The Semantics of the Native Greek Verb Suffixes

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The Semantics of the Native Greek Verb Suffixes

Chariton Charitonidis (Cologne)

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to give the semantic profile of the Greek verb-deriving suffixes -ίζ(ο), -έν(ο), -έν(ο), -όν(ο), -(i)άζ(ο), and -ίν(ο), with a special account of the ending -άο/-ó. The patterns presented are the result of an empirical analysis of data extracted from extended interviews conducted with 28 native Greek speakers in Athens, Greece in February 2009. In the first interview task the test persons were asked to force(=create) verbs by using the suffixes -ίζο, -έβο, -όνο, -(i)άζο, and -ίνο and a variety of bases which conformed to the ontological distinctions made in Lieber (2004). In the second task the test persons were asked to evaluate three groups of forced verbs with a noun, an adjective, and an adverb, respectively, by using one (best/highly acceptable verb) to six (worst/unacceptable verb) points. In the third task nineteen established verb pairs with different suffixes and the ending -άο/-ó were presented. The test persons were asked to report whether there was some difference between them and what exactly this difference was. The differences reported were transformed into 16 alternations. In the fourth task 21 established verbs with different suffixes were presented. The test persons were asked to give the "opposite" or "near opposite" expression for each verb. The rationale behind this task was to arrive at the meaning of the suffixes through the semantics of the opposites. In the analysis Rochelle's Lieber's (2004) theoretical framework is used. The results of the analysis suggest (i) a sign-based treatment of affixes, (ii) a vertical preference structure in the semantic structure of the head suffixes which takes into account the semantic make-up of the bases, and (iii) the integration of socio-expressive meaning into verb structures.

Introduction

In the generative linguistic tradition there is a special treatment of possible words and/or neologisms. On the one hand, possible words are usually based on the (co-) researchers' linguistic intuition (see Aronoff 1976, Giannakidou & Merchant 1999, Alexiadou 2009, etc.). On the other hand, neologisms are usually extracted from corpora or dictionary databases which conform to conventions about the accessing of past forms of print media etc. (see, for example, Plag's 1998, 1999 account on 20th century neologisms found in Oxford English Dictionary and Lieber's 2010 account on recent neologisms found in the Corpus of

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* The present paper contains pp. 1–7, 10–26, 27–35, and 42–47 from the monograph Making Verbs Happen: Interviews on Greek Verb Endings (Charitonidis 2011). I would like to thank Ulrich Lüders from Lincom Europa for giving his permission to reproduce these pages.
Contemporary American English). In this study, I opt for another path of research. First, I examine judgements about verb derivatives that do not exist and are not intuitively possible/correct but whose existence can nonetheless be forced (= creations; see sections 2.1 and 2.2). Secondly, I examine language judgements about the meaning of lexicographically existing verb derivatives (see sections 2.3 and 2.4). After the analysis, I bring together the meaning of the forced verbs with the meaning of existing verbs and see if the results from the two lines of research point to the same patterns.

The focus of this study is the Greek derivatives/creations in -íz(o), -én(o), -éν(o), -ón(o), -(i)áz(o), and -ín(o), with special focus on the ending -áo/-ó. The data used in the analysis come from 28 extended interviews in four parts conducted in Athens, Greece in February 2009. Each interview part was conceived as a question/task and had a small introductory text. The test persons (henceforth TPs) were mostly humanities students in the age from 18-25 years. In the analysis, I used Lieber's (2004, 2007) morphological system. The main issues which will be addressed in this study are:

- The semantic profile of the suffixes -ízo, -énο, -éνο, -óνο, -(i)ázo, and -ínο and the real status of the ending -áo/-ó in relation to past accounts.
- The selection preferences of the suffixes as regards the ontological and lexical category of the derivation base, i.e. the interaction patterns between suffixes and bases.
- The definition of verb alternations according to informants’ intuitions and judgements on pairs with rival suffixes.
- Which denotational and socio-expressive features interfere with Lieber's (2004, 2007) structures and the implications which result from these interferences.

The present paper is a shortened version of Charitonidis (2011), which is a pilot study within the scope of the project "The Integration of Socio-expressive Meaning into Verb Structures" conducted at the University of Cologne, Germany. This project aims at the formulation of a semantic theory of verb derivation which refers to (i) a denotational tier based on Lieber's (2004, 2007) model and (b) a socio-expressive tier which is mainly developed out of the analysis of creations.

1 Morphological description. Theoretical framework. Interview design.

1.1 Morphological description of the material used for testing

There are unfortunately only a few semantic studies on verb suffixation in Modern Greek (MG; see the comprehensive reference list in Efthymiou 2009). In relation to the verb derivatives in -ízo, -ázo, -évo, -éno, and -óno, Joseph & Philippaki (1987: 219) state that "to a certain extent… these suffixes are merely formal devices of signaling verbal categorial status,
rather than carrying any semantic content in themselves”. This view cannot be accepted today, especially since the works of Charitonidis (2005 and his subsequent papers) and Efthymiou (2009).

By exclusively examining -ízo verb derivatives, Charitonidis (2005) presents verb derivation as the clustering of base contents (his "semantic/situational fields") inside alternation classes. He shows that specific semantic patterns are regularly connected to specific alternation classes while yielding a core semantic profile for the derivatives. Efthymiou (2009) extracts meaning cores for the MG verb-forming suffixes -ízo, -(i)ázo, -óno, -évo and -éno. She uses labels such as SIMILATIVE ('act or be like BASE NOUN'), INSTRUMENTAL ('use BASE NOUN'), PERFORMATIVE ('do/write/say/perform BASE NOUN'), ORNATIVE ('add/provide with/apply/cover with BASE NOUN'), etc. to describe their meaning. In the following, I give a brief morphological description of the material I used for testing. Except for the suffix -íno and the ending -áol-ó I largely follow Efthymiou's (2009) description.

The suffix -ízo attaches to Ns, As, Vs, and ADVs. Phonologically, -ízo attaches primarily to consonant-final base stems. The most productive patterns are the SIMILATIVE, INSTRUMENTAL, PERFORMATIVE and RESULTATIVE patterns. The very productive SIMILATIVE class contains many neologisms which refer to someone having a certain attitude/displaying a certain behaviour or being similar to another entity. It is the only suffix that attaches to onomatopoetic words, but contrary to Efthymiou's assumptions, it is not the only suffix that forms verbs with the meaning 'act like': cf. the -(i)ázo derivatives arkudhiázo (<arkúdha), lesviázo (<lesvía), nedázo (<néos), and xeloniázo (<xelóna), meaning 'act like a bear/lesbian/young person/turtle, respectively. The suffix -(i)ázo combines with adjectival and nominal bases. -ázo and -iázo have the same origin, but in standard MG -íázo is preferred, and nowadays it seems to be developing its own semantics. As Efthymiou (2009) reports, "the relationship of -ázo to -íázo and -ízo has been traditionally regarded as unclear". According to Ralli (2005: 147 f.147) in the -íázo form, -i- is the product of the reanalysis of the root of the neuter forms as a part of the derivational suffix, cf. teri-ázo > ter-iázo 'fit', 'match' (téri 'match', 'mate'), etc.

The number of transparent -ázo forms is very small (cf. section 2.1.1.1). -ázo appears with feminine nominal bases in -i or in -a (stressed on the penultimate syllable) and with adjectival bases in -os stressed on the antepenultimate syllable. Overall, -ázo/-íázo attaches primarily to consonant-final base stems. Particularly, -(i)ázo attaches primarily to nominal feminine bases in -a or neutral bases in á+C+i (stressed on the penultimate syllable), e.g. komatiázo 'break/tear into pieces' (komáti 'piece'), to feminine nouns in -iá and -í, e.g. angaliázo 'to embrace' (angaliá 'arms'), to bases in -io(s), e.g. dhiplasiázo 'to double' (dhiplásios 'double'), and to imparisyllabic masculine nouns, e.g. papudhiázo 'become like an old person' (papús 'grandfather', 'old person'). The most robust semantic pattern of -(i)ázo derivatives is INCHOATIVE ('be provided with – usually unwanted endogenous – x'). -(i)ázo,
when pronounced [jázo] or [çázo], but not in the form -ázo, usually attaches to [-learned] bases denoting something negative and derives verbs characterized as [-learned].

The suffix -όno has a preference for attaching to nouns, but it can also be attached to adjectives. Phonologically, -όno attaches to both consonant-final and vowel-final base stems. The ORNATIVE pattern seems to be the most robust pattern for -όno derivatives.

The suffix -évo usually combines with nominal [+animate] [+masculine] bases, as well as with adjectival bases. A considerable number of -évo verbs are intransitive verbs formed on nominal bases. Phonologically, -évo attaches to consonant-final base stems: the only vowel allowed to appear before -évo is íl (aghriévo 'make/become fierce'). The SIMILATIVE 'carry out the official activities of x' and the INCHOATIVE patterns seem to be the more robust patterns for -évo derivatives. -évo is the only suffix among the native verbal suffixes that attaches to nouns denoting a profession or an office.

The suffix -éno mostly combines with disyllabic adjectival bases in -ós or -ís, and expresses a CAUSATIVE or INCHOATIVE meaning: ghlikéno 'sweeten' (ghlikós 'sweet'), vathéno 'deepen' (vathís 'deep'), etc., but also combines with some nouns, expressing an ORNATIVE meaning: ripéno 'pollute' (rípos 'dirt', 'pollution'), lipéno 'lubricate, fertilize' (lípos 'fat', 'oil'). According to Efthymiou (2009), the suffix -éno is no longer productive in present day Greek.

The suffix -íno mainly combines with adjectives to yield RESULTATIVE verbs. Its productivity is limited. In addition to the old formations having a base in -ís, cf. amvlíno 'blunt, dull' (amvliís 'blunt, 'dull'), varíno 'weigh on sth./so.' (varis 'heavy') etc., some new formations have bases in -os, cf. apalíno 'soften' (apalós 'soft'), efkolíno 'facilitate' (éfkolos 'easy'), etc. Some of the -íno verbs have colloquial parallel forms in -éno, which are additionally INCHOATIVE: cf. paxíno (paxís 'fat'), which means 'make sth./so. fat' (RESULTATIVE) or 'become fat' (INCHOATIVE), as opposed to the exclusively RESULTATIVE paxíno. Table 1 summarizes Efthymiou's analysis.

Table 1: The semantics of the native Greek verb suffixes according to Efthymiou (2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ízo</th>
<th>-(i)ázo</th>
<th>-όno</th>
<th>-évo</th>
<th>-éno</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RESULTATIVE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCHOATIVE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORNATIVE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCATIVE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERFORMATIVE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMILATIVE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTRUMENTAL</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Efthymiou (2009) notes, the meanings of -όno and -éno are more restricted than the meanings of -ízo, -(i)ázo, and -évo, and all suffixes seem to share a common causative/resultative meaning (see Table 1). Accordingly, she proposes the semantic structure CAUSE [x BE y LOC z] for all verb-forming processes in MG.
Ralli (2005: 131ff) states that the verbs in -áo/-ó are assigned to the inflectional paradigm 2a of the Greek verb which is characterized by the systematic allomorphy of the stem X(a) ~ X(vowel), e.g. aghap(á)-o ~ aghapí-so, where X(a)=aghap(á)- and X(vowel)=aghapí-. In other words, the alternation of -áo/-ó is not regarded as a case of variation of the same inflectional suffix, but as an allomorphic variation of the stem (see also Ralli 2009). As two anonymous referees note, -áo is characteristic of Southern – mainly Peloponnesian – Dialects. In certain Northern Greek Dialects, only the -ó variant exists (see also Melissaropoulou 2010). This dialectal conflict is obviously mirrored in the centrally located capital Athens since Athenian residents have origins in both the north and the south of Greece.

Iordanidou (2003: 371) similarly rejects allomorphic variation of the same suffix, and states that the appearance of the Xa base points to the convergence of the tonal form of the respective verbs to the tonal form of the first conjugation, cf. líno 'tie'. After conducting some experiments with older primary school children in Patras and Athens, the same author implies that the alternation -áo/-ó is a predictable choice of a speaker of Greek only in relation with the style of speech (in my view an expressive factor). She states that "in texts with a strong oral character there is almost no presence of -ó forms". In addition, the preference for the -áo forms in oral speech occurs independently of social class (see Iordanidou 1993: 380; see also Iordanidou forthcoming). Vis-à-vis the appearance of the -áo and -ó forms in the same speaker, she concludes that "it is not possible to isolate elements in the language environment which definitely interfere" (Iordanidou: 1993: 380). In sum, past accounts on the endings -áo and -ó largely ignore the lexical factors which condition their presence.

1.2.1 Theoretical framework

In the following analysis, I use Lieber's (2004, 2007) morphological system as a kind of semantic filter in order to isolate meaning components which interfere with her structures. A concomitant goal in this undertaking is to promote the selectional properties of affixes as the main determinants of derivation. To this effect I agree with Melissaropoulou and Ralli (2010) who regard suffixes as heads of derivational structures because they transmit their features to the derived items (about the process of "feature percolation" see Melissaropoulou and Ralli 2010: 348-350).

The great advantage of Lieber's (ibid) model is the efficient handling of transpositional effects between a derivative and its base on a semantic basis. Affixes are regarded as linguistic signs equivalent to the bases onto which they attach (the sign-based hypothesis). They operate on bases, while producing a derivative which is allocated to the same set of featural combinations as the bases themselves. According to Lieber (2004: 9-10) there is a fundamental distinction in the lexical semantic representations of lexical items: the Semantic/Grammatical Skeleton (skeleton, for short) and the Semantic/Pragmatic Body (body, for short). The skeleton seeks to isolate "all and only those aspects of meaning which have
consequences for the syntax”, while the body is "encyclopedic, holistic, nondecompositional, not composed of primitives, and perhaps only partially formalizable”. In the following, I give a comprehensive illustration of Lieber’s (2004, 2007) morphological system.

1.2.1.1 Skeleton

Lieber (2004) defines two conceptual categories (major ontological classes) for the skeletons: SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES and SITUATIONS. These categories are used as mnemonic labels for different combinations of semantic features, and not as primitives. The very essence of her system is formed by the features [material] and [dynamic]. These features can be positive or negative, whereas in the case of nominal forms, the feature [dynamic] may be totally absent (see (1) below).

