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EVALUATIVE AND POLARITY MORPHOLOGY IN MODERN GREEK

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BY
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This is dedicated to Dimitris and Vassilis

for their unconditional love and profound belief in my abilities.

[…]

Keep Ithaca always in your mind.

Arriving there is what you are destined for.

But do not hurry the journey at all.

Better if it lasts for years,

so that you are old by the time you reach the island,

wealthy with all you have gained on the way,

not expecting Ithaca to make you rich.

Ithaca gave you the marvelous journey.

Without her you would not have set out.

She has nothing left to give you now.

And if you find her poor, Ithaca won't have fooled you.

Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,

you will have understood by then what these Ithacas mean.

[*Ithaca*, Constantine P. Cavafy]

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation concerns the nature of Modern Greek adverbial preverbs *poly-* 'much-', *para-* 'over-', *kalo-* 'well-', *yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely-', *kara-* 'extremely-', *psilo-* 'a little', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-'. I argue that these bound degree modifiers appearing in a preverbal position have evaluative components related to the speaker's stance towards the propositional content, as well as polarity properties.

The properties of meaning, conjoinability, nominalization, vowel deletion, and stress shift syntactically distinguish adverbial preverbs from prefixes, the other class of bound elements that show preverbal morphology. I provide a new syntactic account for the base position of preverbs that captures these properties of Modern Greek preverbs arguing that prefixes are introduced as Ps in [Spec, VP], whereas adverbial preverbs are introduced as Advs in [Spec, FP]. Taking also into consideration other elements that can be part of the verbal complex, like the past augment *e-*, I propose that the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek is subject to three mechanisms, namely *Generalized Head Movement* (Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2019), *Merger* (Matushansky 2006, Harizanov 2014, Martinović 2019), and *Doubling*.

Within the *(Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001, *et seq.*), the bound morpheme *poly-* 'much-' functions as a strong Negative Polarity Item appearing only in antiveridical contexts. Its licensing happens only locally and is accomplished syntactically via Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001).

Interestingly, I argue that the presence of *para-*, *kalo-*, *yper-*, *kata-*, *kara-*, *psilo-*, *miso-*, *kousto-*, *psefto-*, *xazo-*, *skylo-*, *xilio-*, and *mirio-* is limited in veridical environments, and that they are *bound degree PPIs*. I present more evidence for their distribution showing that they fall under the class of weak PPIs having more flexibility regarding nonveridical operators and escaping the scope of antiveridical ones. Their polarity sensitivity efficiently holds under the notions of speaker's commitment and subjectivity, formulated within the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity*, taking into consideration nonveridical contexts where the truth of a proposition may be disputed by the speaker.

Modern Greek adverbial preverbs also exhibit evaluative properties. I show that the elements *para-*, *kalo-*, *yper-*, *kata-*, *skylo-*, *xilio-*, and *mirio-* are intensifying morphemes: they are distinguished into *boosters* (*para-*, *yper-*, and *kalo-*) denoting a high degree on a scale, and *maximizers* (*kata-*, *skylo-*, *xilio-*, and *mirio-*) denoting the upper boundaries on a degree scale. By contrast, the adverbial preverbs *poly-*, *psilo-*, *miso-*, *koutso-*, *psefto-*, and *xazo-*, expressing deintensification, are gradable modifiers that fall mostly under the class of diminishers. The different functions of the adverbials are defined formally in a unified semantic analysis treating them not as individual elements, but rather as semantic classes. In addition, the Greek adverbial preverbs exhibit a behavior, similar to that of metalinguistic comparatives: they have a preferential attitude with a negativity expressive component.

This research concerning preverbal morphology in Modern Greek arouses interest due to evaluative and polarity properties up to today not discovered.

CHAPTER 1

EVALUATIVE AND POLARITY MORPHOLOGY IN MODERN GREEK: AN INTRODUCTION

This dissertation aims to discuss the preverbal morphology in Modern Greek that indicates polarity and evaluation properties. Crucially, I will show that the bound elements which appear in the Greek verb in a preverbal position and function as degree modifiers having (a) evaluative components that are related to the speaker's stance towards the propositional content, and (b) polarity properties. This morphology arouses the interest due to the evaluative and polarity properties up to today not discovered. This chapter offers the background and introduces the terminology necessary for our discussion.

1.1 Evaluative and Polarity Morphology

1.1.1 Preverbal Morphology

Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words, their formation, and their relations with others in a language. The term derives from the Greek element *morph-* which has the meaning 'shape, form', and the element *-ology* which means 'the study of something'. Morphology deals with the structure of words and studies the morphemes, i.e., the minimal meaningful units that occur as part of a word.

Modern Greek is a largely fusional language. Its fusional character can be depicted, for instance, with the nominal ending *-ου* which is used in a single unified morpheme to encode masculine gender, genitive case, and singular number. The nominal system of the language

consists of the morphological categories of nouns (e.g. *epistimi* 'science'), adjectives (e.g. *aristos-aristi-aristo* 'excellent'), and pronouns (e.g. *ton* 'him'). It distinguishes four cases (nominative, genitive, accusative, and vocative), two numbers (singular and plural), and three genders (masculine, feminine, and neuter). However, it is the Modern Greek verbal system that has the most considerable morphological intricacy showing a great number of inflectional categories and markers. The language is rich of various bound elements that are used for the verb formation which has been the focus of many different studies and analyzed under several frameworks since the early sixties (Hamp 1961, Koutsoudas 1962). Some of the bound elements for the verb formation in Modern Greek are the following:

a) The prefix *e-* appearing in past verbal forms (e.g., *e-faga* 'I ate', *e-mina* 'I stayed', *e-peza* 'I was playing')

b) The suffixes *-o*, *-is*, *-i*, *-ume*, *-ete*, *-un* encoding person in present verbal forms (e.g., *pez-o* 'I play', *pez-is* 'you play', *pez-i* 'he/she/it plays', *pez-ume* 'we play', *pez-ete* 'you play', *pez-un* 'they play')

c) The endings *-menos* (masculine), *-meni* (feminine), *-meno* (neuter) for past passive participles (e.g., *anam-menos* 'lit', *politis-meni* 'civilized', *gram-meno* 'written').

In this research, I will focus on preverbal morphology, in other words, the nature of Modern Greek adverbial preverbs that are bound elements appearing left-adjacent to verb stems and function as degree modifiers: *poly-* 'much', *para-* 'over', *kalo-* 'well-', *yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely, *kara-* 'extremely', *psilo-* 'a bit', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' (see also Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Ralli 1988, 1992, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2013, Rivero 1992, Drachman &

Malikouti-Drachman 1994, Poulopoulou 1996, Xydopoulos 1996, Alexiadou 1997, Delveroudi & Vassilaki 1999, Efthimiou & Gavriilidou 2003, Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009, Gavriilidou 2013, Gavriilidou & Giannakidou 2016, among others). The following examples show verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs:

(1) a. *kata-xairomai* ' to be overjoyed'

b. *kalo-pantrevomai* 'to have a good marriage'

c. *yper-xreono* 'to over-charge'

d. *para-kimamai* 'to over-sleep'

e. *poly-pino* 'to drink much'

f. *miso-psino* 'to half-bake'

g. *psilo-troo* 'to eat a bit'

h. *koutso-kataferno* 'to manage poorly'

i. *psefto-doulevo* 'to pretend to work'

j. *xazo-kimamai* 'to sleep poorly/lightly'

k. *skylo-variemai* 'to be bored to death'

l. *xilio-efxaristo* 'to be deeply grateful'

m. *mirio-parakalo* 'to beg million times'

More specifically, in Chapter 2, I will present the properties (compositional meaning, conjoinability, nominalization, vowel deletion, stress shift) that syntactically distinguish adverbial preverbs from the other type of bound elements that show preverbal morphology,

namely, *prefixes*. Prefixes are elements deriving from Ancient Greek prepositions: *anti-, apo-, meta-, para-, epi-, dia-, en-, ek-, eis-, peri-, pros-, ana-, pro-, kata-, hypo-, syn-,* and *kse-* (Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Sotiropoulos 1972, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989, Ralli 1992, 2003, 2004, 2005, Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994, Xydopoulos 1996, Smirniotopoulos & Joseph 1998, Efthymiou 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, among others).

(2)
a. *anti-grafo* 'to copy'
b. *apo-telo* 'to constitute'
c. *meta-noo* 'to regret'
d. *para-grafo* 'to override'
e. *epi-noo* 'to invent'
f. *dia-fero* 'to differ'
g. *en-tharrino* 'to encourage'
h. *ek-lamvano* 'to interpret'
i. *eis-xoro* 'to permeate'
j. *peri-lamvano* 'to conclude'
k. *pros-lamvano* 'to hire'
l. *ana-fero* 'to mention'
m. *pro-xoro* 'to proceed'
n. *kata-noo* 'to comprehend'
o. *hypo-theto* 'to suppose'
p. *syn-erxomai* 'to recover'
q. *kse-kano* 'to kill'

In Chapter 2, I will show that verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs have compositional meaning, allow the process of conjoinability, but are excluded from the processes of nominalization, vowel deletion and stress shift. Verbal complexes with prefixes, on the other hand, tend to have non-compositional meaning, allow the processes of nominalization, vowel deletion and stress shift, but are excluded from the process of conjoinability. I will also provide a new syntactic account for the base position of preverbs

that captures these properties of Modern Greek preverbs arguing that prefixes are introduced as Ps in [Spec, VP] and adverbial preverbs as Advs in [Spec, FP]. Moreover, taking into consideration other elements that can be part of the verbal formation, like the past augment *e-*, I will propose that the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek is subject to two main mechanisms, namely *Generalized Head Movement* (Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2019) and *Merger* (Matushansky 2006, Harizanov 2014, Martinović 2019).

1.1.2 Polarity

Polarity is the behavior of certain lexical items to appear in specific environments. The phenomenon of polarity refers to the contrast between affirmation and negation. Given the restrictions on their distribution, we distinguish two main categories of polarity elements: *negative polarity items* and *positive polarity items*.

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), a term coined by Jackendoff (1969), are lexical elements that are context-sensitive. They are licensed under the scope of negation appearing in negative environments, as Klima (1964) first identified. Being excluded from the affirmative contexts, they are divided into strong and weak NPIs. The element *any* is one of the classic NPIs in English:

(3) a. Alex did not read any book yesterday.

b. #Alex read any book yesterday.

On the other hand, Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) are expressions that are 'allergic' to negation. Baker (1970) recognizes the existence of this class which has been discussed in literature by Szabolcsi (2004), Nilsen (2003), and Ernst (2008). Among expressions, speaker-oriented adverbs have associated with PPIs in the literature. The English adverb *already* is a well-known PPI:

(4) a. Sam has already finished her cake.

b. #Sam has not already finished her cake.

Based on the distinction of emphatics/non-emphatics, Giannakidou (1994, 1997, 1998, 2001 *et seq*.) and her *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* account for elements exhibiting restrictions on their licensing environments and place no categorial restrictions on the items showing polarity behavior. In Chapter 3 and 4, I will show that, under the framework of (Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity and regarding their distribution, I will show that Modern Greek adverbial preverbs express polarity behavior and are separated into two classes, that is, *negative polarity items* and *positive polarity items*:

a) negative polarity items: *poly-* 'much', and

b) positive polarity items: *para-* 'over'*, kalo-* 'well-'*, yper-* 'over-'*, kata-* 'completely*, kara-* 'extremely'*, psilo-* 'a bit'*, miso-* 'half-'*, koutso-* 'poorly'*, psefto-* 'fake-'*, xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', *mirio-* 'million-'.

More specifically, in Chapter 3, I will show that the bound morpheme *poly-* 'much' has a restricted distribution occurring only in negative environments, as Delveroudi & Vassilaki

(1999) first mentioned. In Giannoula (2020, 2021), I have argued that, within the framework of the *(Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001, *et seq.*), *poly-* functions as a strong *Negative Polarity Item* (NPI) appearing only in antiveridical environments, namely, negation, as in (5), and *without*-clauses, as in (6):

(5) a. I Ioanna dhen poly- dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne not much-studied.3sg yesterday
'Joanne didn't study much today.'

b. #I Ioanna poly- dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne much-studied.3sg yesterday
(lit. Joanne studied much yesterday.)

(6) I Ioanna eghrapse dhiagonisma xoris na poly- dhiavasi.
the Joanne wrote.3sg exam without SUBJ much-study.3sg
'Joanne took the exam without studying much.'

I will also show that, unlike the other adverbial preverbs, the bound element *poly-* 'much' exhibits negative polarity behavior given its uninterpretable feature [*u*Neg] and its licensing with negation happens syntactically.

In Chapter 4, I will show that the presence of the bound morphemes *para-* 'over'*, kalo-* 'well-'*, yper-* 'over-'*, kata-* 'completely*, kara-* 'extremely'*, psilo-* 'a bit'*, miso-* 'half-'*, kusto-* 'poorly'*, psefto-* 'fake-'*, xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' is

limited only in affirmative environments, in other words, the elements in questions escape the scope of negation.

(7) a. I Ioanna para- ipie sto parti.
the Joanne excessively-drank.3sg at.the party
'Joanne drank excessively at the party.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen para- ipie sto parti.
the Joanne not excessively-drank.3sg at-the party
(lit. Joanne did not drink excessively at the party.)

(8) a. I Ioanna kata- xarike me tin epituxia tou Dimitri.
the Joanne over-was.joyed with the success of Dimitris
'Joanne was overjoyed in Dimitris' success.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen kata- xarike me tin epituxia tou Dimitri.
the Joanne not over-was.joyed with the success of Dimitris
(lit. Joanne was not overjoyed in Dimitris' success.)

(9) a. I Ioanna psilo- methise sto parti.
the Joanne a.little-got.drunk.3sg at.the party
'Joanne drank a little at the party.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen psilo- methise sto parti.
the Joanne not a.little-drank.3sg at-the party
(lit. Joanne did not drink a little at the party.)

(10) a. Skylo- varethikame sto parti.
to.death-were.bored.1pl at.the party
'We were bored to death at the party.'
b. #Dhen skylo- varethikame sto parti.
not to.death-were.bored.1pl at.the party
(lit. We were not bored to death at the party.)

Their restricted distribution renders the adverbial preverbs as positive polarity items. I will also present more evidence for the distribution of the adverbials in question as PPIs, and show that Greek adverbial preverbs fall under Ernst's (2009) class of *weak PPIs* having more flexibility regarding nonveridical operators and escaping the scope of antiveridical ones. I will also argue that their polarity sensitivity efficiently holds under Ernst's (2009) notion of speaker commitment, formulated within the (Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, *et seq*.), taking into consideration nonveridical contexts where the truth of a proposition may be disputed by the speaker.

1.1.3 Evaluation

Evaluation is a term used to express the speaker and writer's stance for a person, a situation, or another entity – thus, it is not objective but rather subjective, and is placed within a societal value-system (Hunston 1994: 210). In early literature, evaluation had a restricted use referring to those words and phrases expressing the speaker or writer's emotions (Carter 1987). However, it seems that nowadays evaluation is a vague term used for 'the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values' (Hunston & Thompson 1999: 5).

In the linguistic research, *intensification* is an evaluative category. Following Gavriilidou (2013), in Chapter 4, I will argue that intensification is mainly considered as degree modification, i.e., as a function that exceeds the standard and denotes the high degree of a property. It is related to gradable predicates, in other words, to scalar predicates that are characterized by scales and allow the expression of the high degree of a property (Gavriilidou 2013: 41). Given that, I will show that the elements *para-* 'over-'*, kalo-* 'well-'*, yper-* 'over-'*, kata-* 'completely, over-', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' are intensifying morphemes that are used to increase the degree of the property which is expressed by the verb base.

Since intensification is a function that increases the degree of a property, the morphemes in question are used as degree modifiers and can be distinguished into two categories, *boosters* and *maximizers* (Gavriilidou 2013). Boosters are used to denote a high degree on a scale, whereas maximizers denote the upper boundaries on a scale of gradable properties (Quirk *et*

al. 1985). Following Gavriilidou, in Chapter 4, I will argue for the following classification of the intensifying elements in question:

a) Booster: *para-* 'over', *yper-* 'over', and *kalo-* 'well', and

b) Maximizers: *kata-* 'completely-', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-'.

For instance, *kalo-* 'well-' and *para-* 'over' are gradable modifiers that express intensification with the former functioning as a booster and the latter functioning as a maximizer:

(11) Tis Ioannas tis kalo-arese o Aris.
the.gen Joanne her well-liked.3sg the Ares
'Joanne liked Ares very much.'

(12) I Ioanna kata- xarike me ta nea tou.
the Joanne over-was.joyed with the news his
'Joanne was overjoyed in his news.'

In (11), the gradable modifier *kalo-* 'well-' denotes the high degree of Joanne's liking Aris. The presence of *kalo-* is used to boost the action of liking by increasing the degree and moving it above the contextually dependent threshold, but not close to the maximal values on a degree scale. By contrast, in (12), the gradable modifier *para-* 'over' denotes the high degree of Joanne's drinking. Here, it is not the case that Joanne drank adequately. In the presence of

para-, the degree of her drinking moves above the contextually dependent threshold, close to the maximal values on a degree scale, unlike the gradable modifier *kalo-* 'well-'.

Deintensification (also called attenuation) is another facet of evaluation that is used to denote the meaning of insufficiency, i.e., a property under the threshold expressed by the base (Efthymiou 2017). Paradis (1997) distinguishes two subcategories of deintensification: *totality modification* and *gradable modification*. According to her model, total modifiers are characterized as *approximizers* (e.g., *almost*), whereas gradable modifiers are *moderators* that decrease slightly the degree of the property denoted by the gradable predicate (e.g., *quite*, *rather*, *pretty*) and *minimizers* which indicate the lowest boundaries on a scale (e.g. *a (little) bit, slightly, a little, somewhat*). In chapter 4, I will argue that 'minimizer' is not an accurate term to describe this function, since a minimizer is an expression that denotes a minimal quantity, degree, or extent with negation scoping over it and occupies the lowest end of the scale (Bolinger 1972; Fauconnier 1975a, 1975b):

(13) I did not drink (even) *a drop*.

Based on Bolinger's (1972) and Horn's (2001) distinction between minimizers and *diminishers* (e.g. *a little*), where the former appears in the [negation + minimizer] structure and the latter functions as a litotes for the purpose of evaluation, I will propose that Modern Greek preverbs *poly-* 'much', *psilo-* 'a bit', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', and *xazo-* 'half-heartedly' expressing deintensification are gradable modifiers and are used as *diminishers*.

(14) I Ioanna koutso-diavase gia to diagonisma.
the Joanne poorly-studied.3sg for the exam
'Joanne studied poorly for the exam.'

In (14), the adverbial preverb *koutso-* 'poorly' is a gradable modifier expressing deintensification and functions as a diminisher. It denotes a low degree of Joanne's studying. Here it is not the case that Joanne studied enough or adequately. Rather, the degree of her studying moves below the contextually dependent threshold, close to the lowest values on a degree scale.

In Chapter 5, I will also define formally the different functions that are emerged in Modern Greek degree modifiers which are used as evaluative morphemes and have polarity properties; I will capture the semantics of the bound morphemes, namely boosters, maximizers and diminishes, by assuming a scale of degree for gradable predicates. This approach allows us to present a unified semantic analysis and provide the denotations of evaluative morphemes, treating them not as individual elements, but rather as semantic classes. I will also show that adverbial preverbs in Greek exhibit a behavior, similar to that of metalinguistic comparatives: they have a preferential attitude with a negativity expressive component. Finally, I will discuss the morphological processes of *augmentation* and *diminution*, as also part of evaluative morphology in Modern Greek.

1.2 Structure of the dissertation

The individual chapters of this work are as follows. Chapter 2 examines the properties of Modern Greek adverbial preverbs that distinguish them from prefixes, i.e., the other class of preverbs that derives from prepositions, showing that they are distinguished syntactically. It also establishes a syntactic account for the base position of Modern Greek preverbs capturing their properties and presents the operations needed for the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek. Chapter 3 presents the polarity framework, i.e., the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, *et seq*.), and, based on that, shows that the adverbial preverb *poly-* 'much' has a negative polarity behavior. Chapter 4 presents the distribution of the adverbials *para-* 'over'*, kalo-* 'well-'*, yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely*, kara-* 'extremely'*, psilo-* 'a bit'*, miso-* 'half-'*, koutso-* 'poorly'*, psefto-* 'fake-'*, xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' showing that they function as bound degree PPIs. Chapter 5 shows that these adverbial elements which are either positive or negative polarity items have also evaluative properties and presents a semantic analysis of evaluation in Modern Greek.

CHAPTER 2

PREVERBS AND VERBAL COMPLEXES IN MODERN GREEK

In this chapter, I investigate the nature of Greek preverbs, i.e., *prefixes* and *adverbial preverbs*, and present an analysis for the formation of prefixed and adverbially preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek. I argue that prefixes are introduced as Ps in [Spec, VP], whereas adverbial preverbs are introduced as Advs in [Spec, FP]. Moreover, I propose that the formation of preverbed verbal complexes is subject to three mechanisms, namely *Generalized Head Movement*, *Merger*, and *Doubling*. The analysis is based on the properties of each category of Greek preverbs and the verbal complex they form, as well as on the presence of other elements in the syntactic derivation, like the past augment *e-*.

Preverbs are elements which surface as left adjacent to the verb stem and together form a semantic unit. In Modern Greek, preverbs are heterogeneous and investigation into their nature has long preoccupied the literature (Gardikas 1924, Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Sotiropoulos 1972, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989, Ralli 1992, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2013, Rivero 1992, Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994, Poulopoulou 1996, Xydopoulos 1996, Alexiadou 1997, Smirniotopoulos & Joseph 1998, Delveroudi & Vassilaki 1999, Karantzola & Giannoulopoulou 2000, Efthymiou 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, Efthimiou & Gavriilidou 2003, Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009, Gavrilidou 2013, Gavriilidou & Giannakidou 2016, among others).

(1) O Petros ant- egrapse ena piima
the Peter instead.of-wrote.3sg a poem
'Peter copied a poem.'

(2) O Petros ksana-egrapse ena piima.
the Peter again- wrote.3sg a poem
'Peter wrote a poem again.'

Given distinct properties, preverbs, like *ant(i)-* in (1), belong to the category of *prefixes*, whereas preverbs, like *ksana-* in (2), belong to the category of *adverbial preverbs*. In this chapter, I discuss the nature of preverbs and the formation of verbal complexes in Modern Greek. I argue that the two types of preverbs have distinct properties and occupy different positions in the syntactic derivation: prefixes are introduced inside the VP domain, i.e., in [Spec, VP], while adverbial preverbs are introduced outside the VP domain, i.e., in [Spec, FP].

However, since both preverbs appear lower in the syntactic structure than the past augment *e-* which occupies the T node but ends up closer to the verb stem, I develop an analysis on the formation of prefixed and adverbially preverbed verb complexes taking into consideration the presence of the past augment *e-*. I show that, although the operation of *Head Movement* (Koopman 1984, Travis 1984, Baker 1985) is highly used in the literature, Greek preverbed verbal complexes are evidence that this mechanism is not adequate to model the attested order of morphemes. Rather, I argue that Greek preverbed verbal complexes are formed by using three main mechanisms: a) *Generalized Head Movement* (Arregi & Pietraszko

2018, 2019), a syntactic operation that combines upward head movement and downward head movement by creating 'a single complex head associated with all terminal nodes related by the operation' (Arregi & Pietraszko 2019: 2), b) *Merger* (Matushansky 2006, Harizanov 2014, Martinović 2019), a postsyntactic operation that combines a head with its specifier, and c) *Doubling* (Arregi & Nevins 2012), a postsyntactic operation of copying.

For the purposes of the current research, a corpus of more than 2,000 types of verbal complexes has been created (see Appendix). The verbal complexes are collected from the *Online Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (Triantafyllides)*, as well as after various discussions with native speakers of Modern Greek. The corpus is restricted to forms formed by preverbs attached to a verbal base, excluding parasynthetic verbs (e.g. *kse-dond-jaz-o* 'to take one's teeth out', *kse-kokin-iz-o* 'un-redden')[1].

The chapter is organized as follows. In Section 2.1, I discuss the division of preverbs in Modern Greek, presenting the distinct characteristics of Greek prefixes and adverbial preverbs (2.1.1) and showing the order of preverbs in Modern Greek (2.1.2). In Section 2.2, I present my account for the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek showing the base position of the prefixes and adverbial preverbs (2.2.1) and how this analysis captures their properties (2.2.2). In Section 2.3, I focus on the formation of preverbed verbal complexes, realizing Tense and Agreement as part of a verbal complex (2.3.1), presenting the mechanisms needed to form both non-preverbed verb complexes (2.3.2) and preverbed verbal complexes

[1] *Parasynthetic verbs* are formed by an adjectival or nominal base and the presence of two derivational affixes, namely a prefix and a suffix added to the base (e.g. *apo-kefal-iz-o* 'to decapitate'). For more on the formation of parasynthetic verbs in Modern Greek, see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Masoura (2009, 2012), Efthymiou (2001a, 2015), Ralli (2004), Thomadaki (1996).

(2.3.3), showing the presence of the past augment in preverbed verbal complexes (2.3.4), and providing a previous morphological approach (2.3.5). The last section offers a summary of the main arguments.

2.1 Two types of preverbs in Modern Greek

Based on their properties and morphological status, Greek distinguishes two categories of preverbs: *prefixes* and *adverbial preverbs*[2].

Prefixes are elements deriving from Ancient Greek prepositions, mainly those having spatial meaning (Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Sotiropoulos 1972, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989, Ralli 1992, 2003, 2004, 2005, Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994, Xydopoulos 1996, Smirniotopoulos & Joseph 1998, Efthymiou 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, among others):

(3)
a. *anti-* (*anti* 'instead of, in place of')
b. *apo-* (*apo* 'from')
c. *meta-* (*meta* 'following')
d. *para-* (*para* 'despite')
e. *epi-* (*epi* 'on, atop')
f. *dia-* (*dia* 'through')
g. *en-* (*en* 'in, inside')
h. *ek-* (*ek* 'from')
i. *eis-* (*eis* 'to, towards')
j. *peri-* (*peri* 'around')
k. *pros-* (*pros* 'to, towards')
l. *ana-* (*ana* 'on')
m. *pro-* (*pro* 'prior to, before')
n. *kata-* (*kata* 'under')

[2] Adverbial preverbs are also referred in the literature as *word preverbs* (Ralli 2004).

o. *hypo-* (*hypo* 'under')

p. *syn-* (*syn* 'with')

While some prefixes have free counterparts in Modern Greek, which can be used freely in the language (4a-b), some others have only free counterparts in Koine Greek or in Medieval Greek, appearing in fixed expressions (4c-d):

(4)

a.	apo- lamvano	apo to spiti
	from-receive	from the house
	'to enjoy'	'from the house'
b.	pros- lamvano	pros ti thalassa
	towards-receive	towards the sea
	'to hire'	'towards the sea'
c.	eis-valo	is igian
	to- attack	to health
	'to invade'	'cheers'
d.	syn- erxome	syn tis alis
	with-come	with the other
	'to recover'	'furthermore'

Although not having an independent word status, the bound element *kse-* also belongs to this category of preverbs. *Kse-* derives from the combination of the Ancient Greek

preposition *ek* (*eks* when in prevocalic position) and the past augment *e-* (*ek* + *e* > *eks* + *e* > *kse*) (Mendes-Dosuna 1997).

Adverbial preverbs constitute the second category of Greek preverbs. They are bound elements having adverbial function. They derive from adverbs that mainly have a degree or repetitive function, but also from adjectives, nouns and numerals (see also Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Ralli 1988, 1992, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2013, Rivero 1992, Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994, Poulopoulou 1996, Xydopoulos 1996, Alexiadou 1997, Delveroudi & Vassilaki 1999, Efthimiou & Gavriilidou 2003, Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009, Gavrilidou 2013, Gavriilidou & Giannakidou 2016, among others).

(5) *Adverbial preverbs in Modern Greek*

a.	*kata-* 'completely, over-'	*kata-xairomai* ' to be overjoyed'
b.	*kalo-* 'well-'	*kalo-pantrevomai* 'to have a good marriage'
c.	*yper-* 'over-'	*yper-analuo* 'to over-analyze'
d.	*para-* 'over-'	*para-kimamai* 'to over-sleep'
e.	*poly-* 'much'	*poly-pino* 'to drink much'
f.	*miso-* 'half-'	*miso-psino* 'to half-bake'
g.	*psilo-* 'a bit'	*psilo-troo* 'to eat a bit'
h.	*koutso-* 'poorly'	*koutso-kataferno* 'to manage poorly'
i.	*psefto-* 'poorly'	*psefto-doulevo* 'to pretend to work'
j.	*xazo-* 'poorly/lightly'	*xazo-kimamai* 'to sleep poorly/lightly'
k.	*skylo-* 'to death'	*skylo-variemai* 'to be bored to death'

l. *xilio-* 'deeply' *xilio-efxaristo* 'to be deeply grateful'

m. *mirio-* 'deeply' *mirio-parakalo* 'to beg million times'

n. *ksana-* 'again, re-' *ksana-troo* 'to eat again'

Interestingly, other languages, like Germanic or Slavic, make a different, although corresponding, distinction splitting between *lexical prefixes* and *superlexical prefixes* (Svenonius 2004). The difference between Greek and the other languages is due to the morphological processes that participate into the formation of verbal complexes. More specifically, in Greek, prefixes require the process of prefixation, whereas adverbial preverbs require that of compounding, leading thus to different morphological status. To support their compound nature, Ralli (2003, 2004) points out that: a) adverbial preverbs have a specific grammatical category, i.e. they are adverbs, b) they have a delimited lexical meaning when attached to verbs, similar to that of their free counterparts, and c) most of them have a linking vowel *-o*, typical of the first constituent of compounds in Greek (Ralli 2002a, 2002b). Under these arguments, we assume that adverbial preverbs are first constituents in compounds and differ from prefixes.

2.1.1 Properties of Modern Greek preverbs

Several distinct properties of the two types of preverbs in Modern Greek lead to their distinction: (non-)compositional meaning, nominalization, and conjoinability. More specifically:

a) (Non-)compositional meaning

Verbal complexes with prefixes tend to become idiomatized (Ralli 2004, 2005). This means that the meaning of a prefixed verb is not transparent, i.e. it does not derive from the meaning of its constituents:

(6) a. apo- lamvano
from-receive
'to enjoy'

b. pros- lamvano
towards-receive
'to hire'

c. anti- gráfo
instead.of-write
'to copy'

Although Greek prefixes are homophonous to prepositions, the meaning of a prefixed verb is not the same with that of a verb followed by the counterpart preposition. The meaning of prefixed verb structures contrasts with that of preposition-verb structures, as the comparison of the following sentences shows:

(7) a. O Kostas ant- egrapse to piima sto tetradio.
the Kostas instead.of-wrote.3sg the poet at-the notebook
'Kostas copied the poet at the notebook.'

b. O Kostas egrapse to piima anti to tragudi sto tetradio.
the Kostas wrote.3sg the poem instead-of the song at-the notebook
'Kostas wrote the poem, instead of the song, at the notebook.'

In (7a), the verbal complex *antegrapse* 'copied' is formed by the prefix *anti-* 'instead of' attached to the verb e*grapse* 'wrote'. In (7b), the verb *egrapse* 'wrote' is followed by the nominal phrase *to piima* 'the poem' and the prepositional phrase *anti to tragudi* 'instead of the song'. However, although both grammatical, the two sentences have different meanings.

Furthermore, Greek prefixes have various meanings, as the following verbal complexes with the prefix *anti-* show:

(8) a. dro 'to act' anti-dró 'to react, to respond back'
b. gráfo 'to write' anti-gráfo 'to copy'
c. laló 'to voice, to crow' anti-laló 'to echo'
d. véno 'to go, to step' anti-véno 'to contradict'

In (8), the prefix *anti-* appears to the verb complexes *antidró*, *antigráfo*, *antikrízo* and *antivéno*, but each prefixed verb has an idiomatic meaning which is unique to each structure.

On the other hand, adverbially preverbed verbal complexes have compositional meanings. A verbal complex with an adverbial preverb attached to it has a systematic meaning, i.e. its meaning derives from the meaning of its parts:

(9) a. kimáme 'to sleep' ksana-kimáme 'to sleep again'
b. tróo 'to eat' ksana-tróo 'to eat again'
c. gráfo 'to write' ksana-gráfo 'to write again'
d. váfo 'to dye' ksana-váfo 'to dye again'

In addition, the variety of meanings which is clear to prefixed verbs cannot be found for verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs. The meaning of verbs, either in simple forms or with an adverbial preverb attached to them, does not change, but it is prevented:

(10) a. (den) poly-kimáme
'to (not) sleep much'
b. (den) poly-tróo
'to (not) eat much'

The adverbial preverb *poly-* 'much' has a degree/quantification function. In (10a), it quantifies over duration, while in (10b), it quantifies over quantity.

As I will show in Chapter 2, adverbial preverbs have a different distribution with their free counterpart, that leads to a slightly different meaning. Delveroudi & Vassilaki (1999) first

mention the restricted distribution of *poly-* 'much' occurring only in negative environments. In Giannoula (2020, 2021), I argue that, under the framework of the *(Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2001 *et seq.*), the bound morpheme *poly-* functions as a strong *Negative Polarity Item* (NPI) appearing only in antiveridical environments (negation and *without*-clauses), as opposed to its independent counterpart, the degree modifier *poly* 'a lot, much' which appears both in negative and affirmative contexts:

(11) a. I Ioanna dhen kimithike poly xthes vradi.
the Joanne not slept.3sg much yesterday night
'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'

b. I Ioanna kimithike poly xthes vradi.
the Joanne slept.3sg a-lot yesterday night
'Joanne slept a lot last night.'

(12) a. I Ioanna dhen poly- kimithike xthes vradi.
the Joanne not much-slept.3sg yesterday night
'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'

b. #I Ioanna poly- kimithike xthes vradi.
the Joanna much-slept.3sg yesterday night
(lit: 'Joanna slept much last night.')

Both the free *poly* and the bound *poly-* are used as degree modifiers. However, unlike the free *poly* in (11), the distribution of the bound *poly-* is restricted only to negative contexts, as the ungrammaticality of the sentence in (12b) shows. Thus, this affects the meaning of a *poly*-verb, which becomes slightly different from that of the construction [verb *poly*]: as suggested by the glosses in (11) and (12), the free adverb *poly* can have either the value of 'a lot' or the value of 'much', whereas the bound morpheme *poly-* assigns only the value of 'much' to the verbs it attaches (Giannoula 2020, 2021)[3]. In Chapters 3 and 4, I discuss more the presence of Greek adverbial preverbs in veridical and nonveridical contexts and their polarity behavior.

Therefore, we see that, unlike with prefixes, the meaning of a verb does not change when adverbial preverbs attached to it. And although the meanings of a free-stranding adverb and an adverbial preverb might be different (e.g. free *poly* vs. bound *poly-*), the meaning of the latter is fixed and does not change depending on what verb is attached to.

b) Nominalization

Another important distinction between prefixes and adverbial preverbs is related to the process of nominalization. More specifically, Greek can exhibit nominalization patterns with prefixed verbs providing the basis for nominalization:

[3] According to Ralli (2004:11), composite verbs with *poly-* get the value of 'not exactly', 'not particular' or 'almost'.

(13) a. antigrafo (v.) → antigrafi (n.)
'to copy' 'copying'

b. paragrafo (v.) → paragrafi (n.)
'to ignore' 'ignoring, crossing out'

c. sympiezo (v.) → sympiesi (n.)
'to compress' 'compression'

In (13), the prefixed verbs *antigrafo*, *paragrafo* and *sympiezo* can be nominalized forming the nouns *antigrafí*, *paragrafí* and *sympíesi*, respectively. The possibility of prefixed verbs to be nominalized can be captured by considering that prefixes are introduced lower in the syntactic derivation, in a position where the categorial specifications for the stem have not been defined and the latter can be either verbal or nominal.

Unlike prefixes, adverbial preverbs are obligatorily excluded from nominalizations, as indicated below:

(14) a. ksana-grafo (v.) → *ksana-grafi (n.)
again-write
'to write again'

b. (den) poly- grafo (v.) → *poly-grafi (n.)
not much-write
'not to write much'

c. psilo- grafo (v.) → *psilo-grafi (n.)

a.little-write

'to write a little'

d. para-grafo (v.) → *para-grafi (n.)[4]

over-write

'to over-write'

Given this characteristic, a prediction that can be made is that the position of Greek adverbial preverbs should be outside the scope of morphological processes, in this case, outside the scope of nominalization. More specifically, the obligatory omission of Greek adverbial preverbs from nominalizations can be explained by assuming that they are generated higher in the syntactic derivation, in a position where the categorial specifications for the stem have already defined to be non-nominal.

However, there are cases in which adverbially preverbed verbal complexes allow nominalizations:

(15) a. psilo-vrexo (v.) → psilovroxo (n.)

'to drizzle' 'drizzle'

b. psilo-doulevo (v.) → psilo-doulema (n.)

'to tease a little' 'little teasing'

[4] Notice that the ungrammatical **paragrafi* where *para-* is an adverbial preverb and has the meaning 'excessively' is different form the grammatical *paragrafi* 'deletion' where *para-* is a prefix meaning 'instead of'.

I argue that nominalizations can be allowed when: a) the noun creates a compound with an adjective, which is the counterpart of the adverbial preverb, as in (15a) (e.g. *psili vroxi* → *psilovroxo* 'drizzle'), and b) there is a negativity expressive component[5] of the adverbial preverb, as in (15b). In both cases, the complex nouns with the adverbials do not derive from the adverbially preverbed verbal complexes, but rather from the base nouns through inflectional processes.

c) Conjoinability

Conjoinability is a phenomenon in which two or more elements of the same type are linked together to form complex syntactic structures. The coordinated element then acts and has the same function with the coordinating elements. However, the conjoining of affixal morphemes is exceptional (Okada 1999, Yoon 2017). Bresnan & Mchombo (1995) use the Conjoinability test to show that productive coordination fails to be attested within words:

(16) a. Suzanne out-lasted or out-played her mother.

b. *Suzanne out-[lasted or played] her mother

The ungrammaticality of the sentence (16b) shows that word-internal constituents cannot conjunct under the scope of the prefix *out-*.

[5] For more discussion on the negativity expressive component, see Chapter 5.

Consider now the Greek sentence in (17), where both verbal complexes *paretakse* and *paratirise* are formed by the same prefix, *para-*:

(17) O Petros par- etakse ke para- tirise ta
the Peter instead.of-arrayed.3sg and instead.of-obeyed.3sg the.pl
stratiotakia tu.
toy-soldiers his
'Peter lined up and observed his toy soldiers.'

The syntactic process of Conjoinability within words renders the sentence in (18) ungrammatical:

(18) *O Petros par- [etakse ke tirise] ta stratiotakia tu.
the Peter instead.of-arrayed.3sg and obeyed.3sg the.pl toy-soldiers his
'Peter lined up and observed his toy soldiers.

In (18), the Greek prefix *para-* does not take scope over the verbs *etakse* and *tirise*, and so the two verbs cannot conjoin. Therefore, Greek prefixes, as sub-words, are opaque to the syntactic process of Conjoinability.

Interestingly, adverbial preverbs, as opposed to prefixes, are transparent to the syntactic process of Conjoinability. More specifically, a Greek verbal complex can coordinate with another one when the same adverbial preverb is attached to both verbs.

(19) a. O Petros den ksana-efage i den ksana-ipie tipota se parti.
the Peter not again-ate.3sg or not again-drank.3sg nothing at party
'Peter didn't eat again or didn't drink again anything at a party.'

b. O Petros den ksana-[efage i ipie] tipota se parti.
the Peter not again- ate.3sg or drank.3sg nothing at party
'Peter didn't eat or drink again anything at a party.'

The verbal complexes in (19) are formed by the adverbial preverb *ksana-*. In (19a), the conjugator *i* 'or' conjoins the verbal complexes *ksanaefage* 'ate again' and *ksanaipie* 'drank again'. Interesting though, in (19b), *ksana-* takes scope over the verbs *efage* 'ate' and *ipie* 'drank'. The two verbs can conjoin, and the grammatical sentence (19b) is equivalent to (19a).

d) Vowel deletion

The phonological process of vowel deletion is another distinction between prefixes and adverbial preverbs in Modern Greek. More specifically, when a verb begins with a vowel, the prefix attached to it undergoes vowel deletion (Ralli 2004): the phonological process occurs obligatorily at the boundaries between the prefix ending to a vowel and the verb beginning with a vowel, with the prefix vowel being deleted.

(20) a. apo-éxo → apéxo but *apoéxo, *apóxo
'to be off'

b. ypo-árxo → ypárxo but *ypoárxo, *ypórxo

'to exist'

Vowel deletion is also present with verbs having the past augment. As with verbal complexes with verbs beginning with vowels, the vowel of prefix that directly attaches to the verb is deleted, given the presence of the augment:

(21) a. ap- éfyga

from-left.1sg

'I avoided'

b. *apo-éfyga

c. *apo-fyga

Regarding the phonological process of vowel deletion in adverbial preverbs, when a vowel, like the past augment *e-*, is present and leftward to the verb stem, this vowel is not deleted:

(22) a. psilo- éfaga

a.little-ate.1sg

'I ate a little'

b. *psil-éfaga

e) Stress shift

Given the observations found in Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman (1994) and Malikouti-Drachman (1996), verbal complexes with prefixes in Greek undergo the phenomenon of stress shift when they are in the imperative form:

(23) a. para- gráfo
instead.of-write.1sg
'to ignore'

b. Pará- grapse!
ignore.2sg.IMPER
'Ignore!'

While the verbal complex is stressed on the penultimate syllable (23a), the imperative form of the verb does not preserve the stress and it is stressed on the antepenultimate syllable (23b).

