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## INTENSIFYING ADVERBS IN GREEK: A CORPUS-BASED STUDY

This paper studies adverbs serving as intensifiers in Greek by focusing on the adverbs *foverá* ‘fearfully’, *tromerá* ‘dreadfully’, *apístefta* ‘unbelievably’, *trelá* ‘madly’, *katapliktiká* ‘impressively, amazingly’ and *trayiká* ‘tragically’. By following a corpus-linguistic approach, I attempt to trace the diachronic development of these adverbs from 1900 to 2010 by relying on a range of parameters such as the frequency of their uses and meanings, the negative or positive polarity of their collocates and the grammatical categories they modify. The adverbs seem to have started from descriptive uses, then developed descriptive-intensifying uses, intensifying uses and finally evaluative-intensifying uses. According to this analysis, the adverbs studied are found to be in different stages of delexicalization/grammaticalization: *apístefta*, *foverá*, and *tromerá* are established intensifiers contrary to *trayiká/ós* and *trelá*, which are very frequently used as intensifiers along with other descriptive or evaluative uses, while *katapliktiká/ós* is more frequent with evaluative-intensifying uses.

**Keywords:** adverbs, corpora, diachronic analysis, evaluation, intensification

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper studies adverbs serving as intensifiers in Greek by focusing on a set of adverbs that have rather recently developed intensifying uses, namely *foverá* ‘fearfully’, *tromerá* ‘dreadfully’, *apístefta* ‘unbelievably’, *trelá* ‘madly’, *katapliktiká* ‘impressively, amazingly’ and *trayiká* ‘tragically’.<sup>2</sup> By following a corpus-linguistic approach, I attempt to trace the diachronic development of these adverbs from 1900 to 2010 by relying on a range of parameters such as the frequency of their uses and meanings, the negative or positive polarity of their collocates and the grammatical categories they modify. Data come from two

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corpora of Greek, which have been designed on the basis of the same principles: the *Diachronic Corpus of Greek Texts of the 20th century* (GC20), which comprises approx. 4 million words from 1900 to 1989 ([www.greekcorpus20.phil.uoa.gr](http://www.greekcorpus20.phil.uoa.gr)) and the *Corpus of Greek Texts* (CGT), with approx. 30 million words from 1990 to 2010 ([www.sek.edu.gr](http://www.sek.edu.gr)). (More details on the design of these corpora can be found in Goutsos et al. 2017; Goutsos 2010, respectively).

As Athanasiadou (2007: 555) puts it, “degree modifiers [...] that scale an entity upwards from an assumed norm” are regarded as intensifiers or amplifiers, in terms of Quirk et al. (1985). Although a variety of terms has been used in the literature (see e.g. Stratton 2020: 218–219), in this paper I adopt the term intensifiers as a general term covering all cases. Adverbs (e.g. *polí*, *iðiéterá*) and adjectives (e.g. *apólitos*, *afóritos*) have already been suggested as prominent means of intensification in Greek (Gavriilidou 2013; cf. Clairis & Babiniotis 2005: 848ff). (Here I do not follow Gavriilidou’s 2013 distinction between inherent intensifying words, e.g. *foverós* – *foverá*, and words that develop an intensifying meaning depending on context, e.g. *apísteftos* – *apístefta*, as this has not been borne out in our data).

Speakers create new intensifiers in order to become more expressive: “the more ‘novel’ or ‘unusual’ a linguistic item [...] the more expressive” (Lorenz 2002: 143; cf. Peters 1994: 271; Rhee 2016: 422). Adverbs used as intensifiers form an open class, since new ones are constantly created through a process of restriction and then loss of their lexical meaning and the development of grammatical functions. Several terms have been used for this process, among which delexification or bleaching (cf. Lewis 2020: 4), delexicalization (Partington 1993; Zhang 2013), grammaticalization (Rhee 2016: 416ff) or a combination of two, i.e. delexicalization and grammaticalization (Lorenz 2002). It must be noted that intensification is not always the endpoint of this process, as a discourse marker can be further developed through this process (see e.g. Rhee 2016: 417; cf. Heine 2013). In addition, not all intensifying adverbs are in the same stage, other being more grammatical such as *iðiéterá* and other less such as *trelá*.

The function and semantics of adverbs that develop intensifying meanings have also been studied in the relevant literature. For instance, Peters (1994: 269) maintains that intensifying adverbs can derive from (a) local/dimensional adverbs (*highly*), (b) quantitative adverbs (*much*), (c) qualitative adverbs (*terribly*), (d) emphasers (*really*) or (e) taboo/swear words (*damned*). Rhee (2016: 400–401) suggests that they come from four semantic fields: (a) markedness, including surpassing (e.g. *exceedingly*), insanity (*madly*), dimension (*deeply*) irrealis (*incredibly*) etc., (b) completeness, including entirety (*absolutely*), reality (*actually*) etc., (c) emotion, such as fear (*awfully*) or fervour (*enthusiastically*) and (d) taboo

(*bloody, fucking* etc.). The adverbs studied here relate to Rhee's categories of markedness (subcategories of insanity and irrealis) and emotion (fear).

According to Pan (2022), intensifiers do not only maximize or boost an entity, but have a broader role in evaluation, which affects interpretation in context. In a corpus-based categorization of Greek adjectives (Fragaki 2010, 2011) I have identified intensification as a dimension of evaluation and proposed that intensifying adjectives such as *apólitos* 'absolute' and *áyrios* 'wild, extreme' should be regarded as a sub-category of evaluative adjectives. Studies of intensifiers (e.g. Partington 1993, 2004; Zhang 2013) also suggest that a diachronic change in semantic prosody indicates the stage of delexicalization in which adverbs may be. Thus, Partington (1993: 183) argues that in the case of 19th century adverbs like *terribly* and *awfully*, which are found with neutral or positive collocates, delexicalisation is almost complete.

The syntactic distribution of adverbs has also been employed in identifying changes in the use and meaning of adverbs. Nevalainen (1994: 253) supports that "[t]he syntactic shift from a word-modifier to a sentence-modifier usually also involves a semantic change towards a more subjective, abstract meaning", while Partington (1993: 182) finds that "in submodifying position, such items [e.g. *really, truly*] are far more likely to be perceived as intensifying". Along the same lines, Ito & Tagliamonte (2003: 261) support that adjective modification is for adverbs a step towards delexicalization/grammaticalization.