As regards the decomposition of the major lexical categories by means of features, Lieber assumes that nouns have at least the feature [material] in their skeleton, verbs and adjectives have the feature [dynamic] without the feature [material], verbs may be [+dynamic], i.e. EVENTS, or [–dynamic], i.e. STATES. Adjectives bear the feature [–dynamic], i.e. they are STATES. In Lieber (2007) the features [+scalar] and [–scalar] for adjectives are introduced, cf. the adjectives wide and pregnant, respectively.

The system of SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES is found in (1).

```
(1) SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE
    [+material]          [-material]
                     [dynamic] [dynamic]
            author    man    habit    time
       chef    hand    war    way
      mother    money    effort    morning
```

The semantic features presented so far are used as functions which take arguments. Lexical items will always have at least one argument – in the case of nouns at least one argument called "R"-argument – but they may also have more than more argument, see (2) below.

```
(2)   leg    [+material ([ ], [ ])] (e.g. the leg of the table) [Lieber 2004: 25]
       fond  [–dynamic ([ ], [ ])] (e.g. fond of pickles)
      kiss   [+dynamic ([ ], [ ])] (e.g. kiss frogs)
```

Another important feature is [IEPS] (Inferable Eventual Position or State) used for verbal SITUATIONS. Its addition signals the addition of a sequence of PLACES or STATES. In particular, [+IEPS] signals the existence of a directed PATH, cf. the UNACCUSATIVE verb fall and the INCHIOATIVE verb grow, and [–IEPS] signals the existence of a random PATH,
cf. the verbs *walk* and *vary*. If [IEPS] is absent, the notion of PATH is irrelevant, cf. the verb *hold*. The final system of SITUATIONS is found in (3).

(3) SITUATIONS [Lieber 2004: 30]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES [-dynamic]</th>
<th>EVENTS [+dynamic]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIMPLE ACTIVITY [+dynamic]</td>
<td>CHANGE [+dynamic; +/-IEPS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+]</td>
<td>[+]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dynamic]</td>
<td>[+dynamic; +/-IEPS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNACCUSATIVE/ INCHIOATIVE CHANGE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+]</td>
<td>[+]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dynamic, +IEPS]</td>
<td>[+dynamic, –IEPS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be</td>
<td>descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>own</td>
<td>descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cost</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>yawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiss</td>
<td>fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold</td>
<td>evaporate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yawn</td>
<td>forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blink</td>
<td>grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walk</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amble</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waver</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fluctuate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causative verbs consist of two subevents: an ACTIVITY (x does something to y) and a RESULT (such that x causes y to become/go to z). In (4) the semantic skeleton for the causative verb *grow* is given.

(4) *grow* (causative) [Lieber 2004: 33]

Lieber 2004: 30

1.2.1.2 Body

As already mentioned at the beginning of section 1.2.1, body is encyclopaedic, holistic, nondecompositional, and not composed of primitives. It refers to perceptual and cultural knowledge while including many of the aspects of meaning that Pustejovsky encodes in his Qualia Structure, i.e. information concerning material composition, part structure, orientation, shape, colour, dimensionality, origin, purpose, function, etc. (Lieber 2004: 10; see Pustejovsky 1995: 85-6 for a short description of Qualia Structure). I would like to cite an example presented in Lieber (2004: 51-52) which shows what body looks like and how it co-operates with skeleton. The skeleton and body of the copulative compound *clergyman-poet* is given in (5).

(5) skeleton [+]materials, dynamic ([i, ])] [+]material, dynamic ([i, ])] [Lieber 2004: 51]

body *clergyman* [natural]
<human><male><cleric>

*poet* [natural]
<human><writes poetry>
As can be seen, the skeletons of the nouns clergyman and poet are directly pulled together for the identification of a single referent because they are identical. The bodies of the same nouns have the identical major attributes <natural> and <human> which also allow for the identification of a single referent. The minor attributes <male>, <writes poetry>, and <cleric> are not identical, but they cannot impede the referential identification.19

To conclude, the combinatorial properties of the skeleton features are for the most part traceable. Bodily attributes do not constitute a restricted class, and their combinations cannot be sufficiently explained.

1.3 The design of the interviews

The interviews concentrated on predictions and evaluations as regards lexical knowledge. This means that no context was given together with the tested material. The informants were able to both hear and read the questions (see Appendix A). Their answers were written down on paper by the investigator. Since bases and endings were also given in written form, the informants did not confuse them with phonologically similar items.

The two of the four tasks referred to "forced" or "created" verbs (see sections 2.1 and 2.2). This mainly means that these verbs were unattested and not unequivocally understandable. Their bases are very old but for decades no derivatives have been formed, cf. for example the creation 'miterizo'20 'behave like a mother' for the base mitéra 'mother'. This happens because of several, sometimes interrelated, reasons: (i) they are blocked by the existence of other lexemes with the same or similar meaning (Aronoff 1976, van Marle 1985, Rainer 1988), (ii) they have not yet entered a syntactico-semantic paradigm (see Charitonidis 2005), (iii) they are cognitively marginal/improper (cf. Onysko and Michel 2010), (iv) they are formed from categories such as verbs for which no derivation in MG is attested (cf. section 2.1), (v) they are blocked by phonological restrictions on the output (see Plag 1999, 2003), etc. Nonetheless, there were no systematic phonological considerations in the choice of bases and verbs used in the interviews, because there are no systematic accounts on both the metrical form and the phonological boundaries of the morphological units involved in Greek verb derivation.

The heterogeneity of these output factors mentioned above does not impair the comparability of the results at the level of input features. In the present study suffixes are considered as lexical heads which keep their semantic composition independent of the structure they appear in (the sign-based hypothesis; see section 3). What is relevant in this study are the effects of combination of the linguistic signs, i.e. of bases and of suffixes, under the condition of forcing. The comparison of the operations in created verbs with the operations in existing/established verbs validates the former.21
2 The interviews

2.1 Creation of derivatives

The TPs were asked to build "possible" verbs with the suffixes -ízo, -évo, -óno, -(i)ázo, and -íno using a variety of bases according to the ontological distinctions made by Lieber (2004: 26-30). The first four bases strictly conform to Lieber's featural decomposition of the noun category (SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES) into [+material, dynamic] (mitéra 'mother'), [+material] (leftá 'money'), [–material, dynamic] (adhikía 'injustice'), and [–material] (proinó 'morning'). The last two bases conform to Lieber's featural distinction of verbal SITUATIONS while being [+dynamic] (trógho 'eat') and [–dynamic] (éxo 'have').

Adjectives were not examined, because these would extend the interview time considerably. The interviewed persons were permitted to use more than one verb suffix for each base word (see section 2.1.1). Additionally, they were asked to give a possible meaning for the created verb(s) (see section 2.1.2). Let us see first some statistical patterns for the created verbs.

2.1.1.1 Results regarding the view of the suffixes

Table 2 gives the general patterns related to the task of creation. The values stand for the number of created derivatives. -ázo and -iázo are treated as different suffixes and the ambiguity of the base proinó ('breakfast'/morning') is not taken into account.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffixes</th>
<th>Creations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íázo</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óno</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-éno</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ázo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íno</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 makes clear that -ízo (29.81%) and -évo (27.95%) are the most productive suffixes (if I may use the term 'productive' for creations) followed by -iázo (14.91%), -óno (14.91%), and -éno (8.70%), whereas the last positions are occupied by -ázo (1.86%) and -íno (1.86%). These results are very likely to mirror contemporary productive trends of the Greek verb suffixes. My own research (Charitonidis 2005) has already pointed out the high productivity of -ízo. The fact that -ízo, -iázo, and -óno are among the best candidates is in accordance with my own intuition as a native speaker of standard (i.e. Athenian) MG. -évo shows a very good score, against my own intuition, but as an anonymous referee noted, this is normal: in Athens there are many dialectal speakers for which -évo is more productively attached to bases than -ízo, e.g. speakers of Pontic (see also Melissaropoulou 2010).

Most importantly, the percentages in Table 2 correspond to the number of existing forms we find with these suffixes. Efthymiou (2009) extracted derivatives with the different suffixes from The Reverse Index of Modern Greek (RIMG, for short) and scrutinized them.
Her results are given in Table 3. I give the percentages in relation to the total of the derivatives in parentheses. In the rightmost row I cite my percentages from Table 2.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs in</th>
<th>Raw data (Total: 9767)</th>
<th>Scrutinized data (Total: 2040)</th>
<th>My percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>3507 (35.91%)</td>
<td>approx. 650 (31.86%)</td>
<td>29.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ázo/-iázo</td>
<td>2260 (23.14%)</td>
<td>approx. 470 (23.04%)</td>
<td>16.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óno</td>
<td>2106 (21.56%)</td>
<td>approx. 500 (24.51%)</td>
<td>14.91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>1207 (12.36%)</td>
<td>approx. 320 (15.69%)</td>
<td>27.95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-én̂ [éno]</td>
<td>687 (7.03%)</td>
<td>approx. 100 (4.9%)</td>
<td>8.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, Efthymiou's results have striking similarities with my own. The only strongly aberrant pattern is the high percentage of -évo verbs in my results, which is explained above. Efthymiou (2009) states that "the suffix -éno is no longer productive in present day Greek". However, the TP responses in this section point to an existing but limited productivity of this suffix (8.70%; see Table 2). In addition, I have extracted many new verbs ('Main verbs') from RIMG which attest the productivity of this suffix, e.g. akrivéno 'go up' (akrivós 'expensive'), axamnéno 'become fleshless/scraggy' (axamnós 'fleshless', 'scraggy'), vuvéno 'shut up', 'dumb' (vuvós 'dumb'), zurléno 'make so. barmy' (zurlós 'barmy'), etc. To conclude, -éno is still productive in present day Greek.

These strong similarities suggest not only that my method is on the right track but, most importantly, that in the domain of verb derivation creativity, and perhaps also productivity, is not developed out of thin air, but strongly conforms to existing morphosemantic knowledge, i.e. relies on the repository of morphologically indexed forms. Therefore, it seems that in forcing tasks native speakers access a hierarchical suffix structure in which some suffixes have a stronger index of usage than others. As will become clear in the following sections, the creativity tests also address the ontological status of the bases. It seems, however, that base ontology does not have the same power as this index of usage.

In this context a major issue remains to be addressed: can the results from creativity tasks be equated with or transferred to empirically measured morphological productivity? Since it is not yet possible to use computer-based methods for the assessment of productivity on MG verbs, this question cannot yet be answered (see Plag 1999: 22-35 for some methods related to neologisms or hapax legomena).

In sum, my results in this section strongly suggest that the creation of new verbs by means of suffixes, in this case the forcing of suffixed verbs, heavily relies on the stock of existing suffixed verbs and a stored index of usage for each of the suffixes.

### 2.1.1.2 The results in the view of the bases

Let us see the totals hierarchy for the created verbs together with the ontological status of their bases (see Table 4).
Table 4: The use of the bases in the task of creation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bases</th>
<th>Ontological status of the bases (Lieber 2004)</th>
<th>Creations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mitéra 'mother'</td>
<td>[+material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adhikía 'injustice'</td>
<td>[–material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leftá 'money'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proinó 'morning'/</td>
<td>[–material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'breakfast'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trógho 'eat'</td>
<td>[+dynamic] SITUATION</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éxo 'have'</td>
<td>[–dynamic] SITUATION</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 161

As can be seen in Table 4, the percentages over the totals of creations are: mitéra (22.36%), adhikía (21.12%), leftá (17.39%), proinó (17.39%), trógho (13.66%), and éxo (8.07%).

According to Lieber's (2004: 22-29) ontology, the results in Table 4 may suggest that a [+material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE (see mitéra) is more susceptible to derivation in MG than any other kind of bases. In general, [dynamic] SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES appear to be more susceptible to derivation (see mitéra, adhikía) followed by [+material] or [–material] entities in which the feature [dynamic] is absent/irrelevant (see leftá, proinó). Unfortunately, these assumptions contradict the results from the analysis of -ono and -(i)ázo verbs found in RIMG (see section 2.1.1.3), in which [+material] bases show up most often and [+material, dynamic] bases are very rare. This is because the results of this section have strong interference from the test design. The TPs were instructed to force verbs. Accordingly, they used a base even in the event that this base was not natural/possible. For all that, the percentages in Table 4 may suggest a higher compatibility of deriving suffixes with bases which are stressed on the penultimate syllable (cf. mitéra and adhikía).

Most trivially, SITUATIONS – in this case verbs – resist derivation (cf. trógho and éxo). This is suggested by the fact that 8 out of 28 TPs could not give any derivatives for trógho and 16 out of 28 TPs could not give any derivatives for éxo (see row 'No V' in Table 5 below). But if there is no deverbal derivation in MG, how can we explain the creations given? The answer is that the meaning predictions of the the TPs often refer to a socio-expressive level of meaning, cf. the features [+force] for !troghízo or {–evaluation} for !troghízo, !troghiázo, !troghíno and !exiázo. In other cases, there was no change of meaning, cf. !troghévo, !troghóno, etc. In several cases, the creations with the base verb éxo imposed a volitional [+dynamic] reading which was not present in the [–dynamic] verb. It is therefore evident that the suffixes do impose functions on verbs; they are active as signs both denotationally and socio-expressively, even in cases in which grammar is ignored (see Appendix B for the interpretations of all deverbal creations).
2.1.1.3 The interaction between suffixes and bases

Table 5 helps us to identify the interaction patterns between suffixes and bases, and Figure 1 displays these interactions. In the last row of Table 5 ('No V'), the number of the TPs who did not give any derivatives is given.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb base</th>
<th>-ázo</th>
<th>-éno</th>
<th>-évo</th>
<th>-iázo</th>
<th>-íno</th>
<th>-ízo</th>
<th>-óno</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mitéra 'mother'</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leftá 'money'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adhikía 'injustice'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proinó 'breakfast/'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'morning'</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trógho 'eat'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éxo 'have'</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>48</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>161</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1 helps us to detect some exceptional interaction patterns. We see that the [-material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE adhikía does not combine with the suffix -iázo at all, whereas the same base shows the highest combinability with the suffix -ízo (17 creations). The contour for the [+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE leftá shows a high combinability with the suffix -óno (12 creations).

