplines in the district.'
Q02	*Сэсся и комплексыс сетӧ позянлун <u>монтируйтныджык</u> материальяссӧ.* 'Then the complex makes it possible to (re)construct=džyk materials.'
Q03	*Сідз, та дырйи <u>воасджык</u> районса олысьяслы и газ.* 'This way, there will be=džyk gas (available) for the residents of the district.'
Q04	*Коймӧд курссӧ сэсся <u>ковмис прӧйдитныджык,</u> во джынйӧн.* 'Thus, the third course had to be passed=džyk in 1–1.5 years.'
Q05	*<u>Эзджык вӧв</u> конкурслӧн и мӧд юкӧн – мӧс лысьтӧм.* 'Also there was no=džyk second part for the competition – milking a cow.'
Q06	*Неминуча дырйи <u>доймалісныджык</u> мотоцикл вылын пукалысь 19 да 7 арӧса зонкаяс, бӧръяыс больничаӧ нуигӧн кувсис.* 'In the accident, the 19- and 7-year-old boys sitting on the motorbike got injured=džyk, the latter died on his way to the hospital.'
Q07	*Найӧ ёна отсалісны сӧветӧн, <u>кытчӧ мунны челядьыслы велӧдчыныджык</u>.* 'They helped a lot with advice (on) where the children (should) go study=džyk.'
Q08	*Бумага вылад, дерт, ставыс лючки да <u>артмылӧджык</u>.* 'On paper, of course, everything is alright and appears=džyk.'
Q09	*Сьӧмсӧ сетасны кар-районса бюджетъясӧ содтӧдӧн, медым сэні <u>вермисныджык ньӧбны</u>, либӧ кыпӧдны Великӧй Отечественнӧй войнаса ветеранъяслы, инвалидъяслы, салдат дӧваяслы оланін.* 'They will increase the money of the district-centre budget, so they can=džyk buy or raise the pension for the veterans of the Great Fatherland war, for the disabled, to the widows of soldiers.'
Q10	*И пуктасыд да дзоридзыд <u>быдмӧныджык</u>, кор накӧд сёрнитан.* 'Both vegetables and flowers grow=džyk when you speak to them.'
Q11	*А талун <u>лэдзамджык</u> сійӧ продукциясӧ, кодӧс медъёна босьтӧ ньӧбасьысь.*[64] 'But currently we produce=džyk that product which is bought most of all.
Q12	*Колӧ, мед том йӧзлы <u>отсалісныджык</u> нималана нин гижысьяс <u>восьтыны мӧвпнысӧ</u>, корсьны стӧчджык образъяс.* 'Already established writers need to help=džyk to expand the ideas of young writers, to search for more accurate figures..'
Q13	*Стипендия содас, но сійӧс босьтысьыс <u>оздджык ло</u>.* 'The stipend will rise, but there will not be=džyk recipients of it.'
Q14	*<u>Вичмасджык</u> сэки, кор ныв-зон зільӧны ас вылӧ уджалысьяс дорын.*

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[63] For test items not featured in the chapters above, I also give the original modified phrase here. Original: чукӧртчылігӧн чуксалӧ став войтырӧс ёнджыка сӧвмӧдны (zv.22.02.07)
[64] Original: ёнджыкасӧ лэдзам сійӧ продукциясӧ (vt.22.08.07)