Finally, intensification has also been studied with regard to language variation, concerning differences of dialects, age, gender or genre (e.g. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003; Tagliamonte 2008; Beltrama 2015; Zhiber & Korotina 2019). Variables such as these affect both the degree of intensification employed and the particular intensifiers used. For instance, more intensifiers have been found to occur in spoken texts (e.g. Zhiber & Korotina 2019) or texts with higher involvement of speakers/writers (e.g. Biber 1988).

## 2. FINDINGS

As can be seen in Figure 1, all adverbs studied are found in both corpora, that is from 1900 to 2010, with the exception of *apístefta* 'unbelievably', which is only found in CGT, that is after 1990. (All findings are normalized to 1 million occurrences in order to facilitate comparison). The frequency of the adverbs studied generally seems to decrease in CGT with the exception of adverbs *apístefta* and *trayiká/trayikós* 'tragically'. In GC20 the most frequent adverbs are *foverá* 'fearfully' and *trelá* 'madly', while *tromerá* 'dreadfully' is a mid-range frequency adverb and *katapliktiká/katapliktikós* 'impressively, amazingly' and *trayiká/trayikós* are low frequency adverbs. In CGT the most frequent adverbs are *foverá* and *apístefta*, while *tromerá*, *trelá*, *trayiká/trayikós* and *katapliktiká/katapliktikós* are less common.

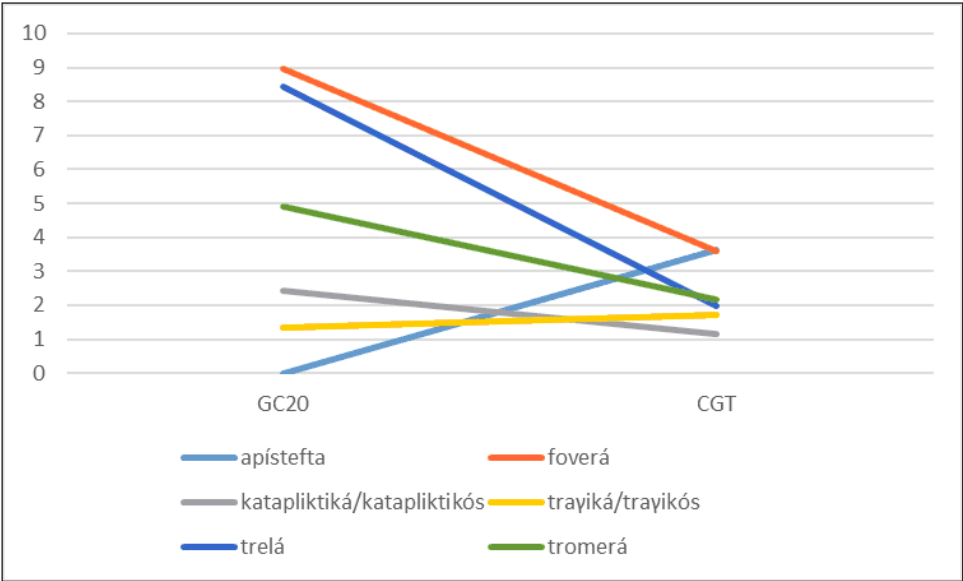


Figure 1. Normalized frequency of the intensifying adverbs studied

2.1. *foverá*

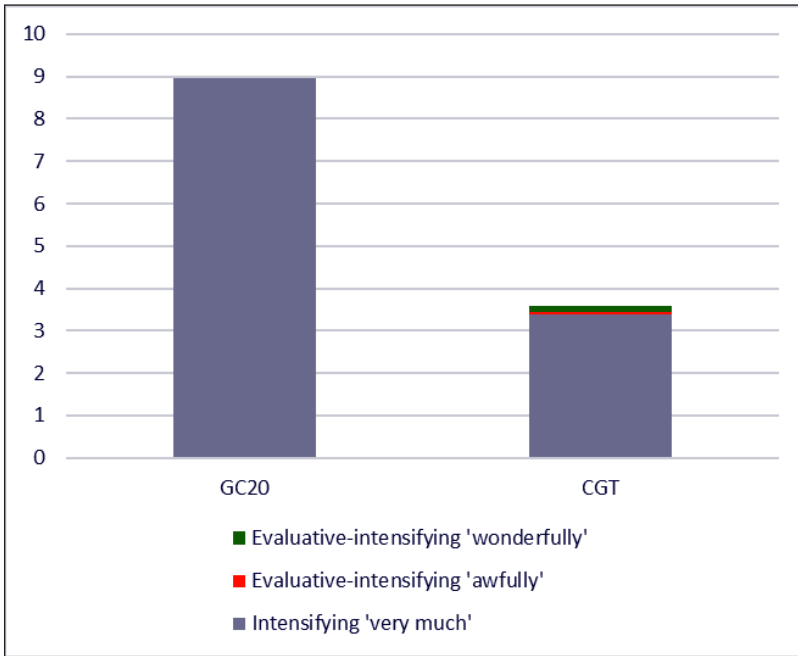
The most frequent adverb in both corpora, *foverá*, is mainly used as an intensifier in both corpora (see Figure 2). In GC20 the adverb is only found as an intensifier as in (1), in which the adverb does not have its initial descriptive meaning related to fear.

(1) τρέχοντος μηνός γράμμα σου το οποίον πιστεύσατέ με με συνεκίνησε **φοβερά** όχι από λύπην αλλά από χαράν (Private letters 1910)

In CGT, apart from its dominant intensifying use, *foverá* is also used evaluatively (positive or negative evaluation); in (2) e.g. the adverb *foverá* positively evaluates a night out with friends to a high degree (meaning wonderfully, awesome).