On the other hand, verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs in Greek do not undergo the phenomenon of stress shift when they are in the imperative form:

(24) a. ksana-gráfo
again-write.1sg
'to rewrite'

b. Ksana-grápse!

again- write.2sg.IMPER

'Rewrite!'

The verbal complex in (24a) is stressed on the penultimate syllable and the stress is prevented even when the preverbed verb is in the imperative form (24b).

Table 1 summarizes the properties of the two types of preverbs in Modern Greek.

	Prefixes	*Adverbial preverbs*
Compositional meaning	✗	✓
Nominalization	✓	✗
Conjoinability	✗	✓
Vowel deletion	✓	✗
Stress shift	✓	✗

Table 1: Properties of Greek preverbs

From this we conclude that verbal complexes with prefixes tend to have non-compositional meaning, allow the processes of nominalization, vowel deletion and stress shift, but are excluded from the process of conjoinability. Verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs, on the other hand, have compositional meaning, allow the process of conjoinability, but are excluded from the processes of nominalization, vowel deletion and stress shift.

2.1.2 Multiple preverbation: Ordering the preverbs

Multiple preverbation is a phenomenon where more than one preverb attaches to a verb. Here, I argue that multiple preverbation is possible for both prefixes and adverbial preverbs in Greek,

as opposed to other languages, like Slavic (Svenonius 2004, Gribanova 2013), where only the elements equivalent to the Greek adverbial preverbs can co-occur in a verbal complex. More specifically, multiple preverbation is possible between a) preverbs of different categories and b) preverbs of the same category.

a) Preverbs of different categories

It is a common phenomenon to have both a prefix and an adverbial preverb attached to a verb stem. However, preverbs cannot attach to a verb in a free order, but there is a restriction in their ordering: adverbial preverbs precede prefixes, but not vice versa.

(25) a. ksana-anti- grafo
again-instead.of-write.1sg
'to copy again'

b. poly- dia- fero
much-through-carry.1sg
'to differ much'

c. *anti- ksana-grafo
instead.of-again- write.1sg

d. *dia- poly- fero
through-much-write.1sg

In (25a), the Greek prefix *anti-* attaches to the verb *grafo* 'to write', and the adverbial preverb *ksana-* 'again' attaches to the already prefixed verb *antigrafo* 'to copy' having the repetition function to the action of copying. In (25b), the adverbial preverb *poly-* 'much' attaches to the prefixed verb *diafero* 'to differ'. Examples (25c) and (25d) show that shifting the order of preverbs leads to ungrammaticality.

b) Preverbs of the same category

Working on prefixation in Slavic languages, Svenonius (2004) makes a distinction between *lexical* and *superlexical* prefixes. The former type is equivalent to the first class of Greek preverbs, namely prefixes, and the latter is equivalent to the second class of Greek preverbs, namely adverbial preverbs. Based on that split, Svenonius claims that multiple superlexical prefixes can co-occur in a verbal complex: a second superlexical prefix can attach to an already superlexically prefixed verb in Slavic, as in (26)[6]:

(26) a. po- na- razkaža (Bulgarian)
DLMT-CMLT-narrate
'to tell a little of many'

b. iz- pre- razkaža
CMPL-RPET-narrate
'to renarrate completely'

[6] Abbreviations for the example (26): DLMT (delimitative), CMLT (cumulative), CMPL (completive), RPET (repetitive), INCP (inceptive), DSTR (distributive).

c. za- pre- razkaža

INCP-RPET-narrate

'to start renarrating'

d. iz- po- razkaža

CMPL-DSTR-narrate

'to narrate completely one by one'

e. iz- po- na- pre- razkaža

CMPL-DSTR-CMLT-RPET-narrate

'to renarrate completely one by one, of many'

(from Istratkova 2004)

Discussing the phenomenon of multiple preverbation in Modern Greek mentioning to it as accumulation of preverbs, Ralli (2004) points out that Greek adverbial preverbs are also productive and may co-occur in verbal complexes:

(27) ksana-poly- troo

again- much-eat.1sg

'to eat much again'

In (27), both the preverbs *poly-* and *ksana-* attach to the verb troo 'to eat'. *Poly-* is closer to the verb having the function of the low degree of the action described by the verb. *Ksana-* is expected to be added to the [*poly*-verb] complex to function as a modifier of repetition of the

action that happens in a low degree. However, there are also cases with multiple preverbs that are ungrammatical:

(28) */?? (den)poly- para-troo
not much-over-eat.1sg

I argue that the ungrammaticality in (28) is due to the fact that both *poly-* and *para-* have the same function, i.e. the degree function. Thus, it is unacceptable to have a verbal complex with two degree-adverbial preverbs, as it is also unacceptable to have a verb being modified by two adverbs of degree in a sentence:

(29) #O Petros ipie ligo poly sto parti.
the Peter drank.3sg a-little a-lot at-the party

Regarding multiple prefixation, i.e. the phenomenon where more than one prefix attaches to the verb stem, Svenonius points out that lexical prefixes cannot co-occur in Slavic, strongly arguing for the structural uniqueness of lexical prefixes. Since lexical prefixes are generated in the predicative position for resultative predicates, he indicates that they are unique, as the syntactic position for resultatives is unique. Further evidence for the uniqueness of lexical prefixes comes from Gribanova (2013), who demonstrates that multiple Russian prefixes of the category Preposition can co-occur under no circumstances:

(30) *Vasja za- v- bival gvozdi/ gvozdej v stenu.

vasja behind-in-hit.2IMPF.sg.M nails.ACC/nails.GEN in wall.ACC

(from Tatevosov 2007)

The ungrammaticality of (30) proves that Russian lexical prefixes occupy only one morphological slot in the verbal complex, as Gribanova points out.

However, evidence from Greek shows that this restriction is not universal, and two prefixes of the category Preposition can surface in one word in Greek. A verbal complex can be formed by a verb and more than one prefix, as the verbal complexes in (31) show:

(31) a. apo- sym- piezo

from-with-press

'to decompress'

b. epi-syn- apto

to- with-touch

'to attach'

c. en-dia- fero

in- through-carry

'to interest'

d. pros- ypo- grafo

towards-under-write

'to countersign'

The phenomenon of multiple preverbation in Greek has received some attention in the literature, mostly from a typological perspective. More specifically, Imbert (2008, 2010) explores multiple preverbation in Homeric Greek as a way of coding multiple portions of Path in one Motion event, focusing only on motion verbs and prefixes having a spatial meaning:

(32) xiphos arguróe:lon kouleô:i
sword.ACC silver-studded.ACC ARG*i*/sheath.DAT
en- **kat**- épe:x' (Od. 11.98)
RelP*i*/in- SatP/down thrust.AOR.1sg
[+PATH] [+PATH]
'I thrust my silver-studded sword down into its sheath.'
(from Imbert 2010: 8)

Thus, the phenomenon of multiple preverbation, i.e. the co-occurrence of more than one preverb in a verbal complex, is possible not only for adverbial preverbs, but also for prefixes: prefixes can attach to already-prefixed verbs in Greek. Crucially, when a verb has more than one prefix, all three versions of the verb must exist independently:

(33) a. apo- sym- piezo > sym- piezo > piezo
from-with-press with-press
'to decompress' 'to zip, to squeeze' 'to press'

b.	en-dia-	fero	>	dia-	fero	> fero
	in- through-bring			through-bring		
	'to interest'			'to differ'		'to carry'

In (33a), the multiply prefixed verbal complex *aposympiezo* 'to decompress' derives from the simply prefixed verbal complex *sympiezo* 'to zip, to squeeze' which derives from the verb piezo 'to press'. Similarly, in (33b), the highest-level verb *endiafero* 'to interest' derives from the second-level verb diafero 'to differ' that derives from the first-level verb *fero* 'to carry'. This seems like a requirement for multiple prefixation: all verbs, from the base verb to each prefixed verb at each level of prefixation, must exist independently. This observation can be captured under the following generalization:

(34) *Generalization 1*

For a multiply prefixed verbal complex P_1-P_2-V to be formed, the existence of a simply prefixed verbal complex P_2-V is required.

Generalization 1 leads to another generalization under which a verbal complex with two prefixes attached to it does not allow a simpler prefixed verbal complex with just the outer prefix to be formed.

(35) *Generalization 2*

Regarding a multiply prefixed verbal complex P_1-P_2-V, no verbal complex can be formed as P_1-V.

Generalization 2 can be captured under the example in (36):

(36) a. apo- sym- piezo > *apo- piezo
from-with-press from-press
'to decompress'

b. en-dia- fero > *en-fero
in- through-bring in-bring
'to interest'

However, these generalizations seem to have some counterexamples given below, in which verbal complexes (P_1-P_2-V) are formed not only with prefixes being attached close to them (P_2-V), but also with prefixes appearing far from them (P_1-V).

(37) a. apo- syn- théto syn- théto apo- théto
from-with-put with-put from-put
'to decompose' 'to compose' 'to place'

b.	anti- pro-tíno	pro-tíno	anti- tíno
	instead.of-pre-extend	pre-extend	instead.of-extend
	'to propose back'	'to propose'	'to object'
c.	sym-peri- lamvano	peri- lamvano	syl- lamvano
	with-around-receive	around-receive	with-perceive
	'to integrate'	'to include'	'to arrest'

2.2 A new syntactic analysis

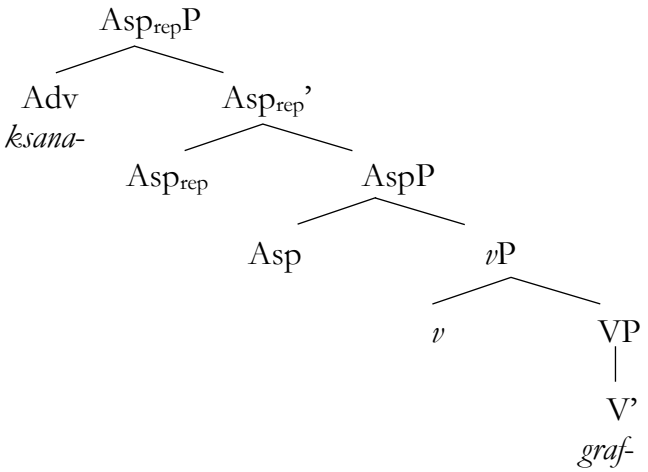
In this section, I provide a syntactic analysis arguing that prefixes are introduced as P[reposition]s in [Spec, VP], whereas adverbial preverbs are introduced as Adv[erb]s in [Spec, FP]. The account is based on the properties of Greek preverbs and the verbal complex they form.

2.2.1 Base position of Greek preverbs

I propose a unified analysis for Greek preverbed verbal complexes without focusing only on verbal complexes with motion verbs or prefixes having a spatial/directional meaning (see Imbert 2008, 2010; Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos 2016).

Beginning with adverbial preverbs, I argue that they are generated as Adv[erb]s in the specifier position of functional phrases (Cinque 1999). For instance, the position of the prefix *ksana-* in the verbal complex *ksana-grafo* 'to write again' is depicted in (38):

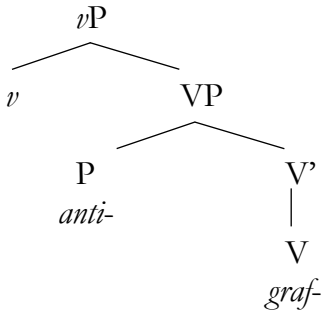
(38)



In the emerged configuration, the adverbial preverb *ksana-* is introduced as adverb in the specifier position of $Asp_{rep}P$ (see Cinque 1999).

Regarding prefixes, I propose that they are introduced as P[reposition]s in [Spec, VP] functioning as the argument of the verbal root[7]. This is because Modern Greek prefixes are reminiscent of Ancient Greek prepositions, in other words, the former derive from the latter. The syntactic derivation depicted in (39) shows the base position of the prefix *anti-* of the verbal complex *anti-grafo* 'to copy':

(39)



[7] See also Myler (2017) for Sanskrit verb forms with prefixal particles.

In (39), *anti-* of the category of prefixes is generated as P in the specifier of VP. This position shows that prefixes are arguments of the verbs they attach to. My analysis differs from that of Daskalaki & Mavrogiorgos (2016) who take Modern Greek prefixes attached to motion verbs as low applicative heads (in the sense of Pylkkänen 2008) licensing the addition of a locative DP argument (e.g. *yperíptame tis polis* 'fly over the city'). However, evidence that prefixes are in P comes from the observation that, given multiple prefixation, as in (40), not every prefix has to introduce an additional argument:

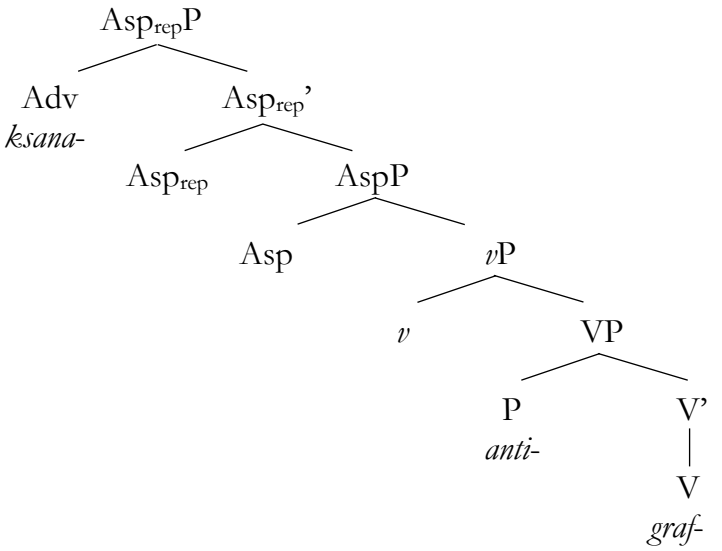
(40) a. O Petros syn- elege gramatosima.
the Peter with-said.3sg stamps
'Peter collected stamps.'

b. I naftiki peri- syn- eleksan tus navagus.
the naval around-with-said.3sg the shipwrecked.pl
'The navy collected around the shipwrecked people.'

2.2.2 Capturing properties

Assuming the tree in (41) depicting both the position of prefixes and adverbial preverbs in the syntactic derivation, my analysis accommodates the following properties of Modern Greek preverbs and the verbal complexes they attach to.

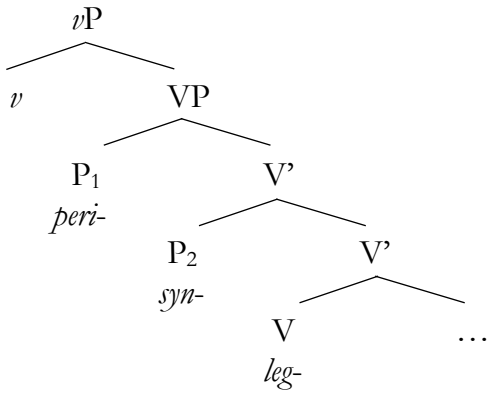
(41)



a) Multiple preverbation

In Section 2.1.2, I have shown that, unlike other languages (Slavic, Germanic), Greek allows multiple preverbation where more than one prefix or adverbial preverb attaches to the verb stem. Introducing prefixes as Ps in the specifier position of VP can explain multiple prefixation by adding additional specifiers into the derivation, as with the verb like *perisyllego* 'to collect around' having two prefixes, *peri-* and *syn-*[8]:

(42)



[8] The consonant [n] of the prefix *syn-* undergoes complete assimilation and changes to [l] after being attached to the verb.

Moreover, introducing the prefixes in the specifier of VP allows the verb to select for its arguments[9], given that any other combination of prefixes attached to the verb leads to ungrammaticality, as shown in (44b-e):

(43) *leg-* [SEL: <D, P_1*syn*, P_2*peri*>]

(44) a. peri- syn- elege
around-with-said.3sg
'collected'

b. *syn- peri- elege
with-around-said.3sg

c. *apo- syn- elege
from-with-said.3sg

d. *epi-syn- elege
on-with-said.3sg

e. *ana-syn- elege
on- with-said.3sg

[9] For selection, see Merchant (2019), Adger (2013), Borer (2013), and Pesetsky (1991); see also Adger (2003) and Collins & Stabler (2016) for related definitions, and Merchant (2014) for the full system.

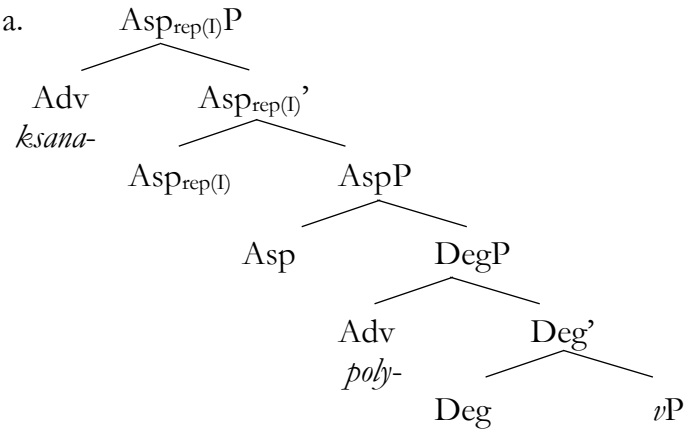
Regarding adverbial preverbs, we saw that they are introduced in the specifier of functional heads following Cinque (1999). Moreover, the attachment of multiple adverbial preverbs to the verb under different combinations is also possible:

(45) a. (dhen) ksana-poly- dhiavazo
not again-much-study
'(not) to study much again'

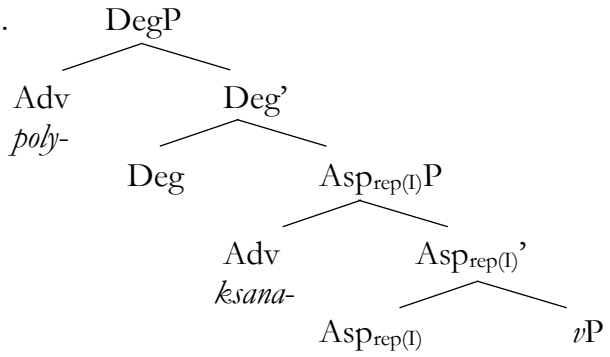
b. (dhen) poly- ksana-dhiavazo
not much-again-study
'(not) to study again much'

The different positions of *ksana-* 'again' proves specific scope positions. In (45a), the 'higher' *ksana-* takes scope over *poly-* qualifying over the event of studying much, i.e. over the degree of studying. In (45b), *poly-* takes scope over a 'lower' *ksana-* qualifying over the events of studying by restricting the number of the studying events. The different scope positions can be captured under Cinque's proposal for the hierarchies of adverbial specifiers and clausal functional heads. I assume that the 'higher' *ksana-* is in the specifier position of an $Asp_{rep[etitive](I)}P$, whereas the 'lower' *ksana-* is the specifier position of an $Asp_{rep[etitive](II)}P$ at the immediate right of the adverbial *poly-* in the specifier position of Deg[ree]P.

(46) a.



b.



b) (Non-) compositional meaning

We saw that the specific and unique meaning contribution of prefixes to a single verb contradicts with the meaning of adverbial preverb which is transparent into a verbal complex. The tendency of a prefixed verb to become idiomatized is based on the fact that idioms are formed naturally inside the VP domain (e.g. *hit the sack, miss the boat, pull someone's leg*) (Marantz 1984). Thus, the contradiction between the two classes of preverbs can be explained by the fact that non-compositional meanings are typical of elements forming constituents VP-internally: Greek prefixes forming verbal complexes with opaque meanings are introduced inside the VP-domain, i.e. in [Spec, VP]. On the other hand, the failure of adverbially preverbed verbal complexes to form idiomatic combinations can be explained by the fact that

Greek adverbial preverbs are introduced outside the VP domain, e.g. *ksana-* 'again' in [Spec, $Asp_{rep}P$] (see also Svenonius 2004 for Slavic superlexical prefixes).

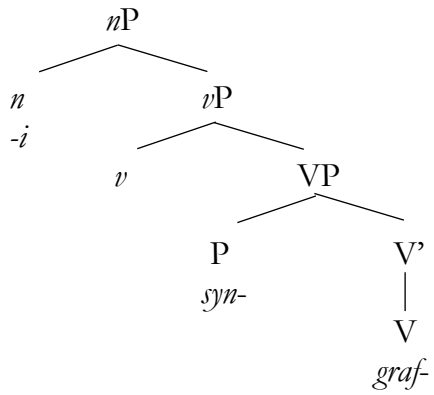
c) Nominalizations

As seen in Section 2.1.1, the morphological process of nominalization is possible for prefixed verbal complexes, as in (47) (repeated from (13)):

(47) a. antigrafo (v.) → antigrafi (n.)
'to copy' 'copying'
b. paragrafo (v.) → paragrafi (n.)
'to ignore' 'ignoring, crossing out'
c. sympiezo (v.) → sympiesi (n.)
'to compress' 'compression'

To explain it, I argue that nominalizations occur at the *v*P level (cf. Alexiadou 2001). Given that prefixes are inside the VP domain as arguments to the verb root, their position is lower in the syntactic derivation, and they can be part of nominalization:

(48)



On the other hand, verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs are excluded from nominalizations (repeated from (14)):

(49) a. ksana-grafo (v.) → *ksana-grafi (n.)
again- write
'to write again'

b. (den) poly- grafo (v.) → *poly-grafi (n.)
not much-write
'not to write much'

c. psilo- grafo (v.) → *psilo-grafi (n.)
a.little-write
'to write a little'

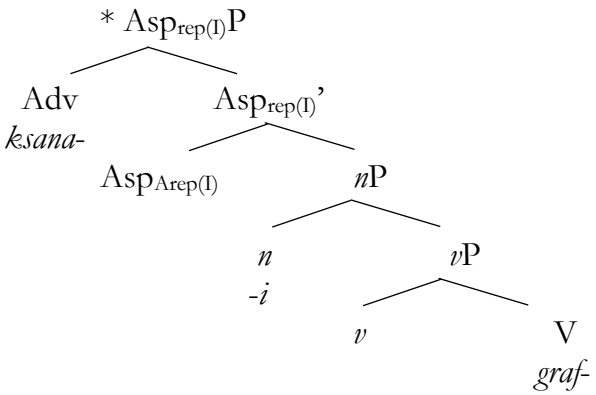
d. para-grafo (v.) → *para-grafi (n.)[10]

over-write

'to over-write'

This can be explained by the fact that adverbial preverbs are out the scope of the derivational morphological process of nominalization[11]. Given, for instance, that *ksana-* is generated in [Spec, $Asp_{Arep(I)}P$], in other words, higher up in the syntactic derivation, the nominalizations of adverbially preverbed verbs are blocked, since the categorial specification for the stem has already been defined. The following derivation is predicted to be impossible:

(50)



Thus, the position of preverbs in the syntactic derivation can explain why the nominalization of the adverbially verbal complex is rendered ungrammatical, e.g. **ksana-grafi*, as opposed to the nominalizations of verbal complexes with prefixes, e.g. *antigrafi* 'copying'.

[10] Notice that the ungrammatical **paragrafi* where *para-* is an adverbial preverb and has the meaning 'excessively' is different form the grammatical *paragrafi* 'deletion' where *para-* is a prefix meaning 'instead of'.

[11] Similar to superlexical prefixes in Slavic (Svenonius 2004).

d) Conjoinability

In Section 2.1.1, we have already noted that the syntactic process of Conjoinability is a property of adverbial preverbs: two verb stems having the same adverbial preverb attached to them can be conjoined under the scope of the latter. On the other hand, a prefix that is attached to a verb stem of a single conjunct is expected to exert its influence only on the immediate verb stem to which it is attached, but not on the entire conjunct, i.e. the conjoined construction.

(51) a. O Petros den ksana-[efage i ipie] tipota se parti.
the Peter not again- ate.3sg or drank.3sg nothing at party
'Peter didn't eat or drink again anything at a party.'

b. *O Petros par- [etakse ke tirise] ta stratiotakia tu.
the Peter instead.of-arrayed.3sg and obeyed.3sg the.pl toy-soldiers his
'Peter lined up and observed his toy soldiers.

Given the sentence in (51a) and the structure I propose in (41), what can be coordinated under *ksana-* is two VPs and not two Vs. In other words, the difference regarding the property of Conjoinability occurs between phrases and heads, or else between maximal and non-maximal projections, respectively. An adverbial preverb can c-commands two maximal projections dominating Vs; thus, it takes scope over the coordinated construction. On the other hand, with Vs being non-maximal projections, a prefix cannot take scope over them to form a conjoined construction, as seen in (51b). Since a prefix does not c-command any maximal

projection that dominates the Vs, it is impossible to conjoin two Vs under a single instance of it. Therefore, the conjoined construction is always phrasal and only the type of preverbs which is attached to maximal projections can be the scope of two conjoined verb stems, in other words, adverbial preverbs.

e) Phonological (ir)regularities

In Section 2.1.1, we saw that verbal complexes with prefixes in Greek undergo the phonological processes of vowel deletion and stress shift, unlike verbal complexes with adverbial preverbs which do not show these phonological irregularities.

(52) *Vowel deletion*

a.	apo-éχo	→	apéxo	but	*apoéxo, *apóxo
			'to be off'		
b.	psilo-éfaga	→	psiloefaga	but	*psiléfaga
			'I ate a little'		

(53) *Stress shift*

a.	para- gráfo	→	Parágrafe!
	instead.of-write.1sg		ignore.2sg.imper
	'to ignore'		'Ignore!'

b. ksana-gráfo → Ksana-gráfe!

again- write

'to write again'

To explain the phonological (ir)regularities of preverbed verbal complexes, I argue that this is related to the distinction between *inner* and *outer morphology* (Dubinsky & Simango 1996, Marantz 2001, 2006):

(54) *Inner morphology* attaches to roots or complex constituents below the first little x (x = {v, n, a}) node (phase head) above the root. All morphology above the first x node is *outer morphology*, including all *category changing* derivational morphology.

(from Marantz 2006: 5)

Generalizing from Dubinsky & Simango (1996), Marantz (2001) proposes that the distinction between inner morphology and outer morphology is a distinction between functional heads correlating with roots and functional heads correlating with structures already headed by a node that determines a lexical category. Inner morphology is related to a) potentially unpredicted phonology and semantics, in other words, potentially unpredicted forms and meanings, and b) an inability to select a stem that already has been defined morphologically as belonging to a lexical category. In contrast, outer morphology is related to a) regularity in phonology and semantics, in other words, predicted forms and meanings, and b) the ability to

select a stem that has already been defined as belonging to a particular lexical category (Marantz 2006).

Taking this distinction into consideration, I argue that the phonological irregularities of vowel deletion and stress shift that characterize Greek prefixes can be explained by the fact that they are introduced in [Spec, VP], in other words, below the *v* node which is the domain of inner morphology. On the other hand, the regularities (no vowel deletion or stress shift) that the adverbially preverbed verbal complexes display in phonology can be explained by the fact that adverbial preverbs occur to the specifier of functional phrases, in other words, above the *v* node which is the domain of outer morphology[12].

2.3 Preverbed verbal complexes

2.3.1 Agr and T as separate nodes

In this section, I will show that the relevant morphological structure prior to the formation of complex heads is as seen below:

(55) Verb root – v – Aspect – Tense – Agreement

Unlike Spyropoulos & Revithiadou (2009) and Merchant (2015), who take Tense and Agreement as a fused node, I argue that tense and agreement morphemes are realized in two

[12] See also Ntelitheos (forthcoming) for a syntactic approach to deverbal synthetic compound formation in Greek.

separate terminals[13]. Evidence for that comes after a careful look at the verbal paradigms in Table 2:

	-past, -perfective, -passive		+past, -perfective, -passive	
1sg	*dhiavaz-o*	'I study'	*dhiavaz-a*	'I studied'
2sg	*dhiavaz-i-**s***	'you study'	*dhiavaz-e-**s***	'you studied'
3sg	*dhiavaz-i*	'he/she/it studies'	*dhiavaz-e*	'he/she/it studied'
1pl	*dhiavaz-u-**me***	'we study'	*dhiavaz-a-**me***	'we studied'
2pl	*dhiavaz-e-**te***	'you study'	*dhiavaz-a-**te***	'you studied'
3pl	*dhiavaz-u-**n***	'they study'	*dhiavaz-a-**n***	'they studied'

Table 2: Full paradigm for disyllabic verb roots in Greek

As one can observe, a consistent pattern of endings holds in verbal morphology for both +past and –past forms: *-s*, *-me*, *-te*, and *-n*. Given the systematic alternation between the exponents, I assume the vocabulary entries in (56) realizing the agreement suffixes:

(56) *Vocabulary entries for agreement suffixes in Greek*

a. *s* ↔ [$_{\text{Agr}}$ +singular, -author, +participant]

b. *te* ↔ [$_{\text{Agr}}$ -singular, -author, +participant]

c. *n* ↔ [$_{\text{Agr}}$ -singular, -author, -participant]

d. *me* ↔ [$_{\text{Agr}}$ -singular, +author]

e. Ø ↔ [$_{\text{Agr}}$ +singular]

Each vocabulary entry left-adjacent to the T terminal node realizes a subset of morphosyntactic features of the Agr terminal driven by the *Subset Principle* (Halle 1997, Arregi

[13] See also Pavlou (2018 for Cypriot Greek.)

& Nevins 2012). The exponents *-s*, *-te* and *-ne* are specified for number, author, and participant features, and accordingly realize the 2nd person singular, the 2nd person plural and the 3rd person plural suffixes, respectively, whereas the 1st person plural suffix *-me* is underspecified for the participant feature. Regarding the 1st person singular and the 3rd person singular suffixes, I argue that they are realized by the null morpheme *-Ø* as an elsewhere vocabulary entry at the Agr terminal node.

Since Agreement is not fused with Tense (cf. Spyropoulos & Revithiadou 2009, Merchant 2015), Tense forms a separate terminal node as well. A careful look of the surface past forms in Table 1 show a consistent pattern: the suffix *-e* appears in 2nd and 3rd person singular, whereas the suffix *-a* appears in 1st person and 2nd and 3rd person plural. A common property between the 2nd and 3rd person singular is that *-e* is associated with the [-author] feature. The systematic alternation between the two past exponents can be explained with the following vocabulary entries realizing the T terminal:

(57) a. *e* ↔ [T +past]/ __ Agr [+singular, -author]

b. *a* ↔ [T +past]/ __ Agr

As (57) shows, the exponent *-e* is inserted in the morphosyntactic environment specified for the number and author features, while the exponent *-a* is inserted in an underspecified context.

Therefore, *Verb root–v–Aspect–Tense–Agreement* is the morphological structure for non-imperative forms.

2.3.2 Forming non-preverbed verbal complexes

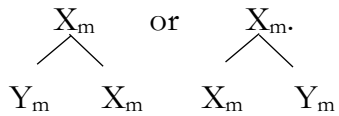
In this section, I argue that the first step for the formation of preverbed verbal complexes, like *ksana-anti-grafis* 'you copy again' is the application of *Generalized Head Movement* (Arregi & Pietraszko 2018, 2019). Generalized Head Movement (GenHM) is a syntactic operation that relates a head X and the head Y of its complement, and each head holds a set of morphological features that can be abbreviated as X_m and Y_m, respectively.

(58) *Generalized Head Movement*

a. Structural description: a syntactic object XP such that

- the head X of XP contains a feature [hm] and an M-value X_m, and
- the head Y of the complement of X contains an M-value Y_m.

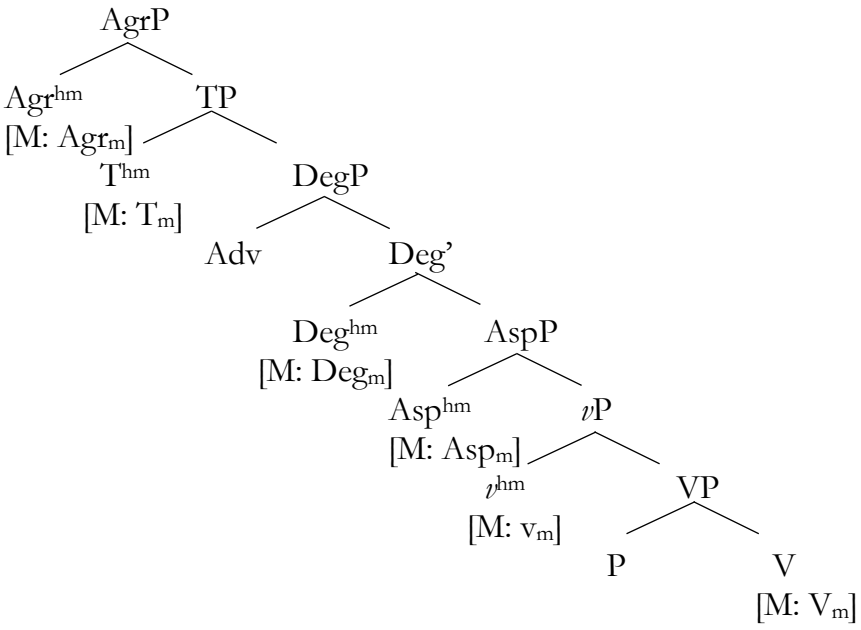
b. Structural change:

- delete [hm] in X, and
- replace X_m and Y_m with token identical 

(from Arregi & Pietraszko 2019: 3)

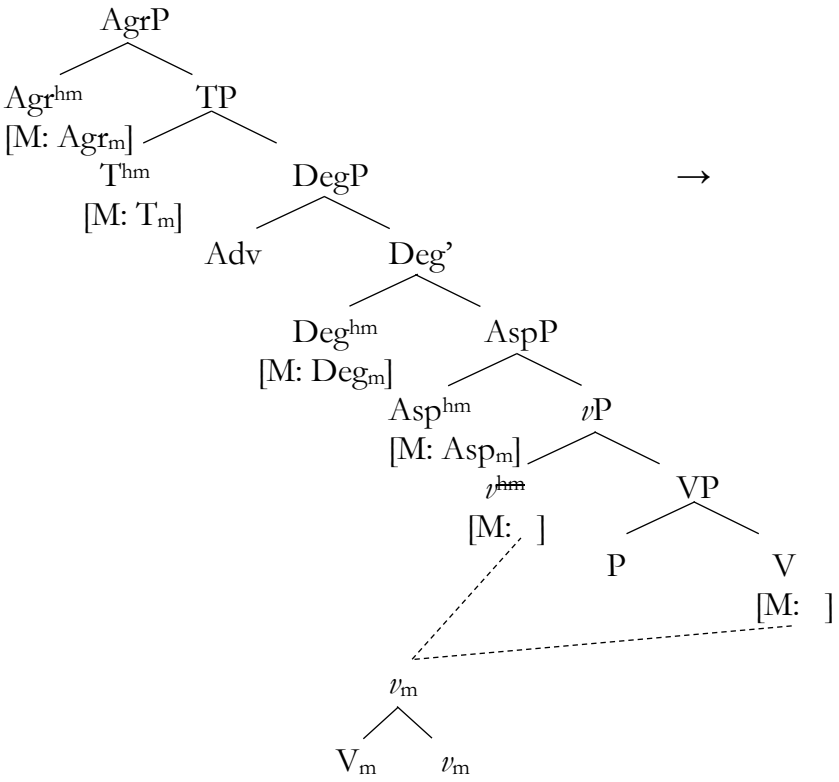
Assuming the Modern Greek preverbed verbal complex *psilo-anti-grafo* 'to copy a little', its formation requires the presence of V, *v*, Asp, Deg, T and Agr terminal nodes. Each syntactic terminal node has a set of morphological features abbreviated as V_m, v_m, Asp_m, Deg_m, T_m, and Agr_m. The syntactic nodes and the set of their morphological features are represented in the following tree:

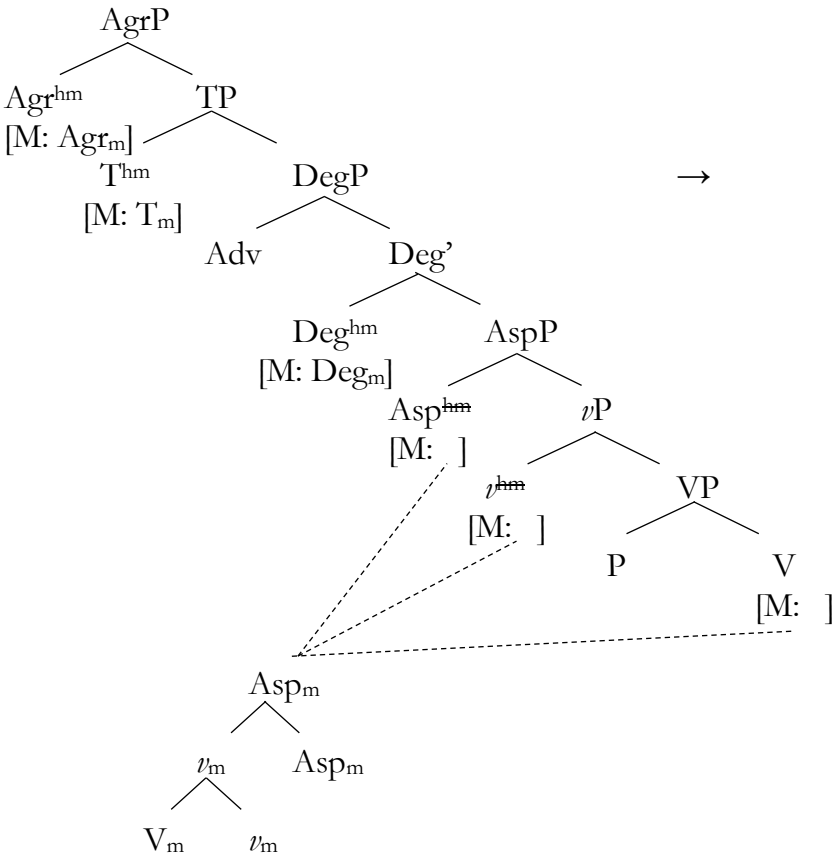
(59)

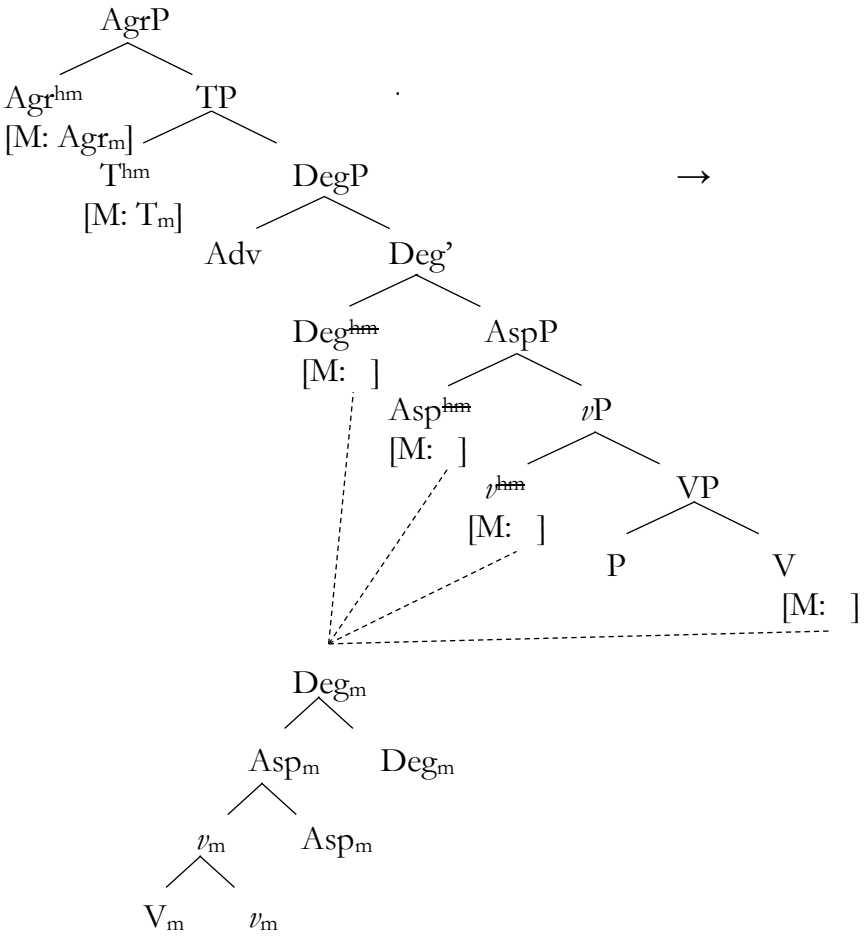


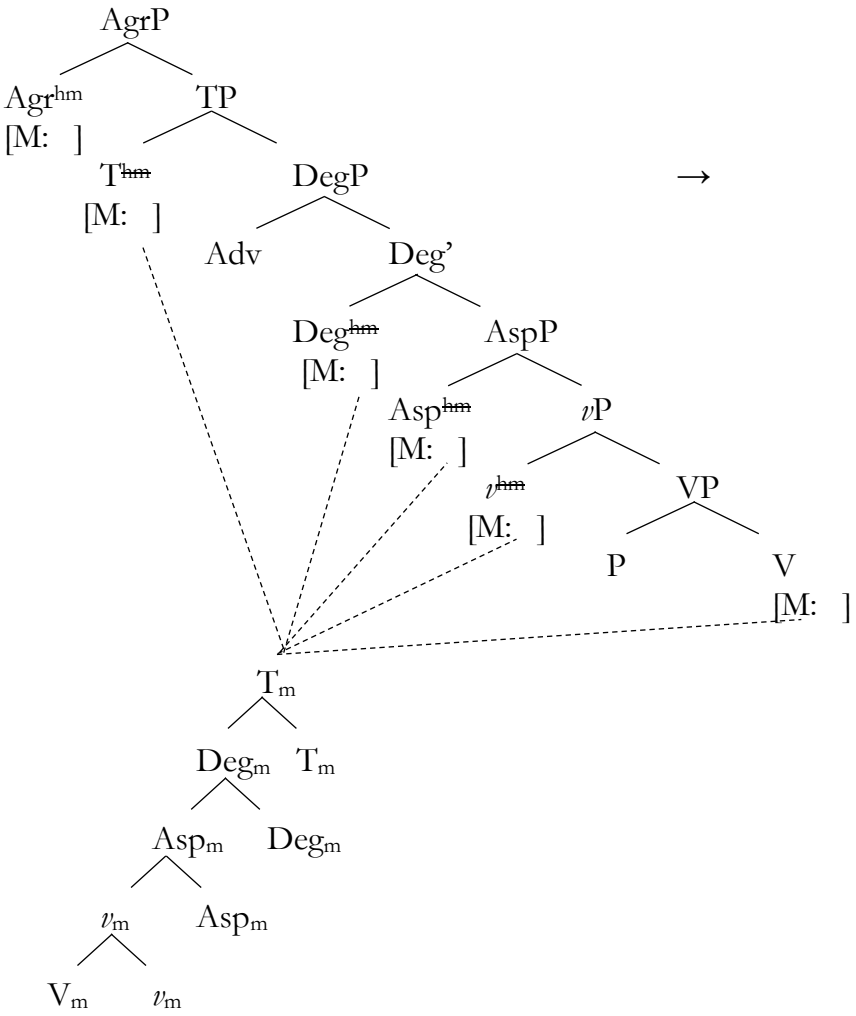
In (59), Agr_m , T_m, Deg_m, Asp_m, v_m, and V_m are the set of Agr's, T's, Deg's, Asp's, *v*'s, and V's morphological features, respectively. Being triggered by the syntactic feature [hm] and starting bottom-up, the operation of GenHM applies to the V-head and the head of its complement, i.e. *v*-head. The output of the generalized V-*v* complex head contains the M-values of the input heads, i.e. the set of the morphological features of V and *v*. Consequently, this output is merged with the next higher head that triggers GenHM, namely Asp^{hm}, and forms a newly created M-value that includes the morphological features of V, *v*, and Asp. GenHM applies to all the heads with the [hm] feature, and the output of the previous complex head is merged with the next higher head. Finally, the extended generalized head chain that includes the V, *v*, Asp, Deg, T, and Agr nodes share the same newly formed M-value that includes the morphological features of all the terminal nodes.

