Chapter 23

Perfective *dozapisyvat'* – real or fake?

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The paper discusses perfective verbs like *dozapisyvat'* or *dovyšivat'* in which, contrary to what current theories of Russian verb formation would have predicted, a positionally restricted prefix attaches above secondary imperfective morphology. In the first part of the paper it is shown that the phenomenon is real, and should not be denied or ignored. In the second part it is argued that the otherwise observed prohibition of positionally restricted prefixes over secondary imperfective suffixes is a case of pragmatic blocking. It is proposed that perfective verbs like *dozapisyvat'* are possible because in the specific case of *do-* the morphological blocking mechanism may be suspended under certain contextual circumstances, i.e. when reference is made to the final element within a sequence of completed events describable by the verb without this prefix.

Keywords: Russian, verb formation, aspect, imperfectivizing suffix, positionally restricted prefix, iterativity, morphological blocking

1 Introduction

The present paper contributes to a recent debate concerning the structure of the Russian verb. It addresses the question of whether the prefix *do-* in its 'completive' usage may attach to a verbal base which already contains secondary imperfective morphology, giving rise to perfective forms like the one in the title of this article.

The background of the matter is the fine-grained analysis of Russian verbal morphology outlined in Tatevosov (2009) and Tatevosov (2013b). In these two articles, the author presents a detailed inventory of the Russian prefixes, which supersedes the well-known bipartition into internal/lexical and external/super-lexical prefixes (see Gehrke 2008, Ramchand 2004, Romanova 2004, Svenonius

2004, among others). Relevant for the present paper is the proposed class of so-called "positionally restricted" (PR-)prefixes, which has at least the three members noted below (see Tatevosov 2013b: 49):

(1)   external prefixes
          left-peripheral prefixes
              $po\text{-}_{distributive}$
          selectionally restricted prefixes
              $za\text{-}_{inchoative}$
              $po\text{-}_{delimitativ}$
              …
          positionally restricted prefixes
              $do\text{-}_{completive}$
              $pere\text{-}_{repetitive}$
              $pod\text{-}_{attenuative}$
       internal prefixes
          $u\text{-}$
          $\text{-}v(o)\text{-}$
          $nad(o)\text{-}$
          …

According to Tatevosov, PR-prefixes are free to apply to perfective or imperfective bases, but are fixed to a structural position lower than the secondary imperfective morpheme *yv(a)*. Thus, Tatevosov's theory entails the following generalization:

(2) **[*PR>yva]** Positionally restricted (external) prefixes must not apply above secondary imperfective morphology ("yva").

Now Zinova & Filip (2015) and in particular Zinova (2016) have drawn attention to a class of verbs representing counterevidence to (2). Their paradigmatic examples are *dozapisyvat'* ('finish recording') and *dovyšivat'* ('finish embroidering'). According to Zinova & Filip (2015), these verbs are perfective when derived along the derivational histories in (3):

(3) a. pisat'^{IPF} → zapisat'^{PF} → zapisyvat'^{IPF} → dozapisyvat'^{PF}
      b. šit'^{IPF} → vyšit'^{PF} → vyšivat'^{IPF} → dovyšivat'^{PF}

If these assumptions are correct, *do-$_{completive}$* applies to a secondarily imperfectivized form in these cases, thus falsifying [*PR>yva]. The aim of this paper is to assess this conclusion by asking the following two questions.

(4) [Q1] Is there really a perfective verb *dozapisyvat'*?

     [Q2] If yes, does it really falsify Tatevosov's theory?

Jumping ahead, I will answer the first question affirmatively and the second one negatively. There is something special about *do-* that makes it a systematic exception to the otherwise valid generalization (2).

    The paper is structured as follows. In §2 I introduce the phenomenon: verbs like *dozapisyvat'* that allow for an expected imperfective, but also for an unexpected perfective reading. §3 points to four issues related to these verbs that until now have either not been asked or answered. Before introducing my own proposal, §4 is inserted to demonstrate the weaknesses of alternative explanations of the phenomenon that might come to mind. In §5 I outline my own analysis. I show that prefix *do-* may attach to a base involving secondary imperfective morphology only if the base denotes a plurality of successively realizing completed events. I will explain why this is so and how this accounts for the open issues addressed in §3. §6 concludes the paper.

2 The biaspectual behavior of *dozapisyvat'*

Let me briefly recapitulate the properties of the class of verbs identified by Zinova & Filip (2015). Following the authors' practise, I will use the verbs noted above as representatives of the whole class.

    To begin with, *dozapisyvat'* and *dovyšivat'* are capable of expressing imperfective meanings:

(5) Ja dozapisyvaju   pesnju uže   2 časa.
     I finish record-PRS.IPFV song   already 2 hours

     'I am finishing recording the song already for 2 hours.'   (Zinova 2016: 16)

(6) Vot v dannyj moment dozapisyvaju   Alan Wake.
     PRT in given   moment finish record-PRS.IPFV A.W.

     'At the very present moment I am finishing recording Alan Wake.'[1]

                               (www.x360-club.org/forum)

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[1]"Alan Wake" is a video game.