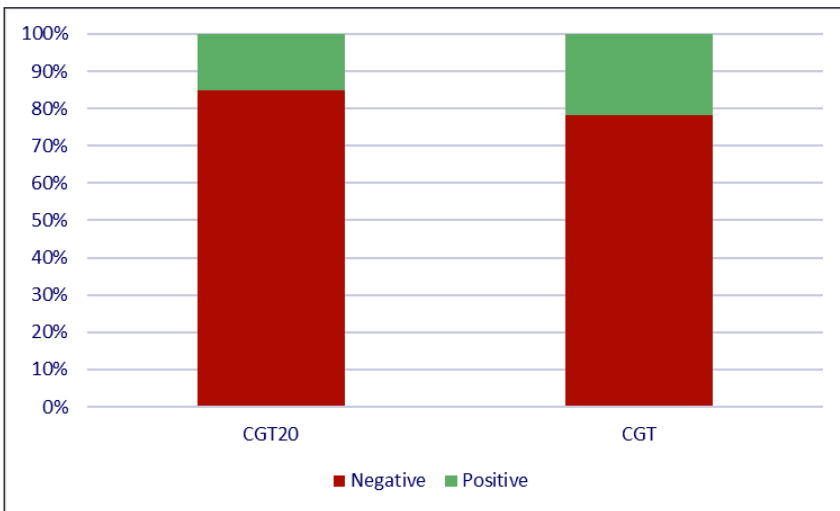
(2) και με κάλεσαν και μένα η Ε (.) ε:: ήταν καλά **φοβερά** @@@ κάτσαμε πρώτο τραπέζι Πιστα; ((γέλια)) ε εντάξει (Spoken 1990-2010)

These evaluative-intensifying meanings have developed after 1990 in our data and are only found in literary text types and spoken discourse.



**Figure 2.** Frequency of uses and meanings of *foverá*

As can be seen in Figure 3, the adverb *foverá* mainly collocates with negative words when used as an intensifier in both corpora.



**Figure 3.** Collocate polarity of *foverá* in its intensifying use

Negative collocates such as *με πειράζει*, *ψέμα* and *αγχωμένη* in (3) and (4) may be seen as a remnant of the initial negative descriptive meaning of the adverb.

- (3) Ξέρετε αυτό με πειράζει **φοβερά**. Το ψέμα του Κώστα, είναι ασυγχώρητον, δεν θα έλθω (Literature 1900)
- (4) Η Εύη Τσαμόγλου, στην πρώτη της μεγάλη διοργάνωση, εμφανίστηκε **φοβερά** αγχωμένη και με βολή στα 61.44μ αποκλείστηκε. (Non-fiction 1990-2010)

After 1990 the co-occurrence of *foverá* with positive words (such as *ωραίο*, *χαριτωμένο*, *ζωντανό*, *έξυπνη*, *εύστροφη* below) increases. While the intensifying *foverá* in a positive co-text is already found at the beginning of the 20th century, more positive co-texts are observed in the 1980s onwards, as in (6).

- (5) Όρες ώρες ήταν ωραίο, άλλες ιδιαίτερα χαριτωμένο, πάντα **φοβερά** ζωντανό. Έξυπνη, εύστροφη και με κάτι που θα ονόμαζα (Literature 1990-2010)
- (6) διαβάζω και έχω συζήτηση με τους μοναχούς. Είναι **φοβερά** αναπαυτικά εδώ γιατί δεν υπάρχει κανένας θόρυβος! (Private Letters 1980)

The adverb *foverá* is used to modify verbs, adjectives/adjectival participles and other adverbs in both corpora. As Figure 4 shows, in GC20 it mostly modifies verbs (e.g. 3), whereas after 1990 it mostly modifies adjectives and adjectival participles (e.g. 4). Modification of adverbs (e.g. 6) is equally rare in both corpora and is only found after the 1980s.

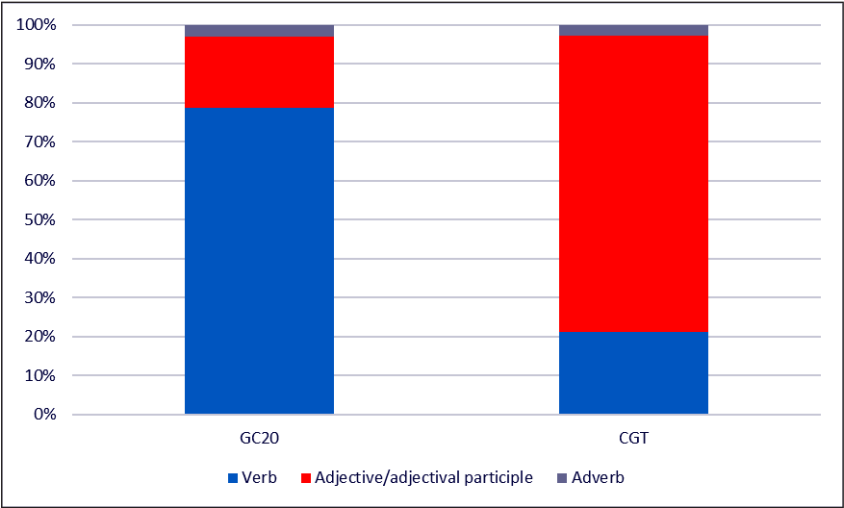


Figure 4. Grammatical categories modified by *foverá*

## 2.2. *tromerá*

As can be seen in Figure 5, the adverb *tromerá* is mainly used as an intensifier in GC20 in literary texts and private letters, while in CGT it is only used as an intensifier in a wider range of text types, including journalistic and academic texts.

