

Are there any principles governing the order and the combination of affixes in Modern Greek parasynthetic verbs?

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Affix order is widely recognized as one of the central issues in morphology, and various theoretical approaches have been suggested in order to account for it (cf. Hay 2003, Plag 1999, Rice 2009, Manova & Aronoff 2010). Based on a list of 300 parasynthetic verbs in *-ízo*, *-iázo* and *-óno* extracted from Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (2002) *Reverse Dictionary of Modern Greek*, this paper discusses the principles governing the order and the combination of affixes in Modern Greek parasynthetic verbs: e.g. *kse-floud-ízo* ‘peel’ (*flóuda* ‘hull, skin’ (**floud-ízo*)), *kse-dond-jázo* ‘to take one’s teeth out’ (*dondi* ‘tooth’ (**dondjazo*)), *apo-fli-óno* ‘peel [+learned]’ (*fliós* ‘hull, skin [+learned]’ (**flióno*)). We claim that, no matter how we analyze parasynthetic verbs (see Efthymiou 2002, Ralli 2005, Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Masoura 2009), the distribution of the prefixes and the suffixes in these verbs is not arbitrary, but governed by some general principles. It is shown that prefixes play a crucial role in determining the argument structure, the meaning and the register of the derived verbs. For example, the vast majority of (non parasynthetic) *-ízo* verbs derived from [+human] bases are intransitive and denote similitive meanings (e.g. *amerikanízo* ‘behave like an American’), whereas all parasynthetic *-ízo* verbs prefixed by *ek(s)-* are transitive and express causative meanings: *ek-xristian-ízo* ‘christianize’ (vs. *°xristian-ízo* ‘behave like a christian’ (*Xristianós* ‘Christian’)). Moreover, we claim that although the meanings of Modern Greek parasynthetic verbs seem to be determined by the prefix, the appearance of the affixes is not arbitrary either: the combination of prefixes and suffixes is also influenced by the semantics and the selectional restrictions of the affixes: for example, both parasynthetic and non parasynthetic verbs in *-iázo* tend to exhibit negative meanings (see Efthymiou 2010). In many cases, the combination of prefixes and suffixes seems to be restricted by register and semantic factors: for example the [-learned] suffix *-(i)ázo* combines only with the [-learned] negative-privative prefix *kse-*, whereas the [+learned] prefix *epi-* combines almost exclusively with the suffix *-óno*, that denotes mostly ornative meanings: e.g. *ep-argir-óno* ‘cover with silver’ (*árgiros* ‘silver’). Moreover, based on the fact that the vast majority of parasynthetic verbs are transitive (cf. also Tsakou 2010), we argue that there is a strong correlation between transitivity and parasynthesis (in the verbal domain). Furthermore, it is shown that there is a clear tendency of certain semantic categories of prefixes to appear in parasynthetic verbs: i.e. negative and locative prefixes (*kse-*, *ek-*, *apo-*, *en-*, *epi-*, etc.). Finally, we claim that the register of the prefix may influence the choice of the nominalizing suffix that attaches to verbal parasynthetic bases: e.g. *ek-kathar-ízo*_[+learned] ‘clear, purge’ (*ek-kathári-si* ‘purge, clearance’) vs. *kse-kathar-ízo*_[+/-learned] ‘clarify, clear out, (*kse-katháris-ma* ‘clarification’).

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3rd Vienna Workshop on Affix Order: Advances in Affix Order Research

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