(7) Chorošen'kie! A ja kak raz dovyšivaju kotiki!!! Skoro
cute but I now finish embroider-PRS.IPFV tomcats soon
pokažu!
show-PRS.PFV

'How cute! And I am right now finishing embroidering the tomcats!!! I
will show them soon.' (www.chudokrestik.forum2x2.ru)

As examples (5) to (7) show, the relevant verbs may clearly be used as imperfectives. This does not come as a surprise. Apart from that usage, however, *dozapisyvat'* and *dovyšivat'* can arguably also express perfective meanings. The first evidence for this conclusion stems from compatibility with inclusive time adverbials. As shown in Zinova (2016: 16), such adverbials are strictly ruled out for verbs like *dopisyvat'* ...

(8) * Ja dopisyvaju pesnju za 2 časa.
I finish write-PRS.IPFV song within 2 hours
Intended: 'I will finish writing the song in 2 hours.'

... but possible with with verbs like *dozapisyvat'* and *dovyšivat'*:

(9) Ja dozapisyvaju pesnju za 2 časa.
I finish record-PRS.PFV song within 2 hours
'I will finish recording the song in 2 hours.'

(10) Ja dovyšivaju kartinu za 2 časa.
I finish embroider-PRS.PFV picture within 2 hours
'I will finish embroidering the picture in 2 hours.'

Another indication of perfectivity is that verbs like *dozapisyvat'* can move reference time forward in narratives.

(11) Ja dozapisyvaju disk i pojdu domoj.
I finish record-PRS.PFV CD and go-PRS.PFV home
'I will finish recording the CD and go home.' (Zinova 2016: 32)

The significance of this test is emphasized by the fact that a verb like *dopisyvat'* ('finish writing'), which has external *do-* but no internal prefix, does not support narrative progression.

(12) * Ja dopisyvaju tekst i pojdu domoj.
I finish write-PRS.IPFV text and go-PRS.PFV home
Intended: 'I will finish writing the text and go home.' (Zinova 2016: 32)

The same pattern can be observed with respect to *dovyšivat'* and *došivat'* ('finish sewing'):

(13) Ja dovyšivaju   kartinu i   pojdu   domoj.
     I finish embroider-PRS.PFV picture and go-PRS.PFV home
     Intended: 'I will finish embroidering the picture and go home.'

(14) * Ja došivaju   plat'e i pojdu   domoj.
       I finish sew-PRS.IPFV dress and go-PRS.PFV home
       Intended: 'I will finish sewing the dress and go home.'

(15) is an authentic example to show, once more, that *dovyšivat'* with present tense inflection (here: 1st person singular) can be used under future reference without further ado – as is characteristic of a perfective verb.[2]

(15) Kartina, za   kotoruju ja vzjalas',   monochromnaja,
     picture behind PRON   I attend to-PST.PFV monochrome
     skučnovato ee   vyšivat'   okazalos',   no ja ee
     boring   her embroider-INF.IPFV turn out-PST.PFV but I her
     dovyšivaju   objazatel'no!
     finish embroider-PRS.PFV unconditionally
     'The picture that I attended to is monochrome, embroidering it turned out
     to be boring, but I will definitely finish embroidering it.'

                                                    (www.stranamasterov.ru/)

From observations like those presented above, Zinova & Filip (2015) conclude that verbs like *dozapisyvat'* come in two versions, one perfective and one imperfective, related to two different derivational histories (16). The version (16b) falsifies Tatevosov's generalization [*PR>yva]:

(16) a. $[[\text{do-}[\text{za-}[\text{pis-}]^I]^P]^P\text{yva-}]^I$
     b. $[\text{do-}[[\text{za-}[\text{pis-}]^I]^P\text{yva-}]^I]^P$

3 Four open questions

We saw that, according to Zinova & Filip (2015) and Zinova (2016), verbs such as *dozapisyvat'* and *dovyšivat'* may express not only imperfective, but also per-

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[2]"Without further ado" is added here because also imperfective verbs may have future reference, but only if accompanied by expressions such as *zavtra* 'tomorrow' in *Zavtra ja idu v kino* 'Tomorrow I will go to the cinema'. No such expression is present in (15). Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing that out.

fective meanings. The perfective verb *dozapisyvat'* derives from prefixing the imperfective *zapisyvat'* with *do-* in completive function. This violates the constraint [*PR>yva], thus falsifying Tatevosov's (2013b) theory. Straightforward as this conclusion is, a number of issues arises from this proposal. There are at least four open questions.

3.1 No blocking?

Why is perfective *dozapisyvat'* not blocked by the availability of perfective *dozapisat'*? Wouldn't we expect the pragmatic principle 'avoid complexity of expression' (Kiparsky 2005), here stated in the version of Le Bruy (2007), to rule out the morphologically more complex perfective verb *dozapisyvat'*?

(17) **Avoid complexity**: All other things being equal, less complex expressions are preferred over more complex expressions.

Take (11) from above, for instance. Why is the possibility of perfective *dozapisyvaju* not blocked by the existence of perfective *dozapišu*? The constructed example (18) makes the same point, involving a different verb: why is perfective *doustanavlivaju*, which is acceptable in this context[3], not blocked by perfective *doustanovlju*?

(18) Ja doustanavlivaju Windows i pojdu domoj.
I finish install-PRS.PFV W. and go-PRS.PFV home
'I will finish installing Windows and go home.'

3.2 Constraints on coordination order?

Next, consider the following two examples.