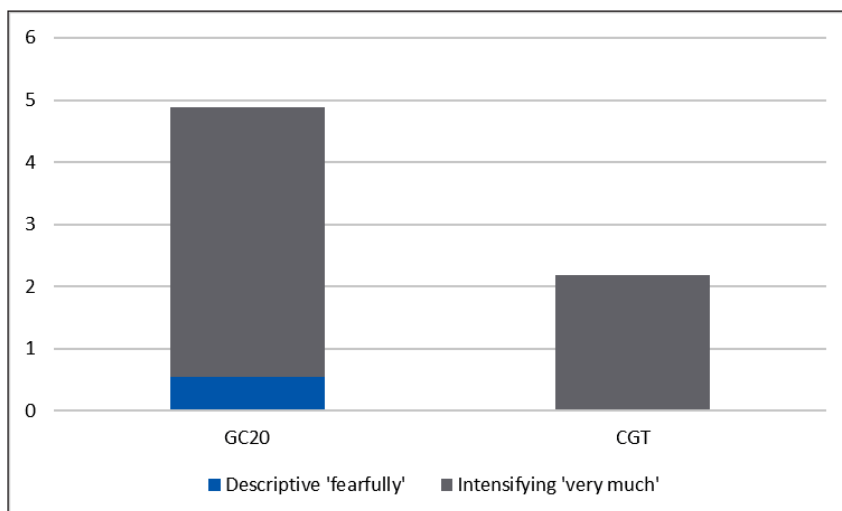


Figure 5. Frequency of uses and meanings of *tromerá*

At the beginning of the 20th century in few occurrences from literary texts the adverb retains its descriptive use relating to fear and terror, as in (8), in which the verb κατήλθε modified by *tromerá* is not gradable. It is notable that some intensifying uses of *tromerá*, as e.g. in (9), can be paraphrased as “I am worried to such a high degree that I am afraid” and thus retain part of the initial meaning of the adverb. This may suggest that between the descriptive and the intensifying use of the adverb there is an intermediate “affective” stage, as has been pointed out for English adjectives (Adamson 2000: 55).

- (7) Μια κοπέλλα που με είχε τσατίσει **τρομερά** και την πήγα στον αρχηγό –μετάνοιωσα πολύ γι’ αυτό- (Private Letters 1970)
- (8) Δεν κάνει να το λες! Και **τρομερά**, κατήλθε την σκάλαν να φύγη. (Literature 1910)
- (9) Είστερα από πάρα πολύ καιρόν όστις έγινε αιτία να αναισυχίσω **τρομερά**, έλαβα τέλος πάντων την από 13-6-18 λατρευτήν επιστολήν σας (Private Letters 1910)

Similarly to *foverá*, *tromerá* mainly collocates with negative words in both corpora, while it is also used in more positive co-texts after the 1990s (see Figure 6) (cf. Gavriilidou 2013: 57).

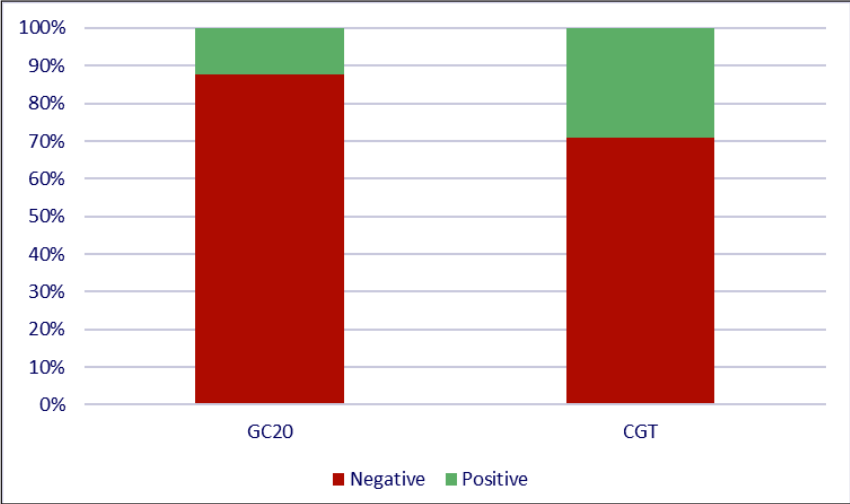


Figure 6. Collocative polarity of *tromerá* in its intensifying use

In our data the first positive collocates for *tromerá* are found after the 1970s:

(10) θα κάνης ένα έτος προπαρασκευαστικό πιστεύω ότι θα σου είναι **τρομερά** εύκολο να περάσης στις εξετάσεις (Private Letters 1970)

As regards the grammatical categories modified by *tromerá*, we find the same tendency to modify more adjectives and adjectival participles rather than verbs observed for *foverá*:

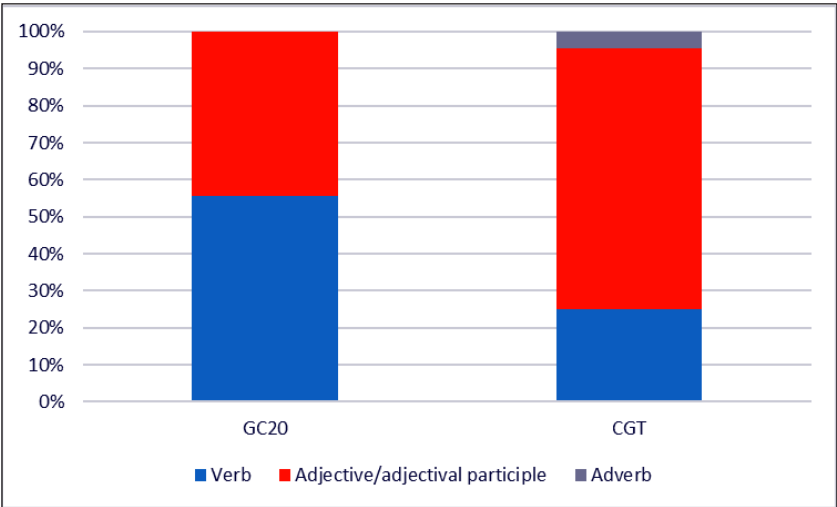


Figure 7. Grammatical categories modified by *tromerá*



An example of adverb modification is (11), in which there is a clear intensifying use.

- (11) είδα έξω από τα γραφεία αυτούς τους 2.500 απογοητευμένους ανθρώπους, ένιωσα **τρομερά** άσχημα... (Opinion articles 1990-2010)

### 2.3. *trelá*

The adverb *trelá* has an initial descriptive meaning related to madness, which is not found in our data. As seen in Figure 8, the three uses found for *trelá* in our data are similarly distributed in GC20 and CGT and are mostly intensifying. These show semantic preference to the field of love in both corpora, as seen in collocates like αγαπώ, ερωτεύομαι, ερωτευμένος-η (e.g. 12). In this use, *trelá* can also be interpreted as ‘passionately’, retaining thus a descriptive meaning, which is however already distanced from madness (cf. Rhee 2016: 404).