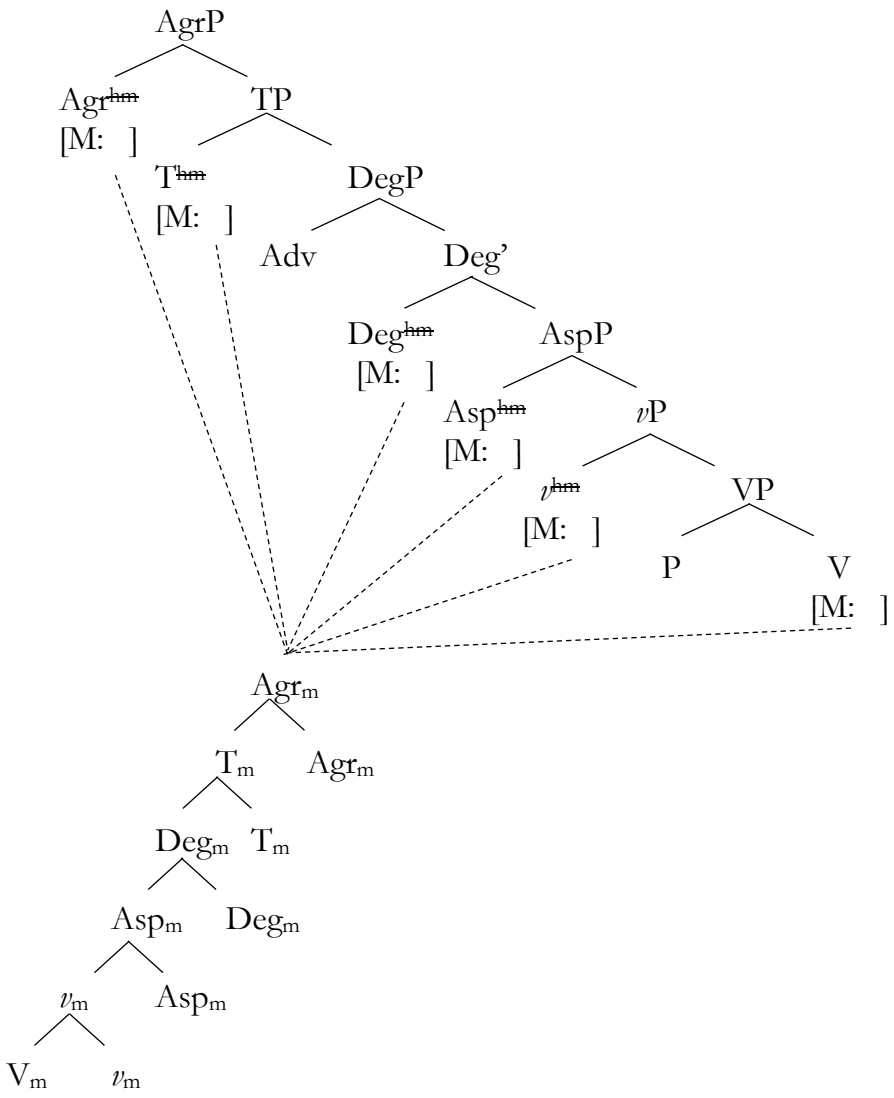
(60)


AgrP
Agr^hm
[M: Agr_m]
TP
T^hm
[M: T_m]
DegP
Adv
Deg'
Deg^hm
[M: Deg_m]
AspP
Asp^hm
[M: Asp_m]
vP
v^hm
[M:]
VP
P
V
[M:]
v_m
V_m
v_m


AgrP
Agr^hm
[M: Agr_m]
TP
T^hm
[M: T_m]
DegP
Adv
Deg'
Deg^hm
[M: Deg_m]
AspP
Asp^hm
[M:]
vP
v^hm
[M:]
VP
P
V
[M:]
Asp_m
v_m
Asp_m
V_m
v_m


AgrP
Agr^hm
[M: Agr_m]
TP
T^hm
[M: T_m]
DegP
Adv
Deg'
Deg^hm
[M:]
AspP
Asp^hm
[M:]
vP
v^hm
[M:]
VP
P
V
[M:]
Deg_m
Asp_m
Deg_m
v_m
Asp_m
V_m
v_m


AgrP
Agr[hm]
[M:]
TP
T[hm]
[M:]
DegP
Adv
Deg'
Deg[hm]
[M:]
AspP
Asp[hm]
[M:]
vP
v[hm]
[M:]
VP
P
V
[M:]
→
T_m
Deg_m T_m
Asp_m Deg_m
v_m Asp_m
V_m v_m



The M-values of each head are constructed into the V_m-v_m-Asp_m-Deg_m-T_m-Agr_m complex head in the order that obeys the Mirror Principle. Moreover, since preverbs occupy specifier positions in the syntactic derivation, I argue that they do not participate in the first step of verbal complex formation, where GenHM is applied. GenHM is used as a head displacement relating only the heads of the syntactic structure to create at this point the complex head which realizes the verbal complex before the attachment of preverbs.

The next step is to define the position in which the verbal complex is pronounced. Although bearing the morphological features of all syntactic terminal nodes, the GenHM-generated complex head is pronounced in a position occupied only by one of the nodes. This position is determined by a diacritic syntactic feature being governed by the application of Head Chain Pronunciation, as a component of Linearization, and marking strong heads.

(61) *Head Chain Pronunciation*

Delink all positions in a head chain except:

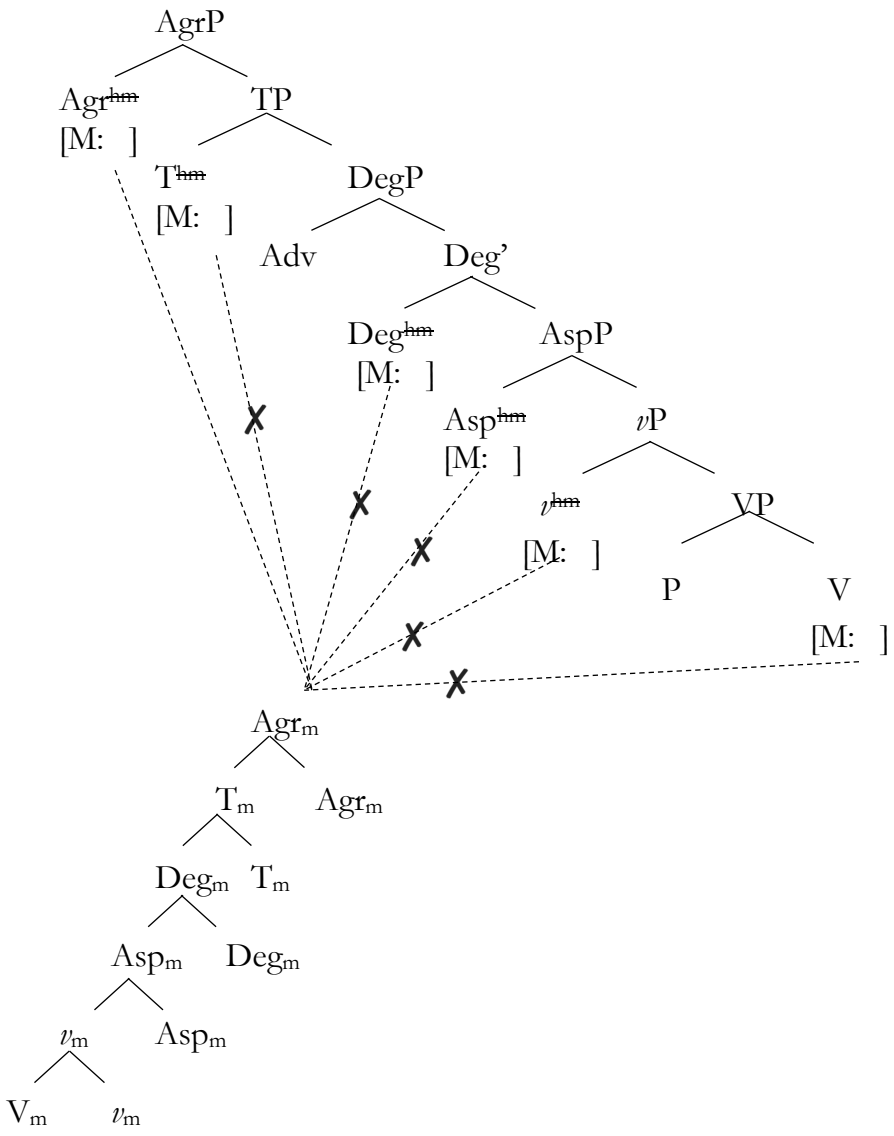
a. The highest strong position, if any;

b. Otherwise, the highest position.

(from Arregi & Pietraszko 2019: 5)

Assuming that all the nodes in question are weak in Greek, the complex head is pronounced in the highest head position, in other words, in Agr. The following derivation shows the application of Head Chain Pronunciation that delinks the M-values of the V, *v*, Asp, Deg, and T positions, giving the effect of upward head displacement (similar to the traditional operation of Head Movement):

(62)



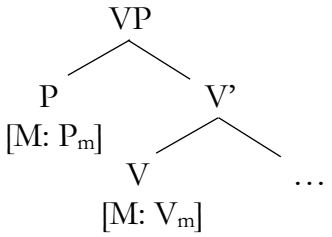
2.3.3 The formation of preverbed verbal complexes

So far, I have shown the position of the Greek prefixes and adverbial preverbs in the syntactic derivation and the formation of verbal complexes by means of the GenHM operation. The crucial question that arises now is how the preverbed verbal complexes are formed, i.e. how the prefixes and the adverbial preverbs form part of the generalized complex head. Given that the Greek preverbs are base-generated in specifier positions, I argue that this is not due to

GenHM, which is an operation applied among heads, rather, it is the result of the operation of Merger, in terms of Matushansky (2006), Harizanov (2014) and Martinović (2019), allowing a head to combine with its specifier[14].

Merger is an operation that occurs postsyntactically, but before the application of Head Chain Pronunciation (Arregi & Pietraszko 2019), in other words, when the GenHM-generated complex head is present in all the terminal nodes that trigger GenHM and share the same formed M-value. The mechanism proceeds bottom-up, applying to prefixes first, since they appear closer to the verb stem. Prefixes occupy the [Spec, VP] position, namely P, with P_m being the set of its morphological features.

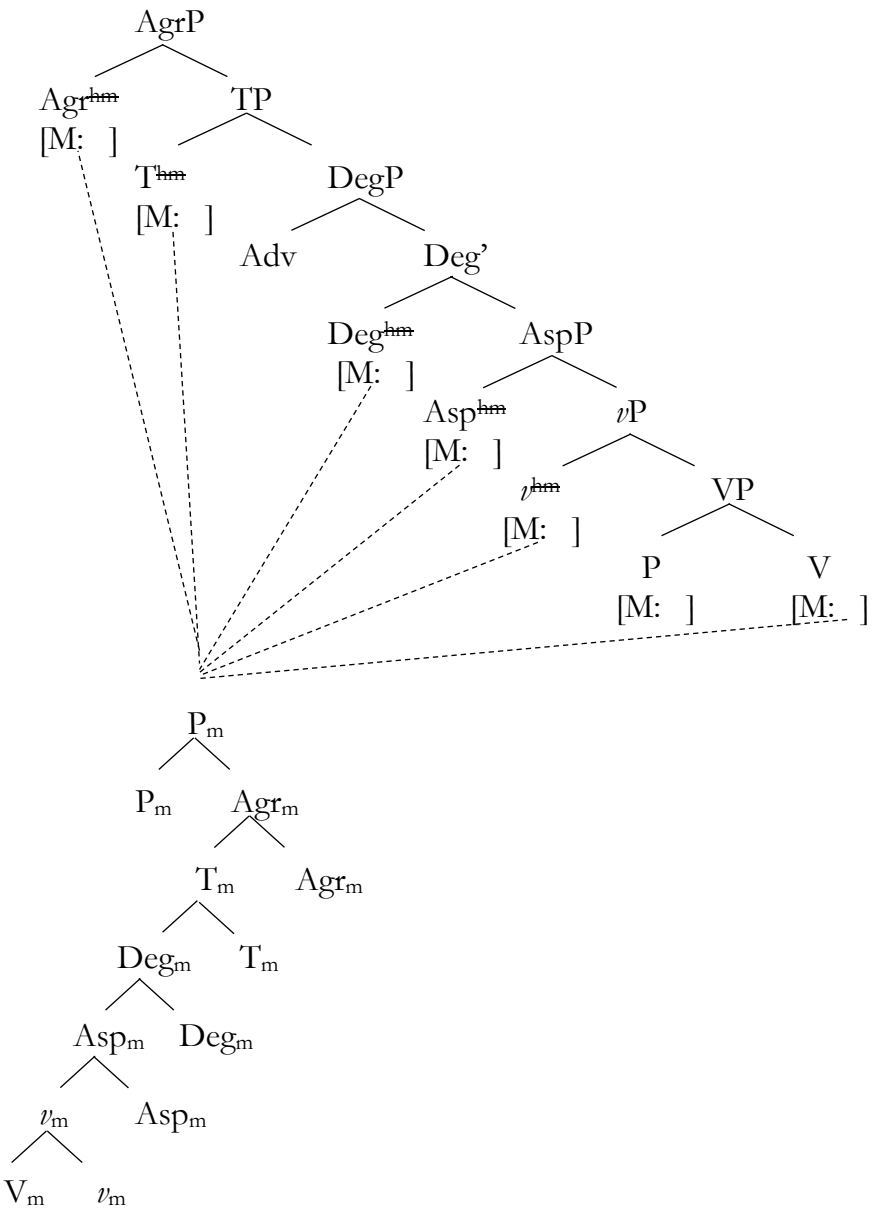
(63)



Merger applies as a downward displacement operation. The output is a new M-value composed from the M-values in the input, existing in the V head node. However, when the postsyntactic operation applies, the syntactic terminal of V already constitutes part of the GenHM-generated head chain that contains the set of morphological features of other terminal nodes. Thus, its M-value contains not only V_m, but also v_m, Asp_m, Deg_m, T_m, and Agr_m.

[14] See also Arregi & Pietraszko (2019) for the formation of English contracted negation as part of a complex head in *do*-support paradigm.

(64)

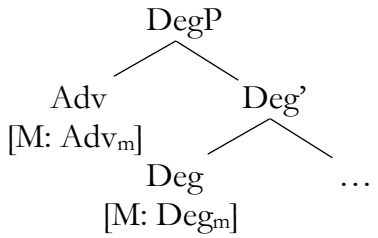


In view of Merger as a postsyntactic operation, P_m is joined to the top of the M-value of the head chain generated peripheral to the other morphological values of the terminal nodes in the complex head, along with V_m. Moreover, the output is a structure determined by the prefixal nature of the prefix appearing to the left of the verb stem.

After the application of Merger of P, I argue that a second Merger is applied for the attachment of adverbial preverbs to the verbal complex. For the preverbed verbal complex

ksana-anti-grafis 'you copy again', the merger combines the Deg-head with its specifier, namely Adv, where the adverbial preverb *psilo-* is base-generated, with Adv_m being the set of its morphological features.

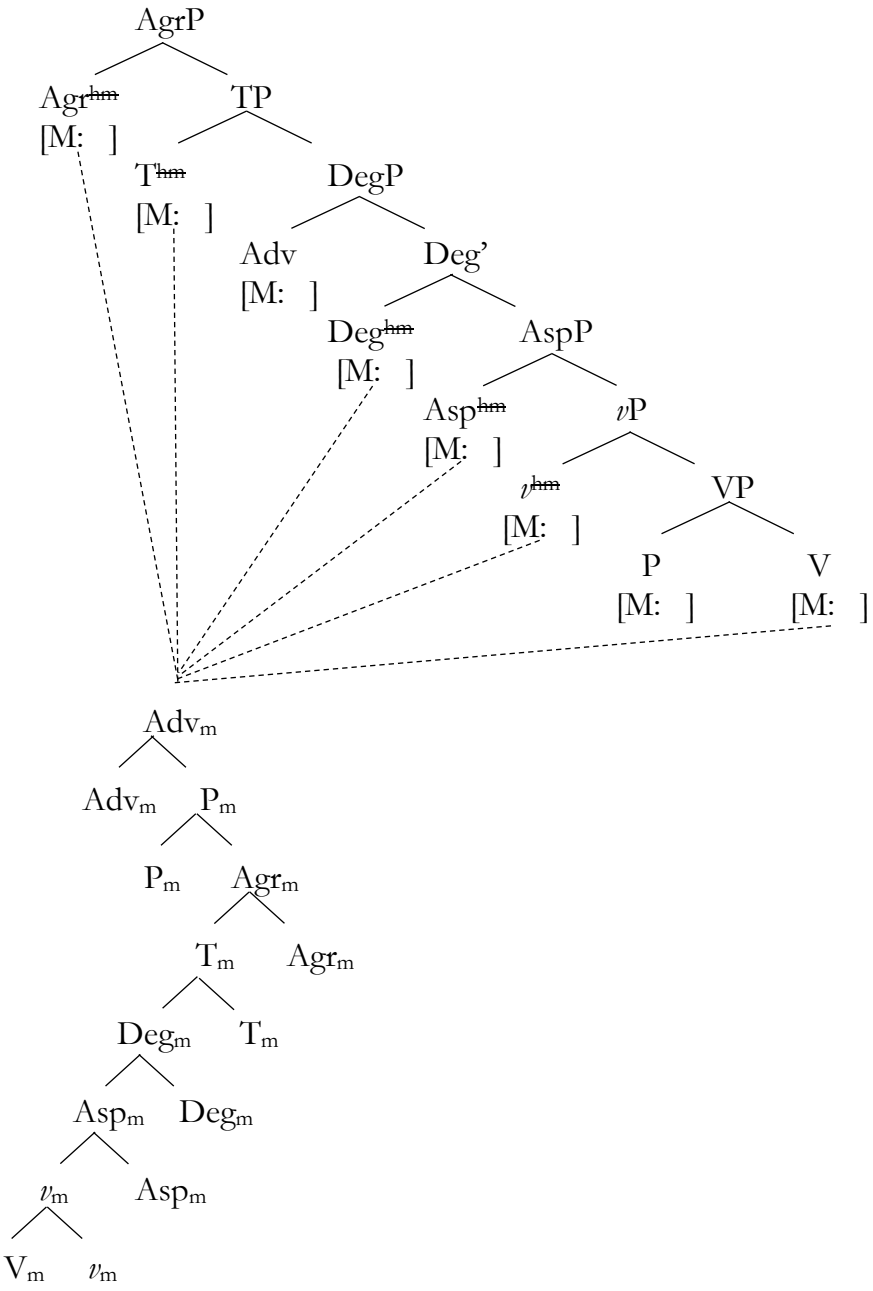
(65)



Similar to Merger of P, Merger of Adv applies as a downward displacement operation and the output is a new M-value formed from the M-values of the input, appearing in the Deg-head node. In addition, this output is a structure determined by the nature of the adverbial preverbs with Adv_m preceding Deg_m. Crucially, Merger of Adv is optional: the exponent of Adv_m, if the operation applies, is *psilo-*, in other words, the adverbial preverb.

Again here, when the postsyntactic operation of merger applies to Deg and Adv, the Deg node is already part of the GenHM-generated head chain which consists of the morphological values of the other syntactic terminals. Thus, the new M-value contains V_m, v_m, Asp_m, Deg_m, T_m, Agr_m, and the merged P_m.

(66)



2.3.4 The past augment *e-* in verbal complexes

Augment has been a subject of discussion within the framework of different theoretical approaches in Greek (Mirambel 1959, Hamp 1961, Babiniotis 1972, Kaisse 1982, Joseph & Janda 1988, Ralli 1988, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1992, 1993, Drachman &

Malikouti-Drachman 1994, 2000, 2001, Drachman 2003, Koutsoukos 2009, Spyropoulos & Revithiadou 2009, Pavlou 2018).

An interesting question that arises is how the past augment *e-* is realized in preverbed verbal complexes. More specifically, how does this past element *e-* intervenes between preverbs, i.e., prefixes and adverbial preverbs, and the verb stem, although it is realized in T, a terminal node higher up in the syntactic derivation?

The verbal paradigms in Table 2 (repeated below) and Table 3 show that the augment *e-* appears only in two-syllable verbal stems of regular verbs[15]:

	-past, -perfective, -passive		+past, -perfective, -passive	
1sg	*dhiavaz-o*	'I study'	*dhiavaz-a*	'I studied'
2sg	*dhiavaz-i-**s***	'you study'	*dhiavaz-e-**s***	'you studied'
3sg	*dhiavaz-i*	'he/she/it studies'	*dhiavaz-e*	'he/she/it studied'
1pl	*dhiavaz-u-**me***	'we study'	*dhiavaz-a-**me***	'we studied'
2pl	*dhiavaz-e-**te***	'you study'	*dhiavaz-a-**te***	'you studied'
3pl	*dhiavaz-u-**n***	'they study'	*dhiavaz-a-**n***	'they studied'

Table 3: Full paradigm for disyllabic verb roots in Greek

	-past, -perfective, -passive		+past, -perfective, -passive	
1sg	*graf-o*	'I write'	*e-graf-a*	'I wrote'
2sg	*graf-i-**s***	'you write'	*e-graf-e-**s***	'you wrote'
3sg	*graf-i*	'he/she/it writes'	*e-graf-e*	'he/she/it wrote'
1pl	*graf-u-**me***	'we write'	*e-graf-a-**me***	'we wrote'
2pl	*graf-e-**te***	'you write'	*e-graf-a-**te***	'you wrote'
3pl	*graf-u-**n***	'they write'	*e-graf-a-**n***	'they wrote'

Table 4: Full paradigm for monosyllabic verb roots in Greek

[15] Merchant (2015) offers a detailed discussion on suppletive stem verbs and irregular (but non-suppletive) verbs.

Providing a morphophonological analysis, Spyropoulos & Revithiadou (2009) indicate that the augment *e-* is a segmentally empty prefix with lexically encoded stress. Under certain conditions, the augment is developed to hold the antepenultimate stress materializing an empty vocalic slot. They argue that the augment and the stress look as if they are part of a discontinuous past morpheme (*é- … -a/-es/-e/-ame/-ate/-an*), whereas Tense and Agreement form a fused terminal node. However, as one could notice, this analysis does not explain the presence of the past augment in preverbed verbal complexes, which, in this case, the preverb could hold the antepenaltimate stress.

Having shown that Tense and Agreement are separate nodes (Section 2.3.1), and to account for the presence of T to the left of the verb, I argue that the realization of *e-* is subject to Doubling. In Arregi & Nevins' (2012) system, Doubling is an operation of copying analyzed under the formalism of *Generalized Reduplication* (Harris & Halle 2005). It is triggered by a morphotactic constraint and affects the linear order of a sequence. Arregi & Nevins posit that the application of Doubling, as an operation in the Linear Operations module occurring before Vocabulary Insertion, is always driven by a morphotactic constraint on the possible order of morphemes. Here, I assume *T-Initiality* as the constraint needed to trigger the presence of the T node to a different position, i.e. to the leftmost edge of T-domain:

(67) *T-Initiality*

Terminal T must be initial within T^{0max}.

As a first step of the Doubling application, a pair of doubled square brackets '⟦ ⟧' defines the sequence that undergoes the copying process. In addition, the symbol '>' is used to define deletion at the right copy and the symbol '<' is used to define deletion at the left copy.

(68) a. ABCD → A⟦B<C⟧D → A-BC-BC-D → A-C-BC-D

(Leftward Doubling)

b. ABCD → A⟦B>C⟧D → A-BC-BC-D → A-BC-B-D

(Rightward Doubling)

Here, I argue that the operation of Doubling applies to the GenHM-generated complex head, in other words, to the M-values of the terminals that participate in the GenHM operation. I propose the Leftward Doubling operation in (68a) to account for the presence of T_m, where the past augment is realized, left-adjacent to the verb stem, with X_m the morphological value of any functional node X that participates in the formation of a verbal complex.

(69) *Doubling*

a. Structural description: $[_{I^{0max}}\ V_m\ v_m\ X_m\ T_m]\ Agr_m$

b. Structure change:

i) Insert ⟦ to the immediate left of V_m, and ⟧ to the immediate right of T_m.

ii) Insert < to the immediate right of X_m.

The linear representation with the morphemes is given in (70):

(70) V_m v_m X_m T_m Agr_m →

$[\![V_m\ v_m\ X_m\ T_m]\!]$ Agr_m →

$[\![V_m\ v_m\ X_m < T_m]\!]$ Agr_m →

$V_m\ v_m\ X_m$ T_m - $V_m\ v_m\ X_m\ T_m$ - Agr_m →

$T_m\ V_m\ v_m\ X_m\ T_m\ Agr_m$

Given the formalism of the Doubling rule, the first step is to copy the M-values of the verb stem with T_m right-adjacent to it. Having the two copies, the M-values of the verb stem is deleted form the first one, while T_m is preserved in both. The result of the operation is that T_m, which materializes the past augment in cases of verb stems with two or less syllables, surfaces left-adjacent to the verb root. The exponents of T_m left-adjacent to verb stems are as follows:

(71) a. *e* ↔ [T +past]/ [$_T{}^{0max}$ #__ σσ]

b. Ø ↔ [T +past]/ [$_T{}^{0max}$ #__]

In (71a), the past augment *e-*, which in Greek serves to host the antepenultimate stress, is inserted to T_m only when the verb stem has two or less syllables (*σ*), as it is the case of the verb *grafo* 'to write' in the past form.

(72) $T_m - V_m - v_m - Asp_m - T_m - Agr_m$

e – grap – Ø – s – e – s 'You wrote'

In any other case, i.e. when the verb stem has more than two syllables, a null morpheme realizes T_m, since the antepenultimate stress is hosted by the antepenultimate syllable of the stem. The application of the rules to the verb *dhiavazo* 'to study' in the past form corresponds to the exponents in (73):

(73) $T_m - V_m - v_m - Asp_m - T_m - Agr_m$

Ø – dhiava – Ø – s – e – s 'You studied'

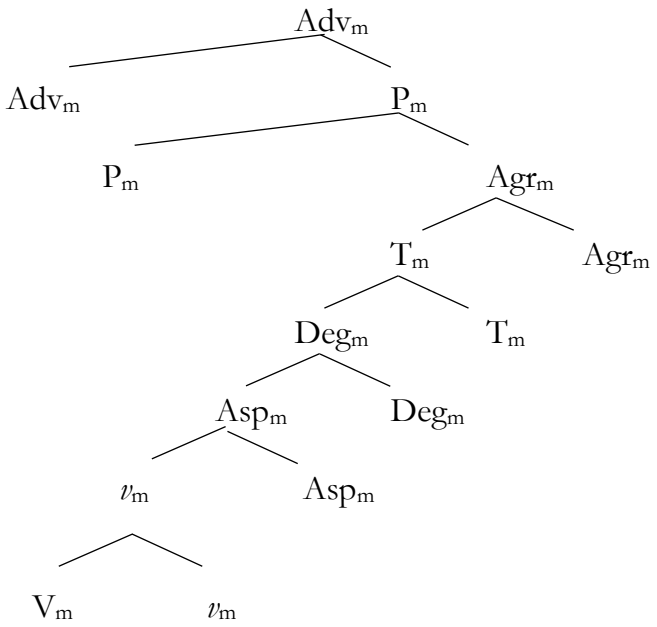
In addition, my analysis can explain the doubled appearance of the past augment *e-* in Cypriot Greek. Unlike Modern Greek, the augment in Cypriot Greek does not serve any stress-related purposes surfacing as left-adjacent to verb stems without making restrictions on the number of syllables (e.g. *épsises* 'you cooked', *efilísamen* 'we kissed'). For that, I assume that, unlike the two exponents of T left-adjacent to V in (71), there is only one exponent of T in Cypriot Greek:

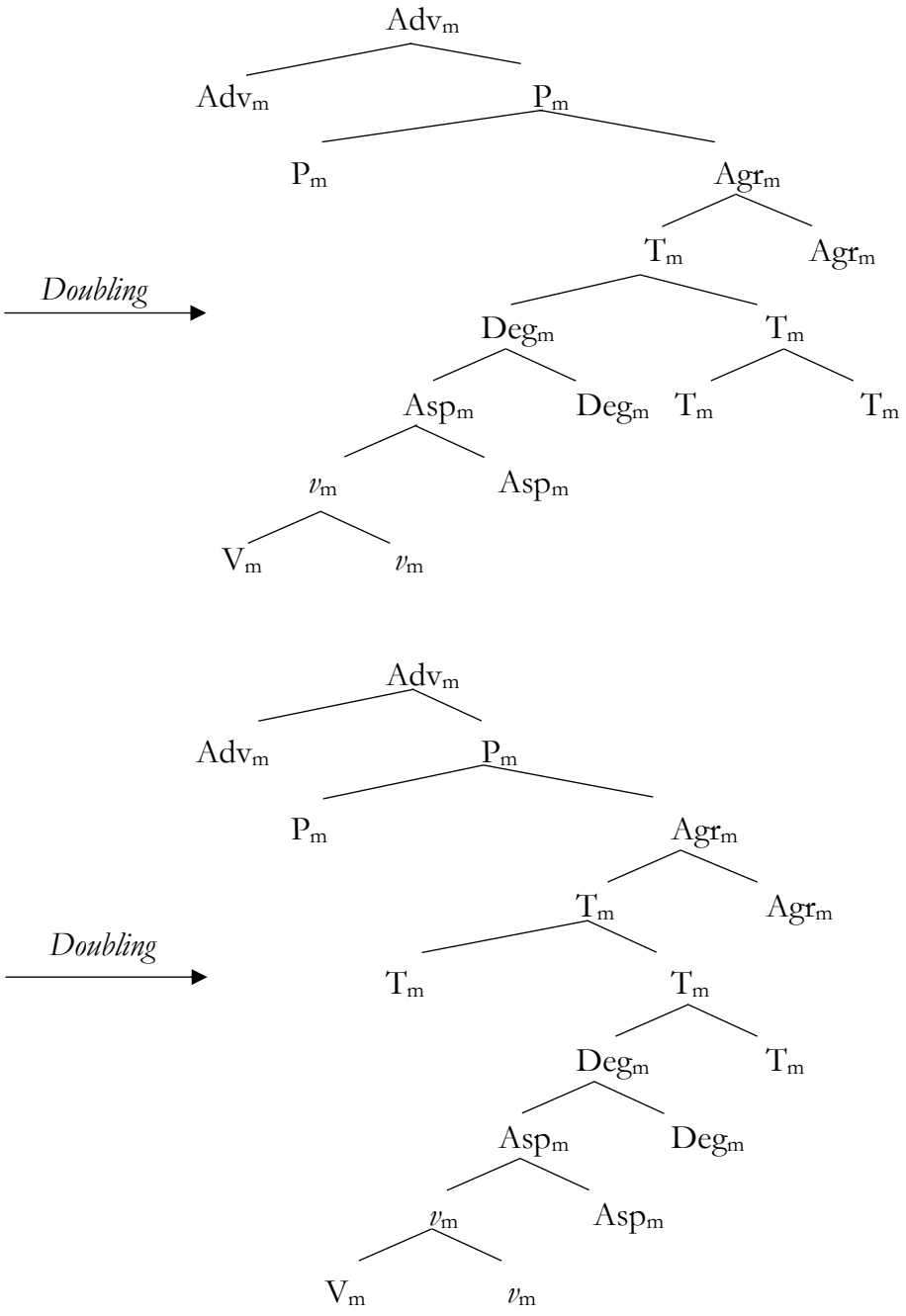
(74) *e* ↔ [$_T$ +past]/ #__V

Thus, unlike Pavlou (2018) arguing for two different Tense nodes, T_{low} and T_{high}, with the latter realizing the exponent of the past augment *e*-, the realization of *e*- in Cypriot Greek is subject to the Doubling operation.

Having argued for the realization of the past augment as subject to Doubling, I present the formation of preverbed verbal complexes with the presence of the past morpheme *e*- left-adjacent to the stem. The following trees show the application of Doubling of T_m to the GenHM-generated head when Adv_m and P_m have merged to it.

(75)





Assuming the verbal complex *psilo-anti-grafo* 'to copy a little' in the past, the exponents of M-values appearing in the structure are given in (76):

(76) Adv_m – P_m – T_m – V_m – v_m – Asp_m – Deg_m – T_m – Agr_m

psilo – *anti* – *e* – *grap* – Ø – *s* – Ø – *e* – *s*

'You copied a little'

I conclude this subsection summarizing all the syntactic and postsyntactic operations needed for the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek, including the forms in past, and presenting their order of application. The syntactic operation relevant in my account is GenHM. The postsyntactic operations are Merger of P, Merger of Adv, Linearization (inclusive of Head Chain Pronunciation), Doubling of T, and Vocabulary Insertion. The operations apply in the following order (where '$\alpha < \beta$' understood as '*a* precedes *β*'):

(77) *Order of operations*

GenHM < Merger of P < Merger of Adv < Linearization < Doubling < Vocabulary Insertion

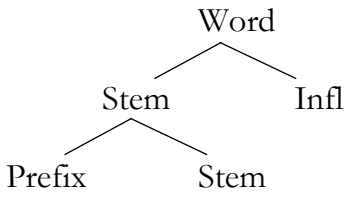
First, GenHM, as a syntactic operation, is the first to apply forming the complex head chain in which all the other (postsyntactic) operations apply. Second, Merger of P applies before Merger of Adv since prefixes appear closer to the verb stem. Finally, given that they affect the linear order and the phonetic form of morphological terminals, Linearization, T-Doubling and Vocabulary Insertion apply in this order at a relatively late postsyntactic stage (Embick & Noyer 2001, Embick 2010, Arregi & Nevins 2012).

2.3.5 Syntactic or morphological analysis?

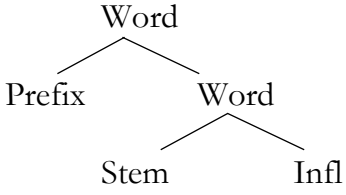
In Sections 2.3.3 and 2.3.4, I have presented a syntactic analysis for the formation of the preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek which also considers the presence of the past augment *e-* in the forms. I have offered an account that captures the distinct properties (meaning, nominalization conjoinability, vowel deletion, stress shift) of the two types of Modern Greek preverbs, namely, prefixes and adverbial preverbs, and showed that the formation of preverbed verbal complexes results from a syntactic approach.

However, it is worth stressing that a morphological approach for the combination of the preverbs with verbs has also been proposed in the Greek literature (Philippaki-Warburton 1970, Ralli 1988, 1992, 2002b, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman 1989, Smirniotopoulos 1992, Xydopoulos 1996, Kakouriotes *et al.* 1997, Smirniotopoulos & Joseph 1997, 1998). More specifically, Ralli (2003, 2004) provides a morphological account, under which the preverbed verbal forms have the structures seen below:

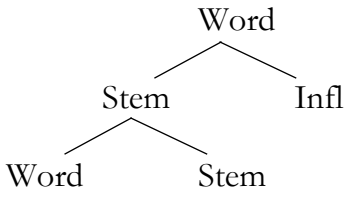
(78) a.



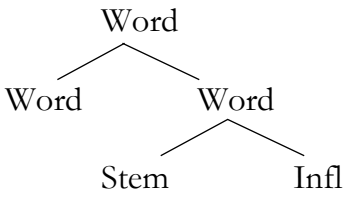
b.



c.



d.



As Ralli notes, there is an irregular distribution of combinations as regards the distinction of Modern Greek preverbs. In (78a) and (78c), there are stem-based structures with the head being a stem, whereas the structures in (78b) and (78d) are word-based with the head being a word.

Within the spirit of the two approaches, i.e., the syntactic and the morphological one, we can perceive the walk-through of the behavior of preverbs in Modern Greek. In this chapter, I have assumed a unified syntactic treatment of all [preverb verb] structures, arguing that my analysis best describes the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek taking into consideration the presence of other morphemes, like that of the past augment *e-* which intervenes between the preverb and the verb stem.

2.4 Conclusion

Although the nature of Greek preverbs has been discussed in the previous literature, it has continued to challenge theories. My aim in this chapter has been to distinguish Modern Greek

preverbs, to present a syntactic analysis for the base position of modern Greek preverbs that captures their distinct properties, and for the formation of preverbed verbal complexes.

I have distinguished between prefixes and adverbial preverbs in Modern Greek showing that this distinction reasonably relies on the properties of the two types of preverbs, i.e., the (non-)compositional meaning, the morphological process of nominalization, the syntactic process of conjoinability, and the phonological processes of vowel deletion and stress shift. Based also on the fact that adverbial preverbs always preceding prefixes and that verbal complexes in Modern Greek can have more than one prefix or adverbial preverb attached to them, I have argued that prefixes are introduced as Ps in [Spec, VP], whereas adverbial preverbs are introduced as Advs in [Spec, FP].

In addition to the preverbs and their Spec-positions in the syntactic derivation, the presence of the past augment *e-* as part of a verbal complex has been proved as additional evidence that the syntactic operation of Head Movement is not adequate for the formation of preverbed verbal complexes in Modern Greek. Rather, I have assumed a syntactic analysis under which their formation is subject to three mechanisms: a) the syntactic operation of Generalized Head Movement, which in this study applies as an upward head movement and creates a complex head with all the morphological values of the terminal nodes that participate into the operation, b) the postsyntactic operation of Merger that combines the GenHM-generated complex head with the prefixes and adverbial preverbs which appear in Spec-positions, and c) the postsyntactic operation of Doubling – having showed a structure that takes Agr and T as separate nodes.

CHAPTER 3

THE DEGREE MODIFIER *POLY-* 'MUCH' AND A NOVEL NPI ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I investigate the nature of the Greek adverbial preverb *poly-* 'much' which displays a polarity-sensitive behavior. Unlike its independent counterpart *poly* 'a lot/ much', the bound element *poly-* 'much' functions as an NPI occurring only in antiveridical environments – a fact that has escaped attention in the literature so far. Following the pattern of other strong NPIs (see Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2000, 2007), I argue that its polarity licensing happens syntactically as an Agree relation between its inflectional uninterpretable [*u*Neg] feature and the interpretable [*Neg*] feature of the antiveridical operator. I capture the difference in meaning between the free *poly* 'a lot/much' and the bound *poly-* 'much' by providing distinct denotations for each element. My study further expands and strengthens the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* developed by Giannakidou (1994, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, *et seq.*).

Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), a term coined by Jackendoff (1969), are lexical elements whose distribution is limited to nonveridical contexts (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2007, see also Giannakidou 2006, 2011). More specifically, NPIs are context-sensitive elements which appear in specific environments, like negation, but are excluded from the veridical ones[1] (Klima 1964). The element *any* is of the classic NPIs in English:

[1] In Section 3.1.1, I provide Giannakidou's (2001) definition for NPIs, which I use in my research.

(1) a. Apostolis did not read any book last summer.

b. #Apostolis read any book last summer.

As the grammaticality of the sentence (1a) shows, *any* appears under the scope of negation. However, in the veridical context of (1b) that lacks negation, the well-formedness of the sentence is affected, and *any* is banned.

In Greek, the free morpheme *poly* 'a lot/much' belongs to the category of adverbs of degree that show no restricted distribution, as can be seen in (2):

(2) a. I Ioanna dhen kimithike poly xthes vradi.
the Joanne not slept.3sg much yesterday night
'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'

b. I Ioanna kimithike poly xthes vradi.
the Joanne slept.3sg a-lot yesterday night
'Joanne slept a lot last night.'

Moreover, concerning the degree of Joanne's sleeping, what the speaker implies by uttering (2a) is that she slept enough, even adequately, but not a lot, as she did in (2b). In other words, the degree of Joanne's sleeping is less than a lot. In any case, the free element *poly* 'a lot/much' shows no polarity restriction.