I tried to validate the percentages for -óno and -(i)ázo by using the online version of RIMG at http://www.komvos.edu.gr/dictionaries/dictOnLine/DictOnLineRev.htm. I scrutinized the -óno and -ízo verbs by applying two criteria: the first criterion was an apparent distinctive base in the derivatives. The second criterion which was subsequently applied was the origin of these verbs in the last two centuries. Accordingly, for the first verb class the following came into consideration: (a) neologisms, esp. those which scholars have introduced in the past 150 years or a little earlier, e.g. torpílizo 'torpedo' (torpíli 'torpedo'), (b) loan translations, e.g. magnitízo 'magnetize' (maghnítis 'magnet'), and (c) verbs from the modern vernacular...
language, e.g. *fevghâtzo* 'help so. to escape/to get away' (*fevghátos* 'gone', 'fled'). The verbs in (a)-(c) are described from now on as 'Main verbs' ('M verbs'). Correspondingly, two further categories of verbs were resulted, i.e. non-M verbs, i.e. verbs from the ancient, Hellenistic, and medieval times, till approx. 1850 AD, and the General (G) category with all M and non-M verbs. The results of the ontological analysis are given in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6: Base ontology of -όνο and -(i)άζω verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>-όνο</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Main: 200 verbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+material, dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–material, dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+material]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–material]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic, –scalar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Main: 203 verbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+material, dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–material, dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+material]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–material]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic, –scalar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>General: 403 verbs</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+material, dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–material, dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+material]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–material]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[–dynamic, –scalar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us now examine the relevant patterns in Table 6:

**-όνο verbs**: There is a very high percentage of [+material] bases in the M category (76%), and a high percentage of [+material] bases in the non-M category (55.17%). This is also reflected in the percentage of [+material] bases in the G category (65.51%). In other words, there is a clear preference of the suffix -όνο for the selection of simple [+material] bases. These results are in accordance with the results in this section (cf. Table 5 and Figure 1) but also with the results in section 2.2.1 where the [+material] entity *potíri* 'glass' showed up as the optimal candidate for -όνο (see Table 9).
-(i)ázo verbs: There is a high percentage of [+material] bases in the M category (68.44%) but a low one in the non-M category (35.81%). Accordingly, G category has a moderate percentage of [+material] bases (56.12%). This, again, validates the preference of -óno for [+material] bases in the creation task. However, despite the results in the creation task of this section, -(i)ázo is able to select [–material, dynamic] bases, though in a restricted way in the M category (M: 6.56%, non-M: 18.92%, G: 11.22%). In RIMG there are many base nouns in the non-M category which show the same semantic and phonological pattern as adhikía in the creation !adhikiázo, cf. dhilia 'cowardice', 'timidity' in dhiliázo 'show cowardice/timidity', eksúsia 'authority', 'control' in eksusiázo 'control', 'rule', thisia 'sacrifice' in thisiázo 'sacrifice', etc. Nonetheless, there is no derivative with this pattern in the M category. In other words, in the creation task of this section -iázo strictly conforms to the patterns of the new derivation by being not combined with [–material, dynamic] bases. This is an indication for an independent and hence strong productivity pattern of this suffix.

In addition some comments on the -ízo patterns: in Charitonidis (2005) there is no noun in -ia in the M category which forms a derivative in -ízo. From the old derivation only aksía 'value', 'worth', ikía 'residence', istoría 'depiction', and manía 'mania', 'fury' could be phonologically related to the derivatives aksízo 'be worth', 'deserve', ikízo 'colonize', 'settle', istorízo 'depict an event by painting', and manízo 'get angry', respectively. Why this strange combination in the creation task as well? I think that the ultimate answer is the semantic composition of the base. First, as already mentioned above, the rival suffix -iázo does not currently prefer [–material, dynamic] bases, so it does not compete with -ízo for the selection of the [–material, dynamic] base adhikía.39 Secondly, the [–learned] marking of the rival suffix -iázo (see section 1.1) would clash with the socio-expressively neutral content of adhikía. Thirdly, the [+intensive] feature which was detected for -ízo in section 2.3 may serve as a focus marker for an unjust act, addressed by the base adhikía. We see then that the creation !adhikiázo is a product of an interplay of denotational and socio-expressive factors.40 Adequate detection of this interplay was made possible by means of the presentation of both existing and created verbs to the informants.

As already pointed out at the beginning of section 2.1, proinó is a case of ambiguity. Table 7 shows the attested interaction patterns by means of the number of created verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>-ázo</th>
<th>-éno</th>
<th>-évo</th>
<th>-iázo</th>
<th>-íno</th>
<th>-ízo</th>
<th>-óno</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proinó [-material]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>46.43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proinó [+material]</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>53.57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, it is not possible to extract regularities in relation to ambiguity preferences. The totals for each sense are almost the same (see the last row of Table 7). Let us now examine the interpretations of the created verbs.
2.1.2 The meaning of the created verbs: extracting the features/functions

By analysing the paraphrases of the TPs for the created verbs I did not give a complete functional structure for each interpretation. I used Lieber's (2004, 2007) primitives as semantic units and tried to see whether additional meaning components emerge in the responses of the TPs. It should be noticed that the responses of the TPs were usually whole phrases or sentences with another verb, i.e. they referred to a dissociated syntax. Accordingly, the elaboration of functional structures co-indexed with the syntax would be an absurd procedure (see also section 3).

In the analysis I had to make the right abstractions from the responses I received. The appearance of the same features in the interpretation of different TPs and their confirmation in different parts of this study were the ultimate criteria for assuming and keeping such features. Table 8 contains all features used in this study for suffixes/endings. Features 1-4 directly correspond to Lieber's (2004, 2007) features and are adopted as such. Features 5-13 are mnemonic labels in the form of extra features for semantic components which have emerged from the analysis. Features 14-21, enclosed in curly brackets, are socio-expressive features introduced by the author. The feature [+phonological] is not included in the list since it makes reference to whole forms and is not purely semantic. In the examples, creations are indicated with '!'..

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example endings</th>
<th>Example verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. [+dynamic]</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>-ázo</td>
<td>leftázo 'make money' (leftá 'money')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. [-dynamic]</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>miterévo 'be a mother' (mitéra 'mother')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]</td>
<td>Unaccusative/inchoative</td>
<td>-éno</td>
<td>miterénó 'become a mother' (mitéra 'mother')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. [-dynamic, +Loc]</td>
<td>Location or end of a change of state/end of a transfer</td>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>proinévo 'be in the morning time' (proinó 'morning')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. [+accumulation]</td>
<td>Accumulation of some referent in the described event/state</td>
<td>-idó</td>
<td>exidó 'be a materialist', 'want many things' (éxo 'have')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. [+direction]</td>
<td>A tendency in the activity denoted by the creation</td>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>proínízo 'like to refer to mornings' (proinó 'morning')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. [+force]</td>
<td>Forceful activity</td>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>troghízo 'feed so. by force' (trógho 'eat')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. [+habitual]</td>
<td>Habitual action (TP comment)</td>
<td>-áo</td>
<td>serghianáo 'take so./go for a walk' (serghiáni 'walk')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. [+M]</td>
<td>Metaphorical shift</td>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>troghízo 'fret' (trógho 'eat')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. [+register]</td>
<td>Interpretation with a register other than the standard one</td>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>troghévo 'eat – in low/provincial register' (trógho 'eat')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. [+RS]</td>
<td>Shift of a referent in a situation</td>
<td>-idó</td>
<td>miterídó 'be a mother's boy', 'complain' (mitéra 'mother')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12. [+similative] Similarity of the behaviour of an individual to that of another individual (usually denoted by the base) -iázo  'behave annoyingly like a mother' (mitéra 'mother')

13. [+specialized] Specialization of an activity in a concrete situation without reference shift -éno  'suckle a child' (mitéra 'mother')

14. [+aesthetic/correct] Aesthetic/correct form (TP comment) -ízo  kitríniza 'become yellow' (kítrinos 'yellow')

15. [+aesthetic/correct] Non-aesthetic/incorrect form (TP comment) -iázo  kitríniza 'become yellow' (kítrinos 'yellow')

16. [+derisive] Derisive use (TP comment) -iázo  kitríniza 'become yellow' (kítrinos 'yellow')

17. [+diminutive] Small referent -ízo  'eat a small amount (trógho 'eat')

18. [+evaluation] Positive evaluation -évo  takšídhevo 'journey', 'travel' (takšídhi 'journey', 'travel')

19. [-evaluation] Negative psychology, pejorative meanings, and negative ethical views -iázo  'behave annoyingly like a mother' (mitéra 'mother')

20. [+intensive] Intense activity (TP comment) -ízo  serghianízo 'take so./go for a walk' (serghiáni 'walk')

21. [+low class/provincial] Low class/provincial form -áo  kutsuláo 'throw droppings', 'dirty with droppings' (kutsuliá 'droppings')

In this case the reference shifted from 'mother' to 'mother's boy'.

The feature [+evaluation] for -évo is accessed through the antonymous TP response méno stásimos 'be fixed in one place', 'remain unimproved'.

### 2.1.3 Results

The features defined in section 2.1.2 combine to yield a semantic profile for each suffix. In Appendix B a complete list of the creations is given accompanied by the author's comments. Let us see what the main similarities and differences between the suffixes are. The percentages are always given for the total of verbs with the respective suffix.

Almost trivially, the vast majority of suffixes create [+dynamic] verbs.Only -évo seems to have the potential to create [-dynamic] verbs (15.56%). The feature [+IEPS] is almost totally absent in the creations in -óno (only one verb with this feature was produced, see !miteróno). The feature cluster [+dynamic, +similative] appears most often in the -ízo creations (31.25%). The ending -iázo also has a strong preference for this pattern (25%). The feature [+Loc] appears most often in the creations in -óno (54.17%). The high percentage of {-evaluation} in -iázo is also a prominent pattern (20.83%). [+]accumulation] and [+direction] also often appear in the -iázo verb group (20.83% and 16.67%, respectively).

-éno seems to be the most neutral suffix, its meaning varying between [+dynamic] and [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] readings (42.86% and 35.71%, respectively).

All results are comprehensively given in Table 9 below. Denotational features are enclosed in square brackets, and the lone socio-expressive feature in the rightmost row is enclosed in curly brackets. Percentages under 10% for particular (clusters of) features are not taken into account.
Table 9: Creations: features and percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature Cluster</th>
<th>[+dynamic]</th>
<th>[-dynamic]</th>
<th>[+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]</th>
<th>[+dynamic, +IEPS, -Loc]</th>
<th>[+dynamic, +accumulation]</th>
<th>[habitual]</th>
<th>(-evaluation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>43.75</td>
<td>10.42</td>
<td>31.25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-éno</td>
<td>42.86</td>
<td>35.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>44.44</td>
<td>15.56</td>
<td>22.22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óno</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ázo</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iázo</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>20.83</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íno</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the most versatile suffix is -iázo, which incorporates a variety of features (five clusters) in its structure. It is followed by -ízo, -évo, and -óno (three clusters). Two clusters of features are allocated to -éno and in the last place show up -ázo and -íno (one cluster each). These patterns must be seriously taken into account since they are corroborated by the analysis in the other parts of this study. Having done the analysis for this first part, I realize that verb suffixes/endings do have a meaning, though not a sharply differentiated one. Let us now see what the analysis of the other interview tasks suggest.

2.2 Evaluation of created derivatives

This second part of section 2 was the third part of the interviews. In the actual interviews I wanted to avoid interferences from the first part, which was concerned with creations as well. Correspondingly, section 2.3 was actually the second part of the interviews.

2.2.1 The choice of the lexical category of the base and the features of the suffixes

The goal of this task was mainly to find out if there are preferences for specific verb suffixes according to the lexical category of the base. In the interviews three groups of verbs were given with the suffixes -ízo, -évo, -éno, -óno, -(i)ázo, and -íno. Each verb group had the same base, an N, an A, and an ADV, respectively. The verbs do not exist in the Athenian standard dialect and are intuitively not possible/natural, i.e. not attested, and semantically equivocal – cf. the mean averages in Tables 10-12, which are always near the bottom limit. The TPs were asked to score the verbs with 1 (best/more acceptable verb) to 6 (worst/unacceptable verb) points. The TPs were permitted to use the same points for more than one verb. The results are given in Tables 10-12.
As can be seen, there are indeed preferences related to the lexical category of the base. Whiles
-éno is the penultimate candidate in combinations with the concrete N potírí (see Table 10), it
figures as the best candidate in combinations with the A xlorós (see Table 11). Conversely, while -ôno is the penultimate candidate in combinations with the A xlorós (see Table 11), it
figures as the best candidate in combinations with the concrete N potírí (see Table 10). These
are very strong preferences which cannot be ignored, and which must be reframed by means

As Lieber (2007) argues, roots and affixes lack syntactic categorization, but have
intrinsic semantic categorization in terms of the lexical semantic features that comprise what
she calls skeletons. Roots have simple skeletons which give their semantic features and the
number of arguments they take. Affixes have the same, plus an indication of their s-selectional properties (see Lieber 2007: 271).

Bearing in mind Lieber's suggestions, I would like to give some more details and make
comparisons to the results in section 2.1.3. The suffix -ôno is by far preferred in combinations
with the noun potírí (potírðño: average 2.39 with second potírìázo: average 3.64 – see Table
10). In section 2.1.3 we saw that the feature [+Loc] appears most often in the creations in -ôno
(54.17%). If we assume a feature hierarchy in the suffixes which constrains base
compatibility, then the strong feature [+Loc] in -óno calls for a strong preference for a [+material] base.

As mentioned above, the suffix -éno is preferred in combinations with the adjective xlorós (xloréno: average 2.29 with second xlorízo: average 2.96 – see Table 11). In section 2.1.3 we saw that the feature combination [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] was the most prominent in the suffix -éno (35.71%). I propose that this feature combination is high in a feature hierarchy for this suffix and more closely related to [–dynamic] bases, in this case As.

We gain similar averages for -ízo, -évo, -éno, -óno, and -iázo in combinations with the ADV/P káto (with the exception of -íno having the lowest percentage; see Table 12). These patterns suggest that ADVs/Ps are less selective in relation to verb suffixation as opposed to Ns and As. This again may have to do with the featural makeup of Ps/ADVs. In the case of káto, there is a single feature [+Loc] in the skeleton which significantly differs from the features usually attested in Ns and As.