- (12) Βγαίνουμε το πλείστον μαζί και είμαστε **τρελά** ερωτευμένοι. (Private letters 1980)

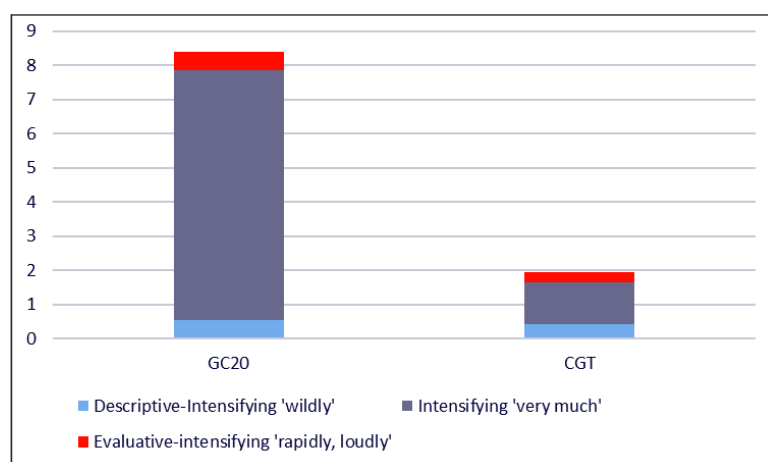


Figure 8. Frequency of uses and meanings of *trelá*

In CGT *trelá* also collocates with words from other semantic fields such as νυστάζω, διαβάζουν and έχει ξεφύγει (13-15). These novel collocates are mostly found in spoken discourse or computer-mediated communication (13 and 14). However, they also occur in written text types, such as opinion articles (15), but in an informal context (έχει ξεφύγει, πετάνε το μπαλάκι).

- (13) 29/04/2005 01:42 ΤΗΝ ΠΕΦΤΩ ΓΙΑ ΥΠΝΟ! ΤΩΡΑ ΓΥΡΙΣΑ+ΝΥΣΤΑΖΩ  
**ΤΡΕΛΑ!** ΦΙΛΑΚΙΑ ΠΟΛΛΑ! (SMS message 1990-2010)
- (14) εννοώ δεν έχω θέμα (.) όχι που διαβάζουν **τρελά** αλλά που έχουν  
ανάγκη::: να κάνουν μάθημα (Spoken TV 1990-2010)
- (15) βλέπουν ότι ο προϋπολογισμός ήδη έχει ξεφύγει **τρελά** και... κάποιοι  
πετάνε το μπαλάκι στο 2004 (Opinion Articles 1990-2010)

Another use is a descriptive-intensifying one, meaning ‘wildly’, as in (16) in which the wind blows wildly and strongly. The adverb here retains a descriptive meaning, by extension of the initial ‘madly’, along with an intensifying use.

- (16) Ο παράξενος αέρας φυσούσε **τρελά** γύρω τους και τρομακτικά  
ουρλιαχτά αντηχούσαν (Literature 1990-2010)

In (17) *trelá* is used in an evaluative-intensifying use, meaning ‘rapidly, loudly’; with collocates like heartbeat, it may also have the meaning ‘irregular, erratic’.

- (17) είχε τελειώσει η μέρα κι η καρδιά μου χτυπούσε **τρελά**· τότε  
αντιλήφθηκα έναν ανεπαίσθητο ήχο (Literature 1990-2010)

Both uses are mostly found in literary text types, in contrast to intensifying uses which are found in a wider range of text types.

The adverb in its intensifying use is found with positive collocates in GC20, whereas since 1990 it is also found with negative collocates, mainly in informal contexts with novel collocates (see 15 above).

As can be seen in Figure 9, *trelá* mostly modifies verbs in both corpora. Although there is a tendency towards adjective/adjectival participles modification in CGT, the preference for verb modification is prevalent.

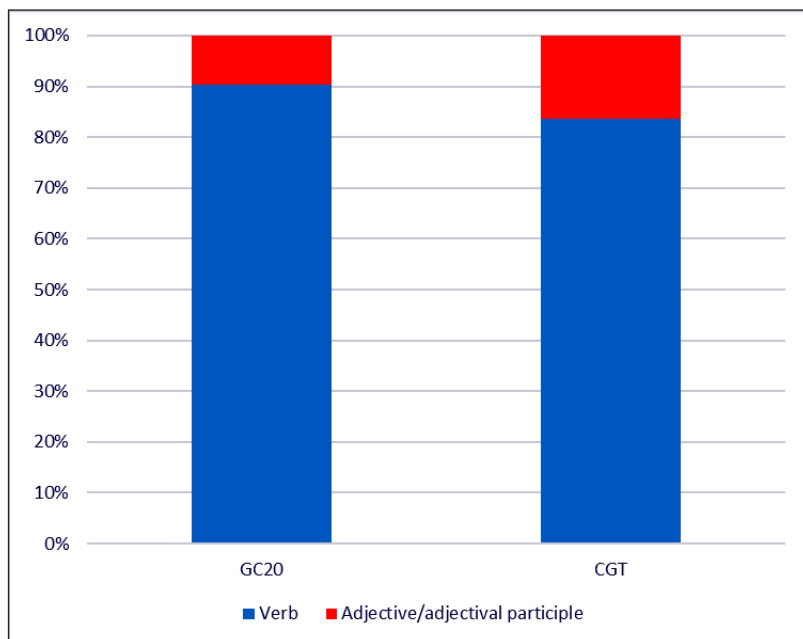


Figure 9. Grammatical categories modified by *trelá*

#### 2.4. *apístefta*

The adverb *apístefta* is only found in CGT and only as an intensifier, modifying mainly adjective/adjectival participles and rarely verbs and adverbs. As can be seen in the following examples *apístefta* is found in a variety of text types, including journalistic, popularized non-fiction, literary and spoken texts.

- (18) ναυτιλία είναι μεγάλο, αφού η παγκόσμια ναυτιλιακή αγορά μεταβάλλεται με **απίστευτα** ταχείς ρυθμούς. (Opinion articles 1990-2010)
- (19) μεταδώσει τη γνώση του σε κανέναν άνθρωπο. Είχε σκληρύνει **απίστευτα** απέναντι στους ανθρώπους. Δεν τους θεωρούσε άξιους (Literature 1990-2010)
- (20) και έμενα κάθε φορά με ανοιχτό το στόμα μπροστά στις **απίστευτα** όμορφα διατυπωμένες σοφίες (Popularized non-fiction 1990-2010)

In all examples above *apístefta* has an intensifying meaning, which can be linked to the adverb's initial meaning and can be paraphrased as 'to such a high degree that you cannot believe it' (cf. Gavriilidou 2013: 123).

