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INFLECTIONAL AND SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF VERBAL PAIRS IN MODERN GREEK

In this paper, we focus on verbal doublets in Modern Greek. The term doublet is used to describe derived formations that share a common base and have the same formal make-up but differ in their derivational exponents. Although verbal doublets are quite common cross-linguistically, this topic has not been examined thoroughly. Based on our previous analysis of verbal doublets in Modern Greek, in this paper, we take a step further by examining the semantic and inflectional properties of verbs that belong to pairs which are considered synonymous. More specifically, we examine the actual use of some verbal doublets in corpora by checking their occurrences, the selectional preferences of each member of the verbal pair and we analyze the inflectional properties of each member of the verbal pair. We argue that verbs which show semantic overlap can hardly be considered absolute synonyms. A careful examination of the corpora shows that the two members of the pair usually differ in use and/or in their inflectional characteristics.

Keywords: verbal pairs, derivation, Modern Greek, inflectional properties, semantic properties

1. INTRODUCTION

In Modern Greek, we notice groups of two or three verbal formations (doublets and triplets respectively) which share the same nominal base and have the same formal make-up. For example, we notice formations such as *ανακατ-εύ(ω)* [anakatévo] vs *ανακατ-ών(ω)* [anakatóno] ‘(to) blend; mix; mess up’, *νοστιμ-ίζ(ω)* vs *νοστιμ-εύ(ω)* vs *νοστιμ-αίν(ω)* ‘make tastier’ which have the same base and they are formed along the same pattern (i.e., [X-verbalizer]). In some groups,

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the members have similar meanings, while in some others there is no semantic overlap. For example, we notice the formation *ψαρ-εύ(ω)* [psarévo] ‘fish’, but we also notice the formation *ψαρ-ών(ω)* [psaróno] ‘confuse’. The two formations are formed along the same pattern [Base (noun) – verbalizer], they have the same base (i.e., *ψάρι* [psári] ‘fish’), but have different meanings. Triantafyllides (2002 [1941]: 348 ff) mentions that two different verbs can be produced from the same root of a word with two different derivational suffixes, and he defines such formations as parallel verbs (“παράλληλα ρήματα”).

Doublets (or triplets) are not so uncommon cross-linguistically (cf., among others, Van Marle 1985; Corbin 1987; Plag 1999; Dressler 2001; Bauer 2001, 2006; Bauer et al. 2010, Bauer et al. 2013; Rodrigues Soares 2015; Aronoff 2019; Gardani et al. 2019; Fradin 2019; Nagano 2022). The members of these pairs (or triplets) usually differ in various formal and/or semantic-pragmatic aspects (cf., among others, Fradin 2019; Nagano 2022) and create synchronic variation (paradigmatic pleonasm) which raises questions about the motivation behind this phenomenon and the outcome of this struggle (cf., Kroch 1994; Laks & Yousef 2020; Aronoff 2020).

Based on our previous analysis of verbal doublets in Modern Greek (cf., Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021), in this paper, we take a step further by examining the semantic and inflectional features of verbs that belong to pairs which are considered synonymous. More specifically, we examine the actual use of some verbal doublets in corpora by checking their occurrences and the selectional preferences of each member of the verbal pair and we analyze the inflectional properties of each member of the verbal pair. The analysis of verbal doublets shows how the members of the pairs may or may not be semantically and functionally differentiated. These issues open the way to discuss some broader problems in morphological theory, such as the productivity of verbalizers, the existence of synonymy at a certain stage of a given language and the notion of competition.

After this introduction, we present a brief literature review of the verbalizers and verbal pairs in Modern Greek (Section 2) and then we explain the methodology of our data collection and we present some facts about the distribution of the verbalizers in verbal pairs in Modern Greek (Section 3). In Section 4, we provide a refined analysis of some doublets by analyzing the semantic and pragmatic information about each member of the pair and their inflectional features. In the last section, we present some conclusions.

2. VERBALIZERS AND VERBAL PAIRS IN MODERN GREEK

Verb-forming suffixes (verbalizers) form a rich paradigm in Modern Greek (cf., among others, Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986, 1996; Efthymiou 2018;

Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b; Thomadaki 1996; Ralli 1988, 2022; Charitonidis 2005, 2011). There are –approximately– seven verbalizers creating several semantic patterns (Efthymiou 2011, 2013a,b, 2014, 2018; Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b).³ Verbalizers differ in their productivity and compete for the creation of new verbs; their distribution is determined by several formal and semantic factors (cf., Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b; Efthymiou 2018; Ralli 2022). In Modern Greek, all verbalizers are found in doublets, a fact which leaves room for the discussion of the competition between suffixes.

