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POLARITY ITEMS IN MODERN GREEK: AN ALLOMORPHIC BEHAVIOR

The bound degree modifiers *poly-* and *psilo-* display polarity-sensitive behavior. Based on the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, et seq.), the bound morpheme *poly-* functions as a strong NPI occurring only in negative environments, whereas the element *psilo-* appears only in affirmative contexts. In addition, *poly-* and *psilo-* function as evaluative morphemes. Based on a formal semantic account, and given a scale of degree, I argue that the degree modifiers map to the same degree value. Taking this into consideration, I propose a syntactic analysis of their licensing as an Agree matter, in the spirit of Merchant (2013), and show that both polarity items behave as elements that exhibit an allomorphic behavior. More specifically, the polarity sensitivity of the PPI *psilo-*, whose presence is incompatible with antiveridical operators, can be explained syntactically if we assume that it displays an allomorphic behavior with *poly-*. This paper is an attempt to explain their licensing through Agree, providing a syntactic account that takes the licensing of both degree modifiers as one.

Keywords: Polarity items, degree modifiers, polarity behavior, (non)veridicality, Agree

1. INTRODUCTION

Investigation into the nature of preverbs, i.e. elements which appear in front of the verb stem and together form a semantic unit, has long preoccupied the literature. Most works have focused on their morpho-phonological characteristics and evaluative properties, as part of evaluative morphology (Babiniotis 1969; Philippaki-Warbuton 1970; Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994; Alexiadou 1997; Giannouloupoulou 2003; Ralli 2004; Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009; Savvidou 2012; Gavriilidou 2013; Gavriilidou & Giannakidou 2016; Efthymiou 2017a, 2017b, 2019; among others).

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According to Efthymiou (2017b), elements like *psilo-* ‘a little’ and *poly-* ‘much’ are prefixoids. Prefixoids are grammaticalized elements whose behavior differ from that of compounds. They function as prefixes expressing a more subjective meaning, although autonomous and more easily recognizable, as opposed to the latter.

Motivated by Delveroudi & Vassilaki’s (1999) observation that the bound morpheme *poly-* combines only with verbal bases in negative sentences, this paper will go one step further showing that the degree modifiers *poly-* and *psilo-* are polarity items. More specifically, I argue that *poly-* is a strong Negative Polarity Item (NPI) only being licensed by the antiveridical contexts of negation and *xoris* ‘without’, as in (1), as opposed to *psilo-* which is a Positive Polarity Item (PPI) and appear to affirmative contexts, as in (2):

- (1) a. I Ioanna dhen poly- dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne not much-studied.3SG yesterday
‘Joanne didn’t study much today.’
b. *I Ioanna poly- dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne much-studied.3SG yesterday
(lit. ‘Joanne studied much yesterday.’)
- (2) a. I Ioanna psilo- ipie sto parti.
the Joanne a.little-drunk.3SG at.the party
‘Joanne drank a little at the party,’
b. *I Ioanna dhen psilo- ipie sto parti.
the Joanne not a.little-drunk.3SG at-the party
‘*Joanne didn’t drink a little at the party.’

The main question this study addresses is that of their licensing providing an account that is associated with the fact that the elements exhibit an allomorphic behavior.

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, I argue that *poly-* is a strong NPI, whereas the bound degree modifier *psilo-* is a PPI. In section 3, I show that the bound *poly-* is associated with strong licensing. In Section 4, I present the semantics of both elements having evaluative properties. In Section 5, I provide a syntactic analysis for the licensing of each polarity item. Section 6 concludes.

2. NONVERIDICALITY AND POLARITY ITEMS IN MODERN GREEK

2.1. (Non)veridicality and *poly-* as a strong NPI

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

(3) *Veridicality and Nonveridicality*

- i. A propositional operator *F* is veridical iff *Fp* entails *p*: $Fp \rightarrow p$; otherwise, *F* is nonveridical.
- ii. A nonveridical operator *F* is antiveridical iff *Fp* entails *not p*: $Fp \rightarrow \neg p$ (from Giannakidou 2002: 33)

(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity (Giannakidou 1998, 2001 et seq.) accounts for elements exhibiting restrictions on their licensing environments (e.g. English *anyone*, Greek *kanénas*), and places no categorial restrictions on the items showing NPI behavior.