*Apístefta* does not have a clearly positive or negative meaning on its own, but its meaning depends on the polarity of its collocates and co-text. The adverb is mostly used in a positive context such as in (21), while in 40% of its occurrences it collocates with negative words, as in (22):

- (21) το Thomson Spirit είναι ένα φανταστικό πλοίο με **απίστευτα** άνετους χώρους και καμπίνες που αναμφίβολα θα αναβαθμίσουν (News 1990-2010)
- (22) και δεν... μπηκάμε στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Είναι **απίστευτα** θλιβερό το κατόντημα ενός άλλοτε υπερήφανου και ισχυρού κόμματος (Opinion articles 1990-2010).

2.5. *katapliktiká/katapliktikós*

Both variants of the adverb, *katapliktiká* and *katapliktikós*, are used in GC20 and CGT. In GC20 the frequency of occurrence of the variants is almost equal, whereas in CGT *katapliktikós* occurs only rarely. As shown in Figure 10, *katapliktiká/katapliktikós* is only found as an intensifier, while after 1990 its evaluative-intensifying use ‘wonderfully’ is more frequent than the intensifying one.

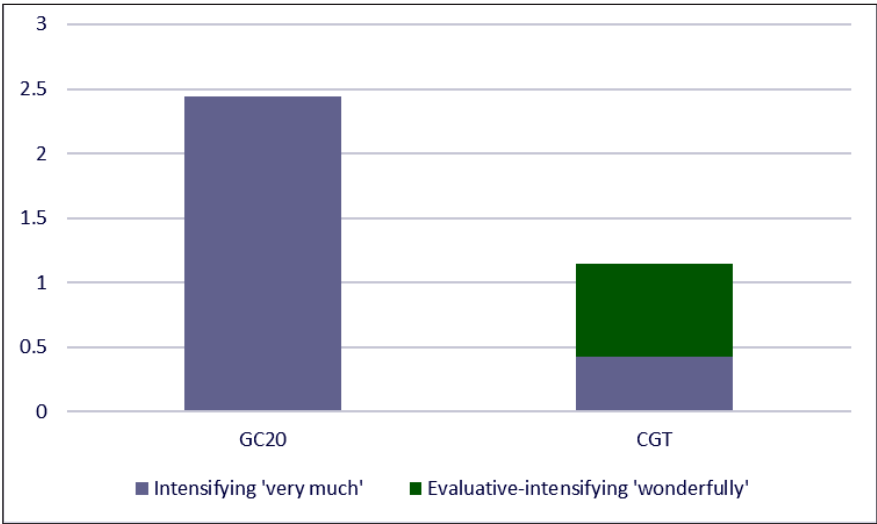


Figure 10. Frequency of uses and meanings of *katapliktiká/katapliktikós*

In (23) and (24) the adverb is used as an intensifier; in the latter a meaning ‘to a degree that it makes me feel amazed’ can be also traced. It is worth noting that before 1990 the adverb mostly occurs in academic texts, whereas in CGT *katapliktiká* is found in a broad variety of text types.

(23) κατά την εν τω σχολείω φοίτησίν μου μου ήρесе **καταπληκτικά** το μάθημα της ψυχολογίας όπερ διδάσκεται εις την 3ην (Private Letters 1920)

(24) έκτῶν γεωμήλων, ή καλλιέργειατῶν όποίων άννεπτύχθη **καταπληκτικῶς** κατά τὰ τελευταῖα ἔτη (Academic 1940)

In (25) *katapliktiká* is used in its evaluative-intensifying use ‘wonderfully’, collocating with the verb *περνῶ*, something which is a very frequent use.

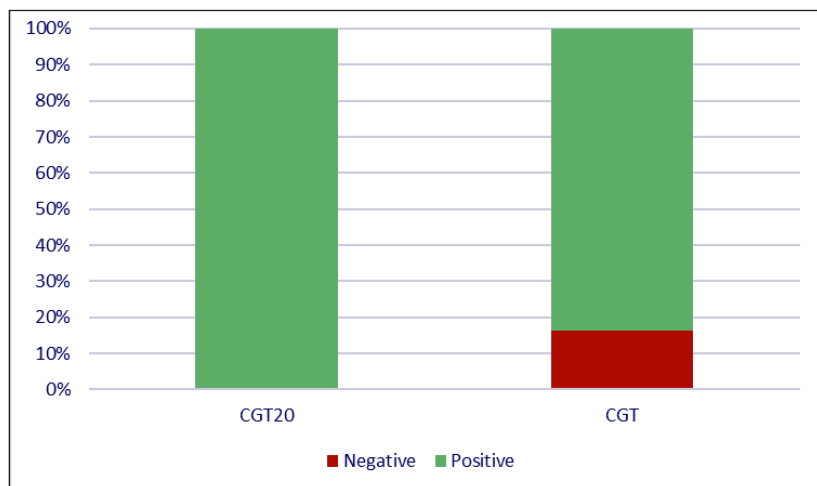
(25) στο διάστημα αυτό που ξεκουράστηκα, ήρθα στην φάρμα, πέρασα **καταπληκτικά**. (Spoken Radio 1990-2010)

In this use the adverb mostly has a positive meaning, although in few occurrences this is reversed, as in (26):

(26) και δεν έρχεται λέει να με πάρει από το μετρό (.) **καταπληκτικά** ( ) τι ώρα θα πάτε στα μαγαζιά δηλαδή (Spoken 1990-2010)

As shown in Figure 11, when the adverb is used as an intensifier, it is only found in a positive co-text in GC20, although in CGT a few negative collocates also occur, as in:

(27) απομονωμένη και υποβαθμισμένη. Στο παρελθόν θα ήταν πιο απομονωμένο. Έμοιαζε **καταπληκτικά** με στρατόπεδο: α) τα «τετράγωνα» κτήρια (Academic 1990-2010)



**Figure 11.** Collocate polarity of *katapliktiká/katapliktikós* in its intensifying use

*Katapliktiká/katapliktikós* mostly modifies verbs in both corpora, although it is not found in CGT as an adjective/adjectival participle modifier, having developed an independent use as a discourse marker (see 26 above).