In this paper, we use the term doublet to describe derived formations that share a common base and have the same formal make-up but differ in their derivational exponents. In other words, we focus on formations in which the same base can take two different suffixes or two different prefix-suffix combinations. In Greek, doublets are a diachronic phenomenon attested at all periods.⁴ For example, in Classical Greek, we notice the verb *μυρίζω* ‘smell’ that displays a parallel form *μυρόω* which are linked through the common base *μύρον* ‘sweet oil, unguent, perfume’. In Medieval Greek, we notice the parallel forms *κερδαί(ν)ω*, *κερδίζω*, *κερδῶ*, *κερδέζω* ‘win; gain; profit’ which are linked through the common base *κέρδος* ‘profit’ and are derived from different suffixational processes.⁵ In (Standard) Modern Greek we found numerous formations that have been inherited from previous stages of the language and form verbal pairs. This situation became even more perplexed due to diglossia between Katharevousa, which reintroduced phonological and morphological forms of Classical Greek, and Demotic, which reflected spoken language.

The most comprehensive treatment of verbal pairs in Modern Greek is by Triantafyllides (2002 [1941]). Triantafyllides (2002 [1941]: 348–352) makes the following classification of verbs:

- (a) pairs of verbs that are derived by different suffixes from the same base and have the same (or almost the same) meaning, e.g., *ανακατώνω*

³ Following our previous analysis, we did not include the formative *-ύν(ω)* as a separate verbalizer (cf., the discussion in Efthymiou et al. 2012a). This formative derives verbs from learned adjectives in *-υς*, e.g., *οξύς* [oksís] ‘acute, sharp’ → *οξύνω* [oksíno] ‘sharpen’, and adjectives in *-ος*, e.g., *λαμπρός* [labrós] ‘bright’ → *λαμπρύνω* [labríno] ‘brighten’, and nouns in *-ος*, e.g., *μέγεθος* [mégethos] → *μεγεθύνω* [megethíno] (Ralli 2022).

⁴ There are different aspects of verbal doublets that have been examined in the literature. Among others, Hatzidakis (1905, 1928), Babiniotis (1972), Katsouda (2007), and Papanastasiou (2007, 2008) examine the remodeling of verbal stems that may result in parallel forms (pairs) in the system, while Iordanidou (2004) examines the parallel verbal forms in relation to their stylistic differences based on corpus examples.

⁵ We do not treat Classical and Medieval Greek periods as homogeneous systems (with no dialectal differentiation), but, in this paper, we will not further discuss the methodological problems arising from the examination of these periods.

- [anakatóno] vs *ανακατεύω* [anakatévo] (‘parallel verbs’ in Triantafyllides’s terms),
- (b) pairs of verbs that are derived by different suffixes from the same base and have different meanings, e.g., *κονταίνω* [kodéno] ‘shorten’ vs *κοντεύω* [kodévo] ‘(to) approach’ (from *κοντά* [kodá] ‘nearby’ or *κοντός* [kodós] ‘short’),
 - (c) pairs of verbs that are derived by different suffixes from the same base and have different argument structure (diathesis), e.g., *πικραίνω* [pikréno] ‘embitter’ vs *πικρίζω* [pikrízo] ‘have bitter taste’,⁶
 - (d) double-formed verbs (“diplosimatista”), that is, pairs of verbs that have the same meaning and have the same base, but differ in their formal make-up, e.g., *ακονίζω* [akonízo] vs *ακονώ* [akonó] ‘sharpen’,⁷
 - (e) pairs of verbs that do not have the same meaning and coincide phonologically in some cells of their paradigms, but differ in the present tense form, e.g., *μπήγω* [bígo] ‘stick in’ vs *μπήζω* [bízo] (τις φωνές) ‘shout’.

We should mention that there are some double-formed verbs with phonological variants, e.g., *σκίζω* [skízo] vs *σχίζω* [sçízo] (Triantafyllides 2002 [1941]: 348). In this classification, we should also include pairs of verbs that appear in different constructions, such as pairs of verbs in which one member of the pair appears autonomously, while the other member of the pair appears only in derived formations or compounds, e.g., *σκαλίζω* [skalízo] ‘dig’ vs *ανασκαλεύω* [anaskalévo] ‘root around’ (Triantafyllides 2002 [1941]: 349).⁸

Setatos (1969) in his comprehensive treatment of what he calls “ετυμολογικά σημασιολογικά ζεύγη” (etymological semantic pairs) examines different types of doublets in Modern Greek that result from the parallel use of two different varieties, i.e., Katharevousa and Demotic. Regarding verbal doublets, he adopts the classification into double-formed and parallel verbs as proposed by Triantafyllides (2002 [1941]).