Under this framework, Giannoula (2020) argues that *poly-* is a strong NPI exhibiting a restricted distribution. It appears with antiveridical licensors of negation and *xoris* ‘without’, i.e. strictly nonveridical environments according to the definition, as in (4) and (5), but is excluded from contexts with nonveridical licensors, like questions, imperatives, modal verbs, conditionals, generics, habituais, and conjunctions, as in (6)-(12):

a. *Negation*

Like all NPIs, *poly-* occurs in negative environments and is excluded from affirmative contexts:

- (4) a. I Ioanna dhen poly- dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne not much-studied.3SG yesterday
‘Joanne didn’t study much today.’
b. *I Ioanna poly- dhiavase xthes.
the Joanne much-studied.3SG yesterday
(lit. ‘Joanne studied much yesterday.’)

b. *Without-clauses*

Poly- also appears in *without*-clauses:

- (5) I Ioanna eghrapse dhiagonisma xoris na poly- dhiavasi.
the Joanne wrote.3SG exam without SUBJ much-study
‘Joanne took the exam without studying much.’

c. *Imperatives*

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

- (6) *Poly- dhiavase ghia to dhiaghonisma!
much-study.IMPER for the exam
(lit. ‘Study much for the exam!’)

d. *Modal verbs*

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

- (7) *I Ioanna bori na poly- dhiavasi.
the Joanne may SUBJ much-study.3SG
(lit. 'Joanne may study much.')

e. *Conditionals*

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

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

f. *Questions*

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

- (9) *Poly- dhiavase i Ioanna?
much-studied.3SG the Joanne
(lit. 'Did Joanne study much?')

g. *Generics*

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

- (10) *Kathe fititis poly- dhiavazi.
every student much-study.3SG
(lit. 'Every student studies much.')

h. *Habituals*

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

- (11) *I Ioanna sinithos poly- maghirevi.
the Joanne usually much-cook.3SG
(lit. 'Joanne usually cooks much.')

i. *Disjunctions*

The context of disjunction cannot license the bound degree modifier *poly-*:

- (12) *I itan tixheros ke perase tin eksetasi i poly- dhiavase.
either was lucky and passed.3SG the exam or much-studied.3SG
(lit. 'Either he was lucky and passed the exam or he studied a lot.')

As its narrow distribution shows, *poly-* belongs to the category of strong NPIs, only occurring under the scope of antiveridical negative operator and *xoris* ‘without’.

2.2. The PPI *psilo-*

Following the definition of (non)veridicality in (3), the bound degree modifier *psilo-* ‘a little’ appears only in the veridical environments of affirmation, unlike *poly-* ‘much’, whose distribution is restricted only to the antiveridical contexts of negation and *xoris* ‘without’.

- (13) a. I Ioanna *psilo-* ipie sto parti.
the Joanne a.little-drank.3SG at.the party
‘Joanne drank a little at the party,’
b. *I Ioanna *dhen* *psilo-* ipie sto parti.
the Joanne not a.little-drank.3SG at.the party
‘*Joanne didn’t drink a little at the party.’
- (14) *I Ioanna *efige apo to parti xoris na psilo-* pii.
the Joanne left from the party without SUBJ a.little-drink.3SG
‘Joanne left the party without drinking a little’

The affirmative context of the sentence (13a) is proper for the presence of the bound degree modifier *psilo-*. On the contrary, the antiveridical contexts of negation with the negative operator *dhen* ‘not’ in (13b) (repeated from (2)) and *xoris* ‘without’ in (14) result to ungrammatical *psilo-*-sentences with the bound morpheme. Therefore, the degree modifier *psilo-* is a PPI.

3. STRONG LICENSING OF *POLY-*

Given its restricted distribution, a question that arises is whether *poly-* ‘much’ is licensed locally (strong licensing) or it permits long-distance dependencies (weak licensing) by negation, that is, whether *poly-* needs to be in a local relation with the negative operators.