(19) Mechanik dozapravljal samolet i zakuril sigaretu.
mechanic finish fill-PST.PFV plane and start smoke-PST.PFV cigarette
'The mechanic finished fueling the plane and lightened a cigarette.'
(Zinova 2016: 175)

(20) ?? Mechanik zakuril sigaretu i dozapravljal
mechanic start smoke-PST.PFV cigarette and finish fuel-PST.PFV

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[3]Some of my informants have stylistic concerns about *doustanavlivat'*.

samolet.
plane

Intended: 'The mechanic lightened a cigarette and finished fueling the plane.'

It can be observed that (20) is worse than (19). But why should that be so? Given that the form *dozapravljal* may serve as a perfective verb, as Zinova & Filip (2015) and Zinova (2016) suggest, there is no *prima facie* reason why switching the elements of the event chain in (19) should lower acceptability. Note that if we replace *dozapravljal* by its perfective rival *dozapravil*, the discourse will be sound again.

(21)   Mechanik zakuril   sigaretu i   dozapravil   samolet.
       mechanic start smoke-PST.PFV cigarette and finish fuel-PST.PFV plane

       'The mechanic lightened a cigarette and finished fueling the plane.'

3.3   What about other PR-prefixes?

How to explain that *do-* seems to be the only PR-prefix that can perfectivize secondary imperfectives? Indeed, *pere-* in repetitive function as well as *pod-* in attenuative function do not seem to allow for this option:

(22)   * Ja perezapisyvaju   disk i   pojdu   domoj.
         I   again record-PRS.PFV disc and go-PRS.PFV home

       Intended: 'I will record the disc again and go home.'

(23)   * Ja podzarabatyvaju den'gi i   pojdu   domoj.
         I   a bit earn-PRS.PFV money and go-PRS.PFV home

       Intended: 'I will earn a little money and go home.'

Zinova & Filip (2015) are well aware of the fact that the form *perezapisyvat'* is always imperfective. They conclude that *pere-*, unlike *do-*, yields an imperfective verb when built along a derivational chain analogous to (16b), and call this an "intriguing exception to the general pattern according to which the output of prefixation is perfective" (Zinova & Filip 2015: 605). If correct, that would indeed be an "intriguing exception" because it would run against common wisdom in Russian aspectology:

> V sovremennom russkom jazyke dejstvuet sledujuščij zakon: ljuboj glagol, polučennyj prisoedineniem pristavki k nekotoromu drugomu glagolu (i ne

podvergšijsja dal'nejšej imperfektivacii), javljaetsja glagolom sov. vida. (Za-liznjak & Šmelev 1997: 67)

[In modern Russian there is the following law: any verb resulting from the attachment of a prefix to some other verb (and which is not subjected to further imperfectivization thereafter) is a perfective verb.]

3.4 What makes a good example?

Why are some forms instantiating the pattern do+PREF+ROOT+yva+t' much better as perfectives than others? Perfective *dovyšivat'* is accepted by almost any speaker of Russian; perfective *dozapisyvat'* is accepted by many, though by far not by all (see Zinova 2016: 16-17).

Thus (24) and (25) are fine for every native speaker of Russian I consulted[4], whereas (26) raises disagreement. What is missing is an explanation of this asymmetry in acceptability within the respective class of verbs.

(24) Ja dovyšiyvaju   kartinu i pojdu   domoj.
      I finish-embroider-PRS.PFV picture and go-PRS.PFV home

      'I will finish embroidering the picture and go home.'

(25) Ja doustanavlivaju   Windows i pojdu   domoj.
      I finish install-PRS.PFV W.   and go-PRS.PFV home

      'I will finish installing Windows and go home.'

(26) Ja dozapisyvaju   pesnju i pojdu   domoj.
      I finish-record-PRS.PFV song   and go-PRS.PFV home

      'I will finish recording the song and go home.'

In this section, I have pointed to four questions that await being answered given the way Zinova & Filip (2015) analyze the biaspectual behavior of verbs like *dozapisyvat'*. In the next section, I will pursue possible alternative treatments of the phenomenon.

4 Exploring alternative explanations

4.1 Fake perfectives

This subsection addresses question [Q1] in (4) by checking for the possibility that the perfectivity of *dozapisyvat'* (and its corresponds) is actually a mirage.

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[4]But see fn. 3.

In view of the empirical evidence presented above, isn't it totally absurd to raise such a hypothesis? Maybe yes, but note that imperfective coding does not *per se* rule out a verb from the first sentence in a chain-of-events, i.e. from a discourse where the event denoted by the first sentence is related to the event of the second sentence via narration (Zinova 2016: 31). The prerequisite for this possibility is that the second sentence is introduced by the connective *potom* ('then'):

(27) Ja zavtrakaju,   potom pojdu   na rabotu.
     I have breakfast-PRS.IPFV then   go-PRS.PFV on work

     'I am eating breakfast, afterwards I will go to work.'

With respect to *dozapisyvat'*, the idea would be that *do-* explicitly marks the first event in (28) as finalizing a discourse constituent (inviting the inference of an implicit "potom", so to speak), just like explicit *potom* marks the second event in (27) as starting a new discourse constituent.

(28) Ja dozapisyvaju   disk i pojdu   domoj.
     I finish record-PRS.IPFV disc and go-PRS.PFV home

     'I am finishing recording the disc, afterwards I will go home.'