⁶ Very often the forms in *-ίζω* have a causative meaning (Triantafyllides 2002 [1941]: 350).

⁷ In double-formed verbs, we usually find verbs that differ in their structural make-up, such as pairs in which one member of the pair appears without a derivational suffix (bare stem) while the other appears with a verbalizer (cf., Koutsoukos 2021).

⁸ Setatos (1969) does not analyze such cases as doublets.

3. DATA COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE VERBALIZERS IN VERBAL PAIRS

At the first stage of our research (cf., Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021), we collected data from different sources following a bottom-up approach.⁹ First, we collected some raw data from the *Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek* and the *Reverse Index of Modern Greek* –without any filter. We searched for verbal formations that share the same nominal base but differ in the verbalizers. This dataset was supplemented by some data mentioned in the relevant bibliography (Hatzidakis 1905, 1928; Iordanidou 2004; Triantafyllides 2002 [1941]; Katsouda 2007; Papanastasiou 2008). At that phase, we collected 167 verbal formations that share a common base and follow the same structural pattern (with or without semantic relevance). The raw data was checked carefully to filter out verbal pairs that are found only in dialects and verbal pairs in which one member of the pair has limited productivity (1 or 2 occurrences on Google). We also excluded cases in which two forms originally have the same etymology but synchronically one member of the pair is not considered derived, *μυρίζω* [mirízo] ‘smell’ (not a derivative) and *μυρώνω* [miróno] ‘rub with ointment’ (derivative).¹⁰

Our data was annotated for: (a) the verbalizer that appears in the pairs, (b) the lexical category of the base, (c) the structural pattern of the formations (suffixation or parasynthesis),¹¹ and (d) the semantic overlap between the members of the pairs. A quantitative analysis of the verbalizers gives some interesting results about the distribution of the verbalizers in suffixal doublets. First, we focused on the distribution of the suffixal doublets with nominal bases. We found 27 different combinations of competing verbalizing patterns which give 101 doublets. In Table (1), we present the number of occurrences of each pair in our dataset.

⁹ The website *Slang.gr* is an invaluable source of such pairs.

¹⁰ Similarly, Setatos (1969: 80) argues that some formations should not be considered pairs because speakers do not see the etymological connection between the two formations.

¹¹ Parasynthesis can be defined as the simultaneous addition of a prefix and a suffix to a base (Efthymiou 2015, 2018, 2022). Parasynthesis is a controversial process, and the analysis of the relevant data depends on the theoretical model one adopts regarding the formation of new words. In Modern Greek, there is a long discussion on whether parasynthetic formations are the result of simultaneous addition of a prefix and a suffix to a certain base, or the result of multiple hierarchically structured processes (cf., Ralli 2004; Efthymiou 2014, 2015, 2018, 2022).