Working on emphatics², Giannakidou (1995, 1997, 1998) and Giannakidou and Quer (1995, 1997) associate them, which are strong NPIs, with strong licensing. In other words, they cannot be licensed by the negation of the main clauses when appearing as a complement in embedded clauses. Given that *poly-* ‘much’ is a strong NPI, it is associated with strong licensing, since it can only be licensed locally in the domain of sentential negation. More specifically, we expect

² For a discussion on emphatics, see Giannakidou (1997, 1998) and Giannakidou and Quer (1997) among others.

poly- to exhibit opacity effects when it appears in indicative embedded clauses with the complementizer *oti*, as the following sentences show:

- (15) a. Ipa oti dhen poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
 said.1SG that not much-studied.2SG for the exam
 'I said that you didn't studied for the exam.'
 b. *Dhen ipa oti poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
 not said.1SG that much-studied.2SG for the exam
 ('I didn't say that you studied much for the exam.')
- (16) a. Ksero oti dhen poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
 know.1SG that not much-studied.2SG for the exam
 'I know that you didn't study much for the exam.'
 b. *Dhen ksero oti poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
 not know.1SG that much-studied.2SG for the exam
 ('I don't know that you studied much for the exam.')
- (17) a. Ghnorizo oti dhen poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
 know.1SG that not much-studied.2SG for the exam
 'I know that you didn't study much for the exam.'
 b. *Dhen ghorizo oti poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
 not know.1SG that much-studied.2SG for the exam
 ('I don't know that you studied much for the exam.')

Embedded clauses with the complementizer *pu* are also opaque for long-distance dependencies of *poly-* on the negative operators *dhen* and *min*:

- (18) a. Mu ipe pu dhen poly- dhiavazis.
 me said.3SG that not much-studied.2SG
 'He told me that you don't study much.'
 b. *Dhen mu ipe pu poly- dhiavazis.
 not me said.3SG that much-studied.2SG
 'He didn't tell me that you study much.'
- (19) a. Metaniosa pu dhen poly- dhiavasa gia tin eksetasi.
 regreted.1SG that not much-studied.1SG for the exam
 'I regretted not studying for the exam.'
 b. *Dhen metaniosa pu poly- dhiavasa gia tin eksetasi.
 not regreted.1SG that much-studied.1SG for the exam
 'I didn't regret studying much for the exam.'

Unlike emphatics, *poly-* does not allow long-distance licensing when occurring in *na* subjunctive embedded clauses³. They seem to be opaque in these domains, as the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (20b), (21b) and (22b) shows:

- (20) a. Bori na min poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
might SUBJ not much-studied.2SG for the exam
'It can be the case that you didn't study for the exam.'
b. *Dhen bori na poly- dhiavases gia tin eksetasi.
not might SUBJ much-studied.2SG for the exam
'It can't be the case that he studied much for the exam.'
- (21) a. Thelo na min poly- dhiavasis apopse.
want.1SG SUBJ not much-study.2SG tonight
'I want you not to study much tonight.'
b. *Dhen thelo na poly- dhiavasis apopse.
not want.1SG SUBJ much-study.2SG tonight
'(I don't want you to study much tonight.)'
- (22) a. I Joanna theli na min poly- dhiavasi apopse.
the Joanne wants SUBJ not much-studies tonight
'Joanne wants not to study much tonight.'
b. *I Joanna dhen theli na poly- dhiavasi apopse.
the Joanne not wants SUBJ much-studies tonight
'(Joanne doesn't want to study much tonight.)'

To sum up, *poly-* is licensed only locally exhibiting opacity effects for long distance dependencies when occurring in *oti-* and *pu-*indicative and *na*-subjunctive embedded clauses, restricting its distribution to the boundaries of mono-clausal structures.