A story along these lines could explain why the PR-prefixes *pere-* and *pod-* are not capable of forming perfective verbs when attaching to *zapisyvat'* or *vyšivat'*. But it cannot explain why (29) is bad:

(29) * Ja došivaju   plat'e i pojdu   domoj.
       I finish sew-PRS.IPFV dress and go-PRS.PFV home

       Intended: 'I am finishing sewing the dress, afterwards I will go home.'

An argument in favor of the hypothesis that *dozapisyvat'* is always imperfective might be drawn from the observation that (30) displays no pluperfect reading.[5]

(30) Kogda načal'nik prišel   k Ivanu, tot uže
     when boss   come-PST.PFV to I.   DEM already
     dozapisyval   trebuemye diski.
     finish record-PST.PFV demanded discs

     Not: 'When the boss came to Ivan, he (Ivan) had already finished recording the demanded discs.'

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[5]The sentences (30) to (32) all allow for an imperfective interpretation according to which the agent of subordinate clause came when Ivan was already engaged in finishing recording the discs, embroidering the picture, or installing Windows.

But maybe in this case the perfective construal of *dozapisyval* is blocked by *dozapisal*. Indeed, with *dovyšivat'*, for which there is no shorter perfective alternative (the form **dovyšit'* does not exist in Russian), the pluperfect reading seems available:

(31) Kogda ja prišel   k Ivanu, tot uže   dovyšival
     when I   come-PST.PFV to I. DEM already finish embroider-PST.PFV
     kartinu.
     picture
     Possible: 'When I came to Ivan, he (Ivan) had already finished embroidering the picture.'

Now note that also for *doustanavlivat'*, which does have a morphologically simpler perfective correlate in *doustanovit'*, the pluperfect reading is available. Concluding from (30) that *dozapisyvat'* cannot be perfective is thus premature.

(32) Kogda ja prišel   k Ivanu, tot uže   doustanavlival
     when I   come-PST.PFV to I. DEM already finish install-PST.PFV
     Windows.
     W.
     Possible: 'When I came to Ivan, he (Ivan) had already finished installing Windows.'

In view of the facts discussed in this section, the idea that the perfective behaviour of verbs like *dozapisyvat'*, *dovyšiyvat'*, *doustanavlivat'*, etc. could be only apparent must be abandoned. Perfective *dozapisyvat'* is real.

4.2 Internal iterative *yva*

Now I will pursue the hypothesis that there really is a perfective version of *dozapisyvat'*, but that in this version the suffix *yv(a)* is no secondary imperfective morpheme, but rather an iterativizer. There are two ways in which this idea may be implemented: suffixation may take place before or after prefixation. The second option will be addressed in §4.3. According to the first option, where *yv(a)* attaches low, suffixation serves to form an iterative stem from a simple root, i.e. *pisyv(at')* from *pis(at')* (see Padučeva 2015). When a lexical/internal prefix (here: *za-*) applies to such an iterative base (here: *pisyva-*), it will modify the event kind that is claimed to be realized repeatedly. In the given case this will lead from denoting multiple realizations of writing events to denoting multiple realizations

of recording events. As for the external prefix *do-*, we assume, for the sake of the argument, that when stacking on top, it induces an upper closed "temporal macro event scale", as indicated in (33) (more on that below). The natural numbers indicate the number of events (in our case: recording events) that have occurred up the respective point of time on the scale. The scale is upper-closed in that there is one point that demarcates the maximal number of events. In (33) the maximal number of events is arbitrarily chosen as ten. Note further that the ten recording events symbolized in (33) are ten maximal/completed recording events (the prefix *za-* introduces the respective maximality condition; see below §5.1).

$$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc} 0 & 1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 & 6 & 7 & 8 & 9 & 10 \end{array}$$

(33) $\longmapsto\!+\!+\!+\!+\!+\!+\!+\!+\!+\!\!\rightarrow$
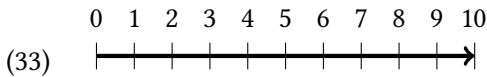
Let us assume further that, unlike *do-$_{completive}$*, the prefixes *pere-$_{repetitive}$* and *pod-$_{attenuative}$* do not have the capacity of ordering the plurality of events in its input on a macro scale like (33).

According to the story just sketched, the suffix *yv(a)* in perfective *dozapisyvat'* applies prior to the internal prefix *za-*, i.e. itself VP-internally. It is thus a different creature than the secondary imperfective *yv(a)* that figures in the constraint that Tatevosov identifies for PR-prefixes, which I repeat from above, this time in a direct quote from Tatevosov (2013b: 4):

(34) **[*PR>yva]** Pozicionno-ograničennye prefiksy prisoedinjajutsja ne vyše, čem pokazatel' vtoričnogo imperfektiva *-yva-*.
[Positionally restricted prefixes do not attach higher than the marker of secondary imperfectives *yva*.]

Since Tatevosov's restriction [*PR>yva] is explicitly connected to the marking of secondary imperfectives, it would not be violated if the story just told was correct. But can it be correct?