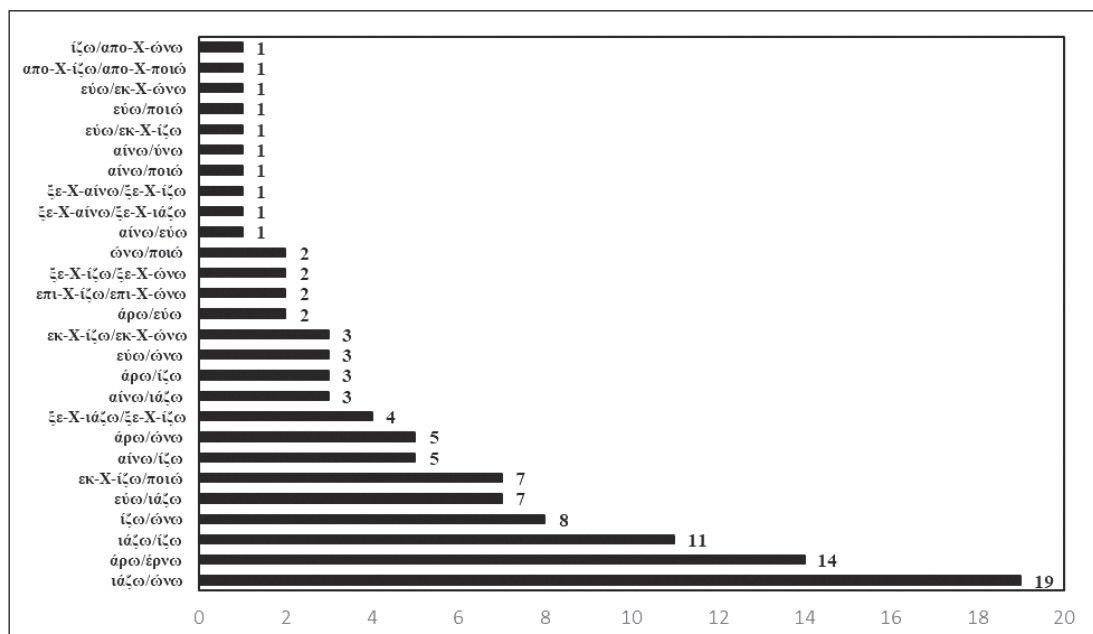


Table 1. Patterns of combinations of verbalizers with nominal bases

By examining the data, we notice that the most frequent suffixal pair is **-ιάζ(ω)/-ών(ω)** (19 occurrences), e.g., *χουφτιάζω* [xuftʃázɔ] vs *χουφτώνω* [xuftónɔ] ‘grobe’, *τσεκουρώνω* [tsekurónɔ] vs *τσεκουριάζω* [tsekurjázɔ] ‘axe; hatchet’. Quite frequent are also the pair **-άρ(ω)/-έρν(ω)**¹² (14 occurrences), e.g., *γουστάρω* [ɣustáro] vs *γουστερνώ* [ɣustérno] ‘like, be into’, *παρκάρω* [parkáro] vs *παρκέρνω* [parkérno] ‘(to) park’, the pair **-ιάζ(ω)/-ίζ(ω)** (11 occurrences), e.g., *κιτρινίζω* [citrinízo] vs *κιτρινιάζω* [citriɲázɔ] ‘yellow’, *χαμπαρίζω* [xabarízo] vs *χαμπαριάζω* [xabarjázɔ] ‘cop on’, and the pair **-ίζ(ω)/-ών(ω)** (8 occurrences), e.g., *αλατοπιπερίζω* [alatopiperízo] vs *αλατοπιπερώνω* [alatopiperónɔ] ‘to put salt and pepper (in food)’. As shown from the data above, the verbalizer **-ιάζ(ω)** frequently co-occurs with the verbalizers **-ών(ω)** and **-ίζ(ω)**, which are highly productive (cf., Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b).

The suffix **-άρ(ω)** has been well described in the literature due to its strict combinatorial properties. This suffix is a borrowed element from Venetian that is almost exclusively combined with foreign bases to create verbs in Modern Greek, e.g., *σουτ* [sut] ‘shoot’ → *σουτάρω* [sutáro] ‘(to) shoot’ (Ralli 2022). In our dataset, the suffix **-άρ(ω)** forms doublets with native suffixes, such as (a) the suffix **-ίζ(ω)**

¹² In our dataset, the suffix **-έρν(ω)** occurs only in pairs with the suffix **-άρ(ω)** (cf., Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021). This fact shows that it is still an open question whether **-έρν(ω)** is a free variant form of the suffix **-άρ(ω)** or a separate suffix in Standard Modern Greek. However, in some dialects (for example the dialect of Lesvos) the suffix **-έρν(ω)** is an autonomous formative.

(3 occurrences), e.g., *γκουγκλάρω* [gugláro] vs *γκουγκλίζω* [guglízo] ‘(to) Google’, (b) the suffix *-ών(ω)* (5 occurrences), e.g., *τσιμεντάρω* [tsimedáro] vs *τσιμεντώνω* [tsimedóno] ‘(to) cement’ and (c) the suffix *-εύ(ω)* (2 occurrences), e.g., *χακάρω* [xakáro] vs *χακεύω* [xakévo] ‘(to) hack’.