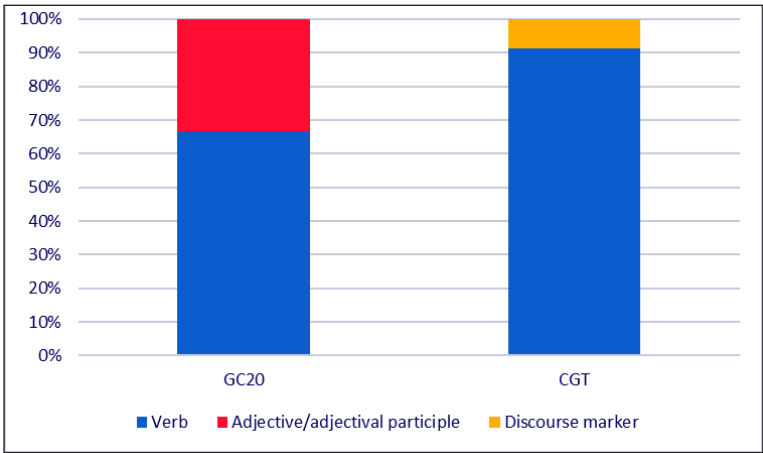


Figure 12. Grammatical categories modified by *katapliktiká/katapliktikós*

2.6. *trayiká/trayikós*

The variant *trayikós* is only found in GC20 in less than half of the occurrences of the adverb. As seen in Figure 13, *trayiká/trayikós* is found in GC20 in a variety of uses, ranging from the descriptive use, meaning ‘tragically, in a way that relates to tragedy’, as in (28), only found in literary texts, to the evaluative-intensifying use ‘dismally’, as in (29), and the intensifying use, which is rare, as in (30). In CGT the descriptive use is infrequent, while the intensifying use becomes dominant, mainly in public speeches and journalistic texts.

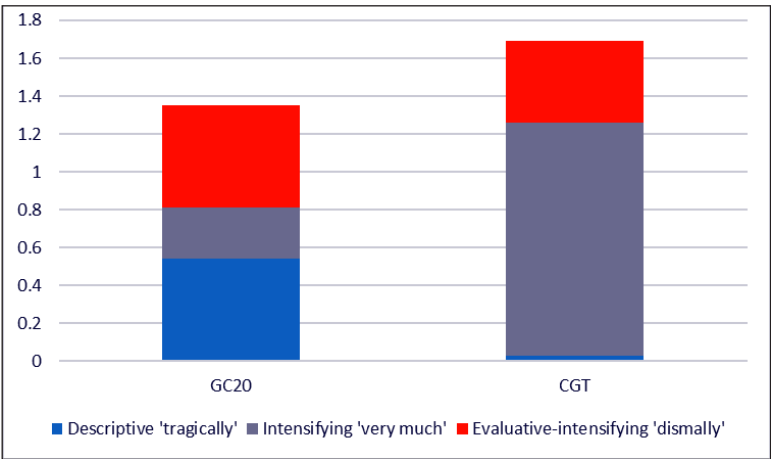


Figure 13. Frequency of uses and meanings of *trayiká/trayikós*

- (28) μέσα στην κάμαρη που τη φώτιζαν αλλόκοτα, **τραγικά** παλεύοντας, δυο αποφεγγιές: του φεγγαριού το κρύο τ'άσχημι (Literature 1910)
- (29) υποδομής, που αναφέρεται στη μηχανοργάνωση και μηχανογράφηση, η οποία σήμερα **τραγικά** και προσβλητικά για τον πολιτισμό της χώρας απουσιάζει. (Public Speech 1990-2010)
- (30) Έρχομαι τώρα στο θέμα της εκπαίδευσης. Πάσχει **τραγικά** από πλευράς εκπαίδευσης η Ελληνική Αστυνομία. (Public Speech 1990-2010)

*Trayiká/trayikós* collocates with negative words in all of its uses (see examples above). It mostly modifies verbs in GC20, whereas in CGT it shows a trend to modify adjectives/adjectival participles more frequently than verbs and also modifies other adverbs.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

The findings about the use and meanings of the adverbs studied and their frequency of occurrence are summarized in Table 1.

[illegible]

**Table 1.** Adverbs meanings and uses in diachrony (D = descriptive, I = intensifying, D-I = descriptive-intensifying, E-I = evaluative-intensifying) (Black dots signify high frequency)

Intensifying uses are dominant in most adverbs from 1900 onwards. However, in many adverbs descriptive or descriptive-intensifying uses are found in parallel with intensifying uses already from the beginning of the 20th century. In adverbs like *tromerá* descriptive uses disappear after 1990, while in *trayiká/ós* and *trelá* descriptive uses decrease in CGT. Moreover, after the 1990s new

evaluative-intensifying uses are developed for *foverá* and *katapliktiká/ós*; the latter is the only adverb to be used more frequently in its evaluative-intensifying rather than its intensifying use after 1990. Finally, *apístefta* is a new addition to the group of intensifiers, found only in CGT.

The parallel uses found, along with the increase in intensifying uses, suggest that the adverbs studied are in a process of delexicalization/grammaticalization, the beginning of which should be traced well before 1900. On the basis of the findings summarized above, a hypothesis on the development of the semantics of the adverbs can be formulated as follows:

Descriptive > Descriptive-intensifying > Intensifying > Evaluative-intensifying uses

According to this cline, the adverbs studied are in different stages of delexicalization/grammaticalization: *apístefta*, *foverá*, and *tromerá* are found with established intensifying uses, *katapliktiká/ós* seems to have moved forward to evaluative-intensifying uses, while *trayiká/ós* and *trelá* are very frequently used as intensifiers, along with other descriptive(-intensifying) and evaluative-intensifying uses, preserved throughout the 20th century.

The fact that adverbs are in a process of delexicalization/grammaticalization is also supported by the study of their collocates and the changes found in collocate polarity, i.e. their semantic prosody. *Foverá* and *tromerá* have a dominant negative semantic prosody throughout, albeit after the 1990s positive collocates increase by 10 to 20%. The opposite happens with *katapliktiká/ós* and *trelá*, which have a dominant positive semantic prosody, but more negative collocates appear after 1990 (an increase of 15-20%). *Trayiká/ós* is the only adverb that does not show a tendency to change in terms of its semantic prosody, but remains negative in all its uses.