Some further remarks: it is a justification for this evaluation task that the suffix -íno always figures as the worst candidate. -íno has a restricted causative (or RESULTATIVE) semantics and is less productive than the other suffixes (see section 1.1). The fact that the creations in -iázo always figure close to the mean averages suggests that the respective suffix performs equally well, i.e. indifferently, in relation to the category of the base. Since in section 2.1.3 this suffix showed a great variety of features, I assume that a feature alignment/balance neutralizes the choice of this suffix.

In conclusion, it seems that the featural decomposition of lexical categories has at least the same power for accounting for selection in derivation as c-selection. In some cases, semantic features in suffixes provide much finer distinctions than simply the preference for a certain lexical category. I cannot decide the issue in this study, since I have not yet elaborated a system of structures for both bases and suffixes. This system must take into account both denotational and socio-expressive aspects of meaning (cf. section 3).

2.2.2 The meaning of the best candidate: feature extraction

After the evaluation of the verb creations I asked the test persons to give a meaning for the best candidates, i.e. the candidates with the highest score in each group. Unfortunately, this request was made from the 14th test person on. I would not like to report about the results since they would have a limited value. In the following, I only point out two important patterns which emerged from the analysis. They support or disambiguate features/feature clusters emerged in the other interview tasks.

(i) The cluster [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] for -óno shows up clearly in section 2.4.1. In section 2.1.3 I was reluctant to posit a feature [+IEPS] within this cluster. However, the same cluster shows up clearly in relation to the creations of the present interview part, cf. the
interpretations for 'potiróno' 'equip/fill with drinking glasses', 'to close in on so.' (slang), 'cover
something with a drinking glass', 'fill the glass', etc. (total: 9 interpretations out of 19).

(ii) The feature {–evaluation} for -iázo showed up clearly in section 2.1.3. In section 2.3
the same suffix was sporadically reported by the TP as [–aesthetic/correct] or [+derisive], i.e.
again with a negative evaluation. In addition, {–evaluation} shows up clearly in relation to the
creations of the present interview part, cf. the interpretations for !potiriázo 'I fume at/over
having washed a lot of drinking glasses', for !xloriázo 'become cream-faced, pale', and for
!katiázo 'stunt something/make it sit'.

To conclude, the cluster [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] for -óno and the feature
{–evaluation} for -iázo are taken into consideration in the final results of section 3.

2.3 Differences in verb pairs with different suffixes

In this part of the interview, nineteen established verb pairs with different suffixes were
presented (see Tables 13 and 15 in section 2.3.2 below). The TPs were asked to tell the
interviewer or to write down 54 whether there was some difference between them and what
exactly this difference was. The verbs were taken from Charitonidis (2005: 89-129) in which
the meaning equivalence between both members of the verb pairs was attested. 55 The verbs
were familiar to the native Greek speaker and in everyday use. As regards the composition of
the verb list, it contained ten pairs in -ízo and -áo, 56 one pair in -ízo and -éno, one pair in -ízo
and -évo, five pairs in -ízo and -iázo, and two pairs in -ízo and -ó.

2.3.1 The meaning of alternations/features

After I had collected the answers from all 27 TPs 57, I tried to extract the distinctive factors by
using alternation. This was not always easy, esp. in cases where the TPs had given a vague
answer or an answer which could not be linguistically described. I then chose the linguistic
description which in my view was the closest to the response content. I would like first to give
the general makeup of the defined alternations (alternations 5 and 15 have only one member).

1. transitive/intransitive: the exact indication of the alternation as "transitive/intransitive"
was mostly given by the TPs as such.
2. causative/inchoative: the TP used a coherent meaning continuum in his/her description,
e.g. 'make x acquire a property'/'x acquires a property' (cf. assimízo/assiméno: 'make someone
ugly'/'someone becomes ugly').
3. control/auto: the TP used a word such as 'consciously'/ 'unconsciously' for the respective
alternation members.
4. reflexive/auto: the TP used an expression such as 'make something to her-/himself'/'be-
come something due to external causes.'
Note: in the analysis I have accommodated alternations 1-4 under the cover term "transitivity alternations" since alternations 2-4 emerged only sparsely (cf. Tables 13 and 15).

5. **different SRs:** different selectional restrictions were given by the TPs for subject or object.
6. **literal/similative:** the TP used a formulation such as 'be someone'/'behave like someone.'
7. **literal/metaphorical:** the TP mostly used the adverb "metaphorically" as such for the second alternation member.
8. **semelfactive or simple/habitual:** the TP used expressions such as *edhó ke ekí* (approximately equivalent to the English word "around" in the expression "pace around") or *sixná 'often' for the second alternation member.
9. **non-intensive/intensive:** the TP described the second alternation member as "do something to a larger extent" or "do something more intensively."
10. **non-fullness/fullness:** the fullness member was described as "fill with x," "be full of x," where x stands for the content of the verb base. This fullness feature correlates/is equivalent with the feature [+accumulation] in section 2.1.
11. **standard/subtle register difference:** in this case a multiplicity of style indications is accommodated. The indication 'low class-provincial' is separately given under 16 because it was often given by the TPs.
12. **more/less (phonologically) aesthetic or correct:** this indication was given by the TPs as such without further explanations.\(^{58}\)
13. **BE/BECOME:** this alternation was given only once with the formulation "be x"/"become x" (see *assimízo/assiméno*).
14. **causative/in-oneself:** the 'in-oneself' reading was given for verbs such as *gharghalízo* meaning 'have a tickle (in the throat)' as opposed to the causative member *gharghaláo 'tickle someone else.'
15. **other meaning difference:** various interpretations.
16. **standard/low class-provincial:** this indication was adopted by the TPs "as is."\(^{59}\)

### 2.3.2 Results and discussion. The status of the ending -áo/-ó.

The main body of the results of the alternations interview are presented in Table 13. All verbs therein have a distinct base and thus are regarded as instances of derivation. Italics in the values represent the alternation members being placed in the opposite order.
Table 13: Alternations for the rival verb suffixes/endings: verbs with a distinct base

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 26 | 27 | 28 |
| proógí/proágio | 1 | 0 | 0 | x | 0 | 16 | x | ? | x | x | 0 | 9 | 0 | x | x | x | x | x | 0 | 0 | x | 5 | 1 | x | x | x | x | 0 |
| serghiamí/serghiamá | 1 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 16 | 0 | ? | 8 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 8 | 0 | x | x | x | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | x | 0 | x | 11 | 0 |
| axúmílo/axúmimo | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | ? | 0 | 1 | x | 1 | 0 | 2 | x | 7 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 |
| nostímí/nostrémá | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 5 & 7 | ? | 1 | 1 | 1 | 6 & 7 | 1 & 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 1 & 7 | 1 & 7 | 0 | 7 |
| kitémílo/kitérinázo | 1 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 11 | 0 | ? | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 6 & 7 | 1 & 7 | 1 & 7 | x | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 & 7 | 2 | 1 & 7 | 0 | 1 & 7 | 12 | 0 |
| tagíno/tagiázo | 0 | x | 0 | x | 1 | x | x | x | x | x | x | 7 | x | x | x | x | x | x | 0 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| anthíno/anthá | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 11 | 5 & 7 | ? | 5 & 7 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 1 & 7 | 12 | x |
| maníno/manyázo | 0 | x | 1 | x | x | 11 | x | ? | x | 9 & 16 | x | 6 | 0 | x | x | x | 1 | x | x | x | x | x | 2 | x | x | 2 |
| kúladíno/kúladízo | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | x | 16 | 0 | ? | 7 | 1 | x | 1 & 10 & 7 | 0 | 0 | x | x | x | 0 | 7 | x | 0 & 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 & 7 | 0 | 0 |
| ksafníno/ksafníázo | 1 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | x | 15 | 0 | ? | 8 | 0 | x | x | 0 | x | x | x | 1 | x | 0 | x | x | 0 | x | x | 0 | x |
| mümuríno/mümuríó/-ó | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 16 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 |
| stubíno/stubíó | 0 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 16 | x | ? | 1 | 0 | x | 0 | 0 | x | x | x | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | x | x | 0 | x |
| kátáimo/kátáízo | 0 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | x | 16 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| dekalíno/dekalízo | 0 | x | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | x | x | ? | 9 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | x | x | 8 | 0 | 0 | x | 6 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | x |
| skorpiános/skorpiáná/-ó | 1 | 17 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 16 | 0 | ? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

0: no difference 1: transitive/intransitive 2: causative/inchoative 3: control/auto 4: reflexive/auto 5: different SRs 6: literal/similative 7: literal/metaphorical
13: BE/BECOME 14: causative/in-self 15: other meaning difference 16: standard/low class-provincial x: unknown (one or both members)?: missing/poor data
Italics: opposite order of the alternation members

The main patterns emerging from the analysis exemplified in Table 13 are:

(i) 0 predominates in the TP responses. This implies that at the level of a general meaning both suffixes/endings in the members of the most alternation pairs are equivalent. Since there was an attested meaning equivalence in the choice of the members of the alternation pairs, this result was to be expected.

(ii) The simulative feature (6) is exclusively reported for -ízo, see nostimízo 'flavour', 'make tasty' (nóstimos 'tasty'), manízo 'get angry' (manía 'mania', 'fury', 'anger'), delalízo 'announce sth. as a town crier/two times (delalís 'town crier'). This pattern is in accordance with the patterns in section 2.1.3 and in Charitonidis (2005: 149-151), where the high productivity of this suffix in the SIMILATIVE field is reported.

(iii) Another interesting pattern is attested with the variable/alternation semelfactive-simple/habitual (8): the habitual feature was reported almost exclusively for ending -ól-ó (four times), but also for -ízo in connection with an -ídó (one time) or -ól-ó (two times) member. It was reported once for anthó 'blossom', 'bloom' (ánthos 'blossom', 'bloom') and delaló, despite the absence of -a- in the base. This habitual preference of -ól-ó and its presence in an inverted pattern with -ízo suggest that these two endings compete with one another for the expression of this feature.

(iv) The feature intensive (9) was reported for -ízo (progízo 'booz', 'hiss', 'shout down', 'shy' (animal) 'scare' (próga 'boozing', 'hissing', 'aggressive teasing'), serghianízo 'take so. for a walk', 'go for a walk' (serghiání 'walk'), ksafnízo 'surprise' (éksafna 'suddenly'), stubízo 'pestle' (stúbos 'pestle'), delalízo, -íázo (maniázo), and -ól-ó (skorpiánol-ó 'scatter', etc. (skórpious 'scattered')). There is thus a clear preference for -ízo to express this meaning component.
(v) The fullness ([+accumulation]) feature (10), reported for -iázo in section 2.1, appears in this section as well: see luludhiázo 'flower', 'blossom' (lulúdhi 'flower', 'blossom') (3 times from different TPs).

(vi) The ending -dol/-ó was sometimes given with a low class/provincial reading (alt. 16), see progáo (1TP), serghianáo (3TPs), murmuruádol/-ó 'murmur' (mur-mur 'murmur') (1TP), stubáo (1TP), kutsuláao 'throw droppings', 'dirty with droppings' (kutsuliá 'droppings') (1TP), and skorpádol/-ó (1TP). The same is true for suffix -iázo: kitriniázo 'yellow', 'become yellow' (kítrinos 'yellow') (1TP), maniázo (1TP), luludhiázo (1TP). TP7 more often gave this style preference (7 times). It is remarkable that this style was not reported for the other suffixes.

For the other features/alternations only sparse patterns emerged (see Table 13 for details). Table 14 summarizes the patterns in (i)-(vi), whereby feature correlations which sporadically occurred are left out.

**Table 14: The meaning of suffixes/endings in relation to alternations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[+similar]</th>
<th>[-habitual]</th>
<th>[+intensive]</th>
<th>[+accumulation]</th>
<th>[-low class/provincial]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-éno</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óno</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iázo</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íno</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dol/-ó</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main issues which arise from the judgements in Table 13 are:

(i) the transitivity alternations (TAs) reported by 18 TPs for assímízo/assiméno 'make ugly' (ásximos 'ugly') are not accompanied by metaphorical shifts (MSs) as opposed to nostimízo/nostimévo (12 TAs, 6 MSs), and kitriniázo/kitriniázo (12TAs, 6MSs). Is this due to the very nature of the suffix -éno, which does not allow metaphorical shifts, as opposed to the suffixes -évo and -iázo?

(ii) In cases where the derivation base was an adjective, many transitivity differences were given (see assímízo/assiméno, nostimízo/nostimévo, and kitriniázo/kitriniázo) as opposed to cases where the derivation base was something else. Does this pattern support a structure of the derivation base which interacts with (or overwrites) the structure of the suffix, or is the content of the derivation base the only causer of alternations?

(iii) In the case of the suffix -iázo, why are the combined occurrences of transitivity and metaphor so rare or absent, cf. the verb pairs tagízo/tagiázo 'become rancid' (tagós 'rancid') (1TA, no MS), manízo/maniázo (3TAs, no MS), luludhió/luludhiázo (2TAs, 1MS), and ksañízo/ksañíázo (3TAs, no MS) as opposed to the pair kitriniázo/kitriniázo (12TAs, 6MSs)?
(iv) Another remarkable pattern is the inversion of transitivity alternations (Transitivity Inversions or 'TIs') and/or metaphor (Metaphor Inversions or 'MIs'). Assimízo/assiméno has three TIs with no MI, nostimízo/nostimévo has two TIs and one MI, kitrinízo/kitriniázo has three TIs and no MI. These inversions may have many reasons, e.g. the lexical encoding of verb alternations by the TPs, the absence of example sentences in the test, different patterns in the short-term and/or long-term memory of the TPs, etc. All of these factors must be isolated and tested in future research.

To conclude, I would like to present the results of a minor task embedded into the general task presented in this section. Four established verb pairs were additionally presented which however did not have a distinct base, i.e. they were 'opaque.' As with the other verbs, the TPs were asked to tell the interviewer or to write down whether there was any difference between them, and what exactly this difference was. The verbs were again taken from Charitonidis (2005: 89-129) in which the meaning equivalence between both members of the verb pairs was attested. The verbs were familiar to the native Greek speaker and in everyday use. The results of this minor task are presented in Table 15.