Another interesting point is that some verbalizers compete with formations that are formed by parasynthesis. In our data, parasynthetic formations may compete with suffixed formations giving some pairs. For example, the most frequent pair of this type comprises formations that follow the pattern [εκ-Χ-ίζω] which compete with formations with *-ποι(ώ)*¹³ (7 occurrences), e.g., *εξελλην-ίζω* [ekselinízo] vs *ελληνο-ποι(ώ)* [elinopió] ‘to turn into Greek’ (common base *Έλληνας* ‘Greek’). Most examples of this type comprise ethnic nouns as bases. Other less frequent cases comprise competition between the pattern [εκ-Χ-ίζω] and the suffix *-εύ(ω)* (1 occurrence), e.g., *ανθρωπεύ(ω)* [anθropévo] vs *εξανθρωπίζω* [eksanθropízo] ‘humanize’, competition between the pattern [εκ-Χ-ώνω] and the suffix *-εύ(ω)* (1 occurrence), e.g., *αγριεύ(ω)* [agriévo] vs *εξαγριώνω* [eksaygrióno] ‘enrage’, competition between the pattern [απο-Χ-ώνω] and the suffix *-ίζω* (1 occurrence), e.g., *ξενίζω* [ksenízo] ‘to be strange or unusual’ vs *αποξενώνω* [apoksenóno] ‘alienate’. We should also mention that two different patterns of parasynthesis may also compete for the same formation. For example, the pattern [ξε-Χ-αίνω] competes with the pattern [ξε-Χ-ιάζω] (1 occurrence), e.g., *ξεκουτιαίνω* [ksekutcéno] vs *ξεκουτιάζω* [ksekutczázo] ‘be dazed’.

Some verbal pairs are based on lexical items that do not belong to the category of the stem, i.e., they cannot stand autonomously even with the addition of the necessary inflection. For example, in the verbal pair *ξε-προβοδ-ώνω* [kseprovoðóno] and *ξε-προβοδ-ίζω* [kseprovoðízo] ‘see off’, the base *προβοδ-* does not have the status of *bona fide* stem (cf., Corbin 1987; Voga & Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 2018; Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 2020). For this type of formation, we introduce the label ‘categorially unspecified base’. In Table 2, we present the occurrences of each pair in formations with categorially unspecified bases.

¹³ The morphological status of the formative *-ποι(ώ)* is a hybrid mix of affix-like and stem-like properties. According to Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1986), *-ποι(ώ)* is a bound formative with affix-like properties. Ralli (2013) focuses on the formal properties (presence of preceding compound marker, argument structure of the verb) of the formations in which this formative participates and considers it stem. The same formative is frequently classified as suffixoid *-ποι(ώ)* (Giannouloupoulou 2000; Ralli 2013; Efthymiou 2015, 2018; Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b). In this paper, we group *-ποι(ώ)* along with verbalizing suffixes based on the following facts: (a) it competes with *bona fide* suffixes in suffixal doublets, (b) its semantic profile and productivity is comparable with *-εύ(ω)* and *-άρ(ω)* (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986; Efthymiou et al. 2012b), and (c) it is semantically opaque in several formations and not directly linked to its ancestor, that is, the Classical Greek verb *ποιέω/ποιῶ* ‘make, produce’ (Efthymiou et al. 2012b).

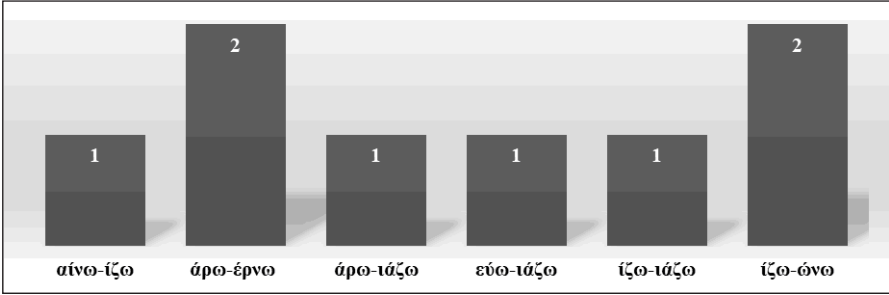


Table 2. Pairs of verbalizers with categorially unspecified bases

These verbs were included in the analysis as they raise questions about the direction of derivation of these formations. More specifically, in classic item-and-arrangement or item-and-process models, suffixes attach to *bona fide* stems which are specified as to the lexical category and derivation is information-increasing, that is, it works incrementally. However, since the base cannot stand autonomously (even with the necessary addition of the inflection), it is an open question whether derivation takes place with the attachment of the suffixes to the base. We assume that it would rather take place with replacement of the suffixes. We call this type of formation *secondary competition* (cf., Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021).

In our dataset, we also noticed some triplets of verbalizers, that is, groups of formations in which three formations are in competition, such as the verbs νοστιμίζ(ω) [nostimízo] vs νοστιμεύ(ω) [nostiméno] vs νοστιμαίν(ω) [nostiméno] ‘make tastier’. Triplets appear only with nominal bases. In Table 3, we present the occurrences of the triplets in our dataset.

