

1. Distinguishing between Greek preverbs

Two categories of preverbs in Greek (Ralli 2004, 2005):

a) Prefixes

Bound elements deriving from free morphemes, as in (1):

- (1) a. **anti-** (*anti* ‘instead of’) b. **apo-** (*apo* ‘from’)
- c. **syn-** (*syn* ‘with’) d. **dia-** (*dia* ‘through’)
- e. **peri-** (*peri* ‘around’) f. **en-** (*en* ‘in’)
- g. **anti-** (*anti* ‘instead of’) h. **ana-** (*ana* ‘on’)

b) Adverbial preverbs

Bound elements deriving from adverbs, as in (2):

- (2) a. **psilo-** (*psilá* ‘thinly’) b. **poly-** (*poly* ‘a lot/ much’)
- DEGREE DEGREE
- c. **para-** (*pára* ‘very’) d. **kalo-** (*kalá* ‘well’)
- DEGREE DEGREE
- e. **ksana-** (*ksaná* ‘again’) f. **syxno-** (*syxná* ‘frequently’)
- REPETITIVE ASPECTUAL

Note:
Slavic languages: a) *lexical prefixes* and b) *superlexical prefixes* (Svenonius 2004).

2. Multiple Preverbation

The phenomenon where more than one preverb attach to a verb. Multiple preverbation is possible between:

a) Preverbs of different categories

In verbal complexes, adverbial preverbs should always precede prefixes, not vice versa:

- (3) a. **ksana-anti-**grafo b. (den) **poly-dia-**fero
- again-instead.of-write not much-through-bring
- ‘to copy again’ ‘not to differ much’
- (4) a. ***anti-ksana-**grafo b. ***dia-poly-**fero
- instead.of-again-write through-much-bring

b) Preverbs of the same category

Slavic languages: No verbal complexes with more than one lexical prefixes (Svenonius 2004, Gribanova 2013):

- (5) *Vasja **za-v-**bival gvozdi/gvozdej v stenu.
- Vasja behind-in-hit.2IMPF.SG.M nails.ACC/nails.GEN in wall.ACC
- (Russian, from Tatevosov 2007)

BUT: In Greek, verbal complexes with two prefixes or two adverbial preverbs:

- (6) a. **en-dia-**fero b. **peri-syl-**lego
- in-through-carry around-with-say
- ‘to interest’ ‘to collect around’
- (7) a. (den) **ksana-poly-**troo b. **ksana-para-**troo
- not again-much-eat again-very.much-eat
- ‘to not eat much again’ ‘to eat very much again’

3. Properties of Greek preverbs

a. Ordering restrictions

- (8) a. **peri-syl-**lego b. ***syn-peri-**lego
- around-with-say with-around-say
- ‘to collect around’
- (9) a. **ksana-poly-**grafo b. **poly-ksana-**grafo
- again-much-write much-again-write
- ‘to write much again’ ‘to write again much’

b. (Non-) Compositional meaning

- (10) O Petros **ant-**egrapse to piima.
- the Peter instead.of-wrote.3sg the poem.
- ‘Peter copied the poem.’
- (11) O Petros **ksana-**egrapse to piima.
- the Peter again-wrote.3sg the poem
- ‘Peter wrote again the poem.’

c. Nominalizations

- (12) a. **anti-**grafo (v.) → **anti-**grafi (n.)
- ‘to copy’ ‘copying’
- b. **dia-**fero (v.) → **dia-**fora (n.)
- ‘to differ’ ‘difference’
- (13) a. **ksana-**grafo (v.) → ***ksana-**grafi (n.)
- ‘to write again’
- b. **poly-**grafo → ***poly-**grafi (n.)
- ‘to write much’

Properties	Prefixes	Adverbial preverbs
Linear Adjacency	✗	✓
Compositional meaning	✗	✓
Nominalizations	✓	✗

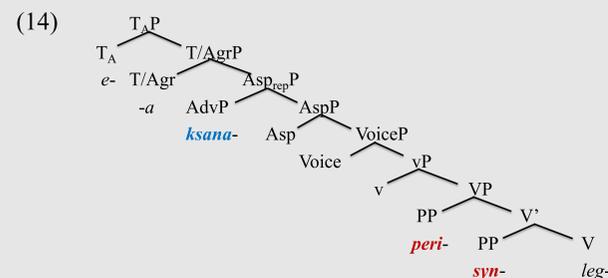
Research Goals:

- To present a new picture of the distribution of Greek preverbs
- To provide a novel morphosyntactic account of the verbal complexes based on the properties of preverbs
- To explore, through that, the way the Greek clausal structure is formed

5. The Underlying Syntax

Prefixes in P[reposition]P (as reminiscent of Ancient Greek prepositions)

Adverbial preverbs in Specifiers of functional phrases (as proposed in Cinque 1999)



- (15) leg- [SEL: <•D, •Psyn-, •Pperi>]

- (16) a. **peri-syn-**elega b. ***syn-peri-**elega
- around-with-said.1sg with-around-said.1sg
- ‘I collected around’
- c. ***apo-syn-**elega d. ***ana-syn-**elega
- from-with-said.1sg on-with-said.1sg

Adverbial preverbs (?)

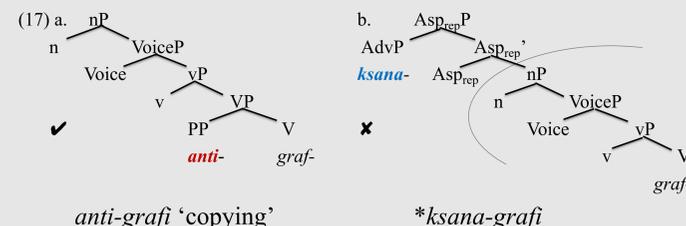
6. Capturing Meanings and Nominalizations

a. (Non-) Compositional meaning

Non-compositional meanings are formed naturally among VP-internal elements, such as idioms (Marantz 1984).

- **Prefixes** introduced inside VP-domain ([Spec, VP]).
- **Adverbial preverbs** introduced outside VP-domain. (e.g. *ksana-* ‘again’ in [Spec, Asp_{rep}P]).

b. Nominalizations



Locality of Selection: Selection must be satisfied locally, i.e. either in Spec-head or Head-Complement relationships.

Merger of nominalizing head, *n*, at the VoiceP level.

- Merger of *n* blocks merge of the higher aspectual projections introducing **adverbial preverbs**.
- **Prefixes** escape the nominalization restrictions because they are introduced VP-internally.

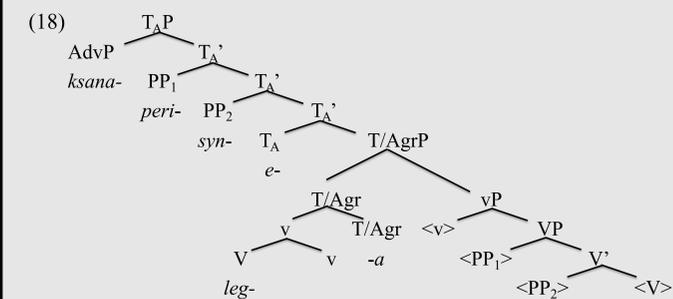
8. Conclusion

- The distribution of Greek preverbs, i.e. prefixes and adverbial preverbs, and their position in the syntactic derivation.
- An account for *(Non-) Compositional Meaning* and *Nominalization*, properties that distinguish between preverbs.
- Mechanisms needed to generate the morpheme order of preverbed verbal complexes.

7. Surface position

Three mechanisms deriving the surface order of morphemes:

- a) *Head Movement* (Baker 1986):
Head-adjunction of a V⁰ to T/Agr⁰ through v, and Asp
- b) *Phrasal Movement*:
• PP moves from [Spec, VP] to [Spec, T_AP]
- Adverbial preverb moves from [Spec, Asp_{rep}P] to [Spec, T_AP]
- c) *Merger Under Adjacency* (Halle & Marantz 1993; Bobaljik 1994):
The terminal nodes V, v, and T/Agr adjoin one to another to form a structurally superior element.



Multiple preverbation

Prefixes: Additional specifiers of VP and tucking-in derivation (Richards 1999)

Adverbial preverbs: Different functional projections of VP

Future Research:

Accounting for other distinct properties of Greek preverbs, such as *Vowel deletion* and *Conjoinability*.

Many thanks to Karlos Arregi, as well as Erik Zyman, Naomi Kurtz, and Nikos Angelopoulos for their help and useful comments.