As regards syntactic distribution, the more delexicalized/grammaticalized an adverb is the more it is used to modify adjectives (cf. Ito & Tagliamonte 2003). Adverbs that are synchronically more delexicalized/grammaticalized, such as *foverá*, *tromerá* and *apístefta*, are found modifying adjectives/adjectival participles in 70-80% of their occurrences, whereas *foverá* and *tromerá*, which are found in GC20, mostly modify verbs in it. *Trayiká/ós*, which is frequently used as an intensifier after 1990, in 60% of its occurrences modifies adjectives/adjectival participles in CGT. Finally, *trelá* and *katapliktiká/ós* mainly modify verbs, with the former showing an increase of modification of adjectives (approx. 15%) and the latter being more frequently used with its evaluative-intensifying meaning, something which affects its preference for verbs. *Katapliktiká/ós* has also developed uses as a discourse marker, something which verifies that the adverb has moved a step forward towards being more subjective (cf. Nevalainen 1994).



The adverbs studied also differ in their distribution across text types (see Table 2). Most remain relatively stable in their preferences, while after 1990 they are found in a wider range of text types.

Adverbs	GC20	CGT
<i>foverá</i>	Literature, Private Letters	Literature, Spoken
<i>katapliktiká/ós</i>	Academic	Academic, Journalistic, Popularized non-fiction, Literature, Spoken
<i>tromerá</i>	Literature, Private Letters	Literature, Journalistic, Popularized non-fiction, Public Speeches, Academic
<i>trayiká/ós</i>	Public Speeches	Journalistic, Public Speeches
<i>trelá</i>	Literature, Private Letters	Spoken, Computer mediated texts
<i>apístefta</i>	-	Journalistic, Popularized non-fiction, Literature, Spoken

**Table 2.** Text types in which adverbs are used

This overall outlook would suggest that *trayiká/ós* is the most formal intensifier of the ones studied, whereas *trelá* is the most informal. A rough approximation of the positioning of all adverbs in a formality scale can be found in the following:

More formal						Less formal
<i>trayiká/ós</i>	<i>tromerá</i>	<i>katapliktiká/ós</i>	<i>apístefta</i>	<i>foverá</i>	<i>trelá</i>	

This picture generally concurs with Gavriilidou's (2013: 147) observations, except for *tromerá*, which is found to be more formal than *foverá* in our data.

Clearly, a more detailed investigation of a broader range of adverbs is necessary, along with an examination of the diachronic development of their related adjectives, before we are able to reach some more definite conclusions with regard to the process of delexicalization/grammaticalization in these grammatical categories of Greek.

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**ΕΠΙΤΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΠΙΡΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ: ΜΙΑ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΜΕ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ**

Περίληψη

Σε αυτό το άρθρο μελετώνται με τη μεθοδολογία της γλωσσολογίας σωμάτων κειμένων επιρρήματα με επιτατική λειτουργία στα ελληνικά και πιο συγκεκριμένα τα *φοβερά*, *τρομερά*, *απίστευτα*, *τρελά*, *καταπληκτικά/καταπληκτικώς* και *τραγικά/τραγικώς*. Επιχειρείται να ανιχνευθεί η διαχρονική εξέλιξη των επιρρημάτων αυτών από το 1900 έως το 2010 με τη μελέτη όλων των εμφανίσεών τους σε δύο σώματα κειμένων της ελληνικής, το *Διαχρονικό Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων του 20ού αιώνα (1900-1989)* και το *Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων (1990-2010)*. Παράμετροι που λήφθηκαν υπόψη για την ανάλυση των επιρρημάτων είναι η συχνότητα των χρήσεων και των σημασιών τους, η θετική ή αρνητική σημασιολογική τους προσωδία, η συχνότητα με την οποία προσδιορίζουν γραμματικές κατηγορίες όπως επίθετα/επιθετικές μετοχές, ρήματα, επιρρήματα, αλλά και τα κειμενικά είδη στα οποία συνηθίζουν να χρησιμοποιούνται. Με βάση τα ευρήματα προτάθηκε μια πιθανή σειρά εξέλιξης των επιρρημάτων από τις περιγραφικές χρήσεις, στις περιγραφικές-επιτατικές, τις επιτατικές και, τέλος, τις αξιολογικές-επιτατικές χρήσεις. Η διαδικασία απολεξικοποίησης/γραμματικοποίησης φαίνεται να έχει ξεκινήσει πριν από το 1900 για όλα τα επιρρήματα, αλλά καθένα από αυτά βρίσκεται σε διαφορετικό στάδιο. Τα επιρρήματα *απίστευτα*, *φοβερά* και *τρομερά* φαίνεται να έχουν καθιερωθεί με την επιτατική τους λειτουργία. Ειδικά για τα *φοβερά* και *τρομερά* αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται και από την τάση τους να δέχονται περισσότερες θετικές συνάψεις, ενώ γενικά έχουν κυρίαρχη αρνητική σημασιολογική προσωδία, αλλά και από το ότι μετά το 1990 προσδιορίζουν περισσότερο επίθετα και επιθετικές μετοχές παρά ρήματα. Τα *τραγικά/τραγικώς* και *τρελά* χρησιμοποιούνται ιδιαίτερα συχνά ως επιτατικά, αλλά συνεχίζουν να χρησιμοποιούνται και με άλλες πιο περιγραφικές ή αξιολογικές χρήσεις, ενώ το *καταπληκτικά/καταπληκτικώς* είναι το μόνο που μετά το 1990 χρησιμοποιείται περισσότερο με αξιολογική-επιτατική λειτουργία με τη σημασία «υπέροχα» και έχει αρχίσει να χρησιμοποιείται και ως δείκτης λόγου. Τέλος, τα επιρρήματα διαφέρουν ως προς τα κειμενικά είδη στα οποία εμφανίζονται, με το *τραγικά/τραγικώς* να χρησιμοποιείται σε πιο επίσημα κειμενικά είδη και το *τρελά* σε πιο ανεπίσημα.

**Λέξεις-κλειδιά:** αξιολόγηση, διαχρονική ανάλυση, επιρρήματα, επίταση, σώματα κειμένων