If *yva* was a marker of iterativity in perfective *dozapisyvat'*, *dovyšivat'*, etc., the macroevent relative to which the prefix *do-* "picks out" the terminative interval should be made of a plurality of completed recording events, embroidering events, etc. More generally put: For a form instantiating *do*+PREF+ROOT+*yva*+*t'* to be acceptable as perfective, the events denoted by PREF+ROOT+*yva* should be conceivable as consisting of a plurality of completed PREF+ROOT-events, realizing one after the other. Provisionally I call this condition "seriality requirement".

The seriality requirement might point to an answer to the question of why some instances of *do*+PREF+ROOT+*yva*+*t'*, such as *dovyšivat'*, are widely accepted

as perfectives in the tested sentences, while others such as *dozapisyvat'* are not (recall §3). Note that the event denoted by *vyšivat' kartinu* is easily conceivable as a series of by themselves completed embroidering events. Imagine I want to embroider the picture of a farm. First I embroider the sheep shelter, then I embroider the cock standing on dunghill, etc. Similar with the event denoted by *ustanavlivat' Windows*, because installing a computer program typically consists of installing different subprograms (files) one by one. Our world knowledge about these kinds of events is thus in harmony with the requirement of a series of completed events. Not so for the event denoted by *zapisyvat' pesnju*. This event is typically realized in one go. Otherwise the song would be interrupted and, so to speak, destroyed, undermining the very goal of the action. That we expect a song to be recorded in one go is at odds with the seriality requirement, which calls for a plurality of completed recordings, and this might be the reason why many informants reject (26), but not (25) and (24). An interesting observation in that regard is that judgements improve once (26) is framed in a music studio context. This fits into the picture because when a song is recorded in a music studio, different sound files will be recorded in a serial manner, one by one, each a completed recording, to make up the whole song in the end: First the trumpets get recorded, then the drums, etc.

And so, we hypothesized that it might be an obstacle for accepting a perfective verb instantiating the schema *do*+PREF+ROOT+*yva* if the PREF+ROOT+*yva*-event cannot easily be conceived of as a series of completed subevents. So far, so good. Unfortunately, however, the idea of internal iterative *yv(a)* faces severe problems.

First, it should be noted that this story involves a violation of the otherwise valid rule that the output of prefixation is perfective (recall §3.3). The violation concerns the second step in the assumed derivational history:

(35)   pisat'^{IPF} ('write') → pisyvat'^{IPF} ('write again and again') → zapisyvat'^{IPF} ('record again and again') → dozapisyvat'^{PF} ('finish recording')

A further concern is that the derivational history in (35) gives rise to a bracketing paradox. The syntactic derivation is not in line with the subsequent steps of semantic composition:

(36)

The internal prefix *za-*, which enters syntactic derivation only after application of iterative *yv(a)*, should have semantic access to the event description supplied by the initial predicate *pisat'*^{IPF}. This technical problem is perhaps not insurmountable; however, it is difficult to come up with an easy solution.

A further point relates to the particular case of perfective *doustanavlivat'*. The problem is that there is no verb *stanavlivat'* in Russian. The proposed derivational history would thus involve a gap – which must not occur according to the rules stated for felicitous derivational histories by Zinova & Filip (2015: 601-602):

(37) stanovit'^{IPF} ('put up') → *stanavlivat'^{IPF} ('put up again and again') → ustanavlivat'^{IPF} ('install again and again') → doustanavlivat'^{PF} ('finish installing')

To sum up: The idea that perfective *dozapisyvat'* and its correspondents involve "internal iterative *yva*" might seem promising at first glance. On closer inspection, however, it turns out that it produces more problems than it solves. How to get the semantic composition right (bracketing paradox)? Should gaps in a verb's derivational history be tolerated? Should we really accept prefixation with imperfective output?

4.3 External iterative *yva*

Letting *-yv(a)* attach low is not the only way to derive the seriality requirement observed in connection with perfective *dozapisyvat'* and similar verbs. An alternative would be to assume that *-yv(a)* applying after prefixation does not always function as secondary imperfective morpheme. Maybe, besides the imperfectivizing *-yv(a)* *sensu stricto*, there is a homonymous iterativizing *-yv(a)*. Let us call the former *-yv(a)*$_1$ and the latter *-yv(a)*$_2$. If [*PR>yva] could be restricted to *-yv(a)* in imperfectivizing function, i.e. to *-yv(a)*$_1$, it would not be violated:

(38) a. [[zapis]-yva$_1$]-t' 'to be performing a recording' ⇒ *dozapisyvat'^{PF}
      b. [[zapis]-yva$_2$]-t' 'to perform multiple recordings' ⇒ $^{\checkmark}$dozapisyvat'^{PF}

This story is superior to the one told in Section 4.2 in that it derives perfective *doustanavlivat'* without gap:

(39) stanovit'^{IPF} → ustanovit'^{PF} → ustanavlivat'^{IPF} → doustanavlivat'^{PF}

A problem for the assumption of two homonymous *-yv(a)*-morphemes is that, contrary to fact, one would expect [[do-[[zapis]-yva$_2$]]-va$_1$]-t'^{IPF} to be a possible structure. Some extra constraint would be necessary to rule this out (see Tatevosov 2013a: 64-65 for discussion).

Another problem: If an iterative *-yv(a)* was responsible for the existence of otherwise impossible perfective *dozapisyvat'*, why should this option not also hold for *dopisyvat'*? That is to say, why does *dopisyvat'* not work as perfective? Or does it?