In the previous chapter, we saw that the bound *poly-* falls within the category of adverbial preverbs. Like its dependent counterpart *poly* 'a lot/ much', the bound element *poly-* 'much' is

also used as a degree modifier in Greek. However, *poly-* functions as an NPI – a fact that has escaped attention in the literature so far, although its restricted distribution only to negative contexts has been first noticed by Delveroudi & Vassilaki (1999).

(3) a. I Ioanna dhen poly- kimithike xthes vradi.
the Joanne not much-slept.3sg yesterday night
(lit. Joanne didn't sleep much last night.)

b. #I Ioanna poly- kimithike xthes vradi.
the Joanna much-slept.3sg yesterday night
(lit. Joanna slept much last night.)

The ungrammaticality of the veridical sentence in (3b) shows that, contrary to the free *poly*, the bound *poly-* is an NPI that does not appear in positive sentences. In addition, by uttering the sentence in (3a), what the speaker conveys is that Joanne slept only little, contrary to (2a), where in that case, Joanne slept adequately, but not a lot.

Gavriilidou & Giannakidou (2016) discuss the distribution of the degree modifier *poly*, presenting the different categories this free morpheme modifies, namely relative adjectives (e.g., *poly psilos* 'very tall', but **poly anixtos* 'very open'), verbs (e.g., *meghalono poly* 'grow a lot', *pino poly* 'drink a lot'), and participles (e.g., *poly agxomenos* 'very stressed'). In addition, they present a morphologically constructed alternative structure for the modification of participles, that of the bound morpheme *poly-* (e.g., *poly-sizitimenos* 'much-discussed', *poly-aghapimenos* 'much-loved'). However, what they did not document is that this alternative structure is also

used to modify verbs (e.g., *poly-pino* 'much-drink', *poly-dhiavazo* 'much study'). As I will show, this morphologically constructed modification of verbs with the bound morpheme *poly-* is licit only under the scope of negation.

In this chapter, I address the following research questions: First, what type of NPI is bound *poly-*? I will show that it is a strong NPI in the sense of Giannakidou's work, i.e. it is licensed only in antiveridical contexts. Second, why is the bound *poly-* 'much', but not its independent form *poly* 'a lot/ much', an NPI? In other words, why does *poly-* appear only in antiveridical sentences, as opposed to *poly*, which appears both in antiveridical and in veridical environments? Finally, how is the meaning of the bound *poly-* different from the free *poly*? In other words, why does *poly-* mean 'a little' but not 'adequately', as the free morpheme do?

The current research is based on the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000, *et seq*.) which accounts for elements exhibiting restrictions on their licensing environments, as the English *anyone* and the Greek *kanénas*, and places no categorial restrictions on the items showing polarity behavior.

The chapter is organized as follows: in Section 3.1, I discuss briefly the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity*, the distinction between strong and weak NPIs (3.1.1), and show that, based on this theory, the bound degree modifier *poly-* 'much' is a strong NPI (3.1.2). In section 3.2, I show that the bound *poly-* is associated with strong licensing (3.2.1) and claim that its licensing is accomplished syntactically due to an uninterpretable [uNeg] feature of *poly-* (3.2.2). In section 3.3, I will explain how the meaning of *poly-* is different from the meaning of *poly* by giving the semantics of each element. Section 3.4 summarizes.

3.1 Nonveridicality, NPIs, and the Greek *poly-*

3.1.1 The framework

My framework is the *(non)veridicality theory of polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998, 2000, *et seq.*) which is the most comprehensive theory of polarity and accounts for numerous classes of Greek NPIs. For years, NPIs were stipulated elements, in the sense that it was difficult to identify their properties and explain their polarity sensitive behavior. Under Giannakidou's framework, which was motivated by the distribution of the NPIs *kanénas* (non-emphatic)/*KANENAS* (emphatic) in Modern Greek and is supported cross-linguistically, Giannakidou provides an accurate semantic account for the distribution of NPIs, i.e., for all the environments under which the property of (non)veridicality is applied, and where previous works were found inadequate.

(Non)veridicality is a semantic property under which the truth of the *proposition p* embedded under an operator *F* is entailed or presupposed. Giannakidou (1998, 1999, 2002) defines *(non)veridicality* as follows:

(4) *Veridicality and Nonveridicality*

i. A propositional operator *F* is *veridical* iff *Fp* entails *p*: *Fp* ⇒ *p*;
otherwise, *F* is *nonveridical.*

ii. A nonveridical operator *F* is *antiveridical* iff *Fp* entails *not p*: *Fp* ⇒ ¬*p*

(from Giannkidou 2002: 33)

Given that, Giannakidou (1998, 2001) defines NPIs as linguistic expressions sensitive to (non)veridicality, that is, being licensed in non-veridical contexts:

(5) *Polarity item*

A linguistic expression *a* is a polarity item iff:

i. The distribution of *a* is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property *β* of the context of appearance, and

ii. *β* is non-veridical, or a subproperty thereof: *β* ∈ {veridicality, nonveridicality, antiveridicality, modality, intensionality, extensionality, episodicity, downward entailingness}.

(from Giannakidou 2001: 669)

Under this definition, NPIs are taken to be elements that appear in non-veridical contexts and are excluded from veridical environments. They can be distinguished between two classes: *strong* NPIs and *weak* NPIs. Giannakidou (1998, 2011) offers the following definitions: strong - or strict, as she calls them - NPIs are elements that show restricted distribution in antiveridical contexts, such as that of negation and *without*-clauses, and are excluded from non-veridical environments:

(6) *Strong NPI*:

An NPI is a strong NPI iff it appears only in antiveridical environments.

The English expression *for years* is a strong NPI, since it occurs only in antiveridical contexts, but not in the non-veridical environment of question. Similarly, the Greek *oute* 'even'.

(7) a. I haven't seen John for years!

b. #Have I seen John for years?

(8) a. O Petros den ipe oute geia (Greek)

the Peter not said.3sg even hi

'Peter didn't even say hi.'

b. #O Petros ipe oute geia.

the Peter said.3sg even hi

(lit. Peter said even hi.)

Giannakidou defines weak NPIs as elements that can occur in non-veridical contexts, such as those of questions, conditionals, and imperatives, in addition to the antiveridical ones:

(9) *Weak NPI*:

An NPI is a weak NPI iff it can appear in nonveridical environments.

The English *any* in (10) and the Greek *tipota* 'anything' in (11) are weak NPIs which are licensed under the scope of negation and nonveridical environments, like questions:

(10) a. I didn't meet any students.

b. Did you meet any students?

(11) a. O Petros dhen ipe tipota gia mena.

the Peter not said.3sg anything for me

'Peter didn't say anything for me.'

b. Ipe o Petros tipota gia mena?

said.3sg the Peter anything for me

'Did Peter say anything for me?'

Table 1 below summarizes some of the environments under which strong and weak NPIs can occur (Giannakidou 1998):

Environments	**Strong NPIs**	**Weak NPIs**
Negation	✓	✓
Without-clauses	✓	✓
Questions	#	✓
Conditionals	#	✓
Modal verbs	#	✓
Imperatives	#	✓
Generics	#	✓
Habituals	#	✓
Disjunctions	#	✓
Veridical sentences	#	#

Table 5: Partial distribution of NPIs

In Greek, the distinction between weak and strong NPIs is illustrated in *non-emphatic* NPIs, on one hand, and *emphatic* NPIs and minimizers[2], on the other (Giannakidou 1997, 1998). Non-emphatic NPIs are the unaccented *n*-words, whereas the emphatic ones are the accented *n*-words[3], as in (12):

(12) a. *kanenas/ KANENAS* 'anyone, anybody/ no one, nobody'

b. *kanenas N/ KANENAS N* 'any N-singular/ no N-singular'

c. *tipota/ TIPOTA* 'anything/ nothing'

d. *tipota N/ TIPOTA N* 'any N-plural/ no N-plural'

e. *pote/ POTE* 'ever/ never'

f. *puthena/ PUTHENA* 'anywhere/ nowhere'

g. *katholu/ KATHOLU* 'at all/ not at all'

(from Giannakidou 1998: 56)

According to Giannakidou, non-emphatics are licit in non-veridical contexts, whereas emphatics and minimizers are grammatical only in the antiveridical contexts of negation and *xoris* 'without' clauses[4]. As seen in (13), the non-emphatic *kanenan* occurs in both the antiveridical contexts of negation and *xoris* 'without' and the nonveridical context of question:

[2] As Giannakidou (1997, 1998) indicates, Greek minimizers differ from the English ones (e.g. *drink a drop, sleep a wink*). Unlike the former, the latter exhibit wider distribution appearing also in nonveridical contexts, such as questions and conditionals, among others.

[3] Veloudis (1982) was the first one to note the emphatic accent of the n-words in Greek.

[4] Giannakidou (1997, 1998) also mentions *prin* 'before' clauses as another anti-veridical context licensing emphatics. However, as she points out, it seems to be context sensitive depending on the kind of predicate it combines with (see also Heinämäki 1974, for *before*).

(13) a. Dhen sinathisa kanenan fititi sto sinedhrio.
not met.1sg any student at-the conference
'I didn't see any student at the conference.'

b. Parakoluthisa to sinedrio xoris na sinantiso kanenan
attended.1sg the conference without SUBJ see.1sg any
fititi ekei.
student there
'I attended the conference without meeting any student there.'

c. Idhes kanenan fititi sto sinedhrio?
saw.2sg any student at-the conference
'Did you see any student at the conference?'

On the other hand, the emphatic KANENAN in (14), and the minimizer *ipie stagona* 'drank a drop', in (15), are grammatical only under negation and the antiveridical xoris 'without':

(14) a. Dhen idha KANENAN fititi sto sinedrio.
not saw.1sg no student at-the conference
'I see no students at the conference.'

b. Parakoluthisa to sinedrio xoris na do KANENAN
attended.1sg the conference without SUBJ see.1sg no
fititi ekei.
student there
'I attended the conference without meeting any student there.'

c. #Idhes KANENAN fititi sto sinedrio?
saw.2sg no student at-the conference
(lit. 'Did you see any student at the conference?')

(15) a. I Ioanna dhen ipie stagona sto parti.
the Joanne not drank.3sg drop at-the party
'Joanne didn't drink a drop at the party.'

b. I Ioanna efige apo to parti xoris na pii stagona.
the Joanne left.3sg from the party without SUBJ drink drop
'Joanne left the party without having drunk a drop at the party.'

c. #Ipie i Ioanna stagona sto parti?
drank.3sg the Joanne drop at-the party
(lit. 'Did Joanne drink a drop at the party?')

Interestingly, *n*-words in Romance languages are similar to NPIs (see Giannakidou 2006 for an overview, also Giannakidou & Zeijlstra 2017).

3.1.2 *Poly-* as a strong NPI

Given the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* that I presented in the previous subsection, we need to understand what kind of NPI the bound morpheme *poly-* 'much' is. I argue here that, according to this framework, *poly-* is as a strong NPI exhibiting a restricted distribution, like other strong NPIs, such as the Greek emphatic KANENAS 'nobody' and minimizers[5]. It appears with antiveridical licensers of negation and *xoris* 'without', as seen in (16) and (17), but not with non-veridical licensers, as questions, imperatives, modal verbs, conditionals, generics, habituals, and disjunctions.

a) Negation

Like all NPIs, *poly-* occurs in antiveridical environments, as in (16a), and is excluded from veridical contexts, as in (16b):

(16) a. I Ioanna dhen poly-dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne not much-studied.3sg yesterday
'Joanne didn't study much yesterday.'

b. #I Ioanna poly-dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne much-studied.3sg yesterday
(lit. 'Joanne studied much yesterday.')

[5] Both the Greek morpheme *poly-* and minimizers are strong NPIs. However, they are not the same. They differ semantically in a way that I will show in Section 3.3.

b) Without-clauses

Poly- also appears in *without*-clauses:

(17) I Ioanna eghrapse dhiagonisma xoris na poly- dhiavasi.
the Joanne wrote.3sg exam without SUBJ much-study.3sg
'Joanne took the exam without studying much.'

c) Imperatives

Like many strong NPIs, *poly-* does not occur in imperatives:

(18) #Poly- dhiavase ghia to dhiaghonisma!
much-study.IMPER.2sg for the exam
(lit. 'Study much for the exam!')

d) Modal verbs

Sentences with *poly-* under the scope of modal verb are ill-formed:

(19) #I Ioanna bori na poly- dhiavasi.
the Joanne may SUBJ much-study.3sg
(lit. 'Joanne may study much.')

e) Conditionals

Like other strong NPIs, *poly-* does not allow well-formed sentences when occurring as the antecedent of conditionals:

(20) #An i Ioanna poly-dhiavasi, tha pari A.
if the Joanne much-study.3sg will take A
(lit. 'If Joanne studies much, she will get an A.')

f) *Questions*

In *yes-no* questions, the bound *poly-* does not allow well-formed sentences:

(21) #Poly-dhiavase i Ioanna?
much-studied.3sg the Joanne
(lit. 'Did Joanne study much?')

g) Generics

The context of generics cannot license the occurrence of *poly-*:

(22) #Kathe fititis poly- dhiavazi.

every student much-study.3sg

(lit. 'Every student studies much.')

h) Habituals

Sentences with poly- and the presence of habituals are ill-formed:

(23) #I Ioanna sinithos poly- maghirevi.

the Joanne usually much-cook.3sg

(lit. 'Joanne usually cooks much.')

i) Disjunctions

The context of poly- cannot license the bound item poly-:

(24) #I itan tixheros ke perase tin eksetasi i poly- dhiavase.

either was lucky and passed the exam or much-studied.3sg

(lit. 'Either he was lucky and passed the exam or he studied a lot.')

Therefore, as its narrow distribution shows, *poly-* clearly belongs to the category of strong NPIs, on a par with KANENAS, only occurring under the scope of negation and the

antiveridical *xoris* 'without'. Greek has the element *oute* 'even' another strong NPI, discussed in Giannakidou (2007).

3.2 The syntax of the NPI *poly-*

3.2.1 Strong licensing

The question that arises now, based on its restricted distribution, is whether *poly-* 'much' is licensed locally (strong licensing) or it permits long-distance dependencies (weak licensing) by negation, that is, whether *poly-* needs to be in a local relation with antiveridical operators.

Giannakidou (1995, 1997, 1998, 2007) and Giannakidou & Quer (1995, 1997) associate emphatics, which are strong NPIs, with strong licensing, and strong licensing is syntactic agreement. Agreement is sensitive to locality, thus strong NPIs cannot be licensed by the negation of the main clauses when appearing as a complement in embedded clauses, as the following examples show:

(25) a. I Ioanna ipe [oti dhen filises KANENAN].
the Joanne said.3sg that not kissed.2sg nobody
'Joanne said that you didn't kiss anybody.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen ipe [oti filises KANENAN].
the Joanne not said.3sg that kissed.2sg nobody
('Joanne didn't say that you kissed anybody.')

(26) a. I Ioanna kseri [oti dhen filises KANENAN].
the Joanne know.3sg that not kissed.2sg nobody
'Joanne knows that you didn't kiss anybody.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen kseri [oti filises KANENAN].
the Joanne not know.3sg that kissed.2sg nobody
('Joanne doesn't know that you kissed anybody.')

(27) a. I Ioanna gnonizi [oti dhen filises KANENAN].
the Joanne know.3sg that not kissed.2sg nobody
'Joanne knows that you didn't kiss anybody.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen gnorizi [oti filises KANENAN].
the Joanne not know.3sg that kissed.2sg nobody
('Joanne does not know that you kissed anybody.')

Given that *poly-* 'much' is a strong NPI, as I showed in section 3.1.2, it can only be licensed locally in the domain of sentential negation and *without*. More specifically, we expect *poly-* to exhibit opacity effects when it appears in indicative embedded clauses with the complementizer *oti*, as the following sentences show:

(28) a. Ipa oti dhen poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
said.1sg that not much-studied.2sg for the exam
'I said that you didn't studied for the exam.'

b. #Dhen ipa oti poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
not said.1sg that much-studied.2sg for the exam
(lit. I didn't say that you studied much for the exam.)

(29) a. Ksero oti dhen poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
know.1sg that not much-studied.2sg for the exam
'I know that you didn't study much for the exam.'
b. #Dhen ksero oti poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
not know.1sg that much-studied.2sg for the exam
('I don't know that you studied much for the exam.')

(30) a. Ghnorizo oti dhen poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
know.1sg that not much-studied.2sg for the exam
'I know that you didn't study much for the exam.'
b. #Dhen ghorizo oti poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
not know.1sg that much-studied.2sg for the exam
('I don't know that you studied much for the exam.')

Embedded clauses with the complementizer *pu* are also opaque for long-distance dependencies of *poly-* on the antiveridical operators *dhen* and *min*, as in (31b) and (32b):

(31) a. Mu ipe pu dhen poly- dhiavazis.
me said that not much-studied.2sg
'He told me that you don't study much.'

b. #Dhen mu ipe pu poly- dhiavazis.
not me said.3sg that much-studied.2sg
'He didn't tell me that you study much.'

(32) a. Metaniosa pu dhen poly- dhiavasa gia tin eksetasi.
regret.1sg that not much-studied.1sg for the exam
'I regretted not studying for the exam.'

b. #Dhen metaniosa pu poly- dhiavasa gia tin eksetasi.
not regret.1sg that much-study.1sg for the exam
'I didn't regret studying much for the exam.'

We see then that distributionally bound *poly-* is in all respects equivalent to the prototypical strong NPI KANENAS.

Concerning subjunctive embedded domains with the complementizer *na*, Giannakidou (1997, 1998) shows that the strong NPI emphatics are licensed when the negative operator is in the main clause:

(33) a. I Joanna theli na min fai TIPOTA.

the Joanne wants SUBJ not eat.3sg nothing

'Joanne doesn't want to eat anything.'

b. I Joanna dhen theli na fai TIPOTA.

the Joanne not wants SUBJ eat.3sg nothing

'Joanne doesn't want to eat anything.'

However, unlike emphatics, *poly-* do not allow long-distance licensing when occurring in *na*-subjunctive embedded clauses[6]. They seem to also be opaque in these domains, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (34b) and (35b) shows:

(34) a. Bori na min poly-dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.

might SUBJ not much-studied.2sg for the exam

'It can be the case that you didn't study for the exam.'

b. #Dhen bori na poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.

not might SUBJ much-studied.2sg for the exam

(lit. It can't be the case that he studied much for the exam.)

[6] Giannakidou & Quer (1997) show cases of subjunctive embedded domains which are opaque. For instance, in Catalan, the subjunctive complements of factive predicates are also not transparent:

(i) #**no** lamenta que hagi ofès (absolutament) **ningú**

not regret.3sg that have.SUBJ.3sg offended absolutely anyone

(from Giannakidou & Quer 1997: 102)

(35) a. Thelo na min poly- dhiavasis apopse.
want.1sg SUBJ not much-study.2sg tonight
'I want you not to study much tonight.'

b. #Dhen thelo na poly- dhiavasis apopse.
not want.1sg SUBJ much-study.2sg tonight
(lit. I don't want you to study much tonight.)

(36) a. I Joanna theli na min poly- dhiavasi apopse.
the Joanne wants SUBJ not much-studies tonight
'Joanne wants not to study much tonight.'

b. #I Joanna dhen theli na poly- dhiavasi apopse.
the Joanne not wants SUBJ much-studies tonight
('Joanne doesn't want to study much tonight.')

I conclude here that *poly-* is licensed only locally exhibiting opacity effects for long-distance dependencies when occurring in *oti-* and *pu-*indicative and *na-*subjunctive embedded clauses, restricting its distribution to the boundaries of monoclausal structures.

3.2.2 The syntax of *poly-*

So far, I have shown that *poly-* 'much' is a strong NPI, being grammatical in a sentence where it is licensed by antiveridical operators, like negation and *without*-clauses. Moreover, this licensing can only happen locally since *poly-* exhibits locality effects with the sentential negation

when it is separate from negation by an indicative or subjunctive clause boundary. Here, I propose an analysis for the licensing of *poly-* which answers the first question set out above. As Giannakidou proposes, strong NPIs in Greek are licensed syntactically via agreement. I offer here an updated analysis for NPI-agreement.

Before I give the syntax of the bound *poly-* 'much', it is instructive to see the lexical features of the free *poly* 'a lot/much' in the syntactic structure. As its lexical entry in (37) shows, the independent *poly* is of the category of adverbs:

(37) *Poly* $\begin{pmatrix} \text{CAT} & : [\text{Adv}] \\ \text{INFL} & : [-] \\ \text{SEL} & : [<->] \end{pmatrix}$

Regarding the bound *poly-* 'much', its restricted distribution shows that it is a strong NPI which needs to be licensed locally by antiveridical operators, such as negation. The licensing of *poly-*, like that of other NPIs in Greek, is similar to the case of negative concord (NC), a phenomenon observed in many languages. In NC languages, negation is expressed with more than one negative elements in a clause (mainly, a negative marker and an *n*-word), although it is interpreted only once (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2002, Zeijlstra 2004, Giannakidou & Zeijlstra 2017):

(38) a. O Petros *(dhen) ipie TIPOTA[7]. (Greek)

the Peter not drank.3sg nothing

'Peter didn't drink anything.'

b. Peter *(non) ha mangiato nulla (Italian)

Peter not has eaten nothing

'Peter didn't eat anything.'

c. Péter nem ivott semmit (Hungarian)

Peter not said.3sg nothing

'Peter didn't say anything.'

Working on the Greek NPI *oute* 'even', Giannakidou (2007) proposes that its licensing is associated with the local relation it has with negation and the uninterpretable negative feature, [*u*Neg], *oute* hosts. This feature, which is a characteristic it shares with other NPIs, needs to be checked by the interpretable [*Neg*] feature of sentential negation (Giannakidou 1997, 2007; Zeijlstra 2004). Following this account, I adopt for my analysis the assumption that *poly-* contains an inflectional uninterpretable [*u*Neg] feature that requires the presence of a matching categorial interpretable feature [Neg], for the sentence to be grammatical. This interpretable [*Neg*] feature is found in the negative operator *dhen* 'not', as the lexical entries of the elements below show:

[7] For emphatic NPIs, as TIPOTA, see also 1.1.

(39) *Dhen*

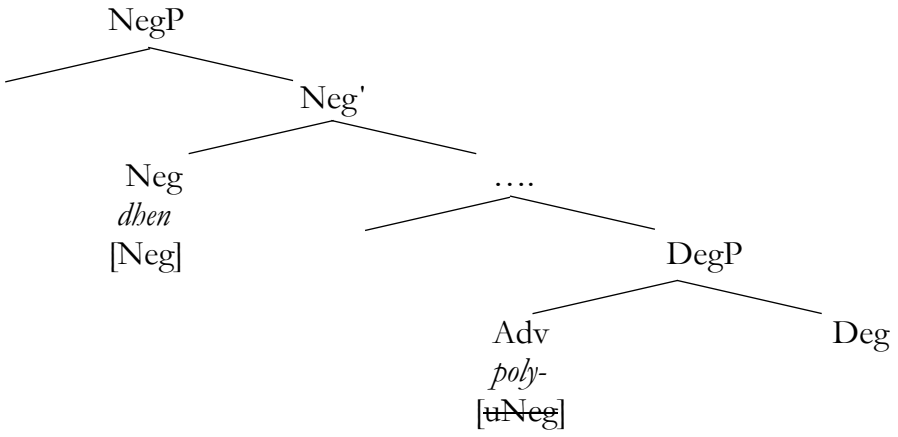
CAT	: [Neg [*Neg*]]
INFL	: [-]
SEL	: [<TP>]

(40) *Poly-*

CAT	: [Adv]
INFL	: [*uNeg*]
SEL	: [<*v*P>]

I argue that the licensing of *poly-* is accomplished syntactically via the operation of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001). The negative operator *dhen* 'not' with the interpretable [*Neg*] feature c-commands *poly-* with the uninterpretable [*uNeg*] feature. Given that, the [*uNeg*] feature is checked and eliminated against the [*Neg*] feature of *dhen*. Therefore, the agreement happens via c-command, as it is schematically illustrated below:

(41)



Poly- is generated as Adv at the specifier of a functional phrase (in this case, Degree Phrase), as it is the case for all the adverbial preverbs in Greek (seen in Chapter 2). It remains under

the scope of negation and its licensing happens in situ. This is similar to the licensing of most *n*-words, proposed by Giannakidou (1997, 1998). Thus, no movement for checking is needed. *Poly-* is bound by the syntactic entity of the negative operator *dhen* 'not' which is located in a scope position. The fact that *poly-* with the uninterpretable [*u*Neg] feature is licensed by negation with an interpretable [*Neg*] feature can also explain the impossibility of *poly-* being licensed by non-veridical operators, such as questions and imperatives. Since nonveridical operators lack the [*Neg*] feature, the [*u*Neg] feature of *poly-* cannot be checked.

3.3 Two POLYs, two meanings

In this section, I answer the question of the meaning of the bound degree modifier *poly-*, which differs from the meaning of the independent form *poly*, arguing that this difference can be explained by the semantics of the morphemes themselves.

As I have already presented at the beginning of this chapter, both Greek degree modifiers, namely the free *poly* and the bound *poly-*, occur under the scope of negation, as in (42) and (43):

(42) O fititis dhen dhiavase poly.
the student not studied.3sg a-lot
'The student didn't study a lot.'

(43) O fititis dhen poly- dhiavase.

the student not much-studied.3sg

'The student didn't study much.'

However, its polarity sensitive behavior identifies *poly-* as an NPI, something that also affects its meaning. To capture the difference in meaning of the degree modifiers *poly* and *poly-*, I assume the scale of degree for gradable predicates in (44)[8]:

(44) *Scale of degree*

<excessively, a lot, sufficiently, a little, very little>

In the scale in question, the value SUFFICIENTLY is the threshold representing the value close to the norm. The scale of degree itself is sensitive to contextual factors, and the threshold SUFFICIENTLY, like all scalar predicates, does not have a fixed value, rather it is context sensitive (Kennedy 2007).

By uttering (42) with the free *poly* under the scope of negation, what the speaker means is that the student did not study a lot. Therefore, the degree of his studying is below the degree A LOT, close to the value SUFFICIENTLY. This means that she studied sufficiently, or as much as was needed, for instance, to take a good grade, but she did not spend too much time on studying. On the other hand, when the speaker utters the negated sentence in (43) with the bound *poly-*, what he actually means is that the student studied a little or even less than a little.

[8] For background discussion, see Horn 2004.

Here it is not the case that the student studied sufficiently. In the case of the NPI *poly-*, the degree of the student's studying moves below the contextually dependent threshold, at the degree A LITTLE, or even close to the lowest values on the scale.

To capture the difference in the meaning of the free degree modifier *poly* and the bound modifier *poly-*, I propose a semantic analysis under which there is a different denotation for each modifier.

Starting with the free *poly* 'a lot/ much', the analysis I propose is that the negated sentence in (42) is true if and only if the degree of the student's studying is below the quantity of A LOT. More formally, the denotation for the free degree modifier *poly* is given in (45). The semantics is a construction that involves a degree. It corresponds to the well-known generalized quantifier-style denotation that can also capture the presence of individuals. The free *poly* is a relation that takes a scalar predicate *P* and an individual argument *x* and returns *True* if and only if there exists a degree *d* such that *x P* above the degree SUFFICIENTLY:

(45) $[\![\text{poly}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda x . \exists d\, [P\,(x)\,(d) \wedge (d > \text{SUFFICIENTLY})]$

The analysis is also built on the following denotations. In particular, the DP *o fititis* 'the student' denotes a unique student, as in (46):

(46) $[\![\text{o fititis}]\!] = \iota x\, [\text{student}'(x)]$[9]

[9] The denotation for the DP *o fititis* is derived by the denotations of the definite determiner *o* and the noun *fititis* by function application and β-reduction:

The denotation I propose for intransitive verbs like *dhiavazo* 'study' is not the standard one. Here, I propose that intransitive verbs denote a function that takes an individual x and a degree d, which is assigned to the denotation of the free degree modifier *poly*:

(47) $[\![\text{dhiavazi}]\!] = \lambda d \lambda x\, [\text{study}'(x)\ (d)]$

(48) $[\![\text{dhiavazi poly}]\!] = \lambda x . \exists d\, [\text{study}'(d)\ (x)] \wedge (d > \text{SUFFICIENTLY})]$

Finally, the standard denotation of the negative marker *dhen* 'not' is given in (49), where negation ($\neg$) is a function that turns the opposite of the truth value of the proposition it combines with:

(49) $[\![\text{dhen}]\!] = \lambda p\ [\neg p]$

Given the denotations above, the compositional semantics of the sentence in (42) with the free degree modifier *poly* is unremarkable and proceeds by function application and β-reduction as follows:

(50) $[\![\text{S}]\!] = \neg \exists d [\text{study}'(\iota x\ [\text{student}'(x)])\ (d) \wedge (d > \text{SUFFICIENTLY})]$

(ii) $[\![\text{fititis}]\!] = \lambda x\ [\text{fititis}'(x)]$
(iii) $[\![\text{o}]\!] = \lambda Q\ [\iota x\ [\text{Q(x)}]]$

Given that the sentence combines with the negative operator, the direction of the degree of the free degree modifier *poly* changes and the degree maps to a value equal to or less than the value SUFFICIENTLY on a degree scale, like the one I provided in (44).

The denotation I propose for the bound degree modifier *poly-* is given in (51). It is similar to that of the independent form, though the degree maps to a different part on the scale. In particular, the bound *poly-* is a function that takes a scalar predicate *P* and an individual argument *x* and returns *True* if and only if there exists a degree *d* such that *x P* above the degree A LITTLE:

(51) $[\![\text{poly-}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda x.\exists d\,[\text{P}(x)\,(d) \wedge (d > \text{A LITTLE})]$

I also assume the same denotation for intransitive verbs and negation, as in (47) and (49), respectively. The complex unit *polydhiavazi* 'much-studied' has the following denotation:

(52) $[\![\text{polydhiavazi}]\!] = \lambda x.\exists d\,[\text{study}'(d)\,(x)] \wedge (d > \text{A LITTLE})]$

Finally, given the denotation of *poly-* in (51), and assuming the same denotation for definite nouns and negation, as in (46) and (49), respectively, the compositional semantics of the sentence in (43) proceeds by function application and β-reduction as follows:

(53) $[\![\text{S}]\!] = \neg\exists d\,[\text{study}'\,(\iota x\,[\text{student}'(x)])\,(d) \wedge (d > \text{A LITTLE})]$

Given that the sentence combines with the negative operator, the direction of the degree of the bound modifier *poly-* changes and the degree maps to a value equal to or less than the value A LITTLE on the degree scale.

Therefore, this analysis derives the correct meaning for the Greek degree modifiers *poly* and *poly-*. The boundedness of the latter is captured not only syntactically, as we saw in section 3.2.2, but also semantically with the denotation I proposed.

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the syntax and semantics of the Greek NPI *poly-* 'much'. My analysis is based on Giannakidou's (1994, 1997, 1998 *et seq.*) framework for polarity, which accounts for elements exhibiting restrictions on their licensing environments and places no categorial restrictions on the items showing NPI behavior. I have shown that, while its free counterpart, the degree modifier *poly* 'much/ a lot', exhibits no restricted distribution, the bound element *poly-* 'much' shows polarity behavior belonging to the category of strong NPIs only being licensed by antiveridical operators. Following Giannakidou and others, I proposed an agreement analysis for the NPI poly- 'much' which displays locality effects when appearing in indicative and subjunctive embedded clauses. This means that *poly-* is grammatical in a sentence if and only if it is licensed locally by an antiveridical operator. With respect to the research question of the different meaning between *poly* and *poly-*, I provided distinct semantic denotations for each element indicating that the value of the NPI *poly-* is mapped to the lowest values on a degree scale.

CHAPTER 4

GREEK ADVERBIAL PREVERBS AS POSITIVE POLARITY ITEMS

In the previous chapter, I have showed that, as opposed to its free counterpart *poly* 'a lot, much', the Greek bound morpheme *poly-* 'much' is an NPI.

(1) a. I Ioanna dhen kimithike poly xthes vradi.
the Joanne not slept.3sg much yesterday night
'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'

b. I Ioanna kimithike poly xthes vradi.
the Joanne slept.3sg a-lot yesterday night
'Joanne slept a lot last night.'

(2) a. I Ioanna dhen poly-kimithike xthes vradi.
the Joanne not much-slept.3sg last night
'Joanne didn't sleep much last night.'

b. #I Ioanna poly- kimithike xthes vradi.
the Joanna much-slept.3sg yesterday night
(lit. Joanna slept much last night.)

Within the *(Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity* developed by Giannakidou (1994, 1997, 1998, 2001 *et seq.*), *poly-* functions as a strong NPI that appears only in antiveridical contexts, i.e. negation and *without*-clauses, and is excluded from nonveridical ones.

(3) I Ioanna dhen **poly**-dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne not much-studied.3sg yesterday
'Joanne didn't study much today.'

(4) I Ioanna eghrapse dhiagonisma xoris na **poly**- dhiavasi.
the Joanne wrote.3sg exam without SUBJ much-study.3sg
'Joanne took the exam without studying much.'

In this chapter, I will show that, as opposed to the bound modifier *poly-* 'much' that functions as an NPI, the other Greek adverbial preverbs, namely *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *hyper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-', have the opposite polarity behavior. In other words, these bound elements are licit only in veridical contexts and not in antiveridical ones, such as negation:

(5) a. I Ioanna psilo- methise sto parti.
the Joanne a.little-got.drunk.3sg at.the party
'Joanne drank excessively at the party.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen psilo- methise sto parti.
the Joanne not a.little-drank.3sg at-the party
(lit. Joanne did not drink a little at the party.)

(6) a. Ta koutso-katafernei me ta mathimata.
them poorly-achieve.3sg with the courses
'He poorly comes to grips with the courses.'
b. #Dhen ta koutso-katafernei me ta mathimata.
not them poorly-achieve.3sg with the courses
(lit. He does not poorly comes to grips with the courses.)

(7) a. O Kostas psefto-doulevei stin etaireia tou patera tou.
the Kostas fake- works at-the company of father his
'Kostas pretends to work at his father's company'
b. #O Kostas dhen psefto-doulevei stin etaireia tou patera tou.
the Kostas not fake- works at-the company of father his
(lit. Kostas does not pretend to work at his father's company.)

Their behavior of appearing basically in positive contexts of disfavoring negative attitudes and being excluded from sentential negation indicates that the bound elements function as Positive Polarity Items (PPIs). In this chapter, I will present more evidence for the

distribution of the adverbial preverbs in question as PPIs. I will also show that the polarity sensitivity of Modern Greek adverbial preverbs, namely *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *hyper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-', efficiently holds under Ernst's (2009) notion of speaker commitment, formulated within the (Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, *et seq.*), taking into consideration nonveridical contexts where the truth of a proposition may be disputed by the speaker.

4.1 Positive Polarity Items

A positive polarity item (PPI) is an expression of limited distribution that is polarized with respect to affirmation, avoiding the scope of negation, as opposed to NPIs. This is why PPIs are considered to be the exact opposite of NPIs. Baker (1970) was the first one to identify the elements occurring only in affirmative environments as a class called PPIs. In the recent literature, Nilsen (2003), Israel (2004), Szabolcsi (2004), Ernst (2009) and Giannakidou (2011) discuss PPIs. As Szabolcsi (2004) characteristically mentions, PPIs have 'the boring property that they cannot scope below negation' (Szabolcsi 2004: 409). Expressions that can be identified as PPIs are words like *rather*, *already,* and *some*, as well as speaker-oriented adverbs, like *unfortunately*:

(8) a. Jim would rather play tennis.

b. # Jim would not rather play tennis.

(9) a. Jim has already finished his work.

b. # Jim has not already finished his work.

(10) a. Jim ate some chocolates.

b. # Jim did not eat some chocolates.

(11) a. Unfortunately, Jim tested positive for coronavirus.

b. #Unfortunately, Jim did not test positive for coronavirus.

4.1.1 Giannakidou (2011)

Within the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity*, Giannakidou (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, *et seq*.), taking into consideration the property of semantic dependency, as in (12), proposes the anti-licensing condition of PPIs as a *must not* condition to account for the restrictions on PPIs:

(12) *Semantic dependency*

A linguistic expression *A* is semantically dependent on a property *b* iff *b* is a semantic property and *A* can be properly interpreted only if a certain relation *R* holds between *A* and something with the property *b*.

(from Giannakidou 1998: 14)

(13) *Anti-licensing*

a. A polarity item *a* is said to be 'anti-licensed' by a property *b* iff *a*'s proper interpretation in a context *c* requires R (*a*, *b*) not hold in *c*, for some relation R.

b. *b* is the anti-licensing semantic property or the expression carrying the property.

(from Giannakidou 1998: 14)

The point of anti-licensing is that, while NPIs can be positively defined as to where they occur – they must be in the scope of a nonveridical operator –, PPIs are negatively defied: they must *avoid* a semantic property (e.g. negation) or the expression that carries this property, assuming the definition in (14) below. While semantic scope is a prerequisite for licensing, it is not for anti-licensing, which expresses an anti-scope condition.

(14) *Semantic scope*

An expression *a* is in the semantic scope of an expression *b* iff the interpretation of *a* is affected by the semantic contribution of *b*.

(from Giannakidou 1998: 17)

Giannakidou does not discuss PPIs in Modern Greek as extensively as NPIs. However, she offers a framework and specific examples such as the Greek *kapjos*-series as a class of PPIs that take wide scope under negation:

(15) a. kapjos 'someone'

b. kati 'something'

c. kapote 'sometime'

(16) a. (Dhen) sinantisa kapjon filo.

not met.1sg some friend

'I didn't meet some friend.'

b. ∃x [friend (x) ∧ ¬met (I, x)]

c. #¬∃x [friend (x) ∧ met (I, x)]

Giannakidou (2011) distinguishes two types of *some*-indefinites, emphatic and non-emphatic:

(17) a. #Hannah didn't buy something.

b. Hannah didn't buy SOMETHING.

In (17a), *something* is deaccented: it has a narrow scope reading under negation and is anti-licensed by it. This non-emphatic *something* functions as a PPI and is considered to be the reverse of NPIs. By contrast, Giannakidou notices that SOMETHING, as in (17b), is accented while negation is deaccented: SOMETHING escapes negation and must scope above antiveridical operators.

However, there are cases in which a PPI can take narrow scope of non-local and local negation (Jespersen, Baker 1970, Postal 2000, Szabolcsi 2004):

(18) a. I don't think that John didn't call someone. √ not > not > some

b. No one thinks that John didn't call someone. √ no one > not > some

c. I am surprised that John didn't call someone. √ surprise > not > some

d. I regret that John didn't call someone. √ regret > not > some

e. If we don't call someone, we are doomed. √ if (not > some)

f. Every boy who didn't call someone… √ every (not > some)

g. Only John didn't call someone. √ only > not > some

h. Few boys didn't call someone. √ few > not > some

(from Szabolcsi 2004: (33)-(40))

What Szabolcsi proposes is that this narrow scope of *someone* is in that a PPI plus negation is an NPI itself. A PPI is considered to 'have two NPI-features. One is a strong-NPI feature like that of *yet* and *squat*: it requires a clausemate antiadditive licenser, without intervention. The other is a weak-NPI feature like that of *ever*: it requires a Strawson-decreasing licensor (not necessarily clausemate but without intervention) … I propose that these two features are normally 'dormant'. A context that can license the strong-NPI feature 'activates' and, in the same breath, licenses that feature. What we have seen indicates, however, that the other, weak-NPI feature also gets activated at the same time – activated, but not licensed. Therefore, the emergent constellation is illegitimate, unless a licensor for the weak-NPI feature is provided.

In other words, PPIs do not detest antiadditives; they have a latent craving for antiadditives. That they appear to detest them is due to the fact that the satisfaction of craving activates another, which needs to be satisfied independently' (Szabolcsi 2004: 429).

While Szabolcsi's account of NPI and PPI licensing pertains to purely syntactic features, Giannakidou (2011) shows that this is not enough, considering that *some* as ¬ ¬ ∃ is nothing than a stimulation. However, the substitution of the non-emphatic *some* with the emphatic SOME creates odd sentences.

(19) a. #I don't think that John didn't call SOMEONE.

b. #No one thinks that John didn't call SOMEONE.

c. #I am surprised that John didn't call SOMEONE.

d. #Every boy who didn't call SOMEONE.

e. #Only John didn't call SOMEONE.

f. #Few boys didn't call SOMEONE.

(from Giannakidou 2011: 36)

She deduces that the narrow scope *some* and the emphatic SOME under negation functioning as a PPI are lexically distinct, whereas, in this case, intonation should be treated as a morphological feature when with negation. In addition, she points out that lower negation is not required: the narrow scope non-emphatic *some* can be licensed without it and be freely present in any context. On the other hand, the polarity sensitivity of the emphatic SOME that takes wide scope of negation can be explained in terms of referentiality and specificity:

considering SOME as an indefinite, it is interpreted referentially, always being specific, like the indefinites *a certain* and *a particular* with which it is interchangeable, as in the following sentences:

(20) a. Sue didn't talk to a certain Norwegian – his name is Otto.

b. Sue didn't talk to a particular Norwegian – his name is Otto.

c. Sue didn't talk to SOME Norwegian – his name is Otto.

(from Giannakidou 2011: 37)

One final point here is that Giannakidou postulates that PPIs constitute an amorphous category that is defined by avoiding the scope of negation. They can belong to various classes, as we indeed saw to be the case. She further argues that, while the presence of NPIs in affirmative contexts is related to ungrammaticality, the presence of PPIs in negative environments is related to oddity of interpretation. In this chapter, I will show that there is a clearly defined class of Greek PPIs which is semantically coherent and manifested by the Greek bound degree modifiers.

4.1.2 Ernst (2009)

Ernst (2009) works on speaker-oriented adverbs (henceforth, SpOAs) that modify propositions and analyzes them as PPIs in the spirit of Giannakidou's framework (see also Ernst 2008).