Table 15: Alternations for the rival verb suffixes/endings: verbs with a non-distinct base

| Verb Pair | 1   | 2   | 3   | 4   | 5   | 6   | 7   | 8   | 9   | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13  | 14  | 15  | 16  | 17  | 18  | 19  | 20  | 21  | 22  | 23  | 24  | 25  | 26  | 27  | 28  |
|-----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| gharghalízo/gharghaláo/-ó | 1    | 2    | 3    | 4    | 5    | 6    | 7    | 8    | 9    | 10   | 11   | 12   | x    | 0    | 0    | 0    | x    | 0    | x    | x    | 1    | 0    | 0    | x    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 14   |
| tsiglízo/tsigláo/-ó | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 2    | 16   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 14   |
| zulízo/zuláo/-ó | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    |
| lighízo/ligháo/-ó | 1    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 2    | 16   | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    | 0    |


Italics: opposite order of the alternation members

The main patterns emerging from the analysis exemplified in Table 15 are in accordance with the results presented in Table 13: the feature habitual (8) was again reported for ending -áol-ó (two times), but also for -izo in connection with an -áol-ó member (one time). The feature intensive (9) was again reported for zulízo 'squeeze', 'squash' (three times), and the ending -áol-ó was again given with a low class/provincial reading (alt. 16), cf. tsigláo 'tease', 'goad', 'needle' (1TP) and ligháo/ó 'bend' (1TP). On a par with the verbs with a distinct base, the -áol-ó member of the alternation pair lighízo/ligháo/-ó was allocated a metaphorical shift in the transitivity alternations (see the alternation combination 1&7 in Table 15; 10 TAs, SSMs). All of these patterns corroborate the results from the analysis on the verbs with a distinct base and, last but not least, strongly suggest that the suffixes/endings do carry a meaning independent from strict synchronic considerations.

In relation to the ending -áol-ó, I would have no problems with assuming that it occasionally shows up as a pseudo-suffix of a relational character when associated to normally suffixed verbs, in this case -izo verbs. In the following, I give the following reasons for this claim:
(i) Several interviewed persons were aware of the difference between -ízo and -áol-ó in the respective alternation pairs. The semantic components for -áol-ó which I isolated from the answers of the TPs were: [+habitual] (four TPs) and {+low class/provincial} (4TPs) (see Table 14). This means that not only the denotational content of this ending is sometimes regarded as different (see [+habitual]) but also the socio-expressive content (see {+low class/provincial}).

(ii) Though in the interviews I had defined -áol-ó as one member of the alternation pair, I noticed that the TPs largely ignored the -ó variant in their answers when they made the comparison with -ízo. This preference suggests that -a- in the ending -áo is juxtaposed with -íz- in the ending -ízo. However, this pattern may be due to regional/dialectal preferences mentioned in section 1.1. Whether -a- in -áo develops into a derivational suffix, esp. in the centrally located area of Athens, is an open question. The TP reactions in this interview task and various morphological accounts up to this time (see section 1.1) do not suffice for such a strong generalization.

According to these observations we can reassess the status of the feature intensive. This feature is the product of the informants' intuitions on verbs with rival endings, i.e. -ízo and -áol-ó verbs. The semantics of -áol-ó is regarded as "weaker" than the semantics of -ízo. In other words, it is likely that -áol-ó shows up with a habitual feature because it compensates for the semantics of -ízo. More experiments must be made in order to define whether the intensive feature is a real lexical feature and/or whether this feature is exclusively allocated to -ízo.

2.4 Emergence of suffix meanings in (near) antonymy

In the previous sections, the analysis of the interviews revealed many factors which influence the meaning and choice of suffixes. It is interesting to see now whether a native speaker can express meaning components in the suffixes paradigmatically, esp. in terms of (near) antonymy. For this third part of the interviews 21 established verbs with the endings -ízo, -évo, -éno, -óno, -(i)ázo, and -íno were presented (see Table 16). The 26 TPs were asked to give the "opposite" or "near opposite" expression for each verb. The rationale behind this instruction is that the semantic core of the suffixes examined becomes explicit through the juxtaposition of the respective derivatives with antonym expressions, whereby special meanings for the suffixes may emerge. This experiment was conceived as a variant of juxtaposing antonymous affixed verbs in order to exemplify the meaning of the affixes (cf. Fleischer & Barz 1995: 348 who juxtapose antonymous deverbal verbs with different prefixes in German).
2.4.1 Hypotheses for the suffix meanings on the basis of (near) antonyms and the assumed primitives/features

Table 16 summarizes the attested patterns in the antonymy experiment. Two or more occurrences of the same or similar antonym introduced an assumed primitive/feature. In the row labelled '(Near) Antonyms', the most frequent and prominent TP statements are given. 'ZR' stands for 'zero response.' The bases of the derivatives are given in Table 18 with the same number in the leftmost row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>(Near) Antonyms</th>
<th>ZR</th>
<th>Hypothesis for the suffix meaning</th>
<th>Assumed primitive/feature</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 xaramízo</td>
<td>'waste'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>[+dynamic]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sinetízo</td>
<td>'bring so. to reason'</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>be actively involved in an action, bring an action to an end, explicitly affect an entity</td>
<td>[+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tufekízo</td>
<td>'shoot with a rifle'</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>successfully do once or more (be actively involved in an action, bring an action to an end, explicitly affect an entity)</td>
<td>[+dynamic], [+IEPS, +Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 lathévo</td>
<td>'to be at fault' etc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>do, be, succeed</td>
<td>[+dynamic], [–dynamic, +Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 taksidhévo</td>
<td>'journey', 'travel', etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>become, improve</td>
<td>[+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc], [+evaluation]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 aghriévo</td>
<td>'become angry with so', etc.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>become</td>
<td>[+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 proedhrévo</td>
<td>'preside', 'chair'</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>do/be a positive or better something</td>
<td>[+dynamic], [–dynamic, +Loc], [+evaluation]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 kutséno</td>
<td>'halt', 'limp'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>have a property (be)</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 kuféno</td>
<td>'be deaf', 'deafen'</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>have a property (be)</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +Loc]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>vuvéno</td>
<td>'be dumb', 'be mute'</td>
<td>fonázo/fonaskó</td>
<td>'shout'/scream' (5/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>vathéno</td>
<td>'deepen'</td>
<td>ipsóno</td>
<td>'raise' (3/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>lighdómo</td>
<td>'sмear'</td>
<td>katharícó</td>
<td>'clean' (14/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>plighóno</td>
<td>'injure', 'wound'</td>
<td>aghápó</td>
<td>'love' (3/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>areóno</td>
<td>'dilute', 'thin sth. (down)', etc.</td>
<td>pikónó</td>
<td>'concentrate'/densify/thicken' (13/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>aghiázo</td>
<td>'hallow', 'become holy'</td>
<td>amartáno</td>
<td>'sin' (3/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>veloniázo</td>
<td>'stitch'</td>
<td>rávo</td>
<td>'sew'/stitch' (2/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>komatiázo</td>
<td>'split', 'cut up', etc.</td>
<td>enóno</td>
<td>'piece together'/combine'/conjoin/unite' (14/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>bibikiázo</td>
<td>'get black-heads', etc.</td>
<td>éxo katharó prósopo</td>
<td>'have a clean face' (2/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>eksusiázo</td>
<td>'govern', 'rule', etc.</td>
<td>eksusiázome</td>
<td>'be controlled/dominated/ruled' (5/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>labríno</td>
<td>'dignify', 'grace'</td>
<td>skotiniázo</td>
<td>'darken'/obscure' (19/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>leptino</td>
<td>'attenuate', 'thin'</td>
<td>paxéno</td>
<td>'become (more) fat' (7/26)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 contains stimulus verbs such as *tufékizo* 'shoot' or *taksídhévo* 'travel' which might not legitimately be thought to have antonyms. As will be shown in sections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3, the difficulty of finding an opposite concept in this experiment points to the independent status of the suffixes and bases examined, esp. to the status of the suffixes as signs.

The obvious question as regards the analysis exemplified in Table 16 is whether the suffix groups show a homogeneous meaning or not, and what the similarities or differences between the particular suffixes are. Let us look at the six groups.

(i) *xaramízo, sinetízo, tufékizo*: in all three verbs, suffix *-ízo* shows up with an action meaning, varying from a simple action (*xaramízo*) to explicit affecting actions (*sinetízo, tufékizo*).
(ii) lathévo, taksidhévo, aghriévo, proedhrévo: action, state and inchoative readings show up in the opposites. The suffix -évo can be paraphrased as 'do'/be' (lathévo, proedhrévo) or as 'become' (taksidhévo, proedhrévo). An improvement/positive component for taksidhévo and proedhrévo is suggested by the opposites.

(iii) kutséno, kuféno, vuvéno, vathéno: -éno shows not only 'do' and 'be' semantics but also some 'become' readings (see vathéno).

(iv) lighdhóno, plighóno, areóno: -óno mainly shows up with a transfer/induce component (lighdhóno, areóno) and with a dispositional component (plighóno).

(v) aghiázo, veloniázo, komatiázo, bibikiázo, eksusiázo: the components 'many'/all over' (veloniázo, bibikiázo), 'all' (komatiázo), and emotion (aghiázo, eksusiázo) are here evident. The first two are already known from the other interview parts as the features accumulation or fullness.

(vi) labríno, leptíno: -íno refers in both verbs to real/external 'become' situations, set apart from any metaphorical or psychological reading. In the case of the verb labríno, this pattern is striking because this verb is mainly used metaphorically in MG. It is thus evident that for the opposites a prototypical lexical meaning is addressed by the TPs. Last but not least, this fact justifies my method in this interview part.

Table 17 summarizes the main feature patterns for each suffix which emerged from the antonymy task. Again, denotational features are enclosed in square brackets, and socio-expressive features in curly brackets.

Table 17: Assumed primitives/features for the verb suffixes according to (near) antonyms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[+dynamic]</th>
<th>[+dynamic, +IEPS]</th>
<th>[+dynamic, +Loc]</th>
<th>[+accumulation]</th>
<th>[+direction]</th>
<th>[+contact]</th>
<th>[-evaluation]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ízo</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-éno</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-évo</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-óno</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íázo</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-íno</td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Leaving aside the features [+evaluation], [+contact], and [+direction] which appear only sporadically, the main patterns in Table 17 are: (i) all verb suffixes are potentially [+dynamic] and [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc], except for the verbs in -íno, which cannot be simply [+dynamic], (ii) -évo, -éno, and -íázo may also be [-dynamic], and (iii), -(i)ázo is again the most versatile suffix, with five features represented in its structure.
2.4.2 Zero-responses and the category of the base

In the following, I would like to explain what the zero-responses in Table 16 suggest. They are repeated in Table 18 in decreasing order, together with the ontological characterization of the derivation base (see Lieber 2004, 2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Base ontology</th>
<th>ZR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>veloniázo</td>
<td>(N) velóna 'needle', 'pin'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tufékízo</td>
<td>(N) tuféki 'rifle'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibikiázo</td>
<td>(N) bibíki 'black-head', 'zit'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proedhrévo</td>
<td>(N) próedhrós 'chairman', 'president'</td>
<td>[+material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aghiázo</td>
<td>(A) ághios 'holy', 'saint'</td>
<td>[–dynamic, –scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaféno</td>
<td>(A) kúfós 'deaf'</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinetízo</td>
<td>(A) sinetós 'discreet', 'prudent'</td>
<td>[–dynamic, –scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lathévo</td>
<td>(N) láthos 'error', 'mistake', 'wrong'</td>
<td>[–material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lighdhóno</td>
<td>(N) lighdha 'grime'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plighhóno</td>
<td>(N) plight 'wound'</td>
<td>[+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eksusiázo</td>
<td>(N) eksusía 'authority', 'control', etc.</td>
<td>[–material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaramízo</td>
<td>(ADV) xarámi 'in vain', 'be wasted'</td>
<td>[–material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE, [–Loc]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taksidhévo</td>
<td>(N) taksídhi 'journey', 'travel', 'trip'</td>
<td>[–material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutséno</td>
<td>(A) kutsós 'gamy', 'lame'</td>
<td>[+dynamic, +scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vuvéno</td>
<td>(A) vuvós 'dumb', 'mute'</td>
<td>[–dynamic, –scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agtriévo</td>
<td>(A) ágríos 'wild', 'fierce', etc.</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vathéno</td>
<td>(N) váthos 'depth'</td>
<td>[–material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>areóno</td>
<td>(A) areós 'runny', 'thin', etc.</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komatiázo</td>
<td>(N) komáti 'piece'</td>
<td>[–material] SUBSTANCE/ESSENCE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labríno</td>
<td>(A) labrós 'bright', 'brilliant', etc.</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leptíno</td>
<td>(A) leptós 'thin', 'slim', etc.</td>
<td>[–dynamic, +scalar] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The feature [dynamic] in the representations of processual SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES of this section is unspecified for value, according to the assumptions of Lieber (2004: 28), who assumes that further specification of this feature takes place at a higher level of semantic representation.

* I cannot decide on the lexical and ontological status of xarámi. The first option is [–material] N and the second a kind of [–Loc] P. The latter option brings this ADV close to the semantics of privative adpositions/affixes (see Lieber 2004: 102-125).

* Vuvós is ambiguous in respect to the feature [+volitional]. Cf. the analysis of standee and escapee in Lieber (2004: 64-66).
The three derivatives with the most zero responses, i.e. veloniázo (17 ZRs), tufekízo (12 ZRs), and bibikiázo (10 ZRs), have a [+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE in their base, without the feature [dynamic]. [+material] SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES have non-SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES as complementaries, i.e. the entities non-velóna, non-tuféki, and non-bibíki, and these non-entities refer to all the rest of the objects but the referents of their bases (see Löbner 2002: 76f). For this reason, their (near) antonyms sum up a multiplicity of actions which cannot be easily conveyed, e.g. if one does not shoot with a rifle then one may not wound, or punch so., etc. (see tufekízo). In other words, the inability of the TPs to give an opposite verb is explained by the fact that a choice had to be made between an immense number of situations.

It is true that lighdhóno, plighóno, and komatiázo also have [+material] SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES in their bases but only a few or no zero responses (see Table 18). These SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES are not on the same categorization level as the bases of veloniázo, tufekízo, and bibikiázo: grime, a wound, or a piece (see the bases of lighdhóno, plighóno and komatiázo) may represent many different things as opposed to needles, rifles, and black-heads (see the bases of veloniázo, tufekízo, and bibikiázo) which refer to concrete, indifferent objects.