4. THE SEMANTICS OF EVALUATION

Evaluative morphemes in Modern Greek, as *poly-* and *psilo-*, have been discussed in many studies (Babiniotis 1969; Philippaki-Warbuton 1970; Rivero 1992; Drachman & Malikouti-Drachman 1994; Pouloupoulou 1996; Alexiadou 1997;

³ Giannakidou and Quer (1997) show cases of subjunctive embedded domains which are opaque. For instance, in Catalan, the subjunctive complements of factive predicates are also not transparent (from Giannakidou & Quer 1997: 102):

(i) *no lamenta que hagi ofès (absolutament) ningú
not regret.3SG that have.SUBJ.3SG offended absolutely anyone

Delveroudi & Vassilaki 1999; Giannouloupoulou 2003; Efthymiou & Gavriilidou 2003; Ralli 2003, 2004; Dimela & Melissaropoulou 2009; Xydopoulos 2009; Savvidou 2012; Gavriilidou 2013; Gavriilidou & Giannakidou 2016; Efthymiou 2017a, 2017b, 2019; among others).

According to Efthymiou (2017b), the bound morphemes *psilo-* and *poly-* are prefixoids, i.e. elements which, through grammaticalization, have obtained a less concrete meaning, as opposed to their free counterparts. They do not function as first constituents of compounds; rather their behavior is closer to that of prefixes expressing subjectivity/evaluation.

As far as the verbal domain is concerned, *poly-* is used in informal speech indicating attenuation. *Poly-*verbs “express lower frequency or intensity of the event in question or minimize the impact of a statement” (Efthymiou 2017b: 5).

Psilo- combines with neutral or [-learned] bases expressing the reduced intensity of an action/process (Giannouloupoulou 2003, Xydopoulos 2009, Savvidou 2012, Efthymiou 2017b).

Efthymiou (2020) uses the term ‘minimizer’ to characterize the function of *poly-*. Appearing in the [negation + minimizer] structure (e.g. *I did not drink a drop*), a minimizer is considered as occupying the lowest end of the scale (Bolinger 1972; Fauconnier 1975a, 1975b), with negation functioning as ‘an emphatic way of expressing zero’ (Bolinger 1972: 120). Given this, and although *poly-* occurs under the scope of negation, Giannoula (2022) argues that ‘minimizer’ is not an accurate term to describe its function. She proposes the term ‘maximizing minimizer’ for *poly-* to best describe its function as maximizing a minimizing value.

Giannoula (2022, 2023) provides a formal semantic analysis for the evaluative morphemes *poly-* and *psilo-*. To capture their semantics, she assumes the scale of degree for gradable predicates in (23).

(23) *Scale of degree*

<extremely, a lot, sufficiently, a little, none>

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

Giannoula also argues that *psilo-* belongs to the evaluative class of diminishers that indicate the lower boundaries in a scale, with their semantics being given as follows:

$$(24) [\text{DIMINISHER}] = \lambda P \lambda x. \exists d[P(x)(d) \wedge (d < \text{SUFFICIENTLY})]$$

According to the denotation in (24), a diminisher is a relation that takes a scalar predicate P and an individual argument x and returns True if and only if there exists a degree d such that x P below the value SUFFICIENTLY.

As discussed in the previous sections, *poly-* is a strong NPI appearing under the scope of negation. Giannoula (2022, 2023) provides the semantics of *poly-* and the negative operator as follows:

$$(25) [\text{poly-}] = \lambda P \lambda x. \exists d [P(x)(d) \wedge (d > \text{A LITTLE})]$$

$$(26) [\text{NEG}] = \lambda p [\neg p]$$

Given the denotation in (25), *poly-* is a function that takes a scalar predicate P and an individual argument x and returns True if and only if there exists a degree d such that x P above or equally to the value A LITTLE. Since *poly-*, as an NPI, is always under the scope of the negative operator, the direction of its degree changes and the degree maps not to a value that is greater than the value A LITTLE, but to a value that is equal or less than the value A LITTLE.