(21) a. Honestly, I don't know what to say.

b. Joanne is probably going to quit her job.

c. Luckily, Theodore didn't forget to buy milk.

He divides them into three groups paraphrasing them with their corresponding adjectives, indicates that SpOAs function as positive polarity items, and provides data showing that these patterns are not limited only to English.

(22) *Speaker-oriented adverbs (SpOAs)*

a. Discourse-oriented (*frankly, honestly, briefly*)

PARAPHRASE: I say ADV that P.

b. Evaluative (*unfortunately, amazingly, mysteriously, conveniently, oddly, appropriately*)

PARAPHRASE: Speaker evaluates the fact F as ADJ

It is ADJ that F.

c. Epistemic (*probably, definitely, possibly, clearly, apparently, obviously*)

PARAPHRASE: Speaker takes P's truth as ADJ

It is ADJ that P.

(from Ernst 2009: 500)

To account for their positive polarity behavior, Ernst offers an analysis that is grounded on the (Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity developed by Giannakidou (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, 2006, 2007). Within the (Non)Veridicality Theory, polarity behavior is the synergy of

lexical items with operators that either imply or not the truth of a proposition. Unlike other approaches (Krifka 1995, Rooy 2003, Nilsen 2004, Chierchia 2006), the (Non)veridicality Theory perceives variation in polarity phenomena a) within the same language (among different polarity elements), and b) cross-linguistically (some construction or operator in different languages). It accounts for polarity sensitivity considering lexical properties of items related to truth values in different ways (veridicality, nonveridicality, antiveridicality, modality, intensionality, extensionality, episodicity, and downward entailingness) (Giannakidou 2006: 591), predicting the different types of variation different elements have.

The conception of Ernst's analysis is that, by using SpOAs, the speaker expresses more or less subjective evaluation. More specifically, SpOAs as PPIs posses a lexical property, namely the speaker's subjective commitment to the truth of the evaluation, which is not compatible with doubt manifested by strictly nonveridical operators. Based on the Nonveridicality Theory, this analysis uses lexical variation in speaker's subjective commitment to foretell variation and present the distribution of SpOAs. I provide the basic definitions of the theory below:

(23) *Licensing Conditions for Negative Polarity Items*

a. A negative polarity item A will be licensed in a sentence S iff S is antiveridical.

b. In certain cases, *A* may be licensed indirectly in *S* iff *S* gives rise to a negative implicature φ, and *A* is in the direct scope of negation at φ.

(from Giannakidou 1999: 408)

(24) *Nonveridicality*

Let c = <*cg*(c), W(c), M, s, h, w_0, f, …> be a context.[1]

i. A propositional operator *Op* is *veridical* if it holds that: $[\![Op\ p]\!]_c = 1 \rightarrow [\![p]\!] = 1$ in some epistemic model M(x) ∈ c; otherwise, *Op* is nonveridical.

ii. A nonveridical operator *Op* is *antiveridical* iff it holds that: $[\![Op\ p]\!]_c = 1 \rightarrow [\![p]\!] = 0$ in some epistemic model M(x) ∈ c

iii. Epistemic models are: belief models $M_B(x)$, dream models $M_D(x)$, models of reported conversation $M_{RC}(x)$, and nothing else.

(from Giannakidou 1999: 395)

(25) *Definition of Belief Models*

Let c = <*cg*(c), W(c), M, s, h, w_0, f, …> be a context.

A model $M_B \in M$ is a set of worlds associated with an individual *x*, representing worlds compatible with what *x* believes.

(from Giannakidou 1999: 395)

Based on the Nonveridicality Theory, Ernst (2009) presents the following licensing conditions for PPIs, adapted from the licensing conditions for NPIs in Giannakidou (1999: 408):

[1] The elements of *c* relevant for current purposes are the common ground *cg*, the model *M*, the speaker *s*, and the hearer *h* (see Giannakidou 1999, for further discussion).

(26) *Licensing Conditions for Positive Polarity Items*

a. A positive polarity item A is blocked in the local scope of a nonveridical operator.

b. In certain cases, A may be licensed indirectly despite being in the local scope of a nonveridical operator in a sentence S iff S gives rise to a positive implicature φ.

(from Ernst 2009: 510)

The condition in (26a) explains the ban of PPIs, and thus of SpOAs, from the scope of negation, questions, and conditionals. In other words, it explains cases in which PPIs are 'allergic' to predicting where PPIs cannot occur and not where they can. The condition in (26b) is called *indirect licensing*, 'a secondary mechanism that allows for a range of additional cases where implicatures or presuppositions license a polarity item' (Ernst 2009: 510) accounting for the possibility of PPIs appearing in some nonveridical contexts.

A hierarchy of polarity licensers, with *strictly nonveridical* operators being the weakest operators that are nonveridical but not antiveridical, is given as follows:

(27) *Hierarchy of polarity licensers*

a. Antiveridical < Strictly Nonveridical

b. Antimorphic ⊆ Anti-Additive ⊆ Downward Entailing ⊆ NV

not *nobody, never* *rarely, no longer, few* *Q, Cond*

(from Ernst 2009: 511)

Ernst presents an approach of the lexical meaning of SpOAs dividing them into three polarity behavior classes contingent on the different degrees of subjectivity: strong PPIs (e.g. *unfortunately*), weak PPIs (e.g. *mysteriously*, *probably*), and non-PPIs (e.g. *obviously*).

(28) a. Strong PPIs (Strong evaluatives):

Blocked in all nonveridical contexts

(e.g. *unfortunately, luckily, amazingly, unbelievably, sadly, oddly, bizarrely*)

b. Weak PPIs (Weak evaluatives/modals):

Blocked in antiveridical contexts, sometimes OK in strictly nonveridical contexts

(Weak evaluatives: e.g. *mysteriously, appropriately, famously, conveniently, significantly, mercifully*)

(Modals: e.g. *probably, possibly, certainly, maybe, perhaps, assuredly, surely*)

c. Non-PPIs (Evidentials):

Allowed in all nonveridical contexts

(e.g. *obviously, clearly, transparently, seemingly, evidently*)

(from Ernst 2009: 512)

According to Ernst, what defines SpOAs is that they involve a speaker's commitment to the truth of a proposition P that the adverbs modify, and a degree of the speaker's commitment. However, he argues that it is the notion of the speaker's commitment to the

truth of the proposition Q = ADV(p), not just that of the proposition P, that can explain the polarity behavior. Speaker commitment can be defined under the notions of subjectivity and commitment of the speaker adhering to an assessment; this means that the more committed the speaker is to SpOA's evaluation of P, the less possibly she will reconsider that assessment given objective, even publicly-available evidence.

More specifically, strong evaluatives hold a strongly emotive character. They convey a stronger assessment of good or bad, of surprise, astonishment, disbelief, and so forth. In addition, they depend on emotions that are subjective, and thus show a firm bond to a proposition. Conversely, evidentials are objective because they assess information that is 'either physically perceptible, or a matter of a very easy, transparent inference from publicly available evidence' (Ernst 2009: 514, see also Nuyts 2001a, 2001b). On the other hand, weak evaluatives, i.e. weak PPI SpOAs, can have a use either subjective or objective, given that they neither bear a strongly emotive character, as strong evaluatives do, nor assess overt information publicly-available, as evidentials. The parallel between subjectivity and positive polarity behavior is summarized as in (29):

(29) *Classification of SpOAs*

a. Strong PPIs (subjective)

Blocked in all nonveridical contexts (indirect licensing disallowed)

b. Weak PPIs (subjective or objective)

Sometimes OK in strictly nonveridical contexts (indirect licensing allowed)

c. Non-PPIs (objective)

Allowed in all nonveridical contexts

(from Ernst 2009: 516)

Ernst reviews the concept of subjectivity regarding 'a speaker's current belief set, as a link between P and $M_B(s)$, by which epistemic adverbs characterize a relation between P and $M_B(s)$ (i.e. the speaker's belief set). At its most extreme, subjective epistemic modality restricts the possible worlds in its conversational background to what the speaker believes at the time of utterance, while objective epistemic modality includes what is generally known, or what the publicly available evidence is' (Ernst 2009: 516).

(30) *Subjectivity (for Speaker Orientation)*

Where a speaker asserts Q = ADV(p) (thus Q is in $M_B(s)$),

c. ADV is *subjective* iff all worlds by which Q is evaluated are consistent with respect to $M_B(s)$ at the time of utterance;

d. otherwise, ADV is *objective*.

(from Ernst 2009: 516)

(31) *Consistency*

A set of worlds (*q*-worlds) is consistent with a belief state M if the proposition *q* is true both in *q*-worlds and in all the worlds in M.

(from Ernst 2009: 516)

As Ernst points out, 'subjective SpOAs must be true for the speaker's entire belief set – the speaker brooks no possibility of the proposition ADV(p) being false… In contrast, evidentials are (very) objective because they necessarily invoke publicly-available evidence which in principle may be at odds with the speaker's belief set. Weak PPIs are somewhere in the middle between the extremes of strong evaluative SpOAs and evidentials' (Ernst 2009: 516). True subjectivity implies an adamant perseverance on the truth of Q, as it is with strong positive polarity behavior, whereas a less subjective, and thus more objective, interpretation permits indirect licensing, as with weak SpOAs, or in the most extreme cases, the non-PPI evidentials. Ultimately, Ernst's idea for the positive polarity behavior is a correlation between subjective, speaker's commitment, characteristic of the polarity item and the environments it appears.

The relevant aspects of the meaning of a strong SpOA, like *unfortunately*, are embodied as follows:

(32) ⟦unfortunately (P)⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. $\forall w \in M_B(s)$, ⟦it is unfortunate that P⟧ = 1 in w

(i.e. ADV(p) is true in all worlds in the speaker's belief set)

(from Ernst 2009: 517)

The occurrence of strong SpOAs only in veridical environments and their ban from nonveridical ones can be justified under the condition in (32b). More specifically, in negative

sentences, while the condition (32b) commits the speaker to the truth of Q = ADV(p) in $M_B(s)$, at the same time the operator *not* negates the truth of Q = ADV(p) in $M_B(s)$. Therefore, this is contradictory in that the proposition Q is simultaneously both true and false in the speaker's belief set $M_B(s)$. By contrast, in an affirmative sentence, there is no contradiction amid the speaker's commitment to a proposition and its truth in $M_B(s)$. In addition, the condition in (32b) is violated in nonveridical contexts, such as those of questions and conditionals, because these contexts permit the proposition Q to be true in some worlds and false in some others. Therefore, strong evaluatives manifest strong speaker's commitment which means veridical commitment since all worlds in the model are *q*-worlds.

Unlike strong evaluatives, the attribute of weak evaluatives is, as we have seen, that they are not necessarily subjective. When being subjective, their lexical meanings follow the condition in (32b). On the other hand, a new condition in (33b) substitutes for the one in (32b), whenever weak evaluatives are less subjective, or objective. The relevant aspects of the meaning of a weak SpOA, like *mysteriously*, with the new condition included are formulated as follows:

(33) ⟦mysteriously (P)⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦it is mysterious that P⟧ = 1 in w

(from Ernst 2009: 519)

The new condition, although weaker, still necessitates the truth within a relevant model of belief $M_B(s)$; this means that weak evaluatives are not allowed under the scope of negation, since speaker's belief model $M_B(s)$ is the only available in the formation. However, (33b) foresees that weak evaluatives can also be allowed in nonveridical contexts, such as questions and conditionals, since, according to the condition, there is a subset of worlds in which the proposition Q is true. This partition reveals weaker speaker's commitment since there are worlds in speaker's belief model $M_B(s)$ where Q is not true. Interestingly, weak commitment can be with or without bias (see Giannakidou & Mari 2018).

In sum, in Ernst's analysis for positive polarity sensitivity, strong PPIs feature a strong speaker's commitment to the truth of Q=ADV(*p*), as embodied in the lexical representation in (32b), leading to a forbidding on indirect licensing, i.e. they do not appear in strictly nonveridical environments. So, they are predicted to occur only with negation. On the other hand, weak PPIs are not strongly subjective, displaying lack of strong speaker commitment to the truth of Q=ADV(*p*), and thus, possibility of indirect licensing, as formulated in the lexical representation in (33b). In other words, this distinction is ascribed to the fact that 'this assertion that Q is true holds rigidly in the speaker's belief model for the former [strong PPI] but need not hold in all worlds – only a definable subset – for weak SpOAs' (Ernst 2009: 526). In the most extreme cases of objectivity, SpOAs with objective readings given publicly-available evidence do not behave as polarity items. Therefore, representing subjective modification, SpOAs participate in polarity phenomena, verifying in such way the firm connection between subjectivity and positive polarity behavior.

In what follows, I will show that Greek adverbial preverbs fall under the class of Ernst's (2009) *weak PPIs* having more flexibility regarding nonveridical operators and escaping the scope of antiveridical contexts, and account for the polarity sensitivity of Greek adverbials following Ernst's analysis of positive polarity behavior.

4.2 Greek adverbial preverbs as PPIs

In Modern Greek, the bound morphemes *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *yper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-' function as adverbial preverbs, as I have showed in Chapter 2. Interestingly, one of their properties that has escaped attention in the literature is their restricted distribution. More specifically, it seems that the presence of the Greek adverbial preverbs in question is limited only in affirmative environments and they are sensitive to the negation and the antiveridical operator *xoris* 'without', as the ungrammaticality of the following *b-* and *c-*sentences shows:

(34) a. I Ioanna para-ipie sto parti.
the Joanne over-drank.3sg at-the party
'Joanne overdrank at the party.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen para-ipie sto parti.
the Joanne not over-drank.3sg at-the party
(lit. Joanne did not overdrink at the party.)

c. #I Ioanna efige apo to parti xoris na para-pii
the Joanne left from the party without SUBJ over-drink.3sg
(lit. Joanne left the party without having overdrunk.)

(35) a. I Ioanna kata-xarike me tin epituxia tou Dimitri.
the Joanne over-was.joyed.3sg with the success of Dimitris
'Joanne was over-joyed in Dimitris' success.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen kata-xarike me tin epituxia tou Dimitri.
the Joanne not over-was.joyed.3sg with the success of Dimitris
(lit. 'Joanne was not over-joyed in Dimitris' success.)

c. #I Ioanna efxithike xoris na kata-xari me tin epituxia
the Joanne wishes.3sg without SUBJ over-was.joyed with the success
tou Dimitri.
of Dimitris
(lit. Joanne bid Dimitris without having been over-joyed in his success.)

(36) a. Ola ta paidia tou kalo-pantreftikan.
all the kids his well-got.married.3pl
'All of his kids got well-married.'

b. #Ola ta paidia tou dhen kalo-pantreftikan.
all the kids his not well-got.married
(lit. All of his kids did not get well-married.)

c. #Pethane xoris na kalo-pantreftoun ta pedia tou.
died.3sg without SUBJ well-got-married the kids his
(lit. He died without his kids having gotten well-married.)

(37) a. Yper-xreothikame gia to spiti.
over-were.charged.1pl for the house
'We were overcharged for the house.'

b. #Dhen yper-xreothikame gia to spiti.
not over-were.charged.1pl for the house
(lit. We were not overcharged for the house.)

c. #Agorasame spiti xoris na yper-xreothoume.
bought.1pl house without SUBJ over-be.charged.1pl
(lit. We bought a house without being overcharged.)

(38) a. I Ioanna miso-epsise to keik.
the Joanne half- baked.3sg the cake
'Joanne half-baked the cake.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen miso-epsise to keik.
the Joanne not half- baked.3sg the cake
(lit. Joanne did not half-bake the cake.)

c. #I Ioanna eftiakse keik xoris na to miso-psisi.

the Joanne made.3sg cake without SUBJ it half- baked.3sg

(lit. Joanne made a cake without having half-baked it.)

(39) a. I Ioanna psilo- methise sto parti.

the Joanne a.little-got.drunk.3sg at.the party

'Joanne drank a little at the party.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen psilo- methise sto parti.

the Joanne not a.little-drank.3sg at-the party

(lit. Joanne did not drink a little at the party.)

c. #I Ioanna pige sto parti xoris na psilo- methisi.

the Joanne went.3sg to-the parti without SUBJ a.little-get.drunk.3sg

(lit. Joanne went to the party without having got drunk a little.)

(40) a. Ta koutso-katafernei me ta mathimata.

them poorly- achieve.3sg with the courses

'He poorly comes to grips with the courses.'

b. #Dhen ta koutso-katafernei me ta mathimata.

not them poorly- achieve.3sg with the courses

(lit. He does not poorly come to grips with the courses.)

c. #O Thodoris parakolouthi ta mathimata xoris na ta
the Theodore attends the courses without SUBJ them
koutso-kataferni.
poorly- achieves
(lit. Theodore attends the courses without poorly coming to grips.)

(41) a. O Kostas psefto-doulevei stin etaireia tou patera tou.
the Kostas fake- works at-the company of father his
'He pretends to work at his father's company'

b. #O Kostas dhen psefto-doulevei stin etaireia tou patera tou.
the Kostas not fake- works at-the company of father his
(lit. He does not pretend to work at his father's company.)

c. #O Kostas pigeni stin etaireia xoris na pesfto-doulevi.
the Kostas goes to-the company without SUBJ fake- works
(lit. Kostas goes to the company without pretending working.)

(42) a. Xazo- koimithika to apogevma.
witlessly-slept.1sg the afternoon
'I slept poorly in the afternoon.'

b. #Dhen xazo- koimithika to apogevma.
not witlessly-slept.1sg the afternoon
(lit. I did not sleep poorly in the afternoon.)

c. #Ksekourastika xoris na xazo- koimitho.

rested.1sg without SUBJ witlessly-sleep.1sg

(lit. I rested without witlessly sleeping.)

(43) a. Skylo- varethikame sto parti.

to.death-were.bored.1pl at.the party

'We were bored to death at the party.'

b. #Dhen skylo- varethikame sto parti.

not to.death-were.bored.1pl at.the party

(lit. We were not bored to death at the party.)

c. #Pigame sto parti xoris na skylo- varethoume.

went.1pl to-the party without SUBJ to.death-be.bored.1pl

(lit. We went to the party without being bored to death there.)

(44) a. Tin xilio- efxaristise pou ton voithise.

her thousand-thanked.3sg that him helped.3sg

'He was deeply grateful to her for helping him.'

b. #Dhen tin xilio- efxaristise pou ton voithise.

not her thousand-thanked.3sg that him helped.3sg

(lit. He was not deeply grateful to her for helping him.)

c. #Dextike ti voithia tis xoris na tin xilio- efxaristisi.
accepted.3sg the help her without SUBJ her thousand-thanks
(lit. He accepted her help without having thanked her a thousand times.)

(45) a. Tous mirio- parakalese na ton voithisoun.
them million-begged.3sg SUBJ him help.3pl
'He begged them a million times to help him.'

b. #Dhen tous mirio- parakalese na ton voithisoun.
not them million-begged.3sg SUBJ him help.3pl
(lit. He did not beg them a million times to help him.)

c. #Ton voithisan xoris na tous mirio- parakalesi.
him helped.3pl without SUBJ them million-beg.3sg
(lit. They helped him without having begged them a million times.)

The examples in (34)-(45) proves the ungrammaticality of the adverbial preverbs *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *yper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-' in the antiveridical contexts of negation and the operator *xoris* 'without'. For instance, the adverbial preverb *para-* 'over' attaches to the verb *ipie* 'drank' only in the affirmative sentence (34a), whereas with negation the sentence (34b) is ungrammatical. Similarly, the adverbial preverb *psefto-* 'fake-' creates grammatical sentences when there is no negation, as in (41a), and ungrammatical sentences when it is under the scope of negation, as in (41b). Taking all the

examples into consideration, I argue that, unlike the bound morpheme *poly-* 'much', the bound elements *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *yper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-' function as PPIs. Let us call them *bound degree PPIs*. I provide their definition as follows:

(46) *Bound degree PPIs*

A bound morpheme is a bound degree PPI iff it denotes degree and is excluded from the scope of antiveridical operators.

4.3 Distribution of Greek PPIs

So far, I have showed that the adverbial preverbs *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *yper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-' are bound degree PPIs, since they escape the scope of the antiveridical negation. However, the following questions arise now: do adverbial preverbs occur only in veridical contexts or are there items being also allowed to nonveridical environments? In other words, are there contexts, other than negation, in which they are sensitive? In this section, I will argue that there are nonveridical contexts in which the presence of PPIs is semantically more acceptable that others, or at least, there is some variation among speakers as to how much better or worse the elements in questions are into these environments.

Considering the following examples with the degree modifiers in conditionals.

(47) An i Ioanna psilo- diavasi, mpori na perasi tin eksetasi.
if the Joanne a.liitle-study, may SUBJ passes the exam
If Joanne studies a little, she may pass the exam.

(48) An skylo- varethis sto spiti, ela na mas vris.
if to.death-be.bored.2sg at.the home, come SUBJ us find.2sg
(lit. If you are bored to death, come find us.)

(49) An ton xilio- parakaleseis, mpori na se voithisi.
if him thousand-beg.2sg may SUBJ you help.3sg
'If you beg him a thousand times, he may help you.'

(50) (#)Akoma ke an para-pii, mpori na odigisi.
even and if over-drinks can SUBJ drives
'Even if he overdrinks, he can drive.'

While not completely accepted, conditionals allow some variation among speaker regarding the degree of acceptance of the utterances.

Similarly, questions, as in (51)-(53), are other nonveridical environments that may also allow the occurrence of the Greek adverbial preverbs:

(51) Skylo- varethikes sto parti?

to.death-be.bored.2sg at-the party

(lit. Were you bored to death at the party?)

(52) Miso-epsises to keik?

half- baked.2sg the cake

(lit. Did you half-bake the cake?)

(53) O Petros efage i psilo- efage?

the Peter ate.3sg or a.little-ate.3sg

'Did Peter eat or eat a little?'

What we should point out here is that adverbial preverbs appear not in everyday, neutral questions, but rather in questions in which the speaker presupposes the truth of the relevant proposition.

Moreover, we find the same variation among speakers as to how much acceptable or not the Greek adverbial preverbs as PPIs are into utterances with modal verbs, habituals, generics, and disjunctions, which are also nonveridical contexts:

a) *Modal verbs*

(54) O Dimitris mpori na skylo- varethi sti dialeksi.
the Dimitris may SUBJ to.death-be.bored at-the lecture
(lit. Dimitris may be bored to death at the lecture.)

(55) O Dimitris mpori na yper-xreothi gia to spiti.
the Dimitris may SUBJ over-get.into.debt.3sg for the house
(lit. Dimitris may be into deep debt for the house.)

b) *Habituals*

(56) O Theodoros sinithos psefto-magirevi kati gia vradino.
the Theodore usually fake- cooks something for dinner
(lit. Theodore usually pretends cooking something for dinner.)

(57) I Ioanna sinithos miso-psini ta keik.
the Joanne usually half- bakes the cakes
(lit. Joanne usually half-bakes the cakes.)

c) *Generics*

(58) O kakos magiras miso-psini ta keik.
the bad cook half- bakes the cakes

(lit. The bad cook half-bakes cakes.)

(59) Kathe eksipni gineka theli na kalo-pantrefti.
every smart woman wants SUBJ well-gets.married
(lit. Every smart woman wants to get well-married.)

d) *Disjunctions*

(60) I den ixan douleia i yper-xreothikan gia to spiti.
either not have job or over-get.into.debt.3pl for the house
'Either they didn't have a job, or they got into deep debt for the house.'

Therefore, the variation among speakers as to exactly how much better or worse the sentences above are shows that the elements in question have a more flexible distribution occurring either in conditionals or other nonveridical environments.

However, in the nonveridical context of imperatives, the presence of Greek adverbial preverbs is semantically unaccepted:

(61) #Yper-xreothite gia to spiti!
over-get.into.debt.IMPER.2pl for the house
(lit. Be into deep debt for the house!)

(62) #Koutso-diavase gia tin eksetasi!

poorly- study.IMPER.2sg for the exam

(lit. Study poorly for the exam!)

As seen in (61)-(62), there are cases with no variation among speakers as to the degree of the acceptance of the utterances, showing that the Greek PPIs are not licit into the nonveridical contexts of imperatives.

Therefore, the data above show that adverbial preverbs can also be acceptable in nonveridical contexts.

4.4 Greek adverbial preverbs: Strong or weak PPIs?

So far, I have showed that Greek adverbial preverbs function as PPIs: they occur in veridical contexts but are banned in antiveridical ones. I have also showed that there is some variation as to how much better or worse these adverbial preverbs are in nonveridical environments. Interestingly, they are possible to be more acceptable in nonveridical contexts, such as the antecedents of conditionals, questions, modal verbs, whereas they are sensitive in the nonveridical context of imperatives, and so they are excluded from them.

In Chapter 3, we saw that Giannakidou (1997, 1998, *et seq*.) within the *(Non)Veridicality Theory of Polarity*, distinguishes strong and weak NPIs and defines the environments of their distribution. According to her, while strong NPIs are only licensed in antiveridical contexts, such that of negation and the operator *xoris* 'without', and are excluded from nonveridical

environments, weak NPIs as elements that can occur in nonveridical contexts, namely questions, conditionals, modal verbs, imperatives, generics, habituals, and disjunctions, in addition to the antiveridical ones. In addition, Ernst (2009) also distinguishes between weak and strong evaluatives functioning as PPIs.

The question needed to be addressed now is whether Greek adverbial preverbs are weak or strong PPIs. Here I assume three evaluative classes that the bound elements *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *hyper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-', fall into, based on their degree functions: boosters, maximizers, and diminishers[2]. Given that, I will use the adverbial preverbs *koutso-* 'poorly' (functioning as a diminisher), *yper* 'over-' (functioning as a booster) and *skylo-* 'to death' (functioning as a maximizer) to compare their distribution.

a) Conditionals

(63) An i Ioanna koutso-diavasi, mpori na perasi tin eksetasi.
if the Joanne poorly-studies, may SUBJ passes the exam
(lit. If Joanne studies poorly, she may pass the exam.)

(64) #An yper-xreothite gia to spiti, tha distixisete.
if over-get.into.debt.2pl for the house, will be.miserable.2pl

[2] For more discussion, see Chapter 5.

(lit. If you get into deep debt for the house, you will be miserable.)

(65) An skylo- varethis sto parti, ela na mas vris.
if to.death-get.bored-2sg at-the party, come.IMPER SUBJ us find
(lit. If you get bored to death at the party, come find us!)

b) Questions

(66) #Koutso-diavases gia tin eksetasi?
poorly- studied.2sg for the exam
(lit. Do you study poorly for the exam?)

(67) #Yper-xreothikate gia to spiti?
over- got.into.debt.2pl for the house
(lit. Did you get into deep debt for the house?)

(68) Skylo- varethikes sto parti?
to.death-got.bored.2sg at-the party
(lit. Did you get bored to death at the party?)

c) Habituals

(69) O Dimitris sinithos ta koutso-kataferni sta mathimatika.

the Dimitris usually them poorly-manages at-the math

(lit. Dimitris usually comes poorly to grips with math.)

(70) #I Dimitra sinithos yper-xreonete gia to spiti.

the Dimitra usually over-gets.into.debt for the house.

(lit. Dimitra usually get into deep debt for the house.)

(71) O Dimitris sinithos skylo- variete sta parti.

the Dimitris usually to.death-gets.bored at-the parties

'Dimitris usually gets bored to death at the parties.'

d) Generics

(72) #Kathe fititis koutso-diavazi.

every student poorly- studies

(lit. Every student studies poorly.)

(73) #Kathe anthropos yper-xreonete gia to spiti.

every human over-gets.into.debt for the house

(lit. Every human gets into deep debt for the house.)

(74) #Kathe fititis skylo- variete stis dialeksis.

every student to.death-gets.bored at-the lectures

(lit. Every student gets bored to death at lectures.)

e) Modal verbs

(75) O Dimitris mpori na ta koutso-kataferi sta mathimatika

the Dimitris may SUBJ them poorly- manages at-the math

(lit. Dimitris may come poorly to grips with math.)

(76) I Dimitra mpori na yper-xreothi gia to spiti.

the Dimitra may SUBJ over-gets.into.debt for the house

(lit. Dimitra may get into deep debt for the house.)

(77) O Dimitris mpori na skylo- varethi sti dialeksi.

the Dimitris may SUBJ to.death-gets.bored at-the lecture

(lit. Dimitris may get bored to death at the lecture.)

f) Disjunctions

(78) I itan tixeros ke perase tin eksetasi i koutso-diavase.

either was lucky and passed.3sg the exam or poorly- studied.3sg

(Either he was lucky and passed the exam or he studied poorly.)

(79) I den ixan douleia i yper-xreothikan gia to spiti.

either not had job or over-got.into.debt.3pl for the house

'Either they didn't have job or they got into deep debt for the house.'

(80) I itan kourasmenos ke ton pire o ipnos i skylo- varethike.

either was tired and him got.3sg the sleep or to.death-got.bored.3sg

'Either he was tired and fell asleep or he got bored to death.'

g) Imperatives

(81) #Koutso-diavase gia tin eksetasi!

poorly- study.IMPER.2sg for the exam

(lit. Study poorly for the exam!)

(82) #Yper-xreosou gia to spiti!

over- get.into.debt.IMPER.2sg for the house

(lit. Get into deep debt for the house!)

(83) #Skylo- varethite stin omilia!

to.death-get.bored.IMPER.2pl at-the lecture

(lit. Get bored to death at the lecture!)

Notice that there is an inconsistency with respect to the distribution of the PPIs *yper-* 'over' and *koutso-* 'poorly' and its variation. More specifically, while *yper-* is excluded from conditionals, there is a variation in the appearance of *koutso-* in this nonveridical environment. In addition, while *koutso-* remains odd in the environments of modal verbs and habituals, there is some variation in the occurrence of *yper-* in these nonveridical contexts. Given that there is an inconsistency in the distribution and its variation, I argue that Greek adverbial preverbs fall under the class of weak PPIs. This is compatible with Ernst's (2009) *weak evaluatives*, like the English adverb *mysteriously*, that have more flexibility regarding nonveridical operators and incompatibility with negation.

(84) Has the committee not mysteriously ignored its responsibilities by refusing to address this issue?

(from Ernst 2009: 80)

In Table 1, I summarize the distribution of the PPIs *koutso-* 'poorly', *yper-* 'over', and *skylo-* 'to death'.

Environments	*Koutso-* 'poorly' (diminisher)	*Yper-* 'over' (booster)	*Skylo-* 'to death' (maximizer)
Affirmation	✓	✓	✓
Clausemate Negation	#	#	#
Conditionals	✓	#	✓
Questions	#	#	✓
Modal verbs	✓	✓	✓
Habituals	✓	#	✓
Disjunctions	✓	✓	✓
Generics	#	#	#
Imperatives	#	#	#

Table 6: Distribution of the bound degree PPIs *yper-*, *koutso-*, and *skylo-*.

4.5 Why are bound degree modifiers PPIs?

4.5.1 Speaker's commitment

In the previous sections, I showed that adverbial preverbs in Modern Greek display positive polarity behavior, which means that they are banned from occurring within the scope of negation. However, the presence of adverbial preverbs in nonveridical contexts is more flexible: while they are blocked in antiveridical contexts, i.e. that of negative sentences, they may be allowed in strictly nonveridical environments, such as questions and conditionals. For instance, the interrogative sentence with the adverbial *skylo-* 'to death' in (85) shows some variation with respect to its grammaticality, while the presence of the adverbial *xilio-* 'thousand-' in the antecedent of the conditional in (86) is fine:

(85) Skylo- varethikes sto parti?
to.death-be.bored.2sg at.the party
(lit. Were you bored to death at the party?)

(86) An ton xilio- parakaleseis, mpori na se voithisi.
If him thousand-beg.2sg may SUBJ you help.3sg
'If you beg him a thousand times, he may help you.'

The variation shows that the sentences are fine for speakers, although adverbial preverbs are not always perfectly acceptable in these contexts for some others.

As we saw in Section 4.1.2, Ernst (2009) indicates that speaker-oriented adverbs, like *unfortunately*, *possibly*, and *mysteriously*, are PPIs and constitute a cross-linguistic phenomenon to account for. He argues that, while speaker-oriented adverbs are ill-formed with negation, sometimes they are allowed to strictly nonveridical environments, like conditionals and questions. For this, he proposes the licensing conditions of PPIs in (87) (repeated from (26)), adapted from Giannakidou (1999), as a reverse licensing condition from that of NPIs:

(87) *Licensing Conditions for Positive Polarity Item*s:

a. A positive polarity item *A* is blocked in the local scope of a nonveridical operator.

b. In certain cases, *A* may be licensed indirectly despite being in the local scope of a nonveridical operator in a sentence *S*, iff *S* gives rise to a positive implicature *φ*.

(from Ernst 2009: 510)

Based on the outline of Ernst's account, I showed that the positive polarity behavior of Greek adverbials is aligned with that of weak SpOAs, belonging to the category of weak PPIs. Therefore, the polarity sensitivity of Greek adverbial preverbs can be explained under Ernst's notions of speaker commitment and subjectivity: Greek adverbials as weak PPIs are not necessarily subjective for the speaker's entire belief set, i.e. the speaker allows a possibility for the proposition to be false.

For this, I propose the semantics of the propositions with the adverbials *para-*, *kata-*, and *psilo-* which display positive polarity behavior, formulated in (88)-(90):

(88) ⟦O Petros paraipie⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦It is in some high degree that Peter drank⟧ = 1 in w

(89) ⟦O Petros kataxarike⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦It is in an excessive degree that Peter drank⟧ = 1 in w

(90) ⟦O Petros psiloefage⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦It is in some low degree that Peter drank⟧ = 1 in w

The semantics in (88)-(90) explain the positive polarity behavior of adverbial preverbs and their distribution. More specifically, the *a*-condition in (88a, 89a, and 90a) accounts for the ungrammaticality of Greek adverbial preverbs as weak PPIs in the scope of negation: since the only available model is the speaker's belief model $M_B(s)$, the proposition P must be true in $M_B(s)$. In addition, the *b*-condition in (88b, 89b, and 90b) shows that the adverbial requires P to be true for at least some worlds in $M_B(s)$. Since P is true only in an appropriate set of worlds, the adverbial weak PPI may be grammatical in nonveridical contexts. If P is false for all w in $M_B(s)$, while the sentence with the adverbial requires P to be true for at least some worlds, then this causes a contradiction.

In addition, in (88), the degree to which Peter drank is higher than what is expected by the speaker s in w. This is the truth condition of the sentence. To this effect, in (89), the degree to which Peter was glad is higher than what is expected by the speaker s in w. On the other hand, in (90), the degree to which Peter ate is lower than what is expected by the speaker s in w.

4.5.2 Weak PPIs in contexts

We can now discuss Greek adverbial preverbs in strictly nonveridical contexts of questions and antecedents of conditionals, as well as metalinguistic negation and complements clauses.

a) *Questions*

Questions belong to strictly nonveridical contexts. Although there is some variation with respect to their grammaticality, within the right context, interrogative sentences with adverbial preverbs in Modern Greek are more acceptable.

The examples below show the bound elements *yper-* 'over-' and *skylo-* 'to death' in questions:

(91) Yper-xreothikes gia to spiti?
over- got.into.debt.2sg for the house
Did you get into deep debt for the house?

(92) Skylo- varethikes sto parti?
to.death-be.bored.2sg at.the party
Were you bored to death at the party?

By uttering the question in (91), the speaker focuses on the degree of the action, whether the hearer have gotten into deep debt for having bought a house or not. What the speaker does is to assess the degree of the hearer's getting into dept. The speaker is considering objective information for the falsity of the proposition from stances other than her own (i.e. $M_B(s)$) –

namely, from the hearer's belief model $M_B(h)$. In (92), the speaker focuses on the degree of boredom, i.e. whether the hearer was excessively bored at the party or not. Similarly, the speaker takes into consideration the hearer's belief model $M_B(h)$. On the less subjective reading of both interrogative sentences with the adverbials, the speaker's belief model involves an appropriate subset W of worlds in which she perceives evidence that allows her to believe the proposition P to be true; thus, adverbials are permitted in such strictly nonveridical contexts.

b) *Antecedents of conditionals*

Greek adverbial preverbs may also appear in the antecedents of conditionals which belong to strictly nonveridical contexts.

(93) An i Ioanna koutso-diavasi, mpori na perasi tin eksetasi.
if the Joanne poorly- studies, may SUBJ passes the exam
(lit. If Joanne studies poorly, she may pass the exam.)

(94) An yper-xreothis gia to spiti, tha distixisis.
if over-get.into.debt.2sg for the house will be.miserable.2sg
(lit. If you get into deep debt for the house, you will be miserable.)

As in questions, what licenses the use of Greek adverbial preverbs as weak PPIs in conditionals is the subset W of worlds in the speaker's belief model, assuming a less subjective

interpretation. The propositions are considered to be true, and the sentences in (93) and (94) are grammatical.

c) *Metalinguistic negation*

So far, we have seen that clausemate negation is an antiveridical environment that allows the presence of NPIs but not that of PPIs, in other words, it licenses NPIs and anti-licenses PPIs. However, there is a specific type of negation that has a different behavior to polarity items, so-called *metalinguistic negation*. Metalinguistic negation is a phenomenon where the speaker opposes a previous utterance, even on the grounds of pronunciation and presuppositions (Horn 1989: 363), omitting the regular conditions of positive polarity behavior (Baker 1970: 169; Horn 1989: 397, Carston 1996: 321-322). It is used not to deny the truth of the embedded proposition but rather to oppose the statement of the corresponding affirmative utterance (Horn 1985). It does not affect the truth conditions of a sentence; so, for this reason, metalinguistic negation licenses PPIs and anti-licenses NPIs.

(95) Jim didn't get **some** job. He got the job of his dreams!

The English word *some* is a typical example of PPI occurring in positive contexts. Its presence in the sentence is accepted, since the speaker uses the sentence to oppose the previous utterance, something like 'Jim got some job', clarifying that it is not just a job for Jim, but the job of his dreams, as the continuation shows.

Adverbial preverbs in Greek bound degree PPIs seem to be acceptable in metalinguistic negation:

(96) a. O Dimitris koutso-diavase.
the Dimitris poorly-studied.3sg.
'Dimitris studied poorly.'

b. #O Dimitris dhen koutso-diavase.
the Dimitris not poorly- studied.3sg.
(lit. Dimitris didn't study poorly.)

c. O Dimitris dhen koutso-diavase. Kseskistike!
the Dimitris not poorly- studied.3sg. busted-his-gut
'Dimitris didn't study poorly. He busted his gut!'

(97) a. I Dimitra miso-epsise to keik
the Dimitra half- baked.3sg the cake
'Dimitra half-baked the cake.'

b. #I Dimitra den miso-epsise to keik
the Dimitra not half- baked.3sg the house
(lit. Dimitra didn't half-bake the cake.)

c. I Dimitra den miso-epsise to keik. To afise apsito!
the Dimitra not half- baked.3sg the case it left.3sg unbaked
'Dimitra didn't half-bake the cake. She left it unbaked!'

I argue that the occurrence of the PPIs *xazo-* 'lightly', *miso-* 'half-' and *psilo-* 'a little' in (94)-(95) is accepted because the sentences are used to object to the statement of the previous utterance. The truth conditions of the embedded proposition are not denied, and the speaker makes her statement clearer with the second sentence as a continuation. Therefore, metalinguistic negation is another environment that can license Greek PPIs.

Ernst's rationale of a sentence with metalinguistic negation is that it 'includes a statement that the person whose utterance is denied becomes the speaker relevant for the SpOAs. We thus have a situation where the original speaker asserts/believes Q=ADV(p)… while the actual speaker negates this proposition. This inconsistency is allowed for weak SpOAs' (Ernst 2009: 525). Since the *b*-condition in (88b, 89b, and 90b) of the lexical meaning of adverbial preverbs allows the appropriate subset W that licenses weak SpOAs to be part of the hearer's belief model M_B(h), this means that M_B(h) is the proper belief model for assertions with metalinguistic negation. Therefore, the sentences in (96) and (97) are acceptable, in that the propositions *O Dimitris koutsodiavase* 'Dimitris studied poorly' and *I Dimitra misoepsise to keik* 'Dimitra half-baked the cake' are true in the hearer's belief model M_B(h), albeit false in the speaker's belief model M_B(s).

d) *Complement clauses*

There are three types of complement clauses in Modern Greek: *oti*-clauses (.i.e. indicative nonfactive clauses), *pu*-clauses (i.e. indicative factive clauses), and *na*-clauses (i.e. subjunctive clauses equivalent to infinitival and 'restructuring' domains).

As seen in Chapter 3, Giannakidou (1995, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2007) and Giannakidou & Quer (1995, 1997) discuss cases of long-distance licensing of emphatics by matrix negation. They saw that the dependency amid emphatics/strong NPIs and the negative operator is likely in *na*-complements:

(98) a. I Joanna theli [na min fai TIPOTA].
the Joanne wants SUBJ not eat.3sg nothing
'Joanne doesn't want to eat anything.'

b. I Joanna dhen theli [na fai TIPOTA].
the Joanne not wants SUBJ eat.3sg nothing
'Joanne doesn't want to eat anything.'

In (98), negation licenses the emphatic NPI TIPOTA whether the former is in the embedded or the main clause. Similarly, as I have shown in Chapter 3, the NPI *poly-* 'much' allows long-distance licensing when in *na*-complement clauses:

(99) a. Thelo [na min poly- fas apopse].
want.1sg SUBJ not much-eat.2sg tonight
'I want you not to eat much tonight.'

b. Dhen thelo [na poly- fas apopse].
not want.1sg SUBJ much-eat.2sg tonight
('I don't want you to eat much tonight.')