Almost all of the rest of the derivatives with fewer ZRs are SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES with a value of the feature [dynamic] in their base. I assume that the [dynamic] feature of these entities is more related to the [dynamic] feature of SITUATIONS (verbs), so that an opposite process (=verb) could be found easily (see Table 18 for details).

Although the prefix kse- ’un-‘ expresses opposite meanings in Modern Greek, it appears only seldom in the responses of the TPs. I here cite the respective cases which emerged in the interviews: aghiázo/kse-aghiázo, veloniázo/kse-veloniázo, bibikiázo/kse-bibikiázo. These kse-responses are likely to be connected with the ZRs and/or the ontological status of the base. Particularly, all three kse- creations are allocated to 17 (veloniázo), 10 (bibikiázo), and 6 (aghiázo) ZRs, i.e. to verbs for which an opposite concept could not be easily found. And since veloniázo and bibikiázo stand high on the list in Table 18, I assume that kse- attaches more easily as a reversive prefix to verbs with a [+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE in their base (see Table 18). Nonetheless, kse- is a prototypical [–Loc] prefix (cf. Efthymiou 2001, 2002) and similarly [+material] entities are prototypical SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES. Therefore, it would be strange if they could not easily combine.

In conclusion, I would like to report a last pattern in the responses of the TPs. Where possible, the TPs easily gave an opposite concept with the same suffix. These most frequent cases were: (i) aghiévo-imerévo (‘quieten’) (7TPs), (ii) vathéno-rixéno (‘be/become shallow’) (8TPs), and (iii) areóno-piknóno (‘concentrate/densify/thicken’) / sibiknóno (‘concentrate’) (13TPs). These patterns suggest that the TPs content themselves with a given morphological element, in this case a suffix, when giving an antonym (economy). Particularly, they depart from a given suffix in order to select another base. This again suggests that verb suffixes are
able to strengthen their semantic representation or 'resting activation' (cf. Plag 2005) through paradigmatic relations.

2.4.3 Conclusion

Section 2.4.1 showed that skeleton features/primitives do emerge in the semantics of the Greek verb suffixes, and this again supports their sign-based treatment. A conflicting pattern emerged in the parallel existence of [+dynamic] and [–dynamic] interpretations for the same suffixes (see the derivatives in -évo, -óno, and -iázo in Table 16). This fact is not predicted in Lieber's (2004, 2007) theory, and it must be somehow accommodated (see also sections 2.1.3 and 3). Section 2.4.2 showed how important the parallel examination of zero-responses is together with the examination of the category of the base of the presented derivatives. We saw that the verb bases do have an independent semantic content, distinct from the semantic content of the suffixes. Again, this is an argument for a sign-based treatment of the latter.

3 General results

The main goal of this study set in the Introduction was to assess a meaning for the Greek verb suffixes -ízo, -éno, -évo, -óno, -(i)ázo, and -íno, with special account of the ending -áo/-ó. In this section I will address this main goal while considering both the denotational and socio-expressive level of meaning.

There is a controversy among researchers as to whether affixes carry a meaning or not, and if they do carry one, how explicit this meaning is – the respective research threads are subsumed under the labels 'separation hypothesis' (Anderson 1992, Beard 1995, Corbin 1987, Szymanek 1988, etc.) and 'sign-based hypothesis' (Lieber 2004, Melissaropoulou & Ralli 2010, Plag 1999, 2000, etc.). In this study I have opted for the sign-based hypothesis and particularly for Lieber's view that affixes do carry a meaning, but one which is not as rich as that of the bases to which they attach. Having adopted as a working hypothesis some of Lieber's (2004, 2007) primitives in a featural manner, I tried to see whether additional features interfere with her system which by means of a further elaboration could account more accurately for the selectional properties of suffixes.

As already implied in the Introduction, the reliability of the analysis of the interviews is enhanced if the results of the analysis of data elicited with non-existing derivatives (see sections 2.1 and 2.2) are in accordance with the data elicited with existing derivatives (see sections 2.3 and 2.4). The repetition of a pattern in at least two interview parts introduces a feature or feature cluster for each suffix. As an exception, special focus is placed on the alternations of section 2.3, which introduces several features – though the patterns therein are mostly not confirmed in the other sections of this study.
Table 19 summarizes the results. Again, denotational features are enclosed in square brackets, and socio-expressive features in curly brackets. Example verbs for all features or feature combinations can be found in section 2.1.2.

### Table 19: The meaning of the native Greek verb suffixes and the verb ending -áo/-ó

| Feature | [+dynamic] | [-dynamic] | [+dynamic, +IEPS] | [-IEPS] | [+dynamic, +simulative] | [-simulative] | [+accumulation] | [-accumulation] | [+habitual] | [-habitual] | [+intensive] | [-intensive] | [+evaluation] | [-evaluation] | [+low class/provincial] | [-low class/provincial] |
|---------|------------|------------|-------------------|---------|------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| -ízo    | √a         |           |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -éno    |           | √b         |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -évo    |           |           | √c                |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -ánó    |           |           |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -íázo   |           |           |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -íno    |           |           |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -ató    |           |           |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |
| -ió    |           |           |                   |         |                        |              |                |                |            |            |             |           |              |              |                |                   |

IEPS: ‘Inferable Eventual Position or State’ (Lieber 2004)

As can be seen, various semantic components repeatedly occur in different language tasks and form meaning cores for each suffix. Nonetheless, the suffixes are not very different from one another. To show this more clearly, I cite Lieber’s (2004) bipartite structure for the English verb derivatives in -ize and -ify in (6).

(6)  

-ize, -ify  

[Lieber 2004: 82]  

[+dynamic ([volitional-i], [i]), [+IEPS ([loc] [i]), [+dynamic, +IEPS ([loc] [i]), [+IEPS, [loc] i])]), <base>]

In Table 19 the cluster [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] shows up most often across the different suffixes. This cluster corresponds to the subevent (7), extracted from the structure in (6).

(7)  

[+dynamic, +IEPS ([loc] +Loc ])]

The crucial semantic core [+dynamic, +IEPS ([loc] +Loc ])] in (7) shows that on the level of denotational meaning the suffixes are similar. The pattern [+dynamic] in Table 19 can be regarded as an extension of this core connected with various manipulations of the bipartite structure in (6) – cf. Lieber (2004: 86-88). It should be noticed, however, that [+dynamic] is
not a preferred option for the suffix -íno which resists manipulations of its causative structure (see section 1.1 and n. 32). The suffix -óno has a strong [+Loc] component, i.e. it standardly combines with [+material] themes (see sections 2.1.1.3 and 2.2.1).

The feature [+habitual] for -áol-ó in Table 19 is too broad a feature to be integrated in Lieber's system, since its classifying power and hence its contribution to the identification of referents is restricted (see section 1.2.1).

The feature [+accumulation] for -iázo in Table 19 is represented in Lieber's system through the function [+CI] ('composed of individuals') which accounts for separable similar internal units (see Lieber 2004: 136-139).

The cluster [+dynamic, +similative] in Table 19 corresponds to the first subevent of (6) whereby the referent of the base shows up in the first slot (see Lieber 2004: 87-88).

Until this point of comparison, Lieber's system properly accommodates the denotational content of the Greek suffixes. However, there is a major issue. The [–dynamic] and [+dynamic] patterns of -évo in Table 19 are the strongest argument against a single, perhaps bipartite, structure like this in (6) because contradictory outermost features are not licensed in Lieber's system.

Let us now turn to the socio-expressive features of Table 19. As already pointed out in section 2.3.2, the feature {+intensive} is a relational feature which emerged out of the comparison of the suffix -ízo with the ending -áol-ó. In section 2.1.1.3 it was argued that -ízo is able to foreground abstract actions through its {+intensive} feature, cf. the creation ladhikízo 'do injustice' (adhikía 'injustice'). It is most likely that the other Greek suffixes relate to this feature as well. In Charitonidis (in preparation) {+intensive} is subsumed under the super-category {+measure} which refers to a conceptual category of measurement/continuation/progress, e.g. size, intenseness, strength, etc. of a higher (cf. {+intensive}) or lower (cf. {+diminutive}) degree.

{–evaluation} for -iázo in Table 19 is a powerful selectional feature. The entities which can occupy the empty slots in structure (6) are nominal [+material, dynamic] agents (the first argument of the first partial structure) or adjectival [–dynamic, +scalar] goals (the [+Loc] argument). However, {–evaluation} cuts across these categorial and structural preferences: it prefers {–evaluation} bases such as the [+material, dynamic] entity rébelos 'loafer' in rebeliázo 'loaf' or the [–dynamic, –scalar] entity paráksenos 'odd' in parakseniázo 'grow odd'.

As already pointed out in section 1.1, the marking {+low class/provincial} for the ending -áol-ó in Table 19 is connected to complex dialectal preferences and to casual/oral speech. It should not surprise us if this ending – and not -ízo – were to often show up with bases which refer to objects or actions of everyday practice in an informal style of speech, cf. stubáo/-ó 'pestle' (stúbos 'pestle') or serghianáo/-ó 'take so./go for a walk' (serghíani 'walk').

In addition, I would like to underscore some selectional patterns as regards the socio-expressive level of meaning already mentioned in previous parts of this study. -ízo is a similative suffix and because of this it prefers entities referring to a social role, such as mitéra.
'mother' (section 2.1.1.3). -évo is often used with nominal bases denoting a specific social role, esp. a profession or an office (section 1.1). -iázo conflicts with socio-expressively neutral bases since it is negatively marked (section 2.1.1.3).

To conclude, Lieber's structure in (6) together with her ontological distinctions for the main lexical categories offers an adequate framework for accounting for the denotational cores of the Greek verb suffixes. Only on closer examination do some dissonant details emerge (cf. the -évo issue above). In the case of the selectional properties of the suffixes and hence in the case of productivity, Lieber's theory is massively confronted with its own weakness regarding the socio-expressive level of meaning.

The results of this study suggest (i) a sign-based treatment of affixes, (ii) a vertical preference structure in the semantic structure of the head suffixes which takes into account the semantic make-up of the bases, and (iii) the integration of socio-expressive meaning into verb structures, cf. the features {+intensive}, {–evaluation} and {+low class/provincial} in Table 19.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the volunteers I found in February 2009 in the Building of the School of Philosophy of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. The interviews were carried out under adverse conditions, since no appointments and no special place were prearranged. I would also like to thank all reviewers of this manuscript. They helped me to restructure my arguments and enhance the quality of this study. My best regards to Angeliki Efthymiou and Angela Ralli for our discussions on topics of this survey.
Appendix A: The test protocol

TASK 1 (cf. section 2.1)
The Greek verb suffixes are -ízo (afr-ízo), -évo (psar-évo), -éno (therm-éno), -óno (klidh-óno), -(i)ázo (trom-ázo) and -íno (efkol-íno). In the following some base words are given. You have to form possible words by using these suffixes. You may use more than one suffix for each base word. Please give a possible meaning for the verb(s) you have formed.

Base words: mitéra, leftá, adhikía, proinó, trógho, éxo

TASK 2 (cf. section 2.3)
In the following some verb doublets are given. Do they have the same meaning or is there a difference between them? If yes, please specify the difference.

progízo/progáo, serghianízo/serghianáo, assimízo/assiméno, nostimízo/nostimévo,
kitríno/kitriniázo, tagízo/tagiázo, anthízo/anthó, manízo/maniázo, luludízo/luludiázo,
ksafnízo/ksafniázo, gargarhalízo/gargarhalázo, tsglízo/tsglaáo-tsgló,
murmurízo/murmuráo-murmuró, stubízo/stubáo, kutsulízo/kutsulaáo, zulízo/zuláo-zuló,
delalízo/delaló, skorpízo/skorpáo-skorpó, lightízo/lightáo-lightó.

TASK 3 (cf. section 2.2)
Each of the following verb groups has the endings -ízo, -évo, -éno, -óno, -(i)ázo, and -íno. These verbs do not exist. Please rate the verbs with 1 (best/highly acceptable verb) to 6 (worst/unacceptable verb). You may use the same grade/number more than once.

pottíri - noun > potírizo, potirévo, potiréno, potíronó, potiriázo, potíroíno
xlorós - adjective > xlorízo, xlorévo, xloréno, xloróno, xlorízo, xloríno
káto - adverb > katízo, katévo, katéno, katóno, katiázo, katíno

TASK 4 (cf. section 2.4)
In the following some verbs in -ízo, -évo, -éno, -óno, -(i)ázo, and -íno are given. What is the (near) antonym for each verb? If you cannot find a verb you may use a phrase.

buxtízo, xaramízo, sinetízo, tufekízo \ lathévo, takisdrhévo, aghriévo, proedhrévo
kutsenó, kufénó, vuvénó, vathénó \ lighdhóno, plighónó, thalásónó, areónó
aghiázo, veloniázo, komatiázo, bibikiázo, eksusiázo \ ipoxondhríazo \ labrínó, leptíno
Appendix B: Creations and interpretations (see section 2.1)

In the following, I give the created verbs together with their interpretations from all TPs. The number of the created verbs stands immediately to the right of the verb. '→' indicates a comment only for the last examined verb. For the meaning of the assumed features see Table 8 in section 2.1.2.

1 mitéra 'mother' [+material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE

!mitéréno (2): become a mother [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/2), behave like one’s mother [+dynamic, +similative] (1/2)
!mitréléno (1): suckle a child [+dynamic, +specialized] (1/1)
→ The absence of the vowel -e- between -t- and -r- produces a specialized meaning (see also below).

!mitérévo (9): be a mother [–dynamic] (1/9), behave like a mother [+dynamic, +similative] (1/9), acquire maternal properties [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/9), gradually become a mother [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/9), approach the behaviour of a mother [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/9), I’m going to be a mother [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/9), nurture (~nurture/suckle period) [+dynamic, +specialized] (1/9), offer motherly nurture [+dynamic, +specialized] (1/9)
→ The reading ‘acquire the role of the entity of the base’ is prominent (5/9). There is an exceptional stative [–dynamic] reading in the paraphrase ‘be a mother.’ Notice that [–dynamic] interpretations in the interviews together with [+dynamic] ones contradict Lieber’s (2004) theoretical assumptions that affixes cannot be mapped onto contradictory features (see also sections 4 and 6 in this Appendix; cf. section 2.4.1, etc.).