Interestingly, what the denotations of *psilo-* as a diminisher and *poly-* shows in (24) and (25), respectively, is that the degrees of both morphemes coincide. More specifically, the degree of *poly-*, whose denotation combines with that of the negative operator, maps to a value that is equal or less than the value A LITTLE. In addition, the degree of *psilo-*, as a diminisher, maps to a value below the value SUFFICIENTLY: this means that its value is equal or less than the value A LITTLE, as it is the case of *poly-*. Therefore, both morphemes have the same degree value.

$$(27) \begin{array}{ll} \text{O Petros den poly-ipie} & = \quad \text{O Petros psilo-ipie} \\ \text{'Peter didn't drink much'} & \quad \text{'Peter drank a little'} \end{array}$$

5. LICENSING THROUGH AGREE

5.1. The case of *poly-*

In previous sections, we have seen that *poly-* 'much' is a strong NPI, being licensed by antiveridical operators, like negation and *without*-clauses. Moreover, this licensing by negative operators can only happen locally since *poly-* exhibits locality effects with the sentential negation when it is separate from negation by an indicative or subjunctive clause boundary. Here, I propose an analysis for the licensing of *poly-*. Although *poly-*, like all NPIs, is sensitive to its semantic environment, I argue that its licensing is accomplished syntactically.

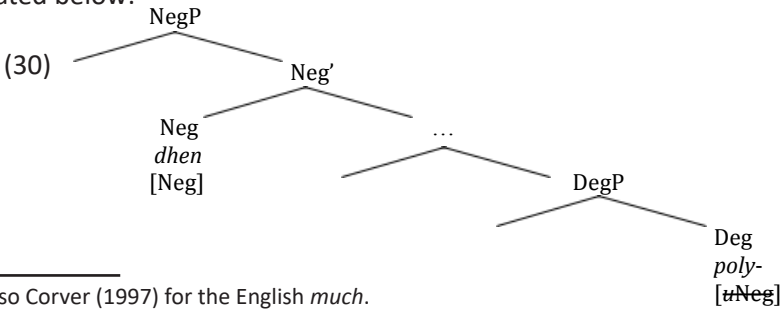
The restricted distribution of *poly-* shows that it is a strong NPI which needs to be licensed locally by antiveridical operators, such as negation. Its licensing,

like that of other NPIs in Greek, is similar to the case of negative concord (NC), a phenomenon observed in many languages. In NC languages, negation is expressed with more than one negative elements in a clause (mainly, a negative marker and an *n*-word), although it is interpreted only once (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2002; Zeijlstra 2004; Giannakidou & Zeijlstra 2017).

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

(28) <i>Dhen</i>	CAT:	[Neg [<i>Neg</i>]]
	INFL:	[-]
	SEL:	[<TP>]
(29) <i>Poly-</i>	CAT:	[Deg]
	INFL:	[<i>uNeg</i>]
	SEL:	[<vP>]

In addition, the bound element *poly-* belongs to the category of Deg, as its lexical entry in (28) shows⁴. I argue that the licensing of *poly-* is accomplished syntactically via the operation of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001) in the spirit of Zeijlstra (2012). The negative operator *dhen* ‘not’ with the interpretable [*Neg*] feature c-commands *poly-* with the uninterpretable [*uNeg*] feature. Given that, the [*uNeg*] feature is checked and eliminated against the [*Neg*] feature of *dhen*. Therefore, the agreement happens via c-command, as it is schematically illustrated below:



⁴ See also Corver (1997) for the English *much*.

In (29), *poly-* remains under the scope of negation, the licensing happens in situ, and thus no movement for checking is needed. Moreover, the fact that *poly-* with the uninterpretable [*uNeg*] feature is licensed by negation with an interpretable [*Neg*] feature can also explain the impossibility of *poly-* being licensed by non-veridical operators, such as questions and imperatives. Since non-veridical contexts lack the [*Neg*] feature, the [*uNeg*] feature of *poly-* cannot be checked.

