Delimitatives, diminutive-iteratives and the secondary imperfective in North Slavic
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This paper is concerned with **diminutive-iterative verbs** in North Slavic languages; consider e.g. the Russian (1).

(1)　po-lëž-iva-ť   (2)　po-lež-a-ť   (3)　lež-a-ť
　　　DEL-lie-ITER-INF   DEL-lie-TH-INF   lie-TH-INF
　　　'to lie from time to time'   'to lie for a while'   'to lie'

There is a strange coincidence: There are perfective verbs derived by the delimitative prefix *po-*, like the Russian *poležať* 'to lie for a while' in (2), which do not have a secondary imperfective counterpart according to the literature and at the same time, there are imperfective verbs with the prefix *po-* and the imperfectivizing suffix (*-yva-*) like *polëživať* in (1), which are claimed not to have a perfective counterpart. Both forms have *po-* and some sort of a diminutive/delimitative meaning. According to standard works – see Isačenko (1962), Švedova (1980) and Zaliznjak & Šmelëv (1997) – these two types of verbs are perfective tantum and imperfective tantum; they are not derivationally related; they belong to different aktionsart classes (delimitative and diminutive-iterative); and the diminutive-iterative verbs are derived by circumfixation (of *po-* and *-yva-*) to the simple imperfective verb (*ležať* 'to lie' in the case under discussion; see (3)); see e.g. Kątny (1994) and Petr (1986) for analogous claims with respect to Polish and Czech.

This paper argues that diminutive-iterative verbs like *polëživať*, the Polish *popłakiwać* 'to cry from time to time' and the Czech *posedávat* 'to sit from time to time' are based on the corresponding delimitative *po-*verbs. The delimitative *po-* measures and delimits the event expressed by the stem and the iterative *-yva-* then iterates the delimited event expressed by the *po-*verb. Note that diminutive-iteratives cannot be derived by adding *po-* to the iterative verb with *-yva-* because then the verb must have been perfective, contrary to facts (there is no exception to the perfectivizing effect of prefixation; see e.g. Smith 1991, Zaliznjak 2017). Given that circumfixation is disfavored (e.g. Marušič to appear), the remaining option is that the derivation proceeds from the perfective delimitative *po-*verb to the imperfective diminutive-iterative verb with *-yva-*.

The standard **argument against treating the two classes of *po*-verbs** as derivationally related is that there are derivational chains with missing links. E.g. in Czech, there is *kašlat* 'to cough' and *pokašlávat* 'to cough from time to time' but there is no *pokašlat* 'to cough for a while'; see the derivational chain in (4).

(4) a.　kašl-a-t   b.* po-kašl-a-t   c.　po-kašl-á-va-t
　　　　cough-TH-INF   DEL-cough-TH-INF   DEL-cough-TH-ITER-INF
　　　　'to cough'   　　　　　　　　　　　　'to cough from time to time'

However, it is a lexicalist point of view. In the morphosyntactic approach, the non-existence of the intermediate link in (4b) is an independent issue since verbs (like *polëživať* and *pokašlávat*) are derived incrementally morpheme by morpheme, not by attaching the relevant morpheme (*-yva-* and *-va-*) to a complete word (*poležať* in (2) and *pokašlat* in (4b)). Since monotonicity holds, then in the morphosyntactic approach, also cases like *vypisať* 'to excerpt' in (5a) are not derived directly from *pisať* 'to write' in (5b) because the prefix merges in the verbal structure before the infinitival *-ť* (possibly also before the theme vowel).

(5) a.　vy-pis-a-ť   b.　pis-a-ť
　　　　out-write-TH-INF   write-TH-INF
　　　　'to excerpt'   　'to write'

An analogous reasoning also holds for cases in which the dative *si* 'self' disappears, like in the Czech triple *křičet* 'to shout' - *pokřičet* *(*si*) 'to shout a little for oneself' - *pokřikovat* (**si*) 'to shout from time to time' in example (6).