By contrast, *oti-* and *pu*-complementizers prevent the dependency between emphatics and negation, and sentences with *oti-* and *pu-* complements are semantically unaccepted:

(100) a. I Ioanna ipe [oti dhen filises KANENAN].
the Joanne said.3sg that not kissed.2sg nobody
'Joanne said that you didn't kiss anybody.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen ipe [oti filises KANENAN].
the Joanne not said.3sg that kissed.2sg nobody
(lit: 'Joanne didn't say that you kissed anybody.')

(101) a. I Ioanna xerete [pu dhen filises KANENAN].
the Joanne is-glad.3sg that not kissed.2sg nobody
'Joanne is glad that you didn't kiss anybody.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen xerete [pu filises KANENAN].
the Joanne not is-glad.3sg that kissed.2sg nobody
(lit: 'Joanne isn't glad that you kissed anybody.')

In (100) and (101), when the antiveridical operator *dhen* 'not' appears in the complement clauses, it can license the emphatic NPI KANENAN. But when in the main clause, the long-distance licensing is blocked. As I have argued, the same holds for the NPI *poly-* 'much':

(102) a. I Ioanna ipe [oti dhen poly- efages].
the Joanne said.3sg that not much-ate.2sg
'Joanne said that you didn't eat much.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen ipe [oti poly- efages].
the Joanne not said.3sg that much-ate.2sg
(lit: 'Joanne didn't say that you ate much.')

(103) a. I Ioanna xerete [pu dhen poly- efages].
the Joanne is-glad.3sg that not much-ate.2sg
'Joanne is glad that you didn't eat much.'

b. #I Ioanna dhen xerete [pu poly- efages].
the Joanne not is-glad.3sg that much-ate.2sg
(lit: 'Joanne isn't glad that you ate much.')

As Giannakidou and Giannakidou & Quer argue, regarding the contrast between indicative and subjunctive complements, emphatic dependencies are strictly local, being restricted to the boundaries of mono-clausal domains.

Consider now cases of dependencies amid bound degree PPIs and negation:

(104) I Ioanna dhen ipe [oti o Thodoris psilo- efage].
the Joanne not said.3sg that the Theodore a-little-ate.3sg
'Joanne didn't say that Theodore ate much.'

(105) I Ioanna dhen xerete [pu o Thodoris koutso-diavase].
the Joanne not is-glad.3sg that the Theodore poorly-studied.3sg
'Joanne isn't glad that Theodore studied poorly.'

(106) I Ioanna dhen theli [na ton xilio-parakalesi o Thodoris].
the Joanne not wants SUBJ him a-thousand.beg.3sg the Theodore
'Joanne doesn't want Theodore to beg him a thousand times.'

So far, we have seen that the bound elements *psilo-* 'a little', *koutso-* 'poorly', and *xilio-* 'thousand-' are PPIs escaping the scope of negation. However, the examples in (102)-(104) show that the elements in question can also appear under the scope of negation when they are in a complement clause and the negative operator in the matrix clause.

So why are the bound elements not banned in the antiveridical contexts in (104)-(106), as we would expect? I argue that the occurrence of the PPIs *psilo-* 'a little', *koutso-* 'poorly', and *xilio-* 'thousand-' is accepted in that, in these contexts, the negative operator is used not to deny the embedded clauses in which the morphemes appear, and thus, their truth. Rather, the speaker uses negation for the verbs in the matrix clauses to oppose the fact that Joanne says something, is glad, and wants, and not to deny what Theodore does. In other words, the speaker objects to Joanne's saying, being glad, and volition, and not to Theodore's eating a little, studying poorly, and begging someone a thousand times. Therefore, the truth conditions of the embedded propositions are not denied.

This can be explained within Ernst's account and the *a*-condition in the lexical entries of bound degree PPIs: since the only available model is the speaker's belief model $M_B(s)$, the proposition P must be true in $M_B(s)$. As seen, *a*-condition commits the speaker to the truth of P in $M_B(s)$. Therefore, the propositions are true in the speaker's belief set $M_B(s)$, and there is no contradiction amid the speaker's commitment to the propositions and their truth in $M_B(s)$.

As a final point here, the possibility of Greek bound degree PPIs to appear in some nonveridical contexts but not in others can be justified within Ernst's licensing conditions for PPIs (adapted from Giannakidou 1999) showing contexts in which PPIs are 'allergic' to. The conditions explain the ban of PPIs from the scope of negation, questions, and conditionals, predicting where bound degree PPIs will not occur and not where they will, and provide an additional apparatus for cases in which an implicature or a presupposition can license a positive polarity item.

4.6 Conclusion

My aim in this chapter has been to present the polarity behavior of the adverbial preverbs *kata-* 'completely', *kalo-* 'well', *para-* 'over-', *hyper-* 'over-', *miso-* 'half', *psilo-* 'a bit', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-' and *mirio-* 'million-'. I have showed that, while *poly-* 'much' is a strong NPI being polarized with respect to negation, the elements in question have the exact opposite behavior: they escape negation functioning as PPIs. They are anti-licensed by the antiveridical operator and must scope above it. I have also showed that there is some variation as to how much better or worse these

adverbial preverbs are in nonveridical contexts, like the antecedent of conditionals and questions. This variation and the contrast in their distribution shows that Greek adverbial preverbs are weak PPIs. The variation and the possibility of the bound degree PPIs to occur also in nonveridical contexts, such as questions and antecedents of conditionals, is justified within Ernst's (2009) notion of speaker commitment formulated within (Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 1999, 2001, *et seq*.) taking into consideration nonveridical contexts where the truth of a proposition may be disputed by the speaker.

CHAPTER 5

ASPECTS OF EVALUATION

The term *evaluation* is used to express the speaker and writer's stance for a person, a situation, or another entity. It is considered not to be objective but rather subjective and is placed within a societal value-system (Hunston 1994). In earlier more descriptive literature, evaluation had a restricted use referring to those words and phrases expressing the speaker or writer's emotions (Carter 1987). However, it seems that nowadays evaluation is a vague term used for 'the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about entities or propositions or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values' (Hunston & Thompson 2000: 5). Investigation into the evaluation and how it is applied in discourse has preoccupied the literature (Stump 1993; Dressler & Merlini-Barbaresi 1994; Stekauer *et al.* 2012; Katunar 2013; Amiot & Stosic 2014; Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015; Weidhass & Schmid 2015; among others). One of the ways evaluation is performed is via evaluative morphemes (Grandi 2005, 2009; Fradin & Montermini 2009).

Working on evaluative morphemes in Modern Greek, Efthymiou (2019) presents some of their basic properties, as follows: (a) they change the meaning of the base they attach to by denoting a kind of divergence from the norm that the base expresses, (b) they function as free variants, thus morphemes with the same semantics can be used interchangeably (such as the elements *xaʒo-* and *koutso-* 'poorly'), and (c) it is difficult to describe their exact meaning and distinguish a quantitative from a qualitative aspect of their content. Speakers also use

evaluative affixes not only to evaluate the referent but also to create a distance between themselves and it, as it is the case of *psilo-* 'a little' (Xydopoulos 2009).

In Chapter 4, we saw that, in Ernst's theory, evaluation is concerned with speaker's stance and commitment to truth, and in my analysis, it also comes with the judgment 'more than expected'. In this chapter, we examine in detail a larger class of evaluative morphemes in order to understand more broadly how evaluation is expressed in the system of Modern Greek grammar. More specifically, we discuss different components of evaluative morphology in Modern Greek, i.e., *intensification* (Section 5.1), *deintensification* (Section 5.2), and presents a formally semantic analysis of adverbial preverbs *poly-* 'much'*, para-* 'over'*, kalo-* 'well-'*, yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely*, kara-* 'extremely'*, psilo-* 'a bit'*, miso-* 'half-'*, koutso-* 'poorly'*, psefto-* 'fake-'*, xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' as evaluative morphemes in Modern Greek (Section 5.3). Here, I show that the adverbial preverbs under investigation have not only polarity properties but also evaluative properties that are interpretable in speaker's perspective via an expressive meaning (Section 5.4). Finally, I discuss the morphological processes of *augmentation* and *diminution*, as also part of evaluative morphology in Modern Greek (Section 5.5).

5.1 Intensification

In the linguistic research, *intensification* is an evaluative category. Gavriilidou (2013) argues that intensification is mainly considered as degree modification, i.e. as a function that exceeds the standard and denotes the high degree of a property. It is related to gradable predicates, in other

words, to predicates that are characterized by scales and allow the expression of the high degree of a property (Gavriilidou 2013: 41).

Intensification is mainly materialized by intensifying prefixes that increase the degree of the properties which are expressed by the base they are attached to. Greek intensifying prefixes have been long discussed in the literature (Symeonidis 1984, Fotiou 1998, Delveroudi & Vassilaki 1999, Efthymiou 2001, 2002, 2019, Giannoulopoulou 2003, Ralli 2003, 2004, Valetopoulos 2004, Anastasiadi-Symeonidi 2008, Savvidou 2012, Gavriilidou 2013, 2014, Gavriilidou & Fliatouras 2019, among others).

Gavriilidou (2014) presents the following main properties of Modern Greek intensifying morphemes (Gavriilidou 2014: 240):

a) They apply to scalar predicates, which are scaled upwards from an assumed norm with regard to their extent or intensity, although non-gradable predicates also exist.
b) They change the meaning of the base by 'boosting' the property denoted by the base.
c) They make no change to the syntactic category of the base they are attached to.
d) They originate from either prepositions and adverbs or nouns.
e) They may be polysemous having both an intensifying and a non-intensifying meaning (e.g. *theofovoumenos*, lit. god+afraid, 'afraid of the God', *theotrelos*, lit. god+crazy, 'very crazy').

Gavriilidou (2014) points out three intensifying prefixes that are attached to verbal bases, namely *para-* 'over', *yper-* 'over', *kata-* 'completely':

(1) a. para-vrazo 'over-boil'

b. yper-analio ‘over-analyze’

c. kata-xeirokroto ‘over-applaud’

Adopting the analysis of scalar predicates of Kennedy & McNally (2005), Gavriilidou (2014) argues that *para-* ‘over’ and *yper-* ‘over’ are used with verbs that have totally closed scales and introduce incremental arguments. The morphemes in question ‘raise the degree of the progress of the event beyond the upper endpoint of the scale used by the verbal predicate’ (Gavriilidou 2014: 249). By contrast, *kata-* ‘over’ is attached to atelic verbs, which map onto lower closed scales that are open on the upper end.

Efthymiou (2019) also discusses the properties of these three intensifying morphemes. She points out that *para-* ‘over’ combines with a variety of verb classes but never combines with [+learned] verbal bases. It is productive in the semantics of excess and many of verbal complexes with *para-* also ‘express periphrastic reinforcement, upgrading the determinacy of the propositional content of the verb’ (Efthymiou 2019: 7) (see also Efthymiou, Fragaki & Markos 2015a).

(2) I Ioanna para-ipie sto parti.
the Joanne over-drank.3sg at-the party
‘Joanne over-drank at the party.’

In (2), the prefix *para-* increases the degree of Joanne’s drinking. It expresses the excess of the propositional content of the verb *ipie* ‘she drank’.

Regarding *yper-* 'over', Efthymiou points out that it occurs on [+learned] or [+/-learned] verbal bases. It is found not only with incremental verbs but also with atelic ones that express situations with no natural endpoint. Moreover, *yper-* expresses 'the notion of excess (i.e. 'more than normal or desirable') or the meaning of high degree (i.e. 'very, extremely x'), without any emotional overtones' (Efthymiou 2019: 6) (see also Efthymiou 2003, Gavriilidou 2014, Efthymiou, Fragaki & Markos 2015b).

(3) Yper-fortosan to aftokinito gia to taksidi tous
over- loaded.3pl the car for the trip their
'They overloaded the car for their trip.'

In (3), the prefix *yper-* raises the degree of the propositional content of the verb *fortosan* 'they loaded', expressing excess.

Finally, *kata-* 'over' usually attaches to verbal bases that have negative connotations while the derived words have also negative connotations (Efthymiou 2019) and indicates the semantics of 'absolute completeness' (Delveroudi & Vassilaki 1999, Efthymiou 2003, 2017, Gavriilidou 2014, Kallergi 2015). However, the following sentence shows that the prefix *kata-* is also attached to verbal bases with positive connotations while the verbal complex has also a positive connotation expressing excess of Joanne's joy:

(4) I Ioanna kata- xarike me ta nea tou.
the Joanne over-was.joyed.3sg with the news his
'Joanne was over-joyed in his news.'

Other than the morphemes *para-*, *yper-* and *kata-*, the bound elements *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', *mirio-* 'million-' and *kalo-* a lot' are also intensifying morphemes that are attached to verbs.

According to Efthymiou (2017, 2019), the morpheme *skylo-* denotes either a very high degree of intensification, the negative attitude or the emotional involvement of the speaker, or overstatement (see also Fotiou 1998).

(5) Skylo-varethikame sto parti
dog- were.bored.1pl at-the party
We were bored to death at the party.

In (5), the adverbial *skylo-* is used to express the high degree of the speakers' negative emotional involvement regarding an event they participated in, which may be related to the negative connotation of the predicate.

On the other hand, *xilio-* and *mirio-* express plurality (i.e. multiple repetition of an action) or overstatement and are not very productive as other intensifying preverbs (Efthimiou 2019: 8).

(6) Tin xilio- efxaristise gia ti viothia pou tou prosfere.
her thousand-thanked.3sg for the help that him offered.3sg
'He was deeply grateful for the help she offered him.'

(7) Ton mirio- parakalese na min pei tipota
him million-begged.3sg SUBJ not say.3sg anything
se kanenan.
to anyone
'She begged him a million times not to say anything to anyone.'

In (6) and (7), both prefixes *xilio-* and *mirio-* are used to express multiple repetition of the actions of thanking and begging, respectively. While *xilio-* literally means 'a thousand' and *mirio-* 'ten thousand', I argue that both morphemes express the same degree of repetition of the actions.

Finally, *kalo-* is attached to verbal stems denoting a higher intensity of an event.

(8) Tis Ioannas tis kalo-arese o Aris.
the.gen Joanne her well-liked.3sg the Ares
'Joanne liked Ares very much.'

In (8), the morpheme *kalo-* attached to the verbal stem *arese* 'she liked' to booster the semantics of the event of Joanne's liking.

So far, we saw that intensification is a function that increases the degree of a property. Regarding this, the intensifying preverbs *para-* 'over'*, kalo-* 'a lot'*, yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely*, kara-* 'extremely', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' are used as degree modifiers. Gavriilidou (2013) argues that degree modifiers can be distinguished into two categories, *boosters* and *maximizers*. Boosters are used to denote a high degree on a scale, whereas maximizers denote the upper boundaries on a scale of gradable properties (Quirk *et al.* 1985). Following Gavriilidou, I argue for the following classification of the intensifying elements in question:

a) Boosters: *para-* 'over', *yper-* 'over', and *kalo-* 'a lot', and
b) Maximizers: *kata-* 'completely', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-

.

Based on this classification, the bound morpheme *yper-* 'over-' is a gradable modifier that expresses intensification and functions as a booster:

(9) I Ioanna yper-analyi ta panta.
the Joanne over-analyzes the everything
'Joanne overanalyzes everything.'

In (9), the gradable modifier *yper-* 'over-' denotes the high degree of Joanne's analyzing everything. Its presence is used to boost the action of analyzing by increasing the degree and moving it above the contextually dependent threshold, but not close to the maximal values on a degree scale.

The bound morpheme *skylo-* 'to death' is a gradable modifier expressing intensification and functions as a maximizer:

(10) I Ioanna skylo-varethike sto parti.
the Joanne dog- drank.3sg at.the party
'Joanne was bored to death at the party.'

In (10), the gradable modifier *skylo-* 'to death' denotes a high degree of Joanne's boredom. Here, it is not the case that Joanne was bored a lot at the party. In the presence of *skylo-*, the degree of her boredom moves above the contextually dependent threshold, close to the maximal values on a degree scale, unlike the gradable modifier *yper-* 'over-'.

To conclude, the boosters *para-* 'over', *yper-* 'over', and *kalo-* 'a lot' and the maximizers *kata-* 'completely', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' express the evaluative category of intensification.

5.2 Deintensification

Deintensification (also called *attenuation*) is another facet of evaluation. While intensification is considered as degree modification denoting a high degree, deintensification is used to denote the meaning of insufficiency, i.e. a property under the threshold expressed by the base, according to Efthymiou (2017).

In Modern Greek, the bound morphemes *psilo-* 'a bit'*, miso-* 'half-'*, koutso-* 'poorly'*, psefto-* 'fake-', and *xazo-* 'poorly' are deintensifying prefixes that are attached to verbal bases. They are basically used to express speaker's negative attitude or mitigation.

More specifically, when *psilo-* is attached to verbal bases, it decreases the intensity of an action or expresses approximation (see also Giannoulopoulou 2003, Xydopoulos 2009, Savvidou 2012, Efthymiou 2019).

(11) I Ioanna psilo- methise sto parti.
the Joanne a.little-got.drunk.3sg at-the party
'Joanne over-drank at the party.'

(12) Psilo- xathikame se ekeinous tous dromous
a.little-got.lost.1pl in those the streets
'We lost our way a little in those streets.'

In (11), *psilo-* is used with the verbal stem *methise* 'she drank' to reduce the intensity of Joanne's drinking. In (12), *psilo-* is used to express a kind of approximation regarding the fact of losing speaker's way.

Xydopoulos (2009) points out that the element when attached to verbs also denotes low energy or slow rhythm (such as in the verbal complex *psilovrexi* 'drizzling'), or the action of cutting something into smaller or thinner pieces (such as in the verbal complex *psilokovo* 'chop'). He also argues that *psilo-* is possible to attach to verbs having negative connotation or

even an offensive meaning (as with the verbal complexes *psilogamithika* 'I was a bit fucked up' and *psilotsantistika* 'I got a bit pissed off').

The preverb *miso-* is used with verbal bases to reduce the intensity of an event (Efthymiou 2019) or to express incompleteness of an action.

(13) I Ioanna miso-epsise to keik.
the Joanne half- baked.3sg the cake
'Joanne half-baked the cake.'

In (13), the morpheme *miso-* attached to the verbal stem *epsise* 'she baked' shows not that Joanne baked only the one half of the cake and not the other, but rather that she didn't complete the process of baking.

The deintensifying preverb *koutso-* is used with verbal stems to denote a lower quality of an action (Efthymiou 2019).

(14) Ta koutso-katafernei me ta mathimata.
them poorly- achieve.3sg with the courses
'He poorly comes to grips with the courses.'

In (14), *koutso-* is attached to the verb *katafernei* 's/he achieves' to express a qualitatively low evaluation regarding someone's progress on program of study.

Psefto- 'fake-' denotes speaker's depreciation or shows that a process is performed with less effort than expected (Efthymiou 2019).

(15) O Kostas psefto-doulevei stin etaireia tou patera tou.
the Kostas fake- works at-the company of father his
'Kostas pretends to work at his father's company.'

In (15), *psefto-* is used with the verb *doulevei* 's/he works' to show that Kostas puts less effort working at his father's company than someone else who truly works, thus he pretends to work.

Finally, like *koutso-*, the preverb *xazo-* 'poorly' is attached to verbal stems to express a lower quality of an action (Efthymiou 2019).

(16) O Petros xazo- diavase gia tin eksetasi
the Peter poorly-studied.3sg for the exam
'Peter studied poorly for the exam.'

In (16), the preverb *xazo-* attached to the verb *diavase* 's/he studied' denotes a lower quality of Peter's studying.

Working on deintensification, Paradis (1997) distinguishes two subcategories: *totality modification* and *gradable modification*. According to her model, total modifiers are characterized as *approximizers* (e.g. *almost*), whereas gradable modifiers are *moderators* (e.g. *quite*, *rather*, *pretty*) and *minimizers* (e.g. *a (little) bit, slightly, a little, somewhat*). Moderators decrease slightly the degree

of the property denoted by the gradable predicate, whereas minimizers indicate the lowest boundaries on a scale.

However, I argue that 'minimizer' is not an accurate term to describe this function. A minimizer is an expression that denotes a minimal quantity, degree, or extent with negation scoping over it:

(17) I did not drink (even) *a drop*.

Minimizers are considered as occupying the lowest end of the scale (Bolinger 1972; Fauconnier 1975a, 1975b), and negation functions as 'an emphatic way of expressing zero' (Bolinger 1972: 120). Bolinger (1972) and Horn (2001) make a distinction between minimizers and *diminishers* (e.g. *a little*): the former appears in the [negation + minimizer] structure, whereas the latter functions as a litotes for the purpose of evaluation.

Taking the above into consideration, I propose that Modern Greek adverbial preverbs *poly-* 'much', *psilo-* 'a bit', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-' and *xazo-* 'half-heartedly' expressing deintensification are gradable modifiers and are used as *diminishers*.

(18) I Ioanna koutso-diavase gia to diagonisma.
the Joanne poorly-studied.3sg for the party
'Joanne studied poorly for the test.'

In (18), the adverbial preverb *koutso-* 'poorly' is a gradable modifier expressing deintensification and functions as a diminisher. It denotes a low degree of Joanne's studying. Here, it is not the case that Joanne studied enough or adequately. In the presence of *koutso-*, the degree of her studying moves below the contextually dependent threshold, to lower values on a degree scale.

To sum up, Modern Greek preverbs *poly-* 'much', *psilo-* 'a bit', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-' and *xazo-* 'half-heartedly' are diminishers expressing deintensification, another facet of evaluation.

5.3 The semantics of evaluation

In the previous sections, we saw two aspects of evaluation in Modern Greek, i.e. intensification and deintensification. Here, I will define formally the different functions of intensifying preverbs and deintensifying preverbs in Modern Greek, that also have polarity properties, as I have presented in Chapter 4. The semantics will be captured not for each distinct element but rather for the main evaluative classes they belong to.

Based on their functions, we saw that Modern Greek evaluative preverbs are divided into boosters, maximizers, and diminishers (following Quirk *et al.* 1985, Gavriilidou 2013). A booster expresses a high degree on a scale, as the bound morpheme *yper-* 'over' in (19).

(19) I Ioanna yper-analyei ta panta.
the Joanne over-analyzes the everything
'Joanne overanalyzes everything.'

A maximizer denotes the upper boundaries in a scale of gradable properties, such as the intensifying preverb *skylo-* 'to death' in (20).

(20) I Ioanna skylo-varethike sto parti.
the Joanne dog- drank.3sg at.the party
'Joanne was bored to death at the party.'

Finally, a diminisher decreases slightly the degree of the property expressed by the gradable predicate functioning as a litotes for the purpose of evaluation, such as the deintensifying preverb *koutso-* 'poorly' in (21).

(21) I Ioanna koutso-diavase gia to diagonisma.
the Joanne poorly-studied.3sg for the party
'Joanne studied poorly for the test.'

To capture the semantics of boosters, maximizers and diminishes, and the differences among them, I assume the scale of degree for gradable predicates in (22):

(22) *Scale of degree*
<extremely, a lot, sufficiently, a little, none>

In the scale in question, the value SUFFICIENTLY is the threshold representing the value close to the norm. The scale of degree itself is sensitive to contextual factors, and the threshold SUFFICIENTLY, like all scalar predicates, does not have a fixed value, rather it is context sensitive (Kennedy 2007). To capture the difference in the meaning of evaluative morphemes in Modern Greek, I propose a semantic analysis under which there is a different denotation for each class of evaluative morphemes.

Formally, the denotation of boosters, the class of intensifying modifiers that denote high degree on the scale, is given as follows:

(23) $[\![\text{BOOSTER}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda x.\exists d[P(x)(d) \wedge (d > \text{SUFFICIENTLY})]$

Based on the denotation in (23), a booster is a relation that takes a scalar predicate *P* and an individual argument *x* and returns *True* if and only if there exists a degree *d* such that *x P* above the value SUFFICIENTLY.

The denotation of maximizers, the class of intensifying modifiers that denote the upper boundaries on a scale of gradable properties, is given in (24):

(24) $[\![\text{MAXIMIZER}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda x.\exists d[\text{P}(x)(d) \wedge (d > \text{A LOT})]$

Based on the denotation in (24), a maximizer is a relation that takes a scalar predicate *P* and an individual argument *x* and returns *True* if and only if there exists a degree *d* such that *x P* above the value A LOT.

Regarding diminishers, the class of deintensifying modifiers that indicate the lower boundaries in a scale, their semantics is given as follows:

(25) $[\![\text{DIMINISHER}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda x.\exists d[P(x)(d) \wedge (d < \text{SUFFICIENTLY})]$

Based on the denotation in (25), a diminisher is a relation that takes a scalar predicate P and an individual argument *x* and returns *True* if and only if there exists a degree *d* such that *x P* below the value SUFFICIENTLY.

Interestingly, while the bound morpheme *poly-* 'much' seems to belong to the class of diminisher, it has its own denotation. As we saw in Chapter 3, it is an NPI occurring only with negation, unlike the other degree modifiers which function as PPIs. The semantics of *poly-* and the negative operator are repeated below:

(26) $[\![\text{poly-}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda x.\exists d\,[P(x)\,(\text{d}) \wedge (d > \text{A LITTLE})]$

(27) $[\![\text{NEG}]\!] = \lambda p\,[\neg p]$

Given the denotation in (26), *poly-* is a function that takes a scalar predicate *P* and an individual argument *x* and returns *True* if and only if there exists a degree *d* such that *x P* above or equally to the value A LITTLE. Since *poly-*, as an NPI, appears in sentences that combine with the negative operator, the direction of its degree changes and the degree maps not to a value that

is greater than the value A LITTLE, but to a value that is equal or less than the value A LITTLE.

In addition, the denotation of *poly-* in (26) indicates that its meaning differs from the meaning of other diminishers in Modern Greek. While the formal semantics of diminishers shows that their degree maps to a value below the threshold SUFFICIENTLY, the denotation of *poly-* shows that its degree maps to a value greater than A LITTLE and it turns to a value below the threshold when the negative operator takes scope over it. Thus, I argue that the bound degree modifier *poly-* is not a diminisher – whose value is below SUFFICIENTLY –, because its value is greater than A LITTLE. The function of *poly-* can be described better as maximizing a minimizing value. For that, I propose the term *maximizing minimizer* for the bound degree modifier *poly-*.

In this section, I captured formally the semantics of intensifying and deintensifying preverbs in Modern Greek as evaluative classes, namely boosters, maximizers, and diminishers.

5.4 Preference attitude

In the previous sections, I showed that the adverbial preverbs in Greek have evaluative properties functioning as degree modifiers to the base they attach to. Here, I will show that evaluation is also evident in speaker's perspective via an expressive meaning: Modern Greek adverbial preverbs convey the speaker's negative preference, in a parallel with metalinguistic comparatives.

5.4.1 Individual's preference in metalinguistic comparatives

Giannakidou & Stavrou (2009) and Giannakidou & Yoon (2011) discuss the phenomenon of metalinguistic comparatives, which, in Greek, are introduced with the elements *para* and *apoti*:

(28) Ta provlimata sou ine perissotero oikonomika [para/apoti] nomika.
the problems your are.3pl more financial than legal
'Your problems are more financial than legal.' (from McCawley 1968)
'Your problems are financial rather than legal.'
(from Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 622)

(29) Kalitera na pethano [para/#apoti] na ton pantrefto!
better SUBJ die.1sg than SUBJ him marry.1sg
'I would rather to die than marry him!'
[I prefer to die than to marry him.]
(from Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 623)

As they argue, metalinguistic comparatives with *para* and *apoti* convey the speaker's attitude of appropriateness of a sentence. The *apoti* variant is more a statement of regular comparative assessment. On the other hand, *para* offers a subjective judgment to express the speaker's attitude of appropriateness, as in metalinguistic uses in general (see also McCawley 1968): it is more about what the speaker believes to be appropriate. However, in (29), *para* also expresses 'the speaker's strong dispreference towards the *para* proposition and its content, i.e.

the course of action that this proposition implies' (Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 623), conveying an attitude of preference of the content of a sentence and producing more emphatic statements, even in an exclamative-like matter.

These structures are not just a simple predicate ordering, but rather an attitudinal component as a preference ordering that the speaker creates based on the context and its communicative goal (preference of sentences as objects or preference of the content of the sentences): the speaker makes a contrast between either two sentences as objects themselves or the contents of sentences – the propositions – in a more emphatic preferential way.

Giannakidou & Stavrou argues that metalinguistic comparatives have an attitudinal component found in the lexical meaning of metalinguistic MORE_{ML}, which is different from the MORE of ordinary degree comparison.

(30) $[\![\text{MORE}_{\text{ML}}]\!] = \lambda p \lambda q \exists d\, [\text{R}(a)(p)(d) \wedge d > \max(\lambda d'[\text{R}(a)(q)(d')])]$

where R is a gradable propositional attitude supplied by the context: either an epistemic attitude such as belief; or an attitude expressing preference (desiderative or volitional); a is the individual anchor (see Farkas 1992; Giannakidou 1998, 1999) of the attitude: typically, the speaker in an unembedded sentence.

(from Giannakidou & Stavrou 2009: 11)

It is important to note that the speaker's attitude is not present in the syntax but is given in the semantics. According to (30), MORE_{ML} is a function that 'takes two propositional arguments: p (the proposition of the main clause), and q (the proposition of the para clause).

$MORE_{ML}$ compares the two propositions in terms of the degree to which some individual *a* believes them to be appropriate, prefers them, or is willing to assert them. The individual is usually the speaker – but it may turn out that other individuals can be plausible (if the *para* clause is embedded)' (Giannakidou & Stavrou 2009: 11).

Grounded on Giannakidou & Stavrou, Giannakidou & Yoon build a new idea of what $MORE_{ML}$ is: $MORE_{ML}$ is 'a function that takes two sentences (in the appropriate assessment) or two propositions (in the emphatic preferential case) as its input, and orders these as the one more desirable than the other according to the anchor of comparison's judgment in the particular context of use. The context normally establishes a goal under discussion – e.g. to assess one's abilities, to determine one's actions, to express one's preferences. Given the goal, which differs from context to context, the anchor may express a different judgment, but in every case the judgment comes out as a preference attitude such that the main sentence or proposition is more desirable than the *than* sentence or proposition. One can say that the inputs to $MORE_{ML}$ are not simply the sentences, but the utterances of the two sentences, thereby capturing the metalinguistic nature of comparison' (Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 637). In addition, desirability is defined by the goal of the context: assessment, praise, or mocker.

(31) $[\![\text{MORE}_{\text{ML}}]\!] = \lambda P \lambda Q\ [P >_{\text{Des}(\alpha)(c)} Q]$ (General format)

where $>_{\text{Des}(\alpha)(c)}$ is an ordering function such that: for *P* and *Q* and degrees *d* and *d'*, the degree *d* to which *a* desires *P* in *c* is greater than the degree *d'* to which *a* desires *Q* in *c*; *a* is the anchor of comparison; *P* and *Q* are Potts' tuples for sentences <Π; Σ; *a*: *t*>[1].

(from Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 639)

In Korean, metalinguistic comparatives offer two lexicalizations, namely *kipota* and *nuni* (with *charari*):

(32) a. onulpam ne- wa naka- kipota cip-ey iss- keyss-ta
tonight you-with go.out-staying.than home-LOC stay-will- DECL
'I prefer to stay home rather than to go out with you tonight.' (because I am tired)

b. onulpam ne- wa naka- nuni (charari) cip-ey iss- keyss-ta
tonight you-with go.out-rather.than rather home-LOC stay-will- DECL
'I would rather stay home than go out with you tonight.' (because I hate you.)
'I prefer to stay home than to go out with you tonight.' (because I hate you.)

(from Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 634)

[1] In Potts' tuples, Π is the phonological representation, Σ is the syntactic representation, and α is the semantic representations of an expression σ (Potts 2007a: 4).

According to Giannakidou & Yoon, unlike in the variants with *kipota*, the speaker uses *nuni* with *charari* to express an 'emphatic negative preference'. *Nuni* with *charari* shows that she is extremely unwilling to accept the proposition in the *nuni*-clause juxtaposing it with a proposition that is more preferred. The *nuni*-clause can be considered as an 'irrecoverable offense to the addressee: the latter option ('going out with you') is very undesirable for the speaker because of a negative emotion towards the addressee (that I hate you)' (Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 635). Therefore, in Korean, forms with *nuni* and *charari* exhibit an attitude of negativity, something that we see in Greek with *para* and *kalitera* and the use of extreme dispreferred predicates, like *na pethano* 'to die' as in (29).

Giannakidou & Yoon propose a negative preferential MORE_{ML} that, in Korean, is lexicalized with *charari* to express strong dispreference of the *nuni* argument (English *would rather* and Greek *kalitera* can be but not always compatible with it). As a variant of MORE_{ML}, *charari* operates on the propositions *p* and *q* (where *q* the proposition in the *nuni*-clause), and the conjunct in the formula introduces the negative component.

(33) Antiveridical MORE_{ML} (Neg-MORE_{ML})

$[\![\text{charari}]\!] = \lambda p \lambda q\ [p >_{\text{Des}(\alpha)(c)} q \wedge a \text{ desires } q \text{ to } d\text{'}: 0]$

where $>_{\text{Des}(\alpha)(c)}$ is an ordering function such that: for *p* and *q* and degrees *d* and *d'*, the degree *d* to which *a* desires *p* in *c* is greater than the degree *d'* to which *a* desires *q* in *c*; and *a* is the anchor of comparison.

(from Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 641)

Charari is defined as the negative variant of MORE_{ML} asserting zero preference of the proposition *q* by the anchor *a*. This zero preference makes *charari* antiveridical, in the sense that can license NPIs, despite the absence of negation. The degree *d'* of the proposition *q* equals the value zero, whereas the degree *d* of the proposition *p* has also a low value. The zero and low values of the degrees account for the dispreferred or undesired propositions.

In addition, *nuni* contributes a negative expressive content[2]. Expressive contents can be found in expressive expressions, such as the English *bastard* and *damn* (see Potts 2005, 2007b), which display the speaker's emotional perspective. A speaker's expressive denotes that 'she is in a heightened emotional state. They can tell us if she is angry or elated, frustrated or at ease, powerful or subordinated' (Potts 2007b: 8). Potts uses expressive indices to map emotional attitudes onto expressive intervals. An expressive index encodes the degree of expressivity and the orientation of the expressive. It is defined via numeral intervals $\mathbf{I} \subseteq [-1, 1]$.

(34) An expression index is a triple $<a\ \mathbf{I}\ b>$, where $a,b \in D_e$ and $\mathbf{I} \in [-1, 1]$.

(from Potts 2007b: (37))

Expressive indices relate two individuals by means of **I**: the triple $<a\ \mathbf{I}\ b>$ says that an individual *a* is at expressive level **I** for an individual *b*. An interval can vary – from neutral to very negative or positive. Subintervals are allowed to interpret emotive relations: the more negative the numbers, the more negative the expressive relationship, whereas the more positive the numbers, the more positive the expressive relationship.

[2] Greek *para* is neutral (see Giannakidou & Yoon 2009).

(35) a. <⟦joanne⟧ **[0, 1]** ⟦theodore⟧>: Joanne is wild about Theodore.

b. <⟦sam⟧ **[-.9, 1]** ⟦jim⟧>: Sam feels essentially indifferent to Jim.

c. <⟦peter⟧ **[-.5, 0]** ⟦mary⟧>: Peter feels negatively toward Mary.

Expressive indices help us to infer propositions. In (35a), with the expressive index <⟦joanne⟧ **[0, 1]** ⟦theodore⟧>, we deduce that 'Joanne is wild about Theodore'.

Giannakidou & Yoon take Potts' expressive indices to manifest the fact that an individual is emotionally related to a proposition:

(36) Expressive content of *nuni* in *c*:

Nuni contains an expressive index <*a* **I** *q*>, where *a* is the individual anchor, *q* the proposition it embeds; and **I** ranges between [-1, -.5].

(from Giannakidou & Yoon 2011: 647)

As seen in (36), *nuni* has a negative expressive index and thus, contributes a very negative emotion towards a proposition. This negativity exists in the *nuni*-clause even when *charari* is absent.

5.4.2 Preference as a negative attitudinal component

Based on Giannakidou & Yoon, I argue that adverbial preverbs in Greek may also have a metalinguistic reading. They can be related to metalinguistic comparatives, in the sense that these elements can also exhibit semantically an ordering of preference. Consider the following sentences:

(37) I Ioanna para- ipie sto parti.
the Joanne over-drank.3sg at-the party
'Joanne overdrank at the party.'

(38) O Thodoris psilo- diavase gia tin eksetasi.
the Theodore a.little-studied.3sg for the exam
'Theodore studied a little for the exam.'

It is true that the sentences above do not have a direct comparison. However, what the speaker conveys, other that her evaluation as to the degree of the actions of Joanne's drinking in (37) and Theodore's studying in (38), is her assessment of the course of the actions. More specifically, she believes that Joanne drank more than expected or preferred. Similarly, she believes that Theodore studied less for the exam than expected or preferred.

Bound degree elements have a metalinguistic reading, in which the speaker conveys her opinion making a subjective assessment of the course of an action. As metalinguistic comparatives express the speaker's attitude of appropriateness (McCawley 1968), the Greek bound elements may also express the same speaker's stance of appropriateness: the speaker

thinks that something happens more or less than what is expected or preferred. This is the case with the degree of Joanne's drinking and Theodore's studying in the examples above.

However, in this metalinguistic reading, the elements are not only about which sentence the speaker thinks it is more appropriate. Rather, they seem to convey her dispreference towards a proposition expressed by the adverbial-predicate and its content, i.e. how the action implied by the proposition is evolved. It shows a parallel with the Korean *nuni*, or the Greek *para* with the 'to die' predicate. More specifically, in (37), the speaker seems to disprefer in subjective terms the fact that Joanne *paraipie* 'she overdrank' at the party, whereas the contingency of Joanne's drinking adequately, which is not expressed directly, is more preferred than the degree of the action in the *para*-proposition. In (38), the speaker disprefers in subjective terms the fact that Theodore *psilodiavase* 'she studied a little' for the exam, expressing indirectly that she would prefer Theodore to have studied more than the degree of the action in *psilo*-proposition. So, the speaker indirectly compares two propositions: in case of (37), the speaker seems to contrast the propositions 'Joanne drank at the party' and 'Joanne overdrank at the party', whereas in (38), she contrasts the propositions 'Theodore studied for the exam' and 'Theodore studied a little for the exam'. In both cases, the speaker disprefers the positions expressed by the bound degree PPIs *para-* and *psilo-*.

In Chapter 4, I showed that bound degree modifiers in Greek appeared in propositions have a meaning component (repeated below):

(39) ⟦O Petros paraipie⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦It is in some high degree that Peter drank⟧ = 1 in w

(40) ⟦O Petros kataxarike⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦It is in an excessive degree that Peter drank⟧ = 1 in w

(41) ⟦O Petros psiloefage⟧ = a. ⟦P⟧ = 1 in $M_B(s)$

b. for all w in some subset W of M ∈ {$M_B(s)$, $M_B(h)$},

⟦It is in some low degree that Peter drank⟧ = 1 in w

Again here, the semantics in (39)-(41) show that the degree to which Peter drank is higher than what is expected by the speaker s in w, the degree to which Peter was glad is higher than what is expected by the speaker s in w, whereas the degree to which Peter ate is lower than what is expected by the speaker in w. These are the truth conditions of the sentences.

In addition to their meaning component, bound degree modifiers in Greek convey a preference component: there is a degree of preference, as to how much preferred a degree of action expressed by the proposition with the bound element is than another degree of the action expressed by the indirect proposition. This degree of preference is distinct from the degree that each predicate features. It expresses the speaker's opinion about which proposition she prefers more and does not make a regular degree comparison between predicates. In other

words, the speaker expresses to which degree she prefers or desires a predicate with a certain degree over another predicate with a different degree, given that a proposition refers to an action which happened in a degree more or less than what is expected. More specifically, in (37), the degree of preference shows that the degree of action manifested by the element *para-* 'over-' in *psilodiavase* 'he studied a little' is less preferred for the speaker than the degree of action not directly expressed as in the indirect *diavase eparkos* 'he studied adequately'. In (38), the degree of preference shows that the degree of action manifested by the element *psilo-* 'a little' is less preferred for the speaker than the degree of action not directly expressed. Therefore, in both cases, the degree of preference that the bound degree modifiers exhibit has a negative constituent. The propositions with the bound degree modifiers are less preferred, thus, there is a negativity expressive component that makes adverbials denoting negative preference via an indirect contrast.

I argue that this negativity expressive component can be formalized as the speaker's emotional perspective, found also in the Korean *nuni*, and other expressive expressions. For this, I propose the expressive content of Greek adverbial preverbs in (42):

(42) Expressive content of adverbials in c:

Adverbials contain an expressive index $<a\ \mathbf{I}\ q>$, where a is the individual anchor, q the proposition it embeds; and **I** ranges between [-.5, 0].

The expressive content in (42) shows that Greek adverbials have a negative expressive index and thus, contributes a negative emotion towards a proposition. Based on the index, an

individual has a negative, unfavorable relation to a proposition. However, the negative attitude of an adverbial is not extremely strong, since the values in the interval range from -.5 to zero, unlike the Korean *nuni* with the [-1, -.5] interval expressing an extremely strong negative attitude. So, by uttering the sentence *I Ioanna paraipie* 'Joanne overdrank', the speaker expresses a negative preference towards the proposition.

Interestingly, this negativity expressive component does not imply negating a sentence. Sentences with adverbials remain veridical, i.e. positive, thus the latter can't be in the scope of negation. Greek adverbials are linked to the notion of veridicality (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, *et seq.*), so they can't be in a context opposite of veridicality. This can also explain their positive polarity behavior.

However, it seems that not all sentences with Greek adverbial preverbs convey a negative preference.

(43) I Dimitra kata-xarike me tin epitixia tou Thodori.
the Dimitra over-be.joyed with the success of Theodore
'Dimitra was overjoyed with Theodore's success.'

(44) O Petros psilo-methise sto parti.
the Peter a.little-got.drunk.3sg at.the party
'Peter got a little drunk at the party.'