(40) Ja diplom MBA načinala   pisat' zaranee, za   neskol'ko
      I   diploma MBA begin-PST.IPFV write earlier   within some
      mesjacev, s   naučnym rukovoditelem vstrečalas',   obsuždala,
      months   with scientific supervisor   meet-PST.IPFV discuss-PST.IPFV
      […] napisala   tak pervye 10 stranic. Do   trebuemogo ob"ema
         write-PST.PFV so first   10 pages   until demanded   volume
      ostavalos'   ešče 80. Dopisyvala   za   dve noči. V itoge
      remain-PST.IPFV still 80 finish write-PST.PFV within 2   nights in end
      vyšel   na 120 stranic.
      out go-PST.PFV on 120 pages

      'I started to write my MBA earlier on, some months ago, I met with my supervisor, discussed … This way I wrote the first 10 pages. 80 pages remained to be written. Two nights before deadline, I was about to finish writing it. In the end my thesis came out with 120 pages.'

                                                             (www.babyblog.ru)

At first glance, the adverbial *za dve noči* in the penultimate sentence might invite the conclusion that the verb *dopisyvala* is used in perfective function in (40). A closer look reveals, however, that the expression *za dve noči* in (40) does not serve as an inclusive temporal adverbial, as it does in (9) and (10) above. Instead it is understood here as referring to a point in time located two nights before the final date of submission (the latter information has been omitted from sentence surface). This, of course, changes the picture as now the use of an *imperfective* verb is well motivated. What is said here is that the speaker was in the final stages of writing down her MBA two nights before deadline. It is only the final sentence that informs us about the success of the endeavor.

Thus, it remains as a fact that *do-* may serve to perfectivize a base involving *yv(a)* only if the base also contains an internal/lexical prefix (but see below).

(41) a. dozapisyvat' → perfective or imperfective
      b. dopisyvat' → only imperfective

If *-yv(a)*$_2$ was responsible for perfective *dozapisyvat'*, *dovyšivat'*, etc., we would expect perfective *dopisyvat'*, *došivat'*, etc. to be possible too – contrary to fact.

5 Proposal

What did we achieve so far in this paper? First of all, we convinced ourselves that the prefix *do-$_{completive}$* is indeed capable of perfectivizing bases involving *yv(a)*. For this to be possible, the base is required to contain an internal prefix. I thus basically confirm the position of Zinova & Filip (2015) and Zinova (2016). Perfective *dozapisyvat'* is real, its derivational history being (3), repeated here for convenience:

(42) pisat'$^{\text{IPF}}$ → zapisat'$^{\text{PF}}$ → zapisyvat'$^{\text{IPF}}$ → dozapisyvat'$^{\text{PF}}$

In addition to that, we developed a proposal to clarify issues left open by Zinova & Filip (2015) and Zinova (2016). The proposal boils down to the following generalization:

(43) If *do-* attaches to a base involving *yv(a)* to perfectivize it, the base will denote a plurality of successively realizing completed events.

What I am going to do now is showing that (43) entails answers to, as far as I can see, all of the open questions that we came across with in this paper.

5.1 The role of the internal prefix

A prerequisite for a predicate to provide a plurality of events is that it "specifies an individuation criterion for its application which determines what counts as 'one' whole event in its denotation" (Filip 2017: 184). Without a clue as to what counts as one, pluralization is impossible. This individuation criterion (called maximality condition in Filip 2008) is supplied by the internal prefix. This is why (43) implies an explanation for the pattern in (41), i.e. for the obligatory presence of an internal prefix: the internal prefix sanctions the interpretation that the prefix *do-* requires its input to have.

So-called "simple perfectives", i.e. non-prefixed perfective verbs such as *rešit'* ('solve') or *kupit'* ('buy'), can be thought of as having their individuation criterion lexically built into root meaning. If so, we would, given the reasoning from above, expect that the imperfective forms derived from simple perfectives may also serve as bases for *do-*. This seems to be born out:

(44) Ksjuška dopisala   referat po istorii, a   Nazarka,
       K.   finish write-PST.PFV referat in history whereas N.

> nakonec, dorešal zadačku po matematike
> finally finish solve-PST.PFV exercise-DIM in mathematics
>
> 'Ksjushka finished writing her presentation in history, and Nazarka finally finished solving a little exercise in mathematics.' (www.infourok.ru)

Starting from his assumption that *do-* is never able to apply above secondary imperfective morphology, Tatevosov (2009: 135) considers examples like (44) to indicate that the marker *-a* in perfective *dorešat'* is a suffix *sui generis* and therefore excluded from generalization [∗PR>yva]. In the light of the present proposal, an alternative hypothesis suggests itself: perfective *dorešat'* may be viewed as a systematic exception to [∗PR>yva], on a par with perfective *dozapisyvat'*.