tag	test item and translation
	'(One) will benefit=džyk when young people work as private entrepreneurs.'
Q15	*Медся качисныджык донъяс тöв шöр тöлысьö Кöрткерöсын морков да яблöг вылö, картупель вылö доныс тані медічöт.* 'The prices rose=džyk most this autumn-winter in K. for apples and carrots, least of all for potatoes.'
Q16	*А мед найö кутчысисныджык ва вылас, пытшкöсас сюялам пенопласт.* 'In order to keep=džyk them above the water, they stuffed styrofoam inside them.'
Q17	*Öти-кö, йöзыслы кивыв öтилаысь став колана вöлöгасö ньöбны, мöд-кö, вöлöга вöчысьяс иналöныджык ассьыныс тöварвузöссö.* 'Firstly, it is more comfortable for the people to buy all foodstuffs from one place, secondly, food manufacturers are selling=džyk (off) their produce.'
Q18	*Тайö сетас позянлун тöдчымöн öдйöджык донъявны ускöттьö-неминучасö да котыртныджык дзоньтасян уджсö.*[65] 'This makes it possible to evaluate the cost of the accident faster and organise=džyk repairs.
Q19	*Зэв ёна кöсья, мед Вöрсаыд лэдзасджык Иöлатö гортас.* 'I very much wish that the forest spirit would let=džyk Iöla go home.'
Q20	*Но сиктъясысь воöм войтыр зэв на и петкöдчылісныджык ярмарка вылын.*[66] 'But people arriving from the villages were very visible=džyk at the fair.
Q21	*Таво «Строитель» лёка ворсö да, чайті, мый трибунаясыд дзикöдз кушмасныджык.* 'This year Stroitel plays poorly, I thought that the stands would become=džyk entirely empty.'
Q22	*Уджöн могмöдысьяс оздджык босьтны опыттöм да стажтöм томуловöс.* 'Employers do not=džyk employ youth without experience and length of service.'
Q24	*Чуймöдісныджык ош гудöк, брунган, сигудöк.* 'Oš gudök, brungan and sigudök were=džyk interesting.'
Q25	*Мед радейтчöны да пиалöныджык ар-тöв кежас!* 'Let [them] fall in love and have=džyk offspring by autumn and winter.'
Q26	*Сійöн ас сиктсалы йöв вузалöмысь сьöмтö онджык нажöвит.* 'By selling milk to the people of your own village, you do not=džyk earn money.'
Q27	*Сöмын ю дорын колö лöня кутны асьтö, саймовтчыныджык.*[67] 'Only by the river, one needs to be quiet/to behave, to hide=džyk.'
Q28	*Вöвлöм салдатлöн висьталöм серти, армияö том мужичöйяслы колö быть ветлыны, сэні пö верстямманджык.* 'According to a former soldier, a young man must definitely go to the army, there, apparently, you grow=džyk up.'
Q29	*Бöръя кадö районса сикт-грездъяслöн туйяс вылын содісджык мотоциклöн ветлысьлöн лыдыс.*

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[65] Original: да бурджыка котыртны дзоньтасян уджсö (km.06.03.07)
[66] Original: бура петкöдчылісны ярмарка вылын (vt.07.07.07)
[67] Original: бурджыка саймовтчыны (km.14.06.07)

tag	test item and translation
	'Recently, the number of motorcyclists has increased=džyk on the roads of villages and hamlets.'
Q30	*Пример вылö, Важгортын нывзон* <u>*пелькöдісныджык –мичмöдісныджык*</u> *ассьыныс чужан сикт, а Кöджса челядь дасьтісны грездсö.* 'For example, the young people in Vazhgort tidied=džyk-decorated=džyk their native village, and the children of Ködzh (Köj) prepared the hamlet.'
Q31	*Пöжассö лавкаö пырталігöн на кадыс* <u>*вошисджык*</u> *весьшöрö.*[68] '[She] lost=džyk time by taking the loaf to the store.'
Q32	*Но сезон шöрас «Зенит» тöдчымöн* <u>*заводитіс ворсныджык.*</u> 'But at the end of the season, Zenit began to play=džyk significantly.'
Q33	*Тайö корöмсö веськöдлысь подулалö сійöн, мый талун унаöн пöльзуйтчöны ва шонтан агрегатъясöн, а сідзкö, тöдчымöн* <u>*бырöдöныджык*</u> *и кöдзыд васö.*[69] 'This request the manager explained by the fact that currently many people use appliances for boiling water, and therefore significantly waste=džyk cold water.
Q34	*Дерт, вахтанад сэні* <u>*мынтöныджык.*</u>[70] 'Of course, [when you are] on call [at work] they pay=džyk.'
Q35	*Öд Евгений Степановичлы нюмсера гижöдъясыд пыр* <u>*артмывлісныджык.*</u> 'But E. S.'s humorous writings always succeeded=džyk.'
Q36	*Номйыд зільö пуксьыны да кыдз позьö* <u>*курччыныджык.*</u> 'The mosquito tries to sit down and bite=džyk when possible.'
Q37	*Автобусöн локтіг-мунігöн* <u>*мудзанджык.*</u>[71] 'Travelling by bus you tire=džyk.'
Q38	*И збыль, сійö талун* <u>*торъялöджык*</u> *сійöс кытшалысь мукöд керкаысь.* 'Indeed, today it differs=džyk from the surrounding houses.'
Q39	*Войнабöрся сьöкыд вояс йылысь ань* <u>*оздджык радейт казьтывны.*</u> 'About the post-war years, the woman does not=džyk like to recall.'
Q40	*Ме серти, быд челядьöс колö видзны детсадйын, öд найö сэні* <u>*сöвмöныджык*</u> *и сибыдджыкöс лоöны.* 'I think that children need to go to kindergarten, there they develop=džyk and become more sociable.'
Q41	*Öні Владимир Поповлöн бригадаыс зільö* <u>*дзоньтавныджык*</u> *важъяссö.*[72] 'At the moment, V.P's brigade zealously works on fixing=džyk the old [things].'
Q42	*А мед* <u>*дугдісныджык петкöдлыны*</u> *ковтöмторсö, парламентарийяслы вермасны отсавны и асьныс йöзыс, – пасйіс Госсöветöн веськöдлысь Марина Истиховская.* 'But let them stop=džyk showing what is unnecessary, the members of the Parliament will be able to help and the people themselves too, – commented M.I., head of the State Parliament.'