In (43) and (44), the speaker does not detest the fact that Dimitra was overjoyed with Theodore's success or that Peter got a little drunk at the party. In other words, it is not the case that she would prefer Dimitra to have been less joyed or that Peter to have gotten more drunk. I assume that two factors contribute to this. First, it is related to the meaning of the verb, i.e. whether the verb itself has a negative connotation or not. In (43), the verb stem *xarike* 'she was joyed' has a positive connotation and the adverbial preverb *kata-*, which functions as maximizer, increases the degree of the action to the highest values on the degree scale. In (43), the verb stem *methise* 'he got drunk' has a negative connotation and the adverbial *psilo-*, functioning as a diminisher, decreases the degree of the action to the lowest values on the degree scale. In both cases, the *adverbial*-proposition is not dispreferred, unlike what we saw at the beginning.

Second, the meaning of the adverbial itself may also be related to the encoding of a negativity expressive component: the more transparent the meaning of the adverbial, the less the adverbial encodes expressiveness, and conversely.

(45) O Dimitris koutso-diavase.
the Dimitris poorly-studied.3sg
'Dimitris studied poorly.'

(46) O Petros tous mirio- parakalese na ton voithisoun.
the Peter them million-begged.3sg SUBJ him help.3pl
'Peter begged them a million times to help him.'

In the sentence (45) that conveys a negative preference component, the adverbial *koutso-* comes from the adjective *koutsos* that literarily means 'gammy'. However, the adverbial is used metaphorically, and the negative expressiveness may be part of its opaque meaning. By contrast, the sentence (46) does not convey a negative preference component. This is possible because the adverbial *mirio-* is used to express the multiple times Peter begged them for help. In this case, both the adverbial itself and the adverbial as in the sentence convey repetition via a large number of times of the action.

To conclude, adverbial preverbs in Greek may exhibit a behavior, similar to that of metalinguistic comparatives: they may have a preferential attitude, also expressed as 'more or less than expected', with a negativity expressive component.

5.5 Augmentation and diminution

In the previous sections, I have presented two aspects of evaluation in Modern Greek, i.e. intensification and deintensification. I have also defined formally the different functions and semantics of intensifying preverbs and deintensifying preverbs in Modern Greek belonging to three evaluative classes, those of boosters, maximizers, and diminishers. In this section, I will discuss two other facets of evaluation, those of *augmentation* and *diminution*.

Augmentation and *diminution* are derivational morphological processes in Modern Greek that also constitute part of evaluative morphology (Daltas 1985, Sifianou 1992, Alexopoulos 1994, Melissaropoulou & Ralli 2008, Melissaropoulou 2009, Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011, Efthymiou 2015, Christopoulou *et al.* 2017). Here, I will use the terms augmentation and

diminution to refer to the derivational processes of evaluation, distinguishing it from the inflectional evaluative processes that are used to express intensification and deintensification.

As Christopoulou & Xydopoulos (2011) argue, augmentatives are mainly used to refer to derivational suffixes that attribute speaker-attitude features to the base they combine with. They attach to specific grammatical categories, like nouns. Modern Greek augmentative suffixes are presented in (47):

(47) *Augmentative suffixes in Modern Greek*

a. *-ara*

(e.g. *fon-ara* 'great voice')

b. *-aras/-aru/-aradiko*

(e.g. *ypnar-as, ypn-arou, ypn-aradiko* 'sleepyhead')

c. *-arjo*

(e.g. *skoupid-ario* 'junk')

d. *-arona*

(e.g. *spitarona* 'impressive house')

e. *-aros*

(e.g. *pontik-aros* 'huge mouse')

f. *-as/-ou*

(e.g. *kalofag-as*, kalofag-ou 'foodie')

g. *-idi*

(e.g. *vrisidi* 'swearing')

(from Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011)

According to Xydopoulos & Christopoulou (2011), augmentation in Modern Greek has multiple functions. Some of the uses of augmentation are: (a) to indicate high degree of a property or a characteristic of the base, (b) to attribute intensiveness to the meaning of the base, (c) to denote large size, high intensity, long duration, long area, etc., of the referent of the base, and (d) to express admiration and surprise or irony and derision. More specifically, Xydopoulos & Christopoulou list the different meanings of augmentatives in Modern Greek:

(48) *Meanings of augmentatives*

a. Big size

(e.g. *piatara* 'big plate', *spitarona* 'impressive house')

b. Intensiveness

(e.g. *ipnaras* 'sleepyhead')

c. Collectiveness

(e.g. *vrisidi* 'swearing')

d. Flattery

(e.g. *kormara* 'great body', *fonara* 'great voice')

e. Surprise/admiration

(e.g. *aftokinitara* 'impressive car')

f. Appreciation

(e.g. *kathigitaras* 'great teacher')

g. Mockery

(e.g. *bekruliakas* 'drunkard')

h. Pejoration

(e.g. *kefalas* 'stupid')

Diminutives, like augmentatives, are referred to the derivational suffixes that attribute speaker-attitude properties to the base they attach to. Likewise, they attach to nouns (e.g. *spiti* 'house', *spit-aki* 'little house'), while the grammatical category of adjectives (e.g. *mikros* 'little', *mikr-ulis* 'tiny little') can also be a possible base for diminutives to combine with. Modern Greek diminutives are the following:

(49) *Diminutive suffixes in Modern Greek*

a. -akis

(e.g. *kosm-akis* 'rabble')

b. -aki

(e.g. *gat-aki* 'kitten', *ped-aki* 'little kid')

c. -akias

(e.g. *eksipnakias* 'wiseacre')

d. -akos

(e.g. kafed-akos 'java')

e. -araki

(e.g. *fil-araki* 'buddy')

f. -arakos

(e.g. *fil-arakos* 'buddy')

g. -areli

(e.g. *paid-areli* 'pipsqueak')

h. -i

(e.g. *koukl-i* 'dishy')

i. -idio

(e.g. *sak-idio* 'rucksack')

j. -itsa

(e.g. *koukl-itsa* 'little doll')

k. -oni

(e.g. *pelarg-oni* 'little stork')

l. -oulaki

(e.g. *avg-oulaki* 'small egg')

m. -oulis/-oula/-ouli

(e.g. *mikr-oulis, mikr-oula, mikr-ouli* 'very small')

n. -oulikos/-ouliki/-ouliko

(e.g. *mikr-oulikos, mikr-ouliki, mikr-ouliko* 'very small')

o. -ouni

(e.g. *vouzouni* 'pustule')

p. -outsikos/-outsiki/-outsiko

(e.g. *mikr-outsikos, mikr-outsiki, mikr-outsiko* 'tiny')

q. -idrio

(e.g. *logidrio* 'spiel')

(from Xydopoulos & Christopoulou 2011)

As Xydopoulos & Christopoulou argue, the function of diminution is used (a) to express the small size of the base, (b) to indicate reduction of the meaning of the base, and (c) to express semantic properties of endearment, affectedness, rapprochement, politeness, contempt, etc. More specifically, Xydopoulos & Christopoulou present the following properties that diminutive suffixes in Modern Greek have:

(50) *Properties of Modern Greek diminutives*

a. Small size

(e.g. *kontoulis* 'shortish', *gatoula* 'small cat', *pedaki* 'little kid')

b. Familiarity/friendliness

(e.g. *kafedaki* 'coffee', *filaraki/filarakos* 'chappy')

c. Affectedness

(e.g. *babakas* 'daddy')

d. Affinity

(e.g. *skilakos* 'doggy')

e. Mockery

(e.g. *eksipnakias* 'wiseacre')

f. Naivety

(e.g. *xazoulis* 'wiseacre')

g. Contempt/disapproval

(e.g. *ginekoula* 'wuss')

Christopoulou *et al.* (2017) show that Modern Greek evaluative morphemes, like the diminutive *-aki*, may have either a descriptive, quantitative property, when referring to size, or a qualitative property when referring to speaker's feelings towards a referent (see also Körtvélyessy 2015, Grandi & Körtvélyessy 2015), while the boundaries between the two properties are not always appreciable. They also show that augmentatives and diminutives denoting quantity and/or quality are the two poles of a continuum that 'causes a fluctuation of the intensity in the taboo meaning of the base' (Christopoulou *et al.* 2017: 293). Moreover, since evaluatives are referred to speaker's emotional attitude towards a referent, these morphemes are also used in the slang vocabulary as a common way to rise or reduce the meaning of a word. More specifically, in a slang vocabulary, augmentatives boost the meaning of a word having either a positive or a negative meaning. On the other hand, diminutives in slang vocabulary reduce the negative content of the base and/or build familiarity and friendliness.

Christopoulou *et al.* also mention the intensifying character of augmentatives and their function as to signify speaker's respect, tenderness, evaluation, familiarity, irony, belittlement, or disapproval for the referent (see also Sifianou 1992, Efthymiou 2015). By contrast, diminutives are also used to mark politeness and to indicate positive connotation (love,

appreciation, and tenderness) or negative one (disapproval and understatement), spreading to a scale with affection and disapproval in its ends. Moreover, they argue that, in slang vocabulary, augmentatives without the correspondence of the natural and grammatical gender of the base is used as a positive impoliteness strategy, whereas diminutives imply speaker's off-record impoliteness attitude. In both cases, evaluative morphemes, with or without gender alternation, obtain offensiveness (in the sense of how offensive or annoying an interlocutor considers a word) whether in higher or lower degree.

To sum up, I discussed two other facets of evaluation, those of *augmentation* and *diminution*, as derivational morphological processes in Modern Greek that also constitute part of evaluative morphology.

5.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented different aspects of evaluative morphology in Modern Greek, i.e., *intensification* and *deintensification*. I showed that the adverbial preverbs *poly-* 'much', *para-* 'over', *kalo-* 'well-', *yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely, *kara-* 'extremely', *psilo-* 'a bit', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-' have not only polarity properties, as we saw in Chapter 4, but also evaluative characteristics. They are also distinguished into two main categories, namely *intensifying preverbs* (*para-* 'over', *kalo-* 'well-', *yper-* 'over-', *kata-* 'completely, *kara-* 'extremely', *skylo-* 'to death', *xilio-* 'thousand-', and *mirio-* 'million-') and *deintensifying preverbs* (*poly-* 'much', *psilo-* 'a bit', *miso-* 'half-', *koutso-* 'poorly', *psefto-* 'fake-', *xazo-* 'half-heartedly'). Moreover, I categorized Modern Greek evaluative morphemes based on their functions into boosters, maximizers, and diminishers,

and presented an analysis to capture the semantics of these evaluative classes. I also showed that the elements under investigation exhibit a behavior, similar to that of metalinguistic comparatives. They express the speaker's attitude towards a proposition over another, and this attitude reveals speaker's negative preference. Finally, I also discussed the derivational processes of *augmentation* and *diminution* in Modern Greek.

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APPENDIX

***poly*- 'much-'**

polydiavazo	πολυδιαβάζω
polydiafimizo	πολυδιαφημίζω
polykatalaveno	πολυκαταλαβαίνω
polymilo	πολυμιλώ
polypezo	πολυπαίζω
polysizito	πολυσυζητώ
polyagapo	πολυαγαπώ
polyareso	πολυαρέσω
polythelo	πολυθέλω
polypsaxno	πολυψάχνω

***para*- 'over-'**

paravrazo	παραβράζω
parazesteno	παραζεσταίνω
parakimame	παρακοιμάμαι
parafortono	παραφορτώνω
paraxorteno	παραχορταίνω
paravazo	παραβάζω
paravareno	παραβαραίνω
paravgeno	παραβγαίνω
paravlepo	παραβλέπω
paragenizo	παραγεμίζω
paragerno	παραγερνώ
paraginome	παραγίνομαι
paragnorizome	παραγνωρίζομαι
paragrafo	παραγράφω
paradino	παραδίνω
paradoulevo	παραδουλεύω
paraime	παραείμαι
paraexo	παραέχω
parakathome	παρακάθομαι
parakano	παρακάνω
parakouo	παρακούω
paraleo	παραλέω
paramorfonome	παραμορφώνομαι
parapino	παραπίνω
paraskotizo	παρασκοτίζω
paratravo	παρατραβώ
paratroo	παρατρώω

parafthiro	παραφθείρω
paraforo	παραφορώ
parafouskono	παραφουσκώνω
paraorimazo	παραωριμάζω

***kalo-* 'well-'**

kalovlepo	καλοβλέπω
kaloareso	καλοαρέσω
kalovrazo	καλοβράζω
kalognorizo	καλογνωρίζω
kalodexome	καλοδέχομαι
kaloeksetazo	καλοεξετάζω
kalozigizo	καλοζυγίζω
kalozo	καλοζώ
kalothelo	καλοθέλω
kalothimame	καλοθυμάμαι
kalokathome	καλοκάθομαι
kalokimame	καλοκοιμάμαι
kalokitazo	καλοκοιτάζω
kalomatheno	καλομαθαίνω
kalomeleto	καλομελετώ
kalomilo	καλομιλώ
kaloksimerono	καλοξημερώνω
kalopantrevo	καλοπαντρεύω
kaloperno	καλοπερνώ
kalopefto	καλοπέφτω
kaloplirono	καλοπληρώνω
kalopoulo	καλοπουλώ
kaloroto	καλορωτώ
kaloskeftome	καλοσκέφτομαι
kalostrono	καλοστρώνω
kalosillogizome	καλοσυλλογίζομαι
kalosinithizo	καλοσυνηθίζω
kalosistino	καλοσυστήνω
kalotaizo	καλοταΐζω
kalotroo	καλοτρώω
kalotipono	καλοτυπώνω
kalofenome	καλοφαίνομαι
kalofeggi	καλοφέγγει
kaloftiaxno	καλοφτιάχνω
kaloxonevo	καλοχωνεύω
kalopsino	καλοψήνω

***yper-* 'over-'**

yperefxaristo	υπερευχαριστώ
yperagonio	υπεραγωνιώ
yperthermeno	υπερθερμαίνω
yperkatalanono	υπερκαταναλώνω
yperparago	υπερπαράγω
yperprostatevo	υπερπροστατεύω
yperaploustevo	υπεραπλουστεύω
yperdiegiro	υπερδιεγείρω
yperekkrino	υπερεκκρίνω
yperektimo	υπερεκτιμώ
yperxilizo	υπερχειλίζω
yperisxio	υπερισχύω
yperkalipto	υπερκαλύπτω
yperlitourgo	υπερλειτουργώ
ypertonizo	υπερτονίζω
yperfortono	υπερφορτώνω
yperxreono	υπερχρεώνω

***kata-* 'completely-'**

katagoitevo	καταγοητεύω
katadimagogo	καταδημαγωγώ
kataidrono	καταϊδρώνω
katakokkinozo	κατακοκκινίζω
katatromazo	κατατρομάζω
kataxirokroto	καταχειροκροτώ
katavasanizo	καταβασανίζω
katavrexo	καταβρέχω
kataksodevo	καταξοδεύω
kataspatalo	κατασπαταλώ
katadapano	καταδαπανώ
katathorivo	καταθορυβώ
katakeo	κατακαίω
katakitrinizo	κατακιτρινίζω
kataklevo	κατακλέβω
katakovo	κατακόβω
katakommatiazo	κατακομματιάζω
katakourazo	κατακουράζω
katalistevo	καταληστεύω
katamagevo	καταμαγεύω
katamatono	καταματώνω
katamavrizo	καταμαυρίζω
katantrepome	καταντρέπομαι
katantropiazo	καταντροπιάζω
kataksereno	καταξεραίνω

katakseskizo	καταξεσκίζω
katapikreno	καταπικραίνω
kataplimmirizo	καταπλημμυρίζω
kataspilono	κατασπιλώνω
katastenaxoro	καταστεναχωρώ
katasigkino	κατασυγκινώ
katasikofanto	κατασυκοφαντώ
kataskotono	κατασκοτώνω
kataskouriazo	κατασκουριάζω
katasfazo	κατασφάζω
katataleporo	καταταλαιπωρώ
katatarazo	καταταράζω
katatemaxizo	κατατεμαχίζω
katatripo	κατατρυπώ
katatiranno	κατατυραννώ
kataipoxreono	καταϋποχρεώνω
katafilo	καταφιλώ
katafovame	καταφοβάμαι
katafovizo	καταφοβίζω
kataxerome	καταχαίρομαι
kataxreono	καταχρεώνομαι

***psilo-* 'a little'**

psilovrexi	ψιλοβρέχει
psilomourmourizo	ψιλομουρμουρίζω
psilotragoudo	ψιλοτραγουδάω
psilodoulevo	ψιλοδουλεύω
psilokriono	ψιλοκρυώνω
psiloeksetazo	ψιλοεξετάζω
psiloroto	ψιλορωτώ

***miso-* 'half-'**

misoanoigo	μισοανοίγω
misoklino	μισοκλείνω
misokimame	μισοκοιμάμαι
misoime	μισοείμαι
misothelo	μισοθέλω
misopsino	μισοψήνω

***koutso-* 'poorly-'**

koutsovlepo	κουτσοβλέπω
koutsodiavazo	κουτσοδιαβάζω
koutsozo	κουτσοζω
koutsovolevo	κουτσοβολεύω

koutsopino	κουτσοπίνω
koutsokataferno	κουτσοκαταφέρνω

***psefto-* 'fake-'**

pseftozo	ψευτοζω
pseftodiavazo	ψευτοδιαβάζω
pseftodoulevo	ψευτοδουλεύω
pesftoperno	ψευτοπερνώ
pseftoparigorieme	ψευτοπαρηγοριέμαι

***xazo-* 'half-heartedly'**

xazodiavazo	χαζοδιαβάζω
xazokimame	χαζοκοιμάμαι
xazotroo	χαζοτρώω

***skylo-* 'to death'**

skylovarieme	σκυλοβαριέμαι
skylovrizo	σκυλοβρίζω

***xilio-* 'thousand-'**

xilioefxaristo	χιλιοευχαριστώ
xilioparakalo	χιλιοπαρακαλώ

***mirio-* 'million-'**

mirioanastenazo	μυριοαναστενάζω
mirioepeno	μυριοεπαινώ
mirioefxaristo	μυριοευχαριστώ
miriokatigoro	μυριοκατηγορώ

***anti-* (*anti* 'instead of, in place of')**

antagonizome	ανταγωνίζομαι
antallasso	ανταλλάσσω
antamivo	ανταμείβω
antanaklo	αντανακλώ
antapanto	ανταπαντώ
antapodido	ανταποδίδω
antapokrinome	ανταποκρίνομαι
antapolamvano	ανταπολαμβάνω
antasfalizo	αντασφαλίζω
antisigoume	αντεισηγούμαι
antekdikoume	αντεκδικούμαι
antendiknime	αντενδείκνυμαι
antenergo	αντενεργώ

antepekserxome	αντεπεξέρχομαι
antepititheme	αντεπιτίθεμαι
antefxome	αντεύχομαι
antexo	αντέχω
antixo	αντηχώ
antiveno	αντιβαίνω
antivallo	αντιβάλλω
antivgeno	αντιβγαίνω
antivouizo	αντιβουίζω
antignomo	αντιγνωμώ
antigrafo	αντιγράφω
antidiadilono	αντιδιαδηλώνω
antidiastello	αντιδιαστέλλω
antidiko	αντιδικώ
antidro	αντιδρώ
antieksousiazo	αντιεξουσιάζω
antitheto	αντιθέτω
antikathisto	αντικαθιστώ
antikathreftizo	αντικαθρεφτίζω
antikatavallo	αντικαταβάλλω
antikatoptrizo	αντικατοπτρίζω
antikime	αντίκειμαι
antikovo/antikopto	αντικόβω/αντικόπτω
antikrizo	αντικρίζω
antikrouo	αντικρούω
antilalo	αντιλαλώ
antilamvanome	αντιλαμβάνομαι
antilego	αντιλέγω
antilogizo	αντιλογίζω
antimaxome	αντιμάχομαι
antimetatheto	αντιμεταθέτω
antimetrieme	αντιμετριέμαι
antimetopizo	αντιμετωπίζω
antimilo	αντιμιλώ
antipatho	αντιπαθώ
antipalevo	αντιπαλεύω
antiparavallo	αντιπαραβάλλω
antiparatheto	αντιπαραθέτω
antiparatasso	αντιπαρατάσσω
antiparerxome	αντιπαρέρχομαι
antipolitevome	αντιπολιτεύομαι
antiprosotevo	αντιπροσωπεύω
antiprotino	αντιπροτείνω
antirropizo	αντιρροπίζω

antistathmizo	αντισταθμίζω
antistekome	αντιστέκομαι
antistirizo	αντιστηρίζω
antistixizo	αντιστοιχίζω
antistixo	αντιστοιχώ
antistratevome	αντιστρατεύομαι
antistrefo	αντιστρέφω
antitasso	αντιτάσσω
antitino	αντιτείνω
antitithene	αντιτίθεμαι
antifasko	αντιφάσκω
antifeggizo/antifeggo	αντιφεγγίζω/αντιφέγγω
antifono	αντιφωνώ
antixeretizo/antixereto	αντιχαιρετίζω/αντιχαιρετώ

***apo-* (*apo* 'from')**

apoveno	αποβαίνω
apovallo	αποβάλλω
apovivazo	αποβιβάζω
apoviono	αποβιώνω
apovlakono	αποβλακώνω
apovlepo	αποβλέπω
apovoutirono	αποβουτυρώνω
apovrazo	αποβράζω
apogalaktizo	απογαλακτίζω
apogiono	απογειώνω
apogemizo	απογεμίζω
apogenno	απογεννώ
apogerno	απογερνώ
apoginome	απογίνομαι
apogkremizo	απογκρεμίζω
apogoitevo	απογοητεύω
apografo	απογράφω
apogimnono	απογυμνώνω
apodiknio	αποδεικνύω
apodipno	αποδειπνώ
apodekatizo	αποδεκατίζω
apodeltiono	αποδελτιώνω
apodesmevo	αποδεσμεύω
apodexome	αποδέχομαι
apodimo	αποδημώ
apodialego	αποδιαλέγω
apodiarthrono	αποδιαρθρώνω
apodido/apodino	αποδίδω/αποδίνω

apodiethnopio	αποδιεθνοποιώ
apodiorganono	αποδιοργανώνω
apodioxno	αποδιώχνω
apodokimazo	αποδοκιμάζω
apodro	αποδρώ
apodimanono	αποδυναμώνω
apozimiono	αποζημιώνω
apozito	αποζητώ
apozourleno	αποζουρλαίνω
apozo	αποζώ
apoixiropioume	αποηχηροποιούμαι
apothalassono	αποθαλασσώνω
apotharrino	αποθαρρύνω
apothavmazo	αποθαυμάζω
apotherapevo	αποθεραπεύω
apotherizo	αποθερίζω
apothermeno	αποθερμαίνω
apotheto	αποθέτω
apotheono	αποθεώνω
apothikevo	αποθηκεύω
apothilazo	αποθηλάζω
apothiriono	αποθηριώνω
apothisavrizo	αποθησαυρίζω
apothnisko	αποθνήσκω
apothrasino	αποθρασύνω
apothimo	αποθυμώ
apikizo	αποικίζω
apikodomo	αποικοδομώ
apiko	αποικώ
apokathilono	αποκαθηλώνω
apokathisto	αποκαθιστώ
apokeo	αποκαίω
apokalipto	αποκαλύπτω
apokalo	αποκαλώ
apokano	αποκάνω
apokardiono	αποκαρδιώνω
apokarono	αποκαρώνω
apokatasteno	αποκατασταίνω
apokentrono	αποκεντρώνω
apokefalizo	αποκεφαλίζω
apokirisso	αποκηρύσσω
apoklio	αποκλείω
apoklirono	αποκληρώνω
apoklimakono	αποκλιμακώνω

apoklino	αποκλίνω
apokovo/apokopto	αποκόβω/αποκόπτω
apokimieme	αποκοιμιέμαι
apokimizo	αποκοιμίζω
apokollo	αποκολλώ
apokomizo	αποκομίζω
apokorifono	αποκορυφώνω
apokoto	αποκοτώ
apokratikopio	αποκρατικοποιώ
apokrevo	αποκρεύω
apokrinome	αποκρίνομαι
apokrouo	αποκρούω
apokriptografo	αποκρυπτογραφώ
apokripto	αποκρύπτω
apokristallono	αποκρυσταλλώνω
apoktinono	αποκτηνώνω
apokto	αποκτώ
apokodikopio	αποκωδικοποιώ
apolamvano	απολαμβάνω
apolipo	απολείπω
apolepizo	απολεπίζω
apoligo	απολήγω
apolismono	απολησμονώ
apolithono	απολιθώνω
apolipeno	απολιπαίνω
apologoume	απολογούμαι
apolimeno	απολυμαίνω
apolitrono	απολυτρώνω
apolio	απολύω
apololeno	απολωλαίνω
apomagnitizo	απομαγνητίζω
apomagnitofono	απομαγνητοφωνώ
apomazono	απομαζώνω
apomakrino	απομακρύνω
apomareno	απομαραίνω
apomeno	απομένω
apomimoume	απομιμούμαι
apomnimonevo	απομνημονεύω
apomonono	απομονώνω
apomizo	απομυζώ
apomithopio	απομυθοποιώ
aponarkono	απονάρκώνω
aponekrono	απονεκρώνω
aponemo	απονέμω

aponevrono	απονευρώνω
apoksenono	αποξενώνω
apoksereno	αποξεραίνω
apoksexno	αποξεχνώ
apokseo	αποξέω
apoksireno	αποξηραίνω
apoperno	αποπαίρνω
apopato	αποπατώ
apopirome	αποπειρώμαι
apopempo	αποπέμπω
apoperatono	αποπερατώνω
apopino	αποπίνω
apoplano	αποπλανώ
apopleno	αποπλένω
apopleo	αποπλέω
apoplirono	αποπληρώνω
apoplino	αποπλύνω
apopneo	αποπνέω
apopinikopio	αποποινικοποιώ
apopioume	αποποιούμαι
apoprosanatolizo	αποπροσανατολίζω
apopirinikopio	αποπυρηνικοποιώ
apopomakizo	αποπωμακίζω
aporreo	απορρέω
aporripto	απορρίπτω
aporrofo	απορροφώ
aporrithmizo	απορρυθμίζω
aporripeno	απορρυπαίνω
aporfanizo	απορφανίζω
aporo	απορώ
aposathrono	αποσαθρώνω
aposafinizo	αποσαφηνίζω
aposveno	αποσβένω
aposvolono	αποσβολώνω
aposio	αποσείω
aposiopo	αποσιωπώ
aposkeletono	αποσκελετώνω
aposkirto	αποσκιρτώ
aposkopo	αποσκοπώ
aposkorakizo	αποσκορακίζω
aposovo	αποσοβώ
apospo	αποσπώ
apostazo	αποστάζω
apostatheropio	αποσταθεροποιώ

aposteno	αποσταίνω
apostasiopioume	αποστασιοποιούμαι
apostate	αποστατώ
apostirono	αποστειρώνω
apostello	αποστέλλω
apostergo	αποστέργω
apostero	αποστερώ
aposteonome	αποστεώνομαι
apostithizo	αποστηθίζω
apostomono	αποστομώνω
apostravono	αποστραβώνω
apostraggizo	αποστραγγίζω
apostratevo	αποστρατεύω
apostratiotikopio	αποστρατιωτικοποιώ
apostrefo	αποστρέφω
apostroggilevo	αποστρογγυλεύω
aposimpiezo	αποσυμπιέζω
aposimforo	αποσυμφορώ
aposinarmologo	αποσυναρμολογώ
aposindeo	αποσυνδέω
aposintheto	αποσυνθέτω
aposintonizo	αποσυντονίζω
aposiro	αποσύρω
aposiskevazo	αποσυσκευάζω
aposfragizo	αποσφραγίζω
aposximatizo	αποσχηματίζω
aposono	αποσώνω
apotamievo	αποταμιεύω
apotasso	αποτάσσω
apotino	αποτείνω
apoteliono	αποτελειώνω
apotelmatono	αποτελματώνω
apotelo	αποτελώ
apotetiono	αποτετοιώνω
apaftono	απαυτώνω
apotefrono	αποτεφρώνω
apotimo	αποτιμώ
apotinazo	αποτινάζω
apotino	αποτίνω
apotixizo	αποτοιχίζω
apotolmo	αποτολμώ
apotoksinono	αποτοξινώνω
apotravo	αποτραβώ
apotreleno	αποτρελαίνω

apotrepo	αποτρέπω
apotrixono	αποτριχώνω
apotroo	αποτρώω
apotipono	αποτυπώνω
apotiflono	αποτυφλώνω
apotigxano	αποτυγχάνω
apousiazo	απουσιάζω
apofenome	αποφαίνομαι
apofasizo	αποφασίζω
apofasko	αποφάσκω
apofero	αποφέρω
apofevgo	αποφεύγω
apofliono	αποφλοιώνω
apofito	αποφοιτώ
apofortizo	αποφορτίζω
apofrazo	αποφράζω
apofilakizo	αποφυλακίζω
apoxereto	αποχαιρετώ
apoxalinonome	αποχαλινώνομαι
apoxalo	αποχαλώ
apoxaraktirizo	αποχαρακτηρίζω
apoxavnono	αποχαυνώνω
apoxersono	αποχερσώνω
apoxetevo	αποχετεύω
apoxromatizo	αποχρωματίζω
apoxorizo	αποχωρίζω
apoxoro	αποχωρώ
apopsilono	αποψιλώνω
apopsixo	αποψύχω

***meta*- (*meta* 'after, following')**

metaveno	μεταβαίνω
metavallo	μεταβάλλω
metavaptizo	μεταβαπτίζω
metonomazo	μετονομάζω
metavivazo	μεταβιβάζω
metaggizo	μεταγγίζω
metaglottizo	μεταγλωττίζω
metagrafo	μεταγράφω
metago	μετάγω
metadimotevo	μεταδημοτεύω
metadido	μεταδίδω
metatheto	μεταθέτω
metakalo	μετακαλώ

metakino	μετακινώ
metakomizo	μετακομίζω
metalaveno/metalamvano	μεταλαβαίνω/μεταλαμβάνω
metalampadevo	μεταλαμπαδεύω
metallasso	μεταλλάσσω
metameloume	μεταμελούμαι
metamorfono	μεταμορφώνω
metamosxevo	μεταμοσχεύω
metamfiezo	μεταμφιέζω
metanastevo	μεταναστεύω
metaniono	μετανιώνω
metanoo	μετανοώ
metapitho	μεταπείθω
metapido	μεταπηδώ
metapipto	μεταπίπτω
metaplatho	μεταπλάθω
metapio	μεταποιώ
metapolo	μεταπωλώ
metarrithmizo	μεταρρυθμίζω
metarsiono	μεταρσιώνω
metaskevazo	μετασκευάζω
metastegazo	μεταστεγάζω
metastrefo	μεταστρέφω
metasximatizo	μετασχηματίζω
metatasso	μετατάσσω
metatopizo	μετατοπίζω
metatrepo	μετατρέπω
metafero	μεταφέρω
metafrazo	μεταφράζω
metafitevo	μεταφυτεύω
metaxirizome	μεταχειρίζομαι
metaxronologo	μεταχρονολογώ

***para-* (*para* 'despite')**

paraveno	παραβαίνω
paravallo	παραβάλλω
paravgazo	παραβγάζω
paravgeno	παραβγαίνω
paraviazo	παραβιάζω
paravlepo	παραβλέπω
paraggello	παραγγέλλω
paragkonizo	παραγκωνίζω
paragrafo	παραγράφω
parago	παράγω

paradigmatizo	παραδειγματίζω
paraderno	παραδέρνω
paradexome	παραδέχομαι
paradido/paradino	παραδίδω/παραδίνω
paradoxologo	παραδοξολογώ
paratherizo	παραθερίζω
paratheto	παραθέτω
pareno	παραινώ
paretoume	παραιτούμαι
parakalo	παρακαλώ
parakampto	παρακάμπτω
parakento	παρακεντώ
parakindinevo	παρακινδυνεύω
parakino	παρακινώ
parakmazo	παρακμάζω
parakoloutho	παρακολουθώ
parakouo	παρακούω
parakrato	παρακρατώ
parakolio	παρακωλύω
paralamvano	παραλαμβάνω
paralipo	παραλείπω
paraliro	παραληρώ
parallazo/parallasso	παραλλάζω/παραλλάσσω
parallilizo	παραλληλίζω
paralogizome	παραλογίζομαι
paralio	παραλύω
paramazevo/paramazono	παραμαζεύω/παραμαζώνω
paramelo	παραμελώ
parameno	παραμένω
paramerizo	παραμερίζω
paramilo	παραμιλώ
paramonevo	παραμονεύω
paramorfono	παραμορφώνω
paramithiazo	παραμυθιάζω
paranomo	παρανομώ
paranoo	παρανοώ
paraksenevo	παραξενεύω
parapeo	παραπαίω
parapato	παραπατώ
parapempo	παραπέμπω
parapet	παραπετώ
paraplano	παραπλανώ
parapleo	παραπλέω
parapliroforo	παραπληροφορώ

parapio	παραποιώ
paraponieme	παραπονιέμαι
paraserno	παρασέρνω
parasimoforo	παρασημοφορώ
parasite	παρασιτώ
parasiopo	παρασιωπώ
paraskevazo	παρασκευάζω
paraspondo	παρασπονδώ
parasteno	παρασταίνω
parastekome	παραστέκομαι
parastratizo/parastrato	παραστρατίζω/παραστρατώ
paratasso	παρατάσσω
paratino	παρατείνω
paratiro	παρατηρώ
paratonizo	παρατονίζω
paratipo	παρατυπώ
paraferome	παραφέρομαι
parafrazo	παραφράζω
parafrono	παραφρονώ
parafilao	παραφυλάω
parafono	παραφωνώ
paraxarazo	παραχαράζω
paraximazo	παραχειμάζω
paraxono	παραχώνω
paraxoro	παραχωρώ
parevriskome	παρευρίσκομαι

***hyper-* 'over-'**

yperagapo	υπεραγαπώ
yperesiodokso	υπεραισιοδοξώ
yperakontizo	υπερακοντίζω
yperaploustevo	υπεραπλουστεύω
yperaspizome	υπερασπίζομαι
yperveno	υπερβαίνω
ypervallo	υπερβάλλω
yperekkrino	υπερεκκρίνω
yperektimo	υπερεκτιμώ
yperefxaristo	υπερευχαριστώ
yperexo	υπερέχω
yperthematizo	υπερθεματίζω
yperthermeno	υπερθερμαίνω
yperiptame	υπερίπταμαι
yperisxio	υπερισχύω
yperkalipto	υπερκαλύπτω

yperkime	υπέρκειμαι
yperkerazo	υπερκεράζω
yperlitourgo	υπερλειτουργώ
yperniko	υπερνικώ
yperpido	υπερπηδώ
ypersitizo	υπερσιτίζω
ypertero	υπερτερώ
ypertimologo	υπερτιμολογώ
ypertero	υπερτιμώ
ypertonizo	υπερτονίζω
yperipsono	υπερυψώνω
yperfortizo	υπερφορτίζω
yperfortono	υπερφορτώνω
yperxilizo	υπερχειλίζω
yperxreono	υπερχρεώνω
yperosifizo	υπερψηφίζω

***hypo-* 'under-'**

ypoapasxoloume	υποαπασχολούμαι
ypovathmizo	υποβαθμίζω
ypovallo	υποβάλλω
ypovastazo	υποβαστάζω
ypovivazo	υποβιβάζω
ypovlepo	υποβλέπω
ypovoitho	υποβοηθώ
ypovlepo	υποβόσκω
ypogrammizo	υπογραμμίζω
ypografo	υπογράφω
ypodavlizo	υποδαυλίζω
ypodiknio	υποδεικνύω
ypodexome	υποδέχομαι
ypodilono	υποδηλώνω
ypodiero	υποδιαιρώ
ypodoulono	υποδουλώνω
ypodiome	υποδύομαι
ypothalpo	υποθάλπω
ypotheto	υποθέτω
ypothikevo	υποθηκεύω
yookathisto	υποκαθιστώ
ypokime	υπόκειμαι
ypokino	υποκινώ
ypoklepto	υποκλέπτω
ypoklinome	υποκλίνομαι
ypokrinome	υποκρίνομαι

ypokripto	υποκρύπτω
ypolanthano	υπολανθάνω
ypolipome	υπολείπομαι
ypolitourgo	υπολειτουργώ
ypoliptome	υπολήπτομαι
ypologizo	υπολογίζω
ypomeno	υπομένω
ypomisthono	υπομισθώνω
yponomevo	υπονομεύω
yponoo	υπονοώ
ypopipto	υποπίπτω
ypoptevome	υποπτεύομαι
yposimiono	υποσημειώνω
ypositizo	υποσιτίζω
yposkapto	υποσκάπτω
yposkelizo	υποσκελίζω
ypostello	υποστέλλω
ypostirizo	υποστηρίζω
ypostilono	υποστυλώνω
yposxome	υπόσχομαι
ypotasso	υποτάσσω
ypotimo	υποτιμώ
ypotonthorizo	υποτονθορίζω
ypotropiazo	υποτροπιάζω
ypofero	υποφέρω
ypofoski	υποφώσκει
ypoxreoume	υποχρεούμαι
ypoxreono	υποχρεώνω
ypoxoro	υποχωρώ
ypopsiazo	υποψιάζω

***epi-* (*epi* 'on, atop')**

epiveno	επιβαίνω
epivallo	επιβάλλω
epivarino	επιβαρύνω
epiveveono	επιβεβαιώνω
epivivazo	επιβιβάζω
epiviono	επιβιώνω
epivleno	επιβλέπω
epivoulevome	επιβουλεύομαι
epivravevo	επιβραβεύω
epivradino	επιβραδύνω
epigrafo	επιγράφω
epidapsilevo	επιδαψιλεύω

epidiknio	επιδεικνύω
epidinono	επιδεινώνω
epideno	επιδένω
epidexome	επιδέχομαι
epidomo	επιδημώ
epididome	επιδίδομαι
epidikazo	επιδικάζω
epidiorthono	επιδιορθώνω
epidioko	επιδιώκω
epidokimazo	επιδοκιμάζω
epidoto	επιδοτώ
epidro	επιδρώ
epizo	επιζώ
epizito	επιζητώ
epitheto	επιθέτω
epitheoro	επιθεωρώ
epithimo	επιθυμώ
epikathome	επικάθομαι
apikaloume	επικαλούμαι
apikalipto	επικαλύπτω
apikarponome	επικαρπώνομαι
epikassiterono	επικασσιτερώνω
epikentrono	επικεντρώνω
epikirisso	επικηρύσσω
epikinono	επικοινωνώ
epikollo	επικολλώ
epikouro	επικουρώ
epikrato	επικρατώ
epikrino	επικρίνω
epikroto	επικροτώ
epikirono	επικυρώνω
epilamvanome	επιλαμβάνομαι
epilego	επιλέγω
epilio	επιλύω
epimeloume	επιμελούμαι
epimeno	επιμένω
epimerizo	επιμερίζω
epimetallono	επιμεταλλώνω
epimetro	επιμετρώ
epimikino	επιμηκύνω
epimolivdono	επιμολυβδώνω
epimorfono	επιμορφώνω
epinevo	επινεύω
epinikelono	επινικελώνω

epinoo	επινοώ
epiorko	επιορκώ
epipipto	επιπίπτω
epiplatinono	επιπλατινώνω
epipleo	επιπλέω
epiplitto	επιπλήττω
epirripto	επιρρίπτω
episio	επισείω
episimeno	επισημαίνω
episitizo	επισιτίζω
episkeptome	επισκέπτομαι
episkevazo	επισκευάζω
episkiazo	επισκιάζω
episkopo	επισκοπώ
epispevdo	επισπεύδω
epistato	επιστατώ
epistegazo	επιστεγάζω
epistratevo	επιστρατεύω
epistrefo	επιστρέφω
epistrono	επιστρώνω
episinapto	επισυνάπτω
episiro	επισύρω
episfragizo	επισφραγίζω
episorevo	επισωρεύω
epitasso	επιτάσσω
epitaxino	επιταχύνω
epitino	επιτείνω
epitelo	επιτελώ
epitidevome	επιτηδεύομαι
epitiro	επιτηρώ
epititheme	επιτίθεμαι
epitimo	επιτιμώ
epitonizo	επιτονίζω
epitrepo	επιτρέπω
epitropevo	επιτροπεύω
epitigxano	επιτυγχάνω
epifero	επιφέρω
epifito	επιφοιτώ
epifortizo	επιφορτίζω
epifilasso	επιφυλάσσω
epixero	επιχαίρω
epixiro	επιχειρώ
epixorigo	επιχορηγώ
epixrio	επιχρίω

epixrisono	επιχρυσώνω
epixromatizo	επιχωματίζω
epixomatono	επιχωματώνω
epipsifizo	επιψηφίζω