(45) a. rešit'^{PF} → dorešit'^{PF} → dorešat'^{IPF}
      b. rešit'^{PF} → rešat'^{IPF} → dorešat'^{PF}

Note that the predicate *rešat' zadaču* is compatible with the seriality requirement, because a mathematical problem often implies a solution path, requiring several self-contained steps (completed solving events) to take.[6]

5.2 The impact of *do-*

In this subsection I want to point out that my proposal is in line with the semantic analysis of completive *do-* put forward in Kagan (2012) and Kagan (2015). According to that analysis, the prefix *do-* applies to predicates P that entail an increase along a gradable property Q_P. Doing so, it imposes on interpretation the condition that, at the final moment of the event, the degree to which a participant comes to be characterized by Q_P matches the maximal value. In addition, it splits the whole increase to maximum into two parts, with only the final part being semantically entailed by the new predicate (the initial part is analyzed as presuppositional information).[7]

What counts as the maximal value of Q_P is determined by linguistic expressions accompanying the predicate. If the predicate is an incremental theme verb, the maximal value will be set by the direct object, as in (46), where the event is understood to finish when the final page of the book has been read (see Kagan 2015: 71).

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[6]The same with Tatevosov's own example sentence, which contains the predicate *dorešat' vse svoi voprosy.* ('finish solving all of his questions').

[7]Zinova (2016: 200ff.) presents evidence which suggests that the first event part is implicated rather than presupposed, but that discussion is irrelevant to our concerns here.

(46) Vasja dočital   knigu.
     V.   finish read-PST.PFV book
    'Vasja finished reading a/the book.'   (Kagan 2015: 71)

Given generalization (43), the predicate to which *do-* applies in the case of perfective *dozapisyvat'* or *dovyšivat'* fulfills these demands of the prefix. It entails an increase along a gradable property, where Q_P corresponds to the increasing number of completed events that are successively realized with time (recall (33)). Since *zapisyvat'* or *vyšivat'* are incremental verbs, the maximal value in the respective examples is set by the direct objects (in our examples: *kartinu* or *pesnju*).

5.3 Other positionally restricted prefixes

As discussed in §3, Zinova & Filip (2015) observe that there is no perfective *perezapisyvat'* ('to rerecord') on analogy to perfective *dozapisyvat'*. They conclude that *pere-$_{repetitive}$* produces an imperfective verb when attaching to a base containing an internal prefix and *yv(a)*, like *zapisyvat'*, and that it therefore violates the golden rule of Russian aspectology which says that the output of prefixation is always perfective.

In the light of (43), a different conclusion suggests itself, one that is not at odds with the "golden rule". According to (43), the attachment of a positionally restricted prefix to a base containing an internal prefix and *yv(a)* is licensed only if the base expresses an iteration of completed events ("seriality requirement"). This is so because otherwise the newly created perfective verb would be blocked by its less complex rival. I propose that a plurality of events is just the wrong semantic input for *pere-$_{repetitive}$* to successfully apply.

Take Kagan's (2015) (144ff.) analysis of *pere-$_{repetitive}$*. According to that proposal, the impact of *pere-* (in that particular usage) is that it leads to the expression of two events, united under the umbrella of a common goal, which the first event alone fell short of. At least the second event has to satisfy the base predicate. The existence of the first event is presupposed, the existence of the second event is an entailment. The application of the prefix *pere-$_{repetitive}$* thus outputs a (modified) copy of the event described by the base predicate. This requires that the base supplies a *single* event.

Similarly, the semantics of a verb prefixed by *pod$_{attenuative}$* is argued by Kagan (2015: 109) to involve the unification of a presupposed event and an entailed event. With reference to Plungjan (2001), Kagan characterizes the entailed event as a "reduced, 'diminished' realization" of the presupposed event. We can conclude that for *pere-$_{repetitive}$* and *pod$_{attenuative}$* to work, the respective base pred-

icates will have to characterize single events. And this is why they cannot do what *do-* can do.

5.4 No blocking

Why is perfective *dozapisyvat'* not blocked by the availability of perfective *dozapisat'*? This was the first open question addressed in §3. The question was motivated by the pragmatic principle 'avoid complexity of expression', which says that, all other things being equal, less complex forms are preferred over more complex forms (see (17)). Now under the assumption of (43), it turns out that with respect to the two perfective forms *dozapisat'* and *dozapisyvat'*, it is not the case that all other things were equal. Indeed, the two forms do not only differ in complexity of form, but also in their semantic content. In *dozapisat'*, the gradable property whose maximal value the prefix *do-* declares as the finishing point of the event is the evolution of a single recording event, limited by the extent of the thing being recorded (i.e. the referent of the direct object). In *dozapisyvat'*, by contrast, the gradable property relevant for *do-* is the evolution of a series of recording events, realizing until the thing being recorded has finally been fully recorded. As a consequence of these distinct meanings we do not expect any blocking effect from (17), in line with the facts.

5.5 Coordination order in sequences of events

Two perfective clauses that are coordinated by means of *i* ('and') express a sequence of two events of the type described by the two verb forms used. "Sequence" means that the event introduced by the second clause is understood as immediately following the completion of the event of the first clause. The two events form a chain of events. In §3.2 we saw that coordinating two perfectives is problematic if the predicate of the second sentence is of the *dozapisyvat'*-type. Here I repeat the pattern from above, varying the examples. While (49) is fully acceptable, (48) is clearly degraded compared to (47).[8]

(47) Ja doustanavlival   Windows i   zakuril   sigaretu.
      I   finish install-PST.PFV W.   and start smoke-PST.PFV cigarette

      'I finished installing Windows and lightened a cigarette.'

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[8]This holds even for those speakers of Russian mentioned in fn.3.