5.2. PPI *psilo-* and an alternative licensing analysis

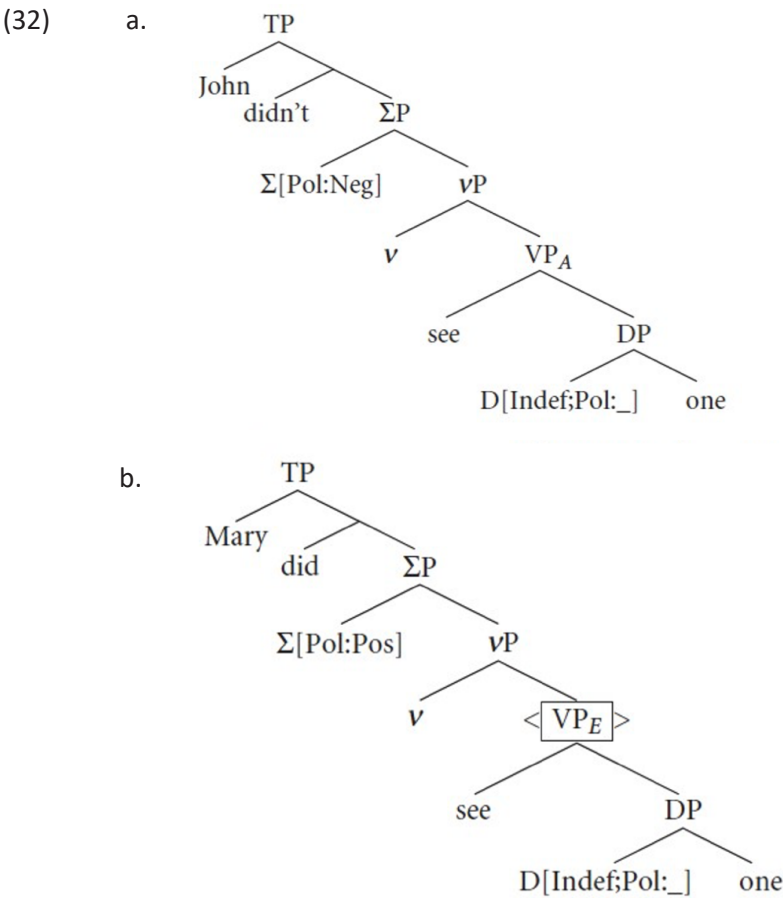
In this subsection, we discuss the licensing of the PPI *psilo-*. Considering this, a few questions arise: How can *psilo-* be licensed under the accounts of Giannakidou (1997, 2007) and Zeilstra (2004, 2012)? Is the notion of *anti-licensing*, already proposed for PPIs in general, sufficient enough to account for the Modern Greek degree modifier *psilo-* which is ‘allergic’ to negation, as Giannakidou (2008) points out for PPIs? Or can an alternative syntactic account explain the presence of the degree modifier *psilo-* only in affirmative contexts, unlike that of the degree modifier *poly-* in negative environments?

Consider the pair of the sentences in (31):

- (31) a. O Petros dhen poly- ipie xthes sto parti.
 the Peter not much-drank.3SG yesterday at-the party
 ‘Peter didn’t drink much yesterday at the party.’
 b. O Petros psilo- ipie xthes sto parti.
 the Peter a.little-drank.3SG yesterday at-the party
 ‘Peter drank a little yesterday at the party.’

In the *poly-*sentence in (31a), Peter didn’t drink much. In particular, the amount of Peter’s drinking is even less than adequately. In the *psilo-*sentence in (31b), Peter drank only a little at the party. As discussed in Section 4, the two sentences reveals that they have the same meanings: the amount of Peter’s drinking is only a little. Given that, and assuming a degree scale, this shows that both degree modifiers are at the same position of the scale. The difference is only related to the environments in which the modifiers choose to appear. While *poly-* needs to be under the scope of the negative operator, *psilo-* does not.