***dia-* (*dia* 'though')**

diavazo	διαβάζω
diavathmizo	διαβαθμίζω
diaveno	διαβαίνω
diavallo	διαβάλλω
diaveveono	διαβεβαιώνω
diavivazo	διαβιβάζω
diaviono	διαβιώνω
diavlepo	διαβλέπω
diavoulevome	διαβουλεύομαι
diavrexo	διαβρέχω
diavrono	διαβρώνω
diagignosko	διαγιγνώσκω
diagkonizome	διαγκωνίζομαι
diagoumizo	διαγουμίζω
diagrammizo	διαγραμμίζω
diagrafo	διαγράφω
diadexome	διαδέχομαι
diadilono	διαδηλώνω
diadido	διαδίδω
diadramatizo	διαδραματίζω
diatheto	διαθέτω
diathlo	διαθλώ
diero	διαιρώ
diesthanome	διαισθάνομαι
dieonizo	διαιωνίζω
diakanonizo	διακανονίζω
diakatexo	διακατέχω
diakime	διάκειμαι
diakirisso	διακηρύσσω
diakindinevo	διακινδυνεύω
diakino	διακινώ
diakladizo	διακλαδίζω
diakinono	διακοινώνω
diakonizo	διακομίζω
diakopto	διακόπτω
diakorevo	διακορεύω
diakosmo	διακοσμώ
diakrivono	διακριβώνω

diakrino	διακρίνω
diakiverno	διακυβερνώ
diakomodo	διακωμωδώ
dialalo	διαλαλώ
dialamvano	διαλαμβάνω
dialego	διαλέγω
dialefkano	διαλευκάνω
dialogizome	διαλογίζομαι
dialio	διαλύω
diamartirome	διαμαρτύρομαι
diamivome	διαμείβομαι
diamelizo	διαμελίζω
diamino	διαμένω
diamerizo	διαμερίζω
diamesolavo	διαμεσολαβώ
diametakomizo	διαμετακομίζω
diaminio	διαμηνύω
diamirazo	διαμοιράζω
diamorfono	διαμορφώνω
diamfisvito	διαμφισβητώ
diamino	διανέμω
dianevo	διανεύω
dianthizo	διανθίζω
dianigo	διανοίγω
dianooume	διανοούμαι
dianikterevo	διανυκτερεύω
diapedagogo	διαπαιδαγωγώ
diapereono	διαπεραιώνω
diaperno	διαπερνώ
diapistono	διαπιστώνω
diaplatho	διαπλάθω
diaplatino	διαπλατύνω
diapleko	διαπλέκω
diapleo	διαπλέω
diapliktizome	διαπληκτίζομαι
diapneo	διαπνέω
diapompevo	διαπομπεύω
diapotizo	διαποτίζω
diapragmatevome	διαπραγματεύομαι
diapratto	διαπράττω
diapioume	διαπυούμαι
diarthrono	διαρθρώνω
diarko	διαρκώ
diarpazo	διαρπάζω

diarreo	διαρρέω
diarrignio	διαρρηγνύω
diarrithmizo	διαρρυθμίζω
diasalevo	διασαλεύω
diasafinizo	διασαφηνίζω
diaskedazo	διασκεδάζω
diaskelizo	διασκελίζω
diaskeptome	διασκέπτομαι
diaskevazo	διασκευάζω
diaskorpizo	διασκορπίζω
diaspathizo	διασπαθίζω
diaspiro	διασπείρω
diaspo	διασπώ
diastavrono	διασταυρώνω
diastello	διαστέλλω
diastrevlono	διαστρεβλώνω
diastrefo	διαστρέφω
diasiro	διασύρω
diasfalizo	διασφαλίζω
diasxizo	διασχίζω
diasozo	διασώζω
diasolinono	διασωληνώνω
diatazo	διατάζω
diatarasso	διαταράσσω
diatasso	διατάσσω
diatinome	διατείνομαι
diatelo	διατελώ
diatiro	διατηρώ
diatimo	διατιμώ
diatrixizo	διατοιχίζω
diatranono	διατρανώνω
diatrefo	διατρέφω
diatrexo	διατρέχω
diatripo	διατρυπώ
diatimpanizo	διατυμπανίζω
diatipono	διατυπώνω
diafenome	διαφαίνομαι
diafentevo	διαφεντεύω
diafero	διαφέρω
diafevgo	διαφεύγω
diafimizo	διαφημίζω
diafthiro	διαφθείρω
diafiloniko	διαφιλονικώ
diafilasso	διαφυλάσσω

diafono	διαφωνώ
diafotizo	διαφωτίζω
diaximazo	διαχειμάζω
diaxirizome	διαχειρίζομαι
diaxeo	διαχέω
diaxino	διαχύνω
diaxorizo	διαχωρίζω
diapsevdo	διαψεύδω

***en-* (*en* 'in, inside')**

enago	ενάγω
enallasso	εναλλάσσω
enanthrakono	ενανθρακώνω
enanthropizome	ενανθρωπίζομαι
enapotheto	εναποθέτω
enapothikevo	εναποθηκεύω
enapokime	εναποκειται
enapomeno	εναπομένω
enarmonizo	εναρμονίζω
enasko	ενασκώ
enasxoloume	ενασχολούμαι
enatenizo	ενατενίζω
endiknime	ενδείκνυμαι
endexete	ενδέχεται
endimo	ενδημώ
endiatrivo	ενδιατρίβω
endiafero	ενδιαφέρω
endido	ενδίδω
endinamono	ενδυναμώνω
endiome	ενδύομαι
enedrevo	ενεδρεύω
energo	ενεργώ
enexome	ενέχομαι
enexo	ενέχω
enilikionome	ενηλικιώνομαι
entharrino	ενθαρρύνω
entheto	ενθέτω
enthronizo	ενθρονίζω
enthilakono	ενθυλακώνω
enthimizo	ενθυμίζω
enthimoume	ενθυμούμαι
enthimo	ενθυμώ
enistame	ενίσταμαι
enisxio	ενισχύω

ennoo	εννοώ
enikiazo	ενοικιάζω
enorxistrono	ενορχηστρώνω
enofthalmizo	ενοφθαλμίζω
enoxlo	ενοχλώ
ensarkono	ενσαρκώνω
enskipto	ενσκήπτω
enspiro	ενσπείρω
enstalazo	ενσταλάζω
ensternizome	ενστερνίζομαι
ensfinono	ενσφηνώνω
ensomatono	ενσωματώνω
entasso	εντάσσω
entafiazo	ενταφιάζω
entino	εντείνω
entellome	εντέλλομαι
entixizo	εντοιχίζω
entrepome	εντρέπομαι
entropiazo	εντροπιάζω
entrifo	εντρυφώ
entipono	εντυπώνω
enidatono	ενυδατώνω
eniparxo	ενυπάρχω

***ek-* (*ek* 'from')**

ekvathino	εκβαθύνω
ekvallo	εκβάλλω
ekvarvarizo/ekvarvarono	εκβαρβαρίζω/εκβαρβανώνω
ekviazo	εκβιάζω
ekviomixanizo	εκβιομηχανίζω
ekvlastano	εκβλαστάνω
ekvrazo	εκβράζω
ekvraxizo	εκβραχίζω
ekgimnono	εκγυμνάζω
ekdilono	εκδηλώνω
ekdimokratizo	εκδημοκρατίζω
ekdimotikizo	εκδημοτικίζω
ekdido	εκδίδω
ekdikazo	εκδικάζω
ekdikoume	εκδικούμαι
ekdioko	εκδιώκω
ekdramo	εκδράμω
ekdio	εκδύω
ekthiazo	εκθειάζω

ekthemeliono	εκθεμελιώνω
ektheto	εκθέτω
ekthilino	εκθηλύνω
ekthivo	εκθλίβω
ekthronizo	εκθρονίζω
ekkatharizo	εκκαθαρίζω
ekkaminevo	εκκαμινεύω
ekkenono	εκκενώνω
ekkokizo	εκκοκίζω
ekkremo	εκκρεμώ
ekkrino	εκκρίνω
ekkrouo	εκκρούω
eklaikevo	εκλαϊκεύω
eklamvano	εκλαμβάνω
aklatinizo	εκλατινίζω
eklego	εκλέγω
eklipo	εκλείπω
ekleptino	εκλεπτύνω
eklogikevo	εκλογικεύω
eklio	εκλύω
ekmeevo	εκμαιεύω
ekmanthano	εκμανθάνω
ekmavlizo	εκμαυλίζω
ekmetallevome	εκμεταλλεύομαι
ekmetro	εκμετρώ
ekmidenizo	εκμηδενίζω
ekmisthono	εκμισθώνω
ekmonternizo	εκμοντερνίζω
ekmistirevome	εκμυστηρεύομαι
eknavlono	εκναυλώνω
eknevrizo	εκνευρίζω
ekpedevo	εκπαιδεύω
ekparthenizo	εκπαρθενεύω
ekpatrizome	εκπατρίζομαι
ekpempo	εκπέμπω
ekpigazo	εκπηγάζω
ekpipto	εκπίπτω
ekplistiriazo	εκπλειστηριάζω
ekpleo	εκπλέω
ekplirono	εκπληρώνω
ekplisso	εκπλήσσω
ekpneo	εκπνέω
ekpio	εκποιώ
ekpoliorko	εκπολιορκώ

ekpolitizo	εκπολιτίζω
ekpono	εκπονώ
ekporevome	εκπορεύομαι
ekportho	εκπορθώ
ekpornevo	εκπορνεύω
ekprosopevo/ekprosopo	εκπροσωπεύω/εκπροσωπώ
ekpirsokroto	εκπυρσοκροτώ
ekpomakizo	εκπωμακίζω
ekreo	εκρέω
ekrignime	εκρήγνυμαι
ekrizono	εκριζώνω
ekskapto	εκσκάπτω
ekspermatizo/ekspermatono	εκσπερματίζω/εκσπερματώνω
ekstratono	εκστρατεύω
eksfendonizo	εκσφενδονίζω
ektamievo	εκταμιεύω
ektino	εκτείνω
ektelo	εκτελώ
ektelonizo	εκτελωνίζω
ektimo	εκτιμώ
ektinasso	εκτινάσσω
ektio	εκτίω
ektonono	εκτονώνω
ektoksevo	εκτοξεύω
ektopizo	εκτοπίζω
ektraxilizo	εκτραχηλίζω
ektraxino	εκτραχύνω
ektrepo	εκτρέπω
ektrefo	εκτρέφω
ektinasso	εκτινάσσω
ektipono	εκτυπώνω
ekfavlizo	εκφαυλίζω
ekfero	εκφέρω
ekfevgo	εκφεύγω
ekfovizo	εκφοβίζω
ekforoume	εκφορούμαι
ekfortizo	εκφορτίζω
ekfrazo	εκφράζω
ekfono	εκφωνώ
ekxilizo	εκχυλίζω
ekxoro	εκχωρώ
eksaggello	εξαγγέλλω
eksagiazo	εξαγιάζω
eksagorazo	εξαγοράζω

eksago	εξάγω
eksero	εξαίρω
eksero	εξαιρώ
eksakoloutho	εξακολουθώ
eksakrivono	εξακριβώνω
eksalifo	εξαλείφω
eksanagkazo	εξαναγκάζω
eksanemizo	εξανεμίζω
eksanistame	εξανίσταμαι
eksantlo	εξαντλώ
eksapato	εξαπατώ
eksaplono	εξαπλώνω
eksapolio	εξαπολύω
eksapostello	εξαποστέλλω
eksapto	εξάπτω
eksargirono	εξαργυρώνω
eksarthrono	εξαρθρώνω
eksarto	εξαρτώ
eksastheno	εξασθενώ
eksasko	εξασκώ
eksasfalizo	εξασφαλίζω
eksafanizo	εξαφανίζω
eksegiro	εξεγείρω
ekselisso	εξελίσσω
ekserevno	εξερευνώ
ekserxome	εξέρχομαι
eksetazo	εξετάζω
eksevrisko	εξευρίσκω
ekseftelizo	εξευτελίζω
eksexo	εξέχω
eksigo	εξηγώ
eksimerono	εξημερώνω
eksileono	εξιλεώνω
eksisorropo	εξισορροπώ
eksistame	εξίσταμαι
eksistoro	εξιστορώ
eksisono	εξισώνω
eksixniazo	εξιχνιάζω
eksogkono	εξογκώνω
eksikiono	εξοικειώνω
eksikonomo	εξοικονομώ
eksoplizo	εξοπλίζω
eksorizo	εξορίζω
eksormo	εξορμώ

eksorisso	εξορύσσω
eksouthenono	εξουθενώνω
eksoflo	εξοφλώ
eksimno	εξυμνώ
eksipireto	εξυπηρετώ
eksiponoo	εξυπονοώ
eksifeno	εξυφαίνω
eksipsono	εξυψώνω
eksotho	εξωθώ

kse-

ksalafrono	ξαλαφρώνω
ksevafo	ξεβάφω
ksevgazo	ξεβγάζω
ksevgeno	ξεβγαίνω
ksevidono	ξεβιδώνω
ksevotanizo	ξεβοτανίζω
ksevoulono	ξεβουλώνω
ksevrazo	ξεβράζω
ksevrakono	ξεβρακώνω
ksevromizo	ξεβρομίζω
ksegantzono	ξεγαντζώνω
ksegderno	ξεγδέρνω
ksegelo	ξεγελώ
ksegenno	ξεγεννώ
kseginete	ξεγίνεται
kseglistro	ξεγλιστρώ
ksegofiazo	ξεγοφιάζω
ksegrafo	ξεγράφω
ksegimnono	ξεγυμνώνω
ksegirizo	ξεγυρίζω
ksedialego	ξεδιαλέγω
ksedialino	ξεδιαλύνω
ksedino	ξεδίνω
ksediplono	ξεδιπλώνω
ksedipso	ξεδιψώ
ksedontiazo	ξεδοντιάζω
ksezalizo	ξεζαλίζω
ksezevo	ξεζεύω
ksezoumiazo	ξεζουμίζω
ksezono	ξεζώνω
ksethavo	ξεθάβω
ksetharrevo	ξεθαρρεύω
ksethemeliono	ξεθεμελιώνω

ksetheono	ξεθεώνω
ksethilikono	ξεθηλυκώνω
ksetholono	ξεθολώνω
ksethimeno	ξεθυμαίνω
ksethimono	ξεθυμώνω
ksethoriazo	ξεθωριάζω
kseidrono	ξεϊδρώνω
ksekavalikevo	ξεκαβαλικεύω
ksekatharizo	ξεκαθαρίζω
ksekalokeriazo	ξεκαλοκαιριάζω
ksekaloupono	ξεκαλουπώνω
ksekaltsono	ξεκαλτσώνω
ksekano	ξεκάνω
ksekaparono	ξεκαπακώνω
ksekardizome	ξεκαρδίζομαι
ksekarfono	ξεκαρφώνω
ksekatiniazo	ξεκατινιάζω
ksekino	ξεκινώ
kseklevo	ξεκλέβω
kseklidono	ξεκλειδώνω
ksekliizo	ξεκληρίζω
ksekovo	ξεκόβω
ksekiliazo	ξεκοιλιάζω
ksekokalizo	ξεκοκαλίζω
ksekollo	ξεκολλώ
ksekouvariazo	ξεκουβαριάζω
ksekoukizo	ξεκουκίζω
ksekoukoulono	ξεκουκουλώνω
ksekoukoutsiazo	ξεκουκουτσιάζω
ksekoumpizome	ξεκουμπίζομαι
ksekoumpono	ξεκουμπώνω
ksekourazo	ξεκουράζω
ksekourdizo	ξεκουρδίζω
ksekoutieno	ξεκουτιαίνω
ksekoufeno	ξεκουφαίνω
ksekremo	ξεκρεμώ
ksekolono	ξεκωλώνω
kselemiazome	ξελαιμιάζομαι
kselarigiazome	ξελαρυγγιάζομαι
kselaskaro	ξελασκάρω
kselaspono	ξελασπώνω
kselekiazo	ξελεκιάζω
kselepizo	ξελεπίζω
kseleo	ξελέω

kseligothimo/kselipothimo	ξελιγοθυμώ/ξελιποθυμώ
kseligono	ξελιγώνω
kselogiazo	ξελογιάζω
ksematheno	ξεμαθαίνω
ksemakreno	ξεμακραίνω
ksemalliazo	ξεμαλλιάζω
ksemantalono	ξεμανταλώνω
ksemarkaro	ξεμαρκάρω
ksemaskarevo	ξεμασκαρεύω
ksematiazo	ξεματιάζω
ksethimo	ξεμυθώ
ksemeno	ξεμένω
ksemesimeriazo	ξεμεσημεριάζω
ksemesiazo	ξεμεσιάζω
ksemonaxiazo	ξεμοναχιάζω
ksemontaro	ξεμοντάρω
ksemoudiazo	ξεμουδιάζω
ksemourleno	ξεμουρλαίνω
ksemouxliazo	ξεμουχλιάζω
ksemparkaro	ξεμπαρκάρω
ksemperdevo	ξεμπερδεύω
ksempleko	ξεμπλέκω
ksemplokaro	ξεμπλοκάρω
ksempoukaro	ξεμπουκάρω
ksempratsono	ξεμπρατσώνω
ksemprostiazo	ξεμπροστιάζω
ksemializo	ξεμυαλίζω
ksemitizo	ξεμυτίζω
ksemoreno	ξεμωραίνω
ksenerizo	ξενερίζω
ksenerono	ξενερώνω
kseniazo	ξενοιάζω
ksenikiazo	ξενοικιάζω
ksentropiazo	ξεντροπιάζω
ksentino	ξεντύνω
ksenistazo	ξενυστάζω
ksenixiazo	ξενυχιάζω
ksenixto	ξενυχτώ
ksepagiazo	ξεπαγιάζω
ksepagono	ξεπαγώνω
ksepartheniazo	ξεπαραδιάζω
ksepartheneveo	ξεπαρθενεύω
ksepastrevo	ξεπαστρεύω
ksepatikono	ξεπατικώνω

ksepatono	ξεπατώνω
ksepezevo	ξεπεζεύω
kseperno	ξεπερνώ
ksepeto	ξεπετώ
ksepefto	ξεπέφτω
ksepigazo	ξεπηγάζω
ksepido	ξεπηδώ
ksepianome	ξεπιάνομαι
ksepikrizo	ξεπικρίζω
ksepleko	ξεπλέκω
ksepleno	ξεπλένω
kseplirono	ξεπληρώνω
ksepodariazo	ξεποδαριάζω
kseprtizo	ξεπορτίζω
ksepoulo	ξεπουλώ
ksepoupouliazo	ξεπουπουλιάζω
kseprizome	ξεπρήζομαι
kseprovallo	ξεπροβάλλω
kseprovodizo	ξεπροβοδίζω
kserizono	ξεριζώνω
ksesalono	ξεσαλώνω
ksesamarono	ξεσαμαρώνω
kseselono	ξεσελώνω
kseserno	ξεσέρνω
ksesikono	ξεσηκώνω
kseskalizo	ξεσκαλίζω
kseskalono	ξεσκαλώνω
kseskartaro	ξεσκαρτάρω
kseskatono	ξεσκατώνω
kseskepazo	ξεσκεπάζω
kseskizo	ξεσκίζω
ksesklavono	ξεσκλαβώνω
kseskolizo	ξεσκολίζω
kseskonizo	ξεσκονίζω
kseskotizo	ξεσκοτίζω
kseskouriazo	ξεσκουριάζω
ksespathono	ξεσπαθώνω
ksespitono	ξεσπιτώνω
ksesporiazo	ξεσποριάζω
ksestaxiazo	ξεσταχιάζω
ksestithono	ξεστηθώνω
ksestolizo	ξεστολίζω
ksestomizo	ξεστομίζω
ksestrabono	ξεστραβώνω

ksestratizo	ξεστρατίζω
ksestrono	ξεστρώνω
ksesinerizome	ξεσυνερίζομαι
ksesinithizo	ξεσυνηθίζω
ksesinnefiazo	ξεσυννεφιάζω
ksesfiggo	ξεσφίγγω
ksepatono	ξεταπώνω
ksetinazo	ξετινάζω
ksetreleno	ξετρελαίνω
ksetripono	ξετρυπώνω
ksetsiponome	ξετσιπώνομαι
ksetiligo	ξετυλίγω
ksefantono	ξεφαντώνω
ksefevgo	ξεφεύγω
ksefloudizo	ξεφλουδίζω
ksefortono	ξεφορτώνω
ksefournizo	ξεφουρνίζω
ksefouskono	ξεφουσκώνω
ksefrazo	ξεφράζω
kseftilizo	ξεφτιλίζω
ksefillizo	ξεφυλλίζω
ksefiso	ξεφυσώ
ksefonizo	ξεφωνίζω
ksefono	ξεφωνώ
ksexarvalono	ξεχαρβαλώνω
ksexarmaniazo	ξεχαρμανιάζω
ksexezo	ξεχέζω
ksexilizo	ξεχειλίζω
ksexilono	ξεχειλώνω
kseximazo	ξεχειμάζω
kseximoniazo	ξεχειμωνιάζω
ksexersono	ξεχερσώνω
ksexortariazo	ξεχορταριάζω
ksexreono	ξεχρεώνω
ksextenizo	ξεχτενίζω
ksexorizo	ξεχωρίζω
ksepsarono	ξεψαρώνω
ksepsaxnizo	ξεψαχνίζω
ksepsiriazo	ξεψειριάζω
ksepsixo	ξεψυχώ

***eis-* (*eis-* 'to, towards')**

isago	εισάγω
isakouo	εισακούω

isvallo	εισβάλλω
isdio	εισδύω
iserxome	εισέρχομαι
isigoume	εισηγούμαι
isormo	εισορμώ
ispleo	εισπλέω
ispneo	εισπνέω
ispratto	εισπράττω
isreo	εισρέω
isfero	εισφέρω
isxoro	εισχωρώ

***peri-* (*peri* 'around')**

peridraxno	περιαδράχνω
periarpazo	περιαρπάζω
periaftologo	περιαυτολογώ
perivallo	περιβάλλω
perivrexo	περιβρέχω
perigelo	περιγελώ
perigrafo	περιγράφω
perideno	περιδένω
peridiaveno	περιδιαβαίνω
perielisso	περιελίσσω
periergazome	περιεργάζομαι
perierxome	περιέρχομαι
periexo	περιέχω
perizono	περιζώνω
periigoume	περιηγούμαι
perithalpo	περιθάλπω
periptame	περίπταμαι
perikalipto	περικαλύπτω
periklio	περικλείω
perikopto	περικόπτω
perikiklono	περικυκλώνω
perilabeno	περιλαβαίνω
perilamvano	περιλαμβάνω
perilouzo	περιλούζω
perimazevo	περιμαζεύω
perimeno	περιμένω
periorizo	περιορίζω
peripezo	περιπαίζω
peripato/perpato	περιπατώ/περπατώ
peripipto	περιπίπτω
periplanieme	περιπλανιέμαι

peripleko	περιπλέκω
peripleo	περιπλέω
peripolo	περιπολώ
periskopo	περισκοπώ
perispo	περισπώ
peristello	περιστέλλω
peristixizo	περιστοιχίζω
peristrefo	περιστρέφω
perisillego	περισυλλέγω
perisfiggo	περισφίγγω
perisozo	περισώζω
peritemno	περιτέμνω
peritrexo	περιτρέχω
peritrigirizo	περιτριγυρίζω
peritilizo	περιτυλίζω
perifero	περιφέρω
perifrazo/perifrasso	περιφράζω/περιφράσσω
perifrono	περιφρονώ
perifrouro	περιφρουρώ
perixarakono	περιχαρακώνω
perixino	περιχύνω

syn- (*syn* 'with')

synagiro	συναγείρω
synagelazome	συναγελάζομαι
synago	συνάγω
synagonizome	συναγωνίζομαι
synathrizo	συναθροίζω
syneno	συναινώ
synero	συναιρώ
synesthanome	συναισθάνομαι
synallassome	συναλλάσσομαι
synanastrefome	συναναστρέφομαι
synapanto	συναπαντώ
synapartizo	συναπαρτίζω
synapokomizo	συναποκομίζω
synapotelo	συναποτελώ
synapto	συνάπτω
synarthrono	συναρθρώνω
synarithmo	συναριθμώ
synarmozo	συναρμόζω
synarmologo	συναρμολογώ
synarpazo	συναρπάζω
synarto	συναρτώ

synaspizo	συνασπίζω
syndavlizo	συνδαυλίζω
syndeo	συνδέω
syndialegome	συνδιαλέγομαι
syndiallasso	συνδιαλλάσσω
syndiaskeptome	συνδιασκέπτομαι
syndramo	συνδράμω
syndiazo	συνδυάζω
synegiro	συνεγείρω
synedriazo	συνεδριάζω
synisfero	συνεισφέρω
synektimo	συνεκτιμώ
synekfero	συνεκφέρω
synekfono	συνεκφωνώ
synennooume	συνεννοούμαι
synenono	συνενώνω
syneksetazo	συνεξετάζω
syneortazo	συνεορτάζω
synepagete	συνεπάγεται
synepidro	συνεπιδρώ
synepifero	συνεπιφέρω
synergazome	συνεργάζομαι
synergo	συνεργώ
synerizome	συνερίζομαι
synerxome	συνέρχομαι
syneterizome	συνεταιρίζομαι
synevriskome	συνευρίσκομαι
syneferno	συνεφέρνω
synexizo	συνεχίζω
synexo	συνέχω
sinigoro	συνηγορώ
syntheto	συνθέτω
synthlivo	συνθλίβω
synisto	συνιστώ
synodevo	συνοδεύω
synodiporo	συνοδοιπορώ
synikizo	συνοικίζω
syniko	συνοικώ
synomilo	συνομιλώ
synomologo	συνομολογώ
synofrionome	συνοφρυώνομαι
synopsizo	συνοψίζω
syneterizo	συνταιριάζω
syntaksidevo	συνταξιδεύω

syntarasso	συνταράσσω
syntasso	συντάσσω
syntaftizo	συνταυτίζω
syntino	συντείνω
syntelo	συντελώ
syntemno	συντέμνω
syntiko	συντήκω
syntiro	συντηρώ
sintomevo	συντομεύω
syntrexo	συντρέχω
syntrivo	συντρίβω
syntrogo	συντρώγω
syntigxano	συντυχαίνω
syniparxo	συνυπάρχω
synipireto	συνυπηρετώ
synipovallo	συνυποβάλλω
synipografo	συνυπογράφω
synipologizo	συνυπολογίζω
synisfero	συνυφαίνω
synothoume	συνωθούμαι
synomoto	συνωμοτώ
synostizome	συνωστίζομαι
syggrafo	συγγράφω
sygkeo	συγκαίω
sygkalipto	συγκαλύπτω
sygkalo	συγκαλώ
sygkatalego	συγκαταλέγω
sygkatanevo	συγκατανεύω
sygkatatitheme	συγκατατίθεμαι
sygkatiko	συγκατοικώ
sygkime	σύγκειμαι
sygkentrono	συγκεντρώνω
sygkerazo	συγκεράζω
sygkefaleono	συγκεφαλαιώνω
sygkino	συγκινώ
sygklironomo	συγκληρονομώ
sygklino	συγκλίνω
sygklonizo	συγκλονίζω
sygkinono	συγκοινωνώ
sygkollo	συγκολλώ
sygkopto	συγκόπτω
sygkrato	συγκρατώ
sygkrino	συγκρίνω
sygkroto	συγκροτώ

sygkrouome	συγκρούομαι
sygkiverno	συγκυβερνώ
sygxero	συγχαίρω
sygxeo	συγχέω
sygxrotizome	συγχρωτίζομαι
sygxizo	συγχύζω
sygxonevo	συγχωνεύω
sygxoro	συγχωρώ
syllavizo	συλλαβίζω
syllamvano	συλλαμβάνω
syllego	συλλέγω
syllitourgo	συλλειτουργώ
syllogizome/syllogieme	συλλογίζομαι/συλλογιέμαι
syllipoume	συλλυπούμαι
syssomatono	συσσωματώνω
syssorevo	συσσωρεύω
symvadizo	συμβαδίζω
symveni	συμβαίνει
symvallo	συμβάλλω
symvasilevo	συμβασιλεύω
symvivazo	συμβιβάζω
symviono	συμβιώνω
symmazevo	συμμαζεύω
symmazono	συμμαζώνω
symmaxo	συμμαχώ
symmerizome	συμμερίζομαι
symmetexo	συμμετέχω
symmorfono	συμμορφώνω
sympatho	συμπαθώ
symparastekome	συμπαραστέκομαι
symparasiro	συμπαρασύρω
symparatasso	συμπαρατάσσω
symparistame	συμπαρίσταμαι
sympasxo	συμπάσχω
symperilamvano	συμπεριλαμβάνω
symperiferome	συμπεριφέρομαι
sympignio	συμπηγνύω
sympiezo	συμπιέζω
sympipto	συμπίπτω
sympleko	συμπλέκω
sympleo	συμπλέω
symplirono	συμπληρώνω
sympolitevome	συμπολιτεύομαι
sympono	συμπονώ

sympratto	συμπράττω
symprosfero	συμπροφέρω
symptisso	συμπτύσσω
sympiknono	συμπυκνώνω
symfero	συμφέρω
symfito	συμφοιτώ
symfiome	συμφύομαι
symfiro	συμφύρω
symfono	συμφωνώ
syrrapto	συρράπτω
syrreo	συρρέω
syrriknono	συρρικνώνω
sygirizo	συγυρίζω
syskeptome	συσκέπτομαι
syskevazo	συσκευάζω
syskotizo	συσκοτίζω
syspirono	συσπειρώνω
syspo	συσπώ
systegazo	συστεγάζω
systello	συστέλλω
systino	συστήνω
systrefo	συστρέφω
sysfiggo	συσφίγγω
sysxetizo	συσχετίζω

***pros-* (*pros* 'to, towards')**

prosagorevo	προσαγορεύω
prosago	προσάγω
prosapto	προσάπτω
prosarazo	προσαράζω
prosarmozo	προσαρμόζω
prosarto	προσαρτώ
prosafksano	προσαυξάνω
prosvallo	προσβάλλω
prosvlepo	προσβλέπω
prosgiono	προσγειώνω
prosgrafo	προσγράφω
prosdeno	προσδένω
prosdido	προσδίδω
prosdiorizo	προσδιορίζω
prosdoko	προσδοκώ
proseggizo	προσεγγίζω
proselkio	προσελκύω
proserxome	προσέρχομαι

prosefxome	προσεύχομαι
prosexo	προσέχω
prostheto	προσθέτω
proskalo	προσκαλώ
proskime	πρόσκειμαι
proskollo	προσκολλώ
proskomizo	προσκομίζω
proskopto	προσκόπτω
proskrouo	προσκρούω
prosktome	προσκτώμαι
proskino	προσκυνώ
proslamvano	προσλαμβάνω
proslimenizome	προσλιμενίζομαι
prosmignio	προσμειγνύω
prosmeno	προσμένω
prosmetro	προσμετρώ
prosomiazo	προσομοιάζω
prosormizo	προσορμίζω
prospatho	προσπαθώ
prospelazo	προσπελάζω
prosperno	προσπερνώ
prospefto	προσπέφτω
prospipto	προσπίπτω
prospioume	προσποιούμαι
prosrofo	προσροφώ
prosselinono	προσσελινώνω
prostazo	προστάζω
prostatevo	προστατεύω
prostrexo	προστρέχω
prosypografo	προσυπογράφω
prosfero	προσφέρω
prosfevgo	προσφεύγω
prosfono	προσφωνώ
prosxono	προσχώνω
prosxoro	προσχωρώ

***ana*- (*ana* 'on')**

anavallo	αναβάλλω
anavastazo	αναβαστάζω
anavivazo	αναβιβάζω
anaviono	αναβιώνω
anavlepo	αναβλέπω
anavlizo	αναβλύζω
anavoo	αναβοώ

anavrazo	αναβράζω
anagalliazo	αναγαλλιάζω
anaggello	αναγγέλλω
anagenno	αναγεννώ
anagerno	αναγέρνω
anagnorizo	αναγνωρίζω
anagorevo	αναγορεύω
anagrafo	αναγράφω
anagirevo	αναγυρεύω
anago	ανάγω
anadiknio	αναδεικνύω
anadixno	αναδείχνω
anadevo	αναδεύω
anadexome	αναδέχομαι
anadimiourgo	αναδημιουργώ
anadianemo	αναδιανέμω
anadiarthrono	αναδιαρθρώνω
anadiatasso	αναδιατάσσω
anadiatipono	αναδιατυπώνω
anadido	αναδίδω
anadiorganono	αναδιοργανώνω
anadiplono	αναδιπλώνω
anadifo	αναδιφώ
anadiome	αναδύομαι
anazito	αναζητώ
anatheto	αναθέτω
anatheoro	αναθεωρώ
anathrosko	αναθρώσκω
anathimame	αναθυμάμαι
anero	αναιρώ
anakathizo	ανακαθίζω
anakathome	ανακάθομαι
anakenizo	ανακαινίζω
anakalipto	ανακαλύπτω
anakalo	ανακαλώ
anakampto	ανακάμπτω
anakatakto	ανακατακτώ
anakatalamvano	ανακαταλαμβάνω
anakatametro	ανακαταμετρώ
anakatanemo	ανακατανέμω
anakataskevazo	ανακατασκευάζω
anakatatasso	ανακατατάσσω
anakatevo	ανακατεύω
anakirisso	ανακηρύσσω

anakino	ανακινώ
anaklo	ανακλώ
anakinono	ανακοινώνω
anakolpono	ανακολπώνω
anakopto	ανακόπτω
anakrazo	ανακράζω
anakrio	ανακρίνω
anakrouo	ανακρούω
anakto	ανακτώ
anakipto	ανακύπτω
analamvano	αναλαμβάνω
analigono	αναλιγώνω
analisko	αναλίσκω
analogize	αναλογίζω
analogo	αναλογώ
analio	αναλύω
anamaso	αναμασώ
anamignio	αναμειγνύω
anameno	αναμένω
anametavivazo	αναμεταβιβάζω
anametadido	αναμεταδίδω
anametro	αναμετρώ
anakirikazo	αναμηρυκάζω
anamisthono	αναμισθώνω
anamorfono	αναμορφώνω
anampezo	αναμπαίζω
ananeono	ανανεώνω
anakseo	αναξέω
anaparago	αναπαράγω
anaparasteno	αναπαρασταίνω
anaparisto	αναπαριστώ
anapavo	αναπαύω
anapempo	αναπέμπω
anapido	αναπηδώ
anaplatho	αναπλάθω
anapleo	αναπλέω
anaplirono	αναπληρώνω
anapneo	αναπνέω
anapolo	αναπολώ
anaprosanatolizo	αναπροσανατολίζω
anaprosarmozo	αναπροσαρμόζω
anaptisso	αναπτύσσω
anarigo	αναριγώ
anarrixome	αναρριχώμαι

annarrofo	αναρροφώ
anarrono	αναρρώνω
anarto	αναρτώ
anarotieme	αναρωτιέμαι
anasalevo	ανασαλεύω
anaserno	ανασέρνω
anasikono	ανασηκώνω
anaskavo	ανασκάβω
anaskalevo	ανασκαλεύω
anaskapto	ανασκάπτω
anaskirto	ανασκιρτώ
anaskopo	ανασκοπώ
anaspo	ανασπώ
anasteno	ανασταίνω
anastatono	αναστατώνω
anastello	αναστέλλω
anastenazo	αναστενάζω
anastrefo	αναστρέφω
anasygkollo	ανασυγκολλώ
anasygkroto	ανασυγκροτώ
anasyndeo	ανασυνδέω
anasyntheto	ανασυνθέτω
anasynisto	ανασυνιστώ
anasynikizo	ανασυνοικίζω
anasyntasso	ανασυντάσσω
anasiro	ανασύρω
anasystino	ανασυστήνω
anatarazo	αναταράζω
anatemno	ανατέμνω
anatimo	ανατιμώ
anatrepo	ανατρέπω
anatrefo	ανατρέφω
anatrexo	ανατρέχω
anatipono	ανατυπώνω
anafenome	αναφαίνομαι
anafero	αναφέρω
anaflego	αναφλέγω
anafiome	αναφύομαι
anafiso	αναφυσώ
anafono	αναφωνώ
anaxono	αναχώνω
anaxoro	αναχωρώ
anapsilafo	αναψηλαφώ

***pro-* (*pro* 'prior to, before')**

proaggello	προαγγέλλω
proagorazo	προαγοράζω
proago	προάγω
proeroume	προαιρούμαι
proesthanome	προαισθάνομαι
proalifo	προαλείφω
proanaggello	προαναγγέλλω
proanakrino	προανακρίνω
proanafero	προαναφέρω
proapeto	προαπαιτώ
proapofasizo	προαποφασίζω
prospizo	προασπίζω
proafero	προαφαιρώ
proveno	προβαίνω
provallo	προβάλλω
provivazo	προβιβάζω
provlepo	προβλέπω
prografo	προγράφω
progimnono	προγυμνάζω
prodiagrafo	προδιαγράφω
prodiatheto	προδιαθέτω
prodido	προδίδω
proeggrafo	προεγγράφω
proikazo	προεικάζω
proispratto	προεισπράττω
proektino	προεκτείνω
proelavno	προελαύνω
proelegxo	προελέγχω
proentino	προεντείνω
proeksaggello	προεξαγγέλλω
proeksarxo	προεξάρχω
proeksexo	προεξέχω
proeksoflo	προεξοφλώ
proepilego	προεπιλέγω
proerxome	προέρχομαι
proetimazome	προετοιμάζω
proexo	προέχω
proigoume	προηγούμαι
proistame	προϊσταμαι
prokathorizo	προκαθορίζω
prokalo	προκαλώ
prokano	προκάνω
prokatavallo	προκαταβάλλω

prokatalamvano	προκαταλαμβάνω
prokataskevazo	προακατασκευάζω
prokite	πρόκειται
prokirisso	προκηρύσσω
prokovo	προκόβω
prokrino	προκρίνω
prokipti	προκύπτει
prolaveno	προλαβαίνω
prolamvano	προλαμβάνω
prolego	προλέγω
prolieno	προλειαίνω
promantevo	προμαντεύω
promaxo	προμάχω
promeleto	προμελετώ
promithevo	προμηθεύω
prominio	προμηνύω
prokseno	προξενώ
proodevo	προοδεύω
proorizo	προορίζω
proparaskevazo	προπαρασκευάζω
propempo	προπέμπω
properispo	προπερισπώ
propilakizo	προπηλακίζω
propino	προπίνω
proplirono	προπληρώνω
propono	προπονώ
proporevome	προπορεύομαι
propolo	προπωλώ
protasso	προτάσσω
protino	προτείνω
protixizo	προτειχίζω
protitheme	προτίθεμαι
protimo	προτιμώ
protrepo	προτρέπω
protrexo	προτρέχω
proipanto	προϋπαντώ
proyparxo	προϋπάρχω
proypotheto	προϋποθέτω
proypologizo	προϋπολογίζω
profasizome	προφασίζομαι
profero	προφέρω
profteno	προφταίνω
profilakizo	προφυλακίζω
profilasso	προφυλάσσω

proxirizo	προχειρίζω
proxoro	προχωρώ
prootho	προωθώ

***kata-* (*kata* 'under')**

katavallo	καταβάλλω
katavarathrono	καταβαραθρώνω
katavivazo	καταβιβάζω
katavroxthizo	καταβροχθίζω
katavithizo	καταβυθίζω
kataggello	καταγγέλλω
kataginome	καταγίνομαι
katagrafo	καταγράφω
katadiknio	καταδεικνύω
katadexome	καταδέχομαι
katadido	καταδίδω
katadikazo	καταδικάζω
katadioko	καταδιώκω
katadolievome	καταδολιεύομαι
katadinastevo	καταδυναστεύω
katadiome	καταδύομαι
katazito	καταζητώ
katatheto	καταθέτω
katathlivo	καταθλίβω
katakathome	κατακάθομαι
katakeravnono	κατακεραυνώνω
katakermatizo	κατακερματίζω
kataklinome	κατακλίνομαι
kataklizo	κατακλύζω
katakrato	κατακρατώ
katakreourgo	κατακρεουργώ
katakrimnizo	κατακρημνίζω
katakrino	κατακρίνω
katakto	κατακτώ
katakirievo	κατακυριεύω
katakirono	κατακυρώνω
katalaveno	καταλαβαίνω
katalagiazo	καταλαγιάζω
katalamvano	καταλαμβάνω
katalipo	καταλείπω
kataligo	καταλήγω
katalogizo	καταλογίζω
katalipo	καταλυπώ
katalio	καταλύω

katamartiro	καταμαρτυρώ
katamerizo	καταμερίζω
katametro	καταμετρώ
kataminio	καταμηνύω
katanagkazo	καταναγκάζω
katanalisko/katanalono	καταναλίσκω/καταναλώνω
katanavmaxo	καταναυμαχώ
katanemo	κατανέμω
katanevo	κατανεύω
kataniko	κατανικώ
katanoo	κατανοώ
kataksereno	καταξεραίνω
kataksiono	καταξιώνω
katapato	καταπατώ
katapavo	καταπαύω
katapefto	καταπέφτω
katapianome	καταπιάνομαι
katapiezo	καταπιέζω
katapino	καταπίνω
katapipto	καταπίπτω
kataplakono	καταπλακώνω
katapleo	καταπλέω
kataplisso	καταπλήσσω
katapnigo	καταπνίγω
katapolemo	καταπολεμώ
katapontizo	καταποντίζω
katapono	καταπονώ
katapaino	καταπραΰνω
kataptoo	καταπτοώ
katarithmo	καταριθμώ
katarreo	καταρρέω
katarripto	καταρρίπτω
katasvino	κατασβήνω
katasigazo	κατασιγάζω
kataskevazo	κατασκευάζω
kataskopevo	κατασκοπεύω
katasparazo	κατασπαράζω
katastalazo	κατασταλάζω
katastello	καταστέλλω
katastratigo	καταστρατηγώ
katastrefo	καταστρέφω
katastrono	καταστρώνω
katasxo	κατάσχω
katatasso	κατατάσσω

katatino	κατατείνω
katatemno	κατατέμνω
katatopizo	κατατοπίζω
katatrexo	κατατρέχω
katatropono	κατατροπώνω
katatripo	κατατρυπώ
katatroo	κατατρώω
katatiranno	κατατυραννώ
katafenete	καταφαίνεται
katafasko	καταφάσκω
kataferno	καταφέρνω
kataferome	καταφέρομαι
katafevgo	καταφεύγω
kataftano	καταφτάνω
katafrono	καταφρονώ
kataxerizo	καταχερίζω
kataxrome	καταχρώμαι
kataxoniazo	καταχωνιάζω
kataxono	καταχώνω
kataxorizo/kataxoro	καταχωρίζω/καταχωρώ
katapsifizo	καταψηφίζω
katapsixo	καταψύχω