(6) a. křič-e-t b. po-křič-e-t *(si) c. po-křik-ova-t (*si)
     shout-TH-INF DEL-shout-TH-INF self DEL-shout-ITER-INF self
     'to shout' 'to shout a little for oneself' 'to shout from time to time'

The delimitative *po-* needs a scale, which can be of various types (e.g. temporal, spatial, or change of state, see Součková 2004; in Russian it is a temporal scale in most cases, see Kagan 2013). Building on Filip (2000, 2003), Součková (2004) proposes treating the prefix *po-* with the meaning 'a little' as an extensive measure function over events, which encode the appropriate scale. Given this property, the prefix *po-* mostly cannot combine with stative verbs like in (7a), with achievements like in (7b) and semelfactive verbs like in (7c).

(7) a.* po-vlastnit b.* po-najít c.* po-bodnout (Czech)
     DEL-possess DEL-find DEL-stab
     * 'to possess for a while' * 'to find for a while' * 'to stab for a while'

The iterative *-yva-*. For counting and iteration, discrete elements are necessary. Also, Tatevosov (2015) proposes that the imperfectivizing *-yva-* applies to telic verbs with a state subevent. Thus, the question arises whether we need telicity (quantization) or just delimitation (as discussed above). Delimitative *po-*verbs, like the Russian *poležať* 'to lie for a while' in (2) and *pogovorit'* 'to speak for a while', are perfective but atelic according to the standard adverbial test. The possibility of deriving the diminutive-iterative *polëživat'* 'to lie from time to time' in (1) and *pogovarivat'* 'to speak from time to time' shows that delimitation (e.g. temporal boundedness) is sufficient for applying the iterative *-yva-* and that telicity is not a necessary condition. Note also that the Czech iterative *-va-* (which is more productive than the Russian and Polish iterative *-yva-/-ywa-*) can attach to imperfective, atelic verbs like *tancovat* 'to dance', forming *tancovávat* 'to dance from time to time', as shown in (8).

(8) a. tanc-ova-t b. tanc-ová-va-t
     dance-TH-INF dance-TH-ITER-INF
     'to dance' 'to dance from time to time'

Diachronically, the imperfectivizing *-yva-* evolved from the iterative *-a-*; see e.g. Kuznecov (1953). Therefore, it is not surprising that if the theme *-a-* in (9a) attaches to the stative stem 'freeze', the event cannot be iterated. If the predicate is however prefixed, hence telicized (quantized), as in (9b), the event can be iterated, and the verb becomes grammatical. As a control consider (9c). Since it contains the countable root 'kick', the event can be iterated without an additional morphological operation like prefixation.

(9) a.* mrz-a-t b. za-mrz-a-t c. kop-a-t (Czech)
     freeze-TH-INF behind-freeze-TH-INF kick-TH-INF
                    'to freeze repeatedly'

-Yva- **brings about two meanings** relevant to our discussion: iterative and progressive. The fact that delimitative *po-*verbs do not have a progressive *-yva-* counterpart (i.e. *polëživat'* in (1) cannot have the meaning 'to be lying for a while') and can only have the iterative *-yva-* counterpart (i.e. *polëživat'* with the meaning 'to lie from time to time') suggests that the delimitative *po-* is structurally higher than the progressive *-yva-* and lower than the iterative *-yva-*. This proposal is in accord with the claim that the iterative (habitual) *-yva-* is higher than the progressive (secondary imperfective) *-yva-* in the verbal structure; see Tatevosov (2013) and Biskup (to appear). Consequnetly, the relevant piece of the verbal structure looks like (10), where ITER stands for a pluractional operator, VOICE for the head introducing an external argument, DEL for the delimitative *po-* with the measure function, and YVA for the imperfectivizing suffix with progressive interpretation.

(10) […ITER…[…VOICE…[…DEL…[…YVA…

If time permits, the talk will also discuss verbs with the attenuative *po-*, attaching to a prefixed, perfective verb, like in the Russian *poprideržať* 'to hold for a while'.