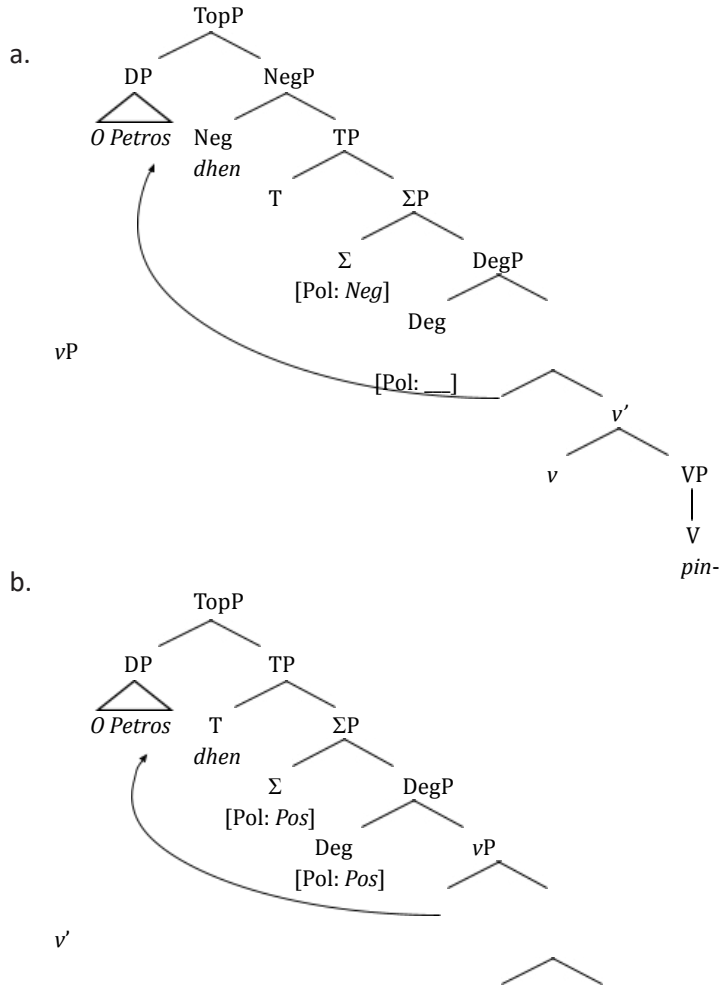
Giannakidou argues for a [*Pol*:_] syntactic feature polarity items have that needs to be valued under Agree with a c-commanding ‘licensor’. Following Giannakidou, Merchant proposes an analysis for English polarity items, since ‘*certain expressions have varying morphological realizations, depending on their syntactic environment. Which morphology is realized is determined by agreement with a valuer*’ (Merchant 2013: 442). His analysis is depicted in (32) with the lexical insertion rules in (33):



- (33) *Lexical Insertion rules*
- a. $[Cat[D, Indef]; Infl[Pol:Neg]] \rightarrow any$
 - b. $[Cat[D, Indef]; Infl[Pol:Pos]] \rightarrow some$
 - c. $\lambda f \lambda g^3 x [f(x) \wedge g(x)]$

Based on that, I argue that the licensing of *poly-* and *psilo-* can be captured under an analysis, in the spirit of Merchant (2013). Given that the elements have the same meaning while in different syntactic contexts, I propose the syntactic analysis in (33) for the licensing of both polarity items and the lexical insertion rules in (34):

(34)

(35) *Lexical Insertion rules*

- a. [Cat [Deg]; Infl [Pol: Neg]] → *poly-*
- b. [Cat [Deg]; Infl [Pol: Pos]] → *psilo-*

The features are formed in syntax, and given the lexical insertion rules, match with the appropriate morphological realizations. Given that, the position of *Deg* in the Degree Phrase materialized either as *poly-* when with the negative [Pol: Neg] feature, or as *psilo-* when with the positive [Pol: Pos] feature. Therefore, since a *poly*-sentence has the same meaning with its corresponding *psilo*-sentence, the two bound elements exhibit an allomorphic behavior.

As Merchant points out, this Agree analysis, in the spirit of Klima (1964), does not take the presence of *Neg* in Σ [Pol: *Neg*] as being related to the presence of the negative operator (here the Modern Greek *dhen* ‘not’), as opposed to the previous one in Section 5.1, where *dhen* possesses *Neg* as an interpretable feature. Since, according to Merchant, Σ [Pol: *Neg*] is related to clauses with the correspond semantic property, this may possibly explain why *poly-* can also left-adjoin to passive participles (e.g. *poly-dhiavasmenos* ‘widely-read’, *poly-taksidemenos* ‘well-travelled’) in Modern Greek affirmative contexts. However, more research is required.