!mitrélévo (2): behave like so.’s mother [+dynamic, +similative, +RS] (1/2), beget children / be a mother [–dynamic] (1/2)


!mitríazo (2): behave maternally [+dynamic, +similative] (1/2), behave like a foster-mother [+dynamic, +similative, +RS] (1/2)
→ It seems that -iázó adds a deprecatory meaning component (social meaning). Again, the absence of the vowel -e- between -t- and -r- produces a lexicalized meaning. The verb !mitríazo was initially given by many test persons, but after my request for an explanation it was connected with the noun mitríá ‘foster mother’ and not with mitéra.

!miterízo (13): behave like a mother [+dynamic, +similative] (13/13)
→ The similitative interpretations of !miterízo were actually the same in all created derivatives. This fact suggests the great productivity of the suffix in this field. The same fact is already pointed out in Charitonidis (2005: 149-151).

!mitrízo (1): nurture [+dynamic, +M] (1/1)
The absence of the vowel -e- between -t- and -r- produces a metaphorical meaning.

!miteróno (2): make so. into a mother [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/2), behave like a mother [+dynamic, +similative] (1/2)

General comments: There is a strong preference of -évo and -ízo to [+material, dynamic] SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES. -évo has a prominent inchoative ([+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] interpretation. -ízo is a [+similative] suffix.
2 leftá 'money' [+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE

!leftázo (1): make money [+dynamic] (1/1)
!lefténó (6): acquire money [+dynamic] (1/6), earn money [+dynamic] (1/6), acquire a lot of money [+dynamic, +accumulation] (1/6), acquire money/become jumped-up [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +accumulation, –evaluation] (1/6), rise to wealth [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +accumulation] (1/6), become rich [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +accumulation] (1/6)
→ There are two poles of interpretations: normal and extreme acquisition of money. The latter may be a semantic contribution of the base.
!leftévo (3): earn money [+dynamic] (2/3), earn/save money [+dynamic] (1/3)
!lefttázo (2): acquire money [+dynamic] (?rise to wealth) (1/2), rise to wealth, earn money [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +accumulation] (1/2)
→ The cumulative effect of -íázo is attested in all parts of the interview. The question is whether the semantic contribution of the base is more relevant here (cf. !lefténo above).
!lefténo (1): attenuate [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +phonological] (1/1)
→ This is an apparent phonological association with the verb leptíno meaning 'attenuate.'
→ Cf. the comments for !lefténo above.
!leftíno (1): give so. money [+dynamic, +Loc] (6/12), give so. money as bribes/backhanders [+dynamic, +Loc, –evaluation] (4/12), earn money/line my pockets [+dynamic, +Loc, +accumulation] (1/12), take money secretly (slide something into my pocket) [+dynamic, +Loc, –evaluation] (1/12)
→ The verb !leftíno was predominantly interpreted as a transitive one with a human object. This was to be expected since the base leftá does not bear the feature [+dynamic] and the standard scene of money transfer must be completed with a [+material, dynamic] object (and, trivially, with a [+material, dynamic] subject).

General comments: -óno imposes a [+dynamic, +Loc] skeleton without the feature [+IEPS], as opposed to the majority of the other suffixes denoting either a simple activity (+[dynamic]) or being inchoatives (+[dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]).

3 adhikía 'injustice' [–material, dynamic] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE

!adhikázo (1): judge so. wrongly/unjustly [+dynamic] (1/1)
!adhikénó (4): be unjust, wrong (adhikó) [+dynamic] (2/4), become more unjust [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +direction] (1/4), commit injustice against so. [+dynamic] (1/4)
!adhikévo (6): be unjust, wrong (adhikó) [+dynamic] (4/6), be unjust, wrong to so. [+dynamic] (adhikó kápion) (1/6), become unjust [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/6)
!adhikíno (2): be unjust, wrong (adhikó) [+dynamic] (1/2), become unjust (ghínome adhikos) [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/2)
!adhikízo (17): be unjust/wrong (adhikó) [+dynamic] (9/17), be unjust/wrong against so. (adhikó kápion) [+dynamic] (4/17), behave unjustly [+dynamic] (1/17), behave like an unjust individual [+dynamic, +similative] (1/17), seem to be unjust [+dynamic, +similative] (1/17), cause injustice [+dynamic] (1/17)
→ The majority of the test persons (13/17) gave the verb adhikó as equivalent to !adhikízo. This fact suggests the skeleton similarity of both forms and also the fact that -ízo has a strong preference for [–material, dynamic] SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES producing [+dynamic] SITUATIONS.
!adhikóno (3): be unjust/wrong to so. [+dynamic] (1/3), be unjust [+dynamic] (1/3), try so. unjustly/wrongly [+dynamic, +specialized] (1/3)
'adhikíono (1): commit injustice (káno ádhiko) [+dynamic] (1/1)
→ 'adhikíono (1) is treated together with 'adhikóno (3).

**General comments:** Derivatives in -iézo were not created because they were blocked at the level of socio-expressive meaning (see sections 1.1 and 2.1.1.3). The meaning patterns in all produced derivatives are extremely similar. There is an almost unexceptional association of the meanings of the derivatives to the meanings of the simple verb adhikó. In MG, adhikó is always used transitively. Consequently, even though the interpretation 'be unjust/wrong' (adhikó) lacks an explicit object, we have to equate it with "be unjust/wrong against so. (adhikó kápion)," that is, the interpretation with an accusative animate object. The fact that half (17) of the created derivatives end in -ízo is surprising, together with the fact that the -ízo creations exhibit similar meanings with the meanings of the rest of the derivatives. Phonological factors may explain this preference since the last vowel of the base stem is -i- and the first vowel of the suffix -ízo is also i- (but note that -iázo also begins with i-). See section 2.1.1.3 for an exclusively semantic account of 'adhikízo.

4 proinó 'breakfast' [+material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE
proinó 'morning' [-material] SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE

As already pointed out, N proinó is ambiguous (cf. the title of this section). The respective interpretations below are separated by '|||.'

!proinévo (13): take breakfast [+dynamic] (5/13), make breakfast [+dynamic] (2/13), go somewhere to eat breakfast / eat breakfast [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/13) ||| wake up earlier in the morning [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, DIR] (1/13), wake up in the morning (ksiπnáo proí) [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/13), remain awake till morning (méno ksiπnios méxrí to proí) [-dynamic, +Loc, +direction] (1/13), be in the morning time (1/13) [-dynamic, +Loc], dawn (in 3rd singular !proinévi 'it dawns') [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/13)
→ Overall, they were produced [+dynamic] SITUATIONS with only two exceptions (see the paraphrases 'remain awake till morning' and 'be in the morning time'). The majority of the test persons (8/13) interpreted the base as 'breakfast', and their 'morning' interpretations were inconsistent. It seems that -évo produces more homogeneous interpretations with a [+material] base than with a [-material] one (and this may be a counterexample to the general patterns emerged in section 3 of this Appendix) where the [-material] base adhikía produced homogeneous interpretations – but see the concomitant feature [+dynamic] of adhikía.

→ Overall, [+dynamic] SITUATIONS were produced with only one exception (see 'loll in bed in the morning'). With the 'morning' ([-material]) base, the inchoative interpretations were prominent. -iázo seems to produce more homogeneous interpretations with a [+material] base compared to a [-material] one (cf. !proinévo above).

!proinízo (5): eat breakfast [+dynamic] (1/5), take breakfast [+dynamic] (1/5) ||| be reminiscent of morning [-dynamic, +similative] (1/5), wake up in the morning [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] (1/5), like to refer to mornings [+dynamic, +direction] (1/5)
→ Overall, [+dynamic] SITUATIONS were produced with only one exception (see the [-dynamic, +similative] interpretation 'be reminiscent of morning'). As in the cases of -évo and -iázo, -ézo seems to produce more homogeneous interpretations with a [+material] base compared to a [-material] one.
proinóno (1): serve breakfast [+dynamic] (1/1)

General comments: There are no creations in -énο. This is obvious since this suffix would produce a phonologically strange ending -néño (nonce form) with repetition of the phoneme -n-. The ambiguity of the base (see above) deters me from making the right generalizations. Even so, it is apparent that -évo, -iázo, and -ízo produce more homogeneous interpretations with a [+material] base compared to a [–material] one.

5 trógho 'eat' [+dynamic] SITUATION

trógházo (1): feed so. [+dynamic, +Loc] (1/1) – see also !troghiázo below.
→ Normally, the simple verb trógho does not take a human as object. The test person has created a causative derivative with a human object as goal.

tróghéno (1): eat (tróo) [+dynamic] (1/1)
→ No change of meaning

tróghévo (6): eat (tróo) [+dynamic] (5/6), eat [in low/provincial register] [+dynamic, +register] (1/6)
→ No change of meaning except for one derivative connected to the same meaning in a different register (see the second interpretation).

tróghíazo (3): eat (1/3) [+dynamic, +accumulation] (1/3), fret, put oneself in a fatigue [+dynamic, −evaluation, +M] (1/3)
→ It is interesting that the three creations mirror three important functions of the suffix -iázo: eventive ([+dynamic]), cumulative, and negative psychological (cf. the analysis in other interview sections/parts).

tróghízo (7): eat [+dynamic] (1/7), eat something [+dynamic] (1/7), eat a small amount [+dynamic, +diminutive] (1/7), eat as "eat a meal" [+dynamic] (1/7), feed so. by force [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +force] (1/7), become chubby [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc, +specialized] (1/7), fret [+dynamic, −evaluation, +M] (1/7)
→ There is a wide spectrum of interpretations, ranging from a literal 'eat' to metaphorical ones such as 'become chubby', 'fret', the most interesting being 'eat a small amount' with a diminutive effect (cf. the general comments below).

tróghóno (4): eat [+dynamic] (2/4), have a row with so. [+dynamic, −evaluation, +M] (2/4)
→ The conflict reading 'have a row with so.' is similar to the conflict readings of !troghiázo ('fret', 'put oneself in a fatigue') and !troghízo ('fret') above. There is an apparent association with the idiom tróghome or tróghome me ton eafió mu meaning 'fret', 'put oneself in a fatigue.'

General comments: I do not think that there can be any deverbal verbs in MG. The cases klapsurízo 'bleat' and fegízo 'peep' (intransitively for a light source), reported in Sakelariádhis (1997: 86) are not deverbal but denominal verbs (see DCMG). The diminutive verb vrexulízo 'drizzle' reported in Thomadháki (1988: 79) seems to have an exceptional suffix, i.e. -ulízo and not -ízo – notice that only one test person gave a diminutive interpretation for -ízo, cf. !troghízo above. On top of this, the fact that 8 out of 28 TPs could not give a derivative suggests the difficulty of forming deverbal verbs in MG. The attested creations may be explained by the fact that trógho is a [+dynamic] verb and the verb suffixes have an affined [+dynamic] skeleton. For all that, many factors involved in verb derivation in MG appear here as well, e.g. creation of events (see the creations equated to trógho), register (see !troghévo), accumulation (see !troghíazo), negative evaluation/conflict (see !troghiázo, !troghízo, and !troghóno and the qualifications made there related to the interference of the verb idiom tróghome). See section 2.1.1.2 for more details.
6 éxo 'have' [–dynamic] SITUATION

!exévo (6): have (éxo) [–dynamic] (2/6), have something in my disposal [–dynamic] (1/6), want all things to be mine [+dynamic, +accumulation] (1/6), tend to want all things to be mine [+dynamic, +direction, +accumulation] (1/6), obtain/possess [+dynamic]/[–dynamic] (1/6)
→ In three cases, -évo produces a volitional [+dynamic] reading that is not present in the simple [–dynamic] verb éxo. There is a clear cumulative effect in the two of six cases (see the third and fourth paraphrase).

!exiázo (4): tend to possess something [+dynamic, +direction] (1/4), demonstrate (negatively) my riches [+dynamic, +accumulation, –evaluation] (1/4), be a materialist / want many things [+dynamic, +accumulation, –evaluation] (1/4), do something with a crisscross [+dynamic, +M, +phonological] (1/4)
→ In all four cases -iáz produces a volitional [+dynamic] reading that is not present in the simple verb éxo. On top of this, there is a clear evaluative/negative and cumulative effect in two of four cases (see the second and third paraphrase).

!exízo (2): have the one, have the other/demonstrate [+dynamic, +intensive] (1/2), I try to have something [+dynamic, +direction] (1/2)
→ In both cases, -évo produces a volitional [+dynamic] reading that is not present in the simple verb éxo.

!exóno (1): plunge (xóno) [+dynamic, +M, +phonological]
→ There is a clear phonological association of !exóno to the verb xóno 'plunge'. Again, a volitional [+dynamic] reading is produced that is not present in the simple verb éxo.

General comments: The suffix -éno was not given at all. The [–dynamic] verb éxo is more resistant to suffixation than the [+dynamic] verb trógho: 16 out of 28 test persons could not create a verb derivative. Whenever a verb is produced, it resulted in a clear [+dynamic] reading. The evaluative/negative and cumulative effect of -iáz is already known. What is new is the cumulative effect of the suffix -évo (though marginal here).
In section 1.3 the parameters defining a "forced" or "created" verb are given. Forced/created verbs were either formed by the TPs themselves or presented to the TPs as such for judgment tasks (see sections 2.1 and 2.2, respectively).

The derivational suffixes are actually -íz-, -én-, -év-, -ón-, -(i)áz-, and -ín- without the inflectional end vowel -o for the first person singular – the standard citation form for Greek verbs. In the following, I give the suffixes together with the inflectional ending.

The number of the interviews was regarded by the author as sufficient since essential denotational and socio-expressive cores explicitly emerged with this number.

See the test protocol in Appendix A.

Young humanities students usually have considerable interest in language issues. Additionally, the age from 18 to 25 years is usually connected with a natural propensity towards the use of neologisms and novel creations.

See the test protocol in Appendix A.

As an anonymous referee noted, -ízo productively adapts verbal bases of Turkish origin both in Standard Modern Greek and in several of its dialects (see also Melissaropoulou 2010 and Ralli 2009).


In Charitonidis (2011) it is argued that Efthymiou's (2002) SIMILATIVES are actually STATIVES.

Only the suffix -áro having a foreign origin (cf. pilotáro 'to pilot') shows a similar function in a few neologisms. See Ralli (2005) and Veloudis (2009) for more information about this suffix.