(48) ?? Ja zakuril   sigaretu i   doustanavlival   Windows.
    I start smoke-PST.PFV cigarette and finish install-PST.PFV W.

    Intended: 'I lightened a cigarette and finished installing Windows.'

(49) Ja zakuril   sigaretu i   doustanovil   Windows.
    I start smoke-PST.PFV cigarette and finish install-PST.PFV W.

    'I lightened a cigarette and finished installing Windows.'

The proposal developed in this paper offers an explanation of these facts. As we saw, the prefix *do-* splits the relevant upper-closed scale into two parts, letting only the final part be relevant for the asserted content. Moreover, according to (43), the relevant scale is made up of successively realizing completed events describable by the base predicate.

Given this, I propose that (48) is degraded because it involves a conflict. To begin with, the sequence of two completed events expressed by two coordinated perfective sentences is shown in (50a), where each box represents a completed event with the black box standing for the event denoted by the first sentence and the white box standing for the event denoted by the second sentence. Now, according to my analysis, perfective verbs like *doustanavlivat'* by themselves denote sequences of completed events, with only the final event of the sequence being assertoric content. This is depicted in (50b), where events of presuppositional content are indicated by dotted boxes. Now let the chain of completed events in (50b) replace event 2 in (50a), as suggested by (48). There are two possibilities of how this may be done, and both face a problem. The first option, given in (50c), is odd because event 1 and event 2 do not form a true chain of events, as they do not directly succeed each other. The second option in (50d) is likewise odd, but for a different reason. Now the problem is that event 1 is no longer the first completed event in the chain.

(50) a.

(49) does not run into the same troubles as (48) because here the presuppositional part preceding event 1 is *part* of event 2 (tentatively indicated by that there are

no gaps between the boxes). Therefore event 1 is still the first event to complete in the chain of events. Finally, if the two sentences are flipped, as in (47), event 1 can complete before the immediately succeeding event 2 without complications. This is shown in (50f).

5.6 How to explain asymmetrical judgements?

Certain instances of *do-* attaching to a secondarily imperfectivized predicate are accepted by almost everyone as perfectives (e.g. *dovyšivat'*), while others are often rejected as perfectives (e.g. *dozapisyvat'*). We saw that this asymmetry in judgements has been noted by Zinova & Filip (2015) and Zinova (2016), but not explained. I suggest a new explanation, which derives from (43). It has already been stated above in §4.2. Let me repeat it in a (hopefully) clear and concise manner:

(51) A verb having the stem structure do+PREF+ROOT+yva may be felicitously used as a perfective only if the context of its use allows for the verb with the corresponding stem structure PREF+ROOT+yva to be interpreted iteratively.

In a context in which one can felicitously say *dozapisyvaju* ('I will finish recording'), it should, according to (51), be possible to also felicitously say *zapisyvaju* ('I record again and again'); in a context in which one can felicitously say *dovyšival* ('I finished embroidering'), it should be possible to also felicitously say *vyšival* ('I embroidered again and again'); etc.

6 Conclusions

In Tatevosov (2013b), the author holds the view that where [*PR>yva] is violated, this is due to a special property of *do-*. In particular, it is proposed that speakers of Russian belong to different dialects. One dialect strictly adheres to [*PR>yva], another one, called dialect D, is more liberal with respect to *do-*:[9]

(52) **Dialect D**: Unlike other positionally restricted prefixes, the prefix *do-* is not prohibited from attaching above the marker of secondary imperfectivization.

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[9]Thanks to Yulia Zinova for drawing my attention to that paper.

In the present paper, I argue in a similar vein that the prefix *do-* is outstanding in being the only positionally restricted prefix that allows for applying above *yv(a)*. This position implies, contra Zinova & Filip (2015), that there is, for instance, no verb *perezapisyvat'* in Russian which would be derived from prefixing *zapisyvat'* by *pere-*. Instead, *perezapisyvat'* is always imperfective as the result of secondarily imperfectivizing perfective *perezapisat'*. The prefix *pere-$_{repetitive}$*, in other words, behaves as predicted for a positionally restricted prefix from the point of view of the analysis of Tatevosov (2009; 2013a).

There is, however, one important feature of the present analysis that sets it apart from Tatevosov's position, bringing it closer to Zinova (2016) in spirit. If the present proposal is on the right track, the empirical generalization [*PR>yva] is not a purely formal contraint, as Tatevosov (2013b) emphasizes it to be. Instead it looks as if every positionally restricted prefix was in principle (that is, as far as formal limitations are concerned) free to apply above *yv(a)*, but that there are two obstacles that may hinder them from doing so. The first one is pragmatic in nature. It is the principle 'avoid complexity', ultimately saying that the newly created structure (prefix over *yv(a)*) will be blocked if a less complex rival of identical meaning is available. The second obstacle is semantic in nature: the semantics of the prefix may not allow for iterative predicates as complements. But operating on an iterative meaning is the only way to create a meaning different from the meaning of the morphologically less complex perfective. Thus, it is the only way to escape being blocked by 'avoid complexity'. Among the positionally restricted prefixes, it is only *do-* which allows for iterative predicates as complements.

Abbreviations

DEM	demonstrative	PREF	prefix
DIM	diminutive	PRON	pronoun
INF	infinitive	PRS	present tense
IPFV	imperfective aspect	PRT	particle
PFV	perfective aspect	PST	past tense

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