6. CONCLUSION

In this paper, I explained the licensing of the NPI *poly-* and the PPI *psilo-*, both functioning as degree modifiers. Based on the *(Non)veridicality Theory of Polarity* (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, et seq.), I have shown that the bound element *poly-* shows polarity behavior belonging to the category of strong NPIs only being licensed by antiveridical operators, whereas *psilo-* is a PPI only occurring in affirmative sentences. I claimed that the bound *poly-* is associated with strong licensing, displaying locality effects when appearing in indicative and subjunctive embedded clauses: it is accepted in a sentence if and only if it is licensed locally by an antiveridical operator. Given that *poly-* and *psilo-* maps to the same degree value, I have presented a syntactic analysis of their licensing as an Agree matter, in the spirit of Merchant (2013), showing that both polarity items behave as elements that exhibit an allomorphic behavior.

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ΤΕΜΑΧΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΝΕΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ: ΜΙΑ ΑΛΛΟΜΟΡΦΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΠΕΡΙΦΟΡΑ

Περίληψη

Στο παρόν άρθρο, εξετάζεται η περίπτωση νομιμοποίησης των αξιολογητικών μορφημάτων *πολυ-* και *ψιλο-*, τα οποία λειτουργούν ως τεμάχια πολικότητας. Με βάση της (Μη)αληθαικότητας (Giannakidou 1994, 1997, et seq.), η Giannoula (2020) υποστηρίζει ότι ο δεσμευμένος τροποποιητής βαθμού παρουσιάζει συμπεριφορά πολικότητας, ανήκει στην κατηγορία των ισχυρών Τεμαχίων Αρνητικής Πολικότητας (ΤΑΠ) και νομιμοποιείται μόνο από αντι-αληθαικούς τελεστές, ενώ το *ψιλο-* είναι Τεμάχιο Καταφατικής Πολικότητας (ΤΚΠ) και εμφανίζεται μόνο σε καταφατικές προτάσεις. Υποστηρίζω ότι το *πολυ-* σχετίζεται με ισχυρή νομιμοποίηση και παρουσιάζει επίδραση θέσεις: είναι αποδεκτό σε μια πρόταση αν και μόνο αν μπορεί να νομιμοποιηθεί τοπικά από αντι-αληθαικό τελεστή. Στηριζόμενη στη σημασία τους και το γεγονός ότι έχουν αξιολογητικές ιδιότητες, προτείνω ότι τα *πολυ-* και *ψιλο-* έχουν την ίδια αξία βαθμού. Με βάση αυτό, παρουσιάζω μια συντακτική ανάλυση για την νομιμοποίηση των δύο αυτών δεσμευμένων μορφημάτων μέσω Συμφωνίας, στο πλαίσιο του Merchant (2013), δείχνοντας ότι και τα δύο τεμάχια πολικότητας συμπεριφέρονται ως στοιχεία τα οποία παρουσιάζουν αλλομορφική συμπεριφορά. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η ευαισθησία πολικότητας του ΤΚΠ *ψιλο-*, του οποίου η παρουσία είναι ασύμβατη με τους αντι-αληθαικούς τελεστές, μπορεί να εξηγηθεί συντακτικά αν υποθέσουμε ότι παρουσιάζει αλλομορφική συμπεριφορά με το *πολυ-*. Σύμφωνα με κανόνες λεξικής εισαγωγής, το χαρακτηριστικό [Πολ:] αντιστοιχεί σε μορφολογικές πραγματώσεις. Με βάση αυτό, η θέση του Βαθμ στη Φράση Βαθμού πραγματώνεται είτε ως *πολυ-* όταν εμφανίζεται με το χαρακτηριστικό [Πολ: Αρν] είτε ως *ψιλο-* όταν εμφανίζεται [Πολ: Κατ]. Το παρόν άρθρο είναι μια προσπάθεια να εξηγηθεί η νομιμοποίηση μέσω Συμφωνίας, παρέχοντας μια συντακτική ανάλυση η οποία λαμβάνει τη νομιμοποίηση και των δύο τροποποιητών βαθμού ως ένα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Τεμάχια πολικότητας, τροποποιητές βαθμού, συμπεριφορά πολικότητας, (μη)αληθαικότητα, συμφωνία