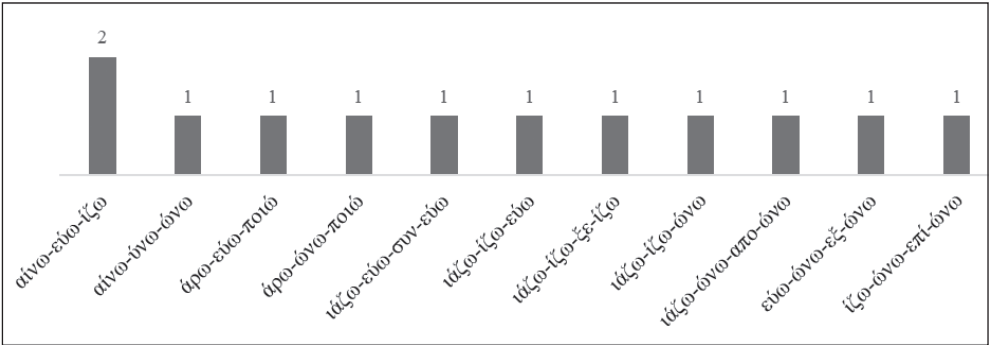


Table 3. Triplets of verbalizers with nominal bases

Triplets are not very frequent in our data, but they also give some interesting hints about the distribution of the verbalizers. For example, we notice the co-occurrence of some verbalizers, such *-ίζ(ω)* and *-εύ(ω)*, which is not attested in doublets (cf., Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021).

In Table 4, we present the occurrences of each verbalizer in the doublets and triplets of our dataset.

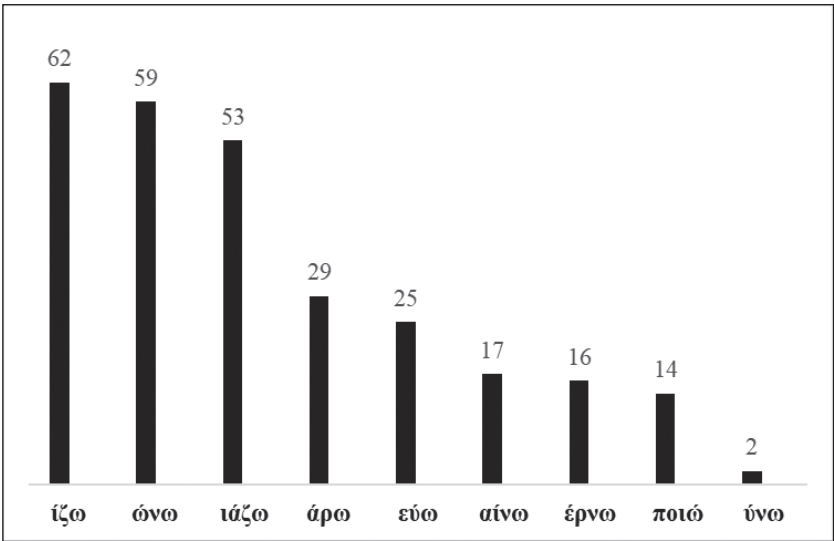


Table 4. Occurrences of the verbalizers

In this table, we notice that the verbalizer *-ίζ(ω)* shows 62 occurrences, the verbalizer *-ών(ω)* shows 59 occurrences and the verbalizer *-ιάζ(ω)* shows 53 occurrences. These facts corroborate the analysis of the productivity of the verbalizers by Efthymiou et al. (2012a,b) and show that the frequency of the verbalizers in doublets is correlated with their productivity. The verbalizer *-ιάζ(ω)* shows high frequency in doublets and triplets although it is not generally considered productive (cf., Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b; Efthymiou 2013b; Ralli 2022).

Let us now turn to the semantic properties of the pairs. According to the relevant bibliography (cf., among others Marchand 1969; Szymanek 2005), pairs of competing formations should be semantically differentiated. Otherwise, they create synchronic variation which may be resolved at later stages. Thus, in our pairs we check the semantic overlap between the formations. In table 5, we present the results of this analysis.

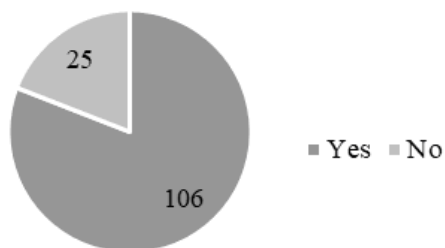


Table 5. Semantic overlap between the pairs/triplets

In this chart, verbs are classified into two groups: in the “Yes” group, we include pairs (or triplets) which show overlap in at least one of their meanings, such as *ζαχαρών(ω)* [zaxaróno] vs *ζαχαριάζ(ω)* [zaxarjázɔ] ‘(for sugar) crystallize’, while, in the “No” group, we include pairs (or triplets) which have completely different meanings, such as *πικριζ(ω)* [pikrízo] ‘taste bitter’ vs *πικραίν(ω)* [pikréno] ‘embitter sb’.¹⁴ For verbs which show some kind of semantic overlap we checked which semantic patterns are the most frequent.