[68] Original: кадыс бура уна вошис весьшöрö (vt.20.06.07)
[69] Original: тöдчымöн унджык бырöдöны и кöдзыд васö (vt.20.10.07)
[70] Original: Дерт, вахтанад сэні унджык мынтöны. (vt.06.06.07)
[71] Original: Автобусöн локтіг-мунігöн зэв ёна мудзан. (zv.19.10.07)
[72] Original: зільö öдйöджык дзоньтавны (km.16.10.07)

tag	test item and translation
Q43	*«Та бӧрын скӧтыс пыр вӧлі дзоньвидза да <u>быдмылісджык</u>», дорсянь заводитчис крестнӧи ход.*[73] '"After this, the cattle were always healthy and grew=džyk," begins the religious procession.'
Q44	*Висьталӧм серти, нывбаба <u>шогсисджык</u> ылі муын.*[74] 'As they say, the lady longed for faraway lands=džyk.'
Q45	*Абу гусятор, мый кӧнкӧ позьӧ <u>нажӧвитныджык</u> руль бергӧдлӧмнад.* 'It is not a secret that somewhere it possible to earn=džyk by turning the steering wheel.'
Q46	*Кутам лача, мый юӧртӧг вошӧм салдатъяслӧн лыдыс <u>чинасджык</u>, ӧд буретш та могысъ и котыртчӧны корсъысян отрядъяс.* 'We are hoping that the number of soldiers missing in action will decrease=džyk, because they also organise search parties for that purpose.'
Q47	*Междуреченскын он аддзы войтырӧс, кодъяс эськӧ <u>отсалісныджык вӧчны</u> колана уджсӧ.* 'In M. you do not find the people who would help=džyk to get the necessary job done.'
Q48	*«Тэ, Ваньӧ, <u>думыштлыдджык</u>, гашкӧ, шань дядьӧыд збыль сюрас.»* 'You, Vanya, think=džyk, maybe then a good uncle will come/appear.'
Q49	*Збыльысь морт сайын унатор и тайӧ <u>петкӧдчисджык</u> тавося гожся страда дырйи.* 'In fact, a lot depends on the person and this was apparent=džyk around this year's haymaking season.'
Q50	*Вӧлі пасйӧма, мый <u>вердныджык</u> быдмысь войтырӧс ас овмӧсъясысь йӧв-яйӧн бокысь вайӧм дорысь.* 'It was noted, that better to feed the growing population/people with their own (i.e., local) milk and meat products than to bring it from somewhere.'

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[73] Original: да бура быдмыліс (vt.25.08.07)
[74] Original: нывбаба ёна шогсис ылі муын. (zv.23.03.07)

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