For qualifications to this claim, see section 2.1.1.1.

Efthymiou (2009) does not examine this suffix.

There are three verbs derived in the antique period from nouns: meghethíno 'blow up', 'magnify' (méghethos 'magnitude'), mikíno 'extend' (míkos 'extent', 'length') and plithíno 'increase' (plíthos 'large number of…'). Nonetheless, these are also RESULTATIVES.

For why this claim cannot be accepted, see section 3.

Iordanídou (ibid) acknowledges that this tendency cannot explain the strong presence of the inflectional paradigm in -ó in written non-literal texts.

See section 2.3.2 for details.

As regards the privative character of the categories, Lieber (2004: 23) states that "a particular semantic dimension (i.e. feature, A/N) is or is not relevant to a particular set of lexical forms". Lieber gives no principles which call for this optionality. It is not at all clear why a SUBSTANCE/THING/ESSENCE such as mother carries the feature [dynamic], whereas others such as man do not (see Lieber 2004: 27). This may happen because mother is a relational noun whereas man is not. However, a connection with thematic roles is not made. Thematic roles run in the background in Lieber's system and are inhered into the referents after the identification of the latter at word level, i.e. after "co-indexation" (see Lieber 2004: 45ff). Consequently, thematic roles cannot be used as determinants of features. This major issue must be examined in future research.

About how Lieber's system works in the case of apparently different bodies, see Lieber's example on the interpretation of the NN root compound dog bed (Lieber 2004: 52).

In this study, creations are indicated with '!'.

For further details about the design of the interviews, see the introductory text in each interview task (sections 2.1-2.4).

As mentioned in the Introduction, the verbs were not "possible" in the required sense, but rather impossible and unintuitive. Some TPs were initially unwilling to do the forcing task, regarding it as "unnatural" (see also section 1.3).

Proinó also has a [+material] reading (=breakfast'). This was a methodological inattention of the author which fortunately did not have any consequences on the whole study. Surprisingly, the TPs used almost equally both senses with the same suffixes. Though this fact suggests a major phonological influence from the phonological pattern of the base proinó, I cannot extract regularities from a nonce case. Nevertheless, the attested patterns suggest further ambiguity experiments.

There are further differentiations inside the [+dynamic] subclass (see section 1.2.1.1), which it would be time-consuming to consider since there are no native deverbal verbs in MG in the domain of suffixation (see also section 2.1.1.2).
It is worth mentioning that the TPs did not produce more than two verbs, although I did not give them any restrictions. And in many cases they were not confined only to a single verb! This may be due to the unnatural character of the creations or to the fact that the respective suffixes bear a restricted semantic content. In the latter case, the use of many suffixes would not provide extra semantic distinctions (see Lieber 2004: 169 for a similar argument in the case of suffix recursivity).

In accordance with Efthymiou's (2009) statement that "the number of -ázo forms is very small", the elicited creations in -ázo were only three: leftázo 'make money', adhikázo 'judge so, wrongly/unjustly' and trogházo "feed so." However, I have regarded -ázo as a different suffix than -iázo. I would like to give two reasons for this decision: (i) I have found many opaque verbs in -ázo in RIMG from the old derivation, e.g. arpházo 'wrest', seize', dhisázo 'hesitate', dhisázo 'disunite', etc. These verbs attest the productivity of -ázo in the past but not nowadays. (ii) In the creations leftázo and trogházo the negative psychological and low class/provincial features are totally absent. We know from this study that these features are regularly associated with -iázo and not with -ázo (see the respective patterns in sections 2.1-2.4). Therefore, it seems that, at least on the level of socio-expressive meaning, -ázo and -iázo are distinct.

As already mentioned in section 1.1, Efthymiou (2009) did not examine -ino derivatives.

Notice that in Table 3 my percentages for -iázo and -ázo derivatives are collapsed into one value. In addition, this table does not include my percentages for -ino, i.e. 3 derivatives, 1.86% (see Table 2). This tiny number of -ino derivatives conforms to the very small number of the derivatives found in RIMG (186 derivatives; raw data) and has no serious consequences for the comparison of Efthymiou's results with my results.

The label 'Main verbs' (or simply 'M verbs') is first used in Charitonidis (2005). The criteria for the assessment of this category are given in section 2.1.1.3.

This observation is in accordance with Schultink's (1961: 113) definition of productivity: "Productivity as a morphological phenomenon is the possibility which language users have to form an in principle uncountable number of new words unintentionally, by means of a morphological process which is the basis of the form-meaning correspondence of some words they know." (translated from Dutch by Booij (1977: 4); reported in Plag 1999: 13)

Neologisms and hapax legomena are indications of productivity (see Plag 1999). Unfortunately, their computer-assisted extraction from a dictionary database or a large corpus is not yet possible for MG.

The nature of this index of usage is not yet clear at all: what are the proportions of semantics, syntax and phonology in it? I assume that this index rather refers to the syntax-semantics interface having syntax as a crucial component since suffixes are used together with their bases in versatile word units. The "syntactic motivation" of Lieber's (2004, 2007) features used in this study is in line with these assumptions. It should be noted that Charitonidis (2007: 32) defined six lexical conceptual structures (LCSs) for the suffix -ázo which strongly suggest a high index of usage for this suffix. Additionally, suffix -ino shows up as the worst candidate in the TP creations (see Table 2), a pattern which is likely to be connected to the strict causative structure of this suffix: -ino only sporadically yields inchoatives by dropping the first part of its semantic skeleton (cf. (4) in section 1.2.1.1). The unification of syntactical and morphological processes aimed for in theories such as the framework of 'Distributed Morphology' seems to address the same issues (see Embick & Noyer 2006 for a comprehensive description of this model).

By conducting this creation task, I noticed that some TPs used the abbreviated base mitr- for mitéra to form derivatives which they rejected afterwards after realizing that the base is not mitrídá 'foster mother' but mitéra 'mother.' This is also a strong indication for the dominance of semantic over phonological factors, at least in this interview task.

This hypothesis must be empirically tested, especially by means of predictability tests. The exact examination of phonological issues would go beyond the scope of this study.

In the whole study, the verbs from the "Archive of Literary Words" found in RIMG were not taken into account.

It should be noticed that there is no dictionary of MG with an evidence-based chronological indexing of the entries. The chronological indications in DCMG and DMGL were considered only as supporting cues in my categorization.

As already mentioned in n. 29, the M category was introduced in Charitonidis (2005).

The term 'simple base' is almost equivalent to 'monomorphemic distinct base'. In Charitonidis (2005: 35-37) two groups of selection criteria for simple bases are given.

Notice that the phonological shape of adhikíta rather suggests the suffix -iázo and not -ázo (see section 1.1).

See the general comments in section 3 of Appendix B for further remarks. 'adhikízo may also be a case of morphological analogy since 'adhikízo and the existing verb adhikí share the same aorist paradigm (this kind of morphological fluctuation is very common in MG; see Mackridge 1985). It is probable that this is the right account but notice that the socio-expressively neutral base adhikí conflicts with the negatively marked -iázo, which would be a more appropriate suffix on a phonological basis. Therefore, the choice of -ázo may have been simply the choice of a neutrally marked morpheme which is akin to -iázo (see section 1.1).
example, ADV bases denote entities of the immediate experience and they could easily have served as derivation bases. For 
Table 12).
'see', 'meet'
medieval times, they are not coupled with derivatives. One more hint for their unnaturalness is that the respective
form.

The feature [-evaluation] also shows up in the interpretations of the -éno creations. However, it should be 
considered as a function of the base because it occurs only with the bases trógō and leftá: trógō is associated 
with a [-evaluation] idiom and, as is usually the case, leftá has negative connotations (see Appendix B).
By "neutral" I mean that two different patterns almost exhaust the meanings spectrum, without significant 
interference from minor features.
That -dzo exclusively produced [+dynamic] verbs was to be expected: this inactive suffix appears in many old 
formations while having an opaque or disassociated base (see n. 26). Accordingly, the creations refer to a 
restricted [+dynamic] skeleton while ignoring further features.

The results in Table 9 are largely consistent with my intuition as a native Greek speaker. Notice, however, that 
the fine distinctions made in this section could not be made without the analysis of informants' judgements.
This is one of the main insights in Lieber's (2004, 2007) account on affixal morphology. Notice that there is a 
certain circularity in these assessments. If different features were assumed, these meaning overlaps may not 
show up.

For the distinction between an ADV and a P, see n. 52.

The low rating of these forced derivatives is obviously the strongest indication that the verbs "are intuitively 
not possible/natural". It cannot be a coincidence that though the bases of these verbs exist from ancient or 
medieval times, they are not coupled with derivatives. One more hint for their unnaturalness is that the respective 
bases denote entities of the immediate experience and they could easily have served as derivation bases. For 
example, ADV káto 'down' is a possible candidate, e.g. for the suffix -dzo, cf. the existing derivative adíkrizo 
'see', 'meet' (ADV adíkri 'facing', 'vis-à-vis'). However, the creations with this ADV received a low rating (see 
Table 12).

I largely agree with Lieber's view since it considers crucial syntactic aspects as regards the identification of 
referents while dissociating morphological from syntactic operations (see Embick & Noyer 2006 for a different 
view in the framework of Distributed Morphology).

In the generative tradition, ADVs are usually treated as Ps without a complement (cf. also the treatment of 
ADVs in Jackendoff 1983, 1990 which correspond to zero-place predicates in the conceptual structure). In MG, 
it is not possible to use a P as a derivation base. That means that, at least in derivation, there is a difference 
between ADVs and Ps.

Accordingly, Lieber (2007) advocates the superiority of s-selection in relation to the English derivational 
suffixes. DiSciullo's (2005) model contains a similar view within the general framework of the Minimalist 
Program.

When two TPs took the test simultaneously, they preferred to write the responses.

Charitonidis (2005) was mainly a corpus study.

Notice that the 10 verbs in -dō also have a form in -d in the first person singular active (the citation form for 
the Greek verbs). However, this -d form is not preferred in everyday speech. As mentioned in section 1.1, the 
speakers of Southern Greek dialects – including the majority of Athenian speakers – prefer the -dō over the -d 
form.

For independent reasons, one TP did not give responses for this part of the interview.

The feature [-aesthetic/correct] may refer to words which are not even possible or existent for some TPs, cf. 
kitriniázo. This feature should be regarded as a simple indication of a negative semantic component in the 
suffixes and only in relation to other evaluations. For example, kitriniázo was otherwise evaluated as 
[-evaluation] and [+derisive].

The interview was conducted in the capital of Greece among educated persons. I do not take a stance on any 
possible issue of "political correctness" related to this alternation.

I have omitted very rare feature fusions in the alternation pairs, e.g. the indication 'metaphor' (alternation 7) 
was also given by TP22 for the first member of the alternation pair kitriniázo/kitriniázo.

In the following I give the meaning of the derivatives only once, since they are first mentioned in the 
manuscript.

I sometimes indicate metaphorical uses together with selectional restrictions in cases where both appear 
concomitantly (see the combination S&7 in Table 13).

Notice that in section 2.1.3 it was stated that "-éno seems to be the most neutral suffix, its meaning pending 
between [+dynamic] and [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] readings."

For other kinds of inversions see Table 13.
Alternation between the two forms occurs because of similarity in the aorist stem (see Mackridge 1985).
Notice, however, that the feature [+low class/provincial] was never associated with *anthó* and *delaló*, which only have the -ó variant.

The verbs were originally 24 in number. The verbs *buxtízo* 'cloy', *thalasóno* 'muddle' (*thalassa* 'sea'), and *ipoxondriázo* 'be hypochondriac' (*ipoxóndrios* 'hypochondriac') were not analyzed, because they suggest a metaphorical (*buxtízo*, *thalasóno*) or composite (*ipo-xondriázo*: *ipó-* 'under' + *xóndhros* 'cartilage') meaning.

For independent reasons, two TPs did not do this part of the test.

As the author realized after having done the interviews, the most proper verbs for this task were verbs which contain an object (artifact) in their base without any positive or negative use/connotation, cf. *veloniázo* in Table 16. The TPs are forced in this way to construct situations with a minimal concept backup while consolidating the content of the suffixes into prototypical units.

These questions usually emerge in the context of the controversy between advocates and opponents of decomposition (see Lieber 2004: 4-5).

It is probable that in this case speakers aware of both the -á o and -ó variants would use the former (cf. sections 1.1 and 2.3.2).

The original test protocol was in Greek. The TPs were able to see the instructions and the example words throughout the test. The test verbs and bases were enlisted vertically.

A feature such as [+possession] would serve as a superordinate feature for [+accumulation] permitting the description of ambiguity cases such as 'make (a lot of) money.' On the other hand, the same putative [+possession] feature would involve a great amount of structure and would possibly overlap with [+Loc].

In sections 2.2.2 and 2.4.1 the cluster [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] for -óno is evident. In my view, the notion of possession in this section (see the interpretations with 'give' and 'take' for -óno above) does not clearly suggest a notion of stages, i.e., the [+IEPS] interpretation.

This last pattern is also a result of the analysis in Charitonidis (2005). It was stated therein that many abstract fields like ARRANGEMENT, NEGATIVE MENTAL UNIT, etc., mainly used in refined speech, figure among the Event -ízo derivatives (Charitonidis 2005: 84). "Field" there was used as a mnemonic label for the content of the derivation base inside an alternation class. Ultimately, this cannot be regarded as a strong or exclusive preference of -ízo verbs since -(i)ázo verbs show it as well, although in a limited way (see section 2.1.1.3).

This assumption was also made in Charitonidis (2005: 103) according to similar patterns.

This is a well-known fact for persons conversant in traditional grammar. Additionally, many of the zero-responses of the TPs were accompanied by remarks such as "this is already a verb – I cannot form a new one". However, not all interviewed persons had difficulties with forcing verbs into other verbs. As mentioned in section 1.3, a central claim in this study is to discover the power of features which underlie linguistic units such as nouns or verbs. That is, the derivational claims remain intact in these tasks.

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Von 1968 an erschienen die von Prof. Dr. Hansjakob Seiler herausgegebenen Arbeitspapiere des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft. Nach der Emeritierung von Prof. Dr. Seiler im März 1986 wurde eine neue Folge mit neuer Zählung und dem Zusatz "Neue Folge" (N.F.) begonnen. Herausgeber ist Prof. Dr. Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Institut für Linguistik.

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