Verbs which show some kind of semantic overlap are considered to be in competition. However, in the next section, we put our data under close scrutiny in order to check their actual use.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE COMPETITION BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE PAIR

Although pairs are usually considered competing formations, an in-depth analysis usually shows that the members of the pairs have complementary distribution (cf., Plag 1999). Synonymous (or nearly synonymous) doublets usually differ in their pragmatic use and/or grammatical features (cf., among others, Setatos 1969; Plag 1999; Fradin 2019). Thus, in this paper, we argue that an important aspect of the competition between the members of the verbal pairs is their frequency. Thus, we selected 10 pairs of synonymous or near synonymous doublets and examined the frequency of these pairs in the corpora and the use of each member of the doublet in certain collocations. We used the Greek Web 2019 (eITenTen19, Kilgariff et al. 2014) corpus which contains 2,3+ billion tokens. For each member of the pair, we noted the number of occurrences in the corpus by checking all the possible morphological (allomorphic) and phonological variations of the stem¹⁵ and possible typographic mistakes.¹⁶ For example, for

¹⁴ In some dialects (such as the dialect of Lesbos), these two forms may have the same meaning.

¹⁵ It should be mentioned that in Modern Greek, verbs of Inflectional Class 2 display systematic allomorphic variation, while verbs of Inflectional Class 1 display phonological allomorphs according to the last segment of the stem (cf., Ralli 2022).

¹⁶ For example, the stem *ασχημαιν-* has an allomorphic variant *ασχημυν-* which also appears as *ασχημιν-* in the corpus.

the verb stem *ασχημαίν-* we checked the verb form with and without the stress mark (i.e., *ασχημαίν-** and *ασχημαίν-*) and the allomorphic variant that is used in [-perfective] context (i.e., *ασχημύν-* and *ασχυμην-*). The dataset was filtered to exclude items that are not relevant to our analysis. For example, for the verb stem *κιτρινί**,¹⁷ we had to filter the results to find only the occurrences that are relevant to our analysis since the same string of characters can also be found in other words forms (such as the derived form *κιτρινίλα* ‘yellowness’). In Table 6, we present the results of this search.

Pairs	Member 1-Occurrences	Member 2-Occurrences
ασχημαίνω [asximéno] – ασχημίζω [asximízo] ¹⁶ ‘become/make ugly’	ασχημαίνω: 309 occurrences	ασχημίζω: 125 occurrences
αφελληνίζω [afelinízo] – αποελληνοποιώ [apoelinopió] ‘remove the Greek character of’	αφελληνίζω: 524 occurrences	αποελληνοποιώ: 4 occurrences
ισιώνω [isçóno] – ισιάζω [isçázo] ‘(to) level; straighten’	ισιώνω: 4238 occurrences	ισιάζω: 63 occurrences
κιτρινίζω [kitrinízo] – κιτρινιάζω [kitrijázo] ‘(to) yellow’	κιτρινίζω: 5359 occurrences	κιτρινιάζω: 43 occurrences
κορνιζάρω [kornizáro] – κορνιζώνω [kornizóno] ‘(to) frame’	κορνιζάρω: 694 occurrences	κορνιζώνω: 90 occurrences
λασπώνω [laspróno] – λασπιάζω [lasprázo] ‘cover with mud’	λασπώνω: 4869 occurrences	λασπιάζω: 7 occurrences
ρυτιδώνω [ritiðóno] – ρυτιδιάζω [ritiðjázo] ‘get wrinkled’	ρυτιδώνω: 788 occurrences	ρυτιδιάζω: 405 occurrences
ταγκίζω [tajízo] – ταγκιάζω [tajázo] ‘become rancid’	ταγκίζω: 89 occurrences	ταγκιάζω: 26 occurrences
τσιμεντάρω [tsimedáro] – τσιμεντώνω [tsimedóno] ‘(to) cement’	τσιμεντάρω: 238 occurrences	τσιμεντώνω: 565 occurrences
χουφτώνω [xuftóno] – χουφτιάζω [xuftsázo] ‘(to) touch; grope’	χουφτώνω: 1915	χουφτιάζω: 42

Table 6. Differences in frequencies between the members of doublets

¹⁷ This form includes both the verbal allomorph that occurs in both [+perfective] and [-perfective] contexts, i.e., *κιτρινισ-* and *κιτρινιζ-* respectively.

¹⁸ We should also mention that the antonym verb, i.e., *ομορφαίνω* ‘beautify’, does not display a competitive form in *-ιζ(ω)*, i.e., **ομορφιζώ*.

The results in Table 6 show that the members of some doublets do not show great differences in their frequencies, as in *ταγκίζω* [taŋízo] vs *ταγκιάζω* [taŋjázo] ‘become rancid’. However, we also notice that in some doublets the two members of the pair show significant differences in their occurrences as in *κιτρινίζω* [kitrinízo] vs *κιτρινιάζω* [kitrijázo] ‘(to) yellow’ and *λασπώνω* [laspóno] vs *λασπιάζω* [laspçázo] ‘cover with mud’. These differences show that although the two members are considered synonymous, their actual use in the corpora does not corroborate this claim. These results can also be linked to the analysis of the productivity of the verbalizers (cf., Efthymiou 2018; Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b). For example, the verbalizer *-ιάζ(ω)* which is not very productive in Modern Greek, it is also less frequent in the verbal pairs, while the verbalizer *-ίζ(ω)* which is very productive, it is also very frequent in verbal pairs.¹⁹

Along with the frequency of the members of the pairs, we also checked their semantic properties and their collocations.²⁰ In some doublets, one member of the pair is semantically specialized. For example, in the doublet *λασπών(ω)* [laspóno] vs *λασπιάζ(ω)* [laspçázo], the verb *λασπιάζ(ω)* is mostly used for overcooked pasta, while the verb *λασπών(ω)* in most cases keeps its prototypical meaning or has a metaphorical meaning (i.e., *besmirch*). Similarly, in the doublet *ρυτιδών(ω)* [ritidóno] vs *ρυτιδιάζ(ω)* [ritiðjázo], the verb *ρυτιδών(ω)* is mostly used for humans or body parts, while the verb *ρυτιδιάζ(ω)* is used for both animate and non-animate nouns (e.g., surfaces).

This semantic specialization is also reflected in their complementation. For example, in the doublet *χουφτών(ω)* [xuftóno] vs *χουφτιάζ(ω)* [xuftçázo], the verb *χουφτών(ω)* has a vulgar meaning and takes certain nouns (body parts) as complements. On the contrary, the verb *χουφτιάζ(ω)* keeps a more neutral (and literary) meaning and takes several complements. In the doublet *κιτρινίζ(ω)* [kitrinízo] vs *κιτρινιάζ(ω)* [kitrijázo], the verb *κιτρινίζω* may have a metaphorical meaning (e.g., in football games when the referee shows yellow card), while the verb *κιτρινιάζω* takes as a complement nouns denoting surfaces (e.g., skin, paper etc.).

Besides the quantitative differences between the members of the pair, some verbs may also show differences in their inflectional profile. For example, the verb *ασχημαίν(ω)* [asximéno] has a defective inflectional paradigm as it does not form passive perfect participles (PPP).²¹ On the contrary, the verb *ασχημιζ(ω)* [asximízo] forms numerous participles –as evidenced by the corpora. In the pair *κιτρινίζ(ω)* [kitrinízo] vs *κιτρινιάζ(ω)* [kitrijázo], the verb *κιτρινιάζ(ω)* mostly

¹⁹ However, the verbalizer *-αίν(ω)*, which is not very productive, appears in formations with high frequency, a fact which corroborates previous findings (see, among others, Efthymiou et al. 2012a,b).

²⁰ In previous research, we have checked the stylistic differences between the members of the pairs (cf., Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021 on *-άρ(ω)* vs *-έρν(ω)*).

²¹ The same holds for most of the verbs with the verbalizer *-αίν(ω)*.

occurs in the participial form (33 out of 43 occurrences).²² Another interesting case is the pair *ισιών(ω)* [isçóno] – *ισιάζ(ω)* [isçázo]. The verb *ισιάζ(ω)* appears mostly in the present tense and with *να* and *θα* in the perfective stem (e.g., *να/θα ισιάζουν*), while the verb *ισιών(ω)* appears in several forms. In the pair *κορνιζών(ω)* [kornizóno] vs *κορνιζάρ(ω)* [kornizáro], we notice that although the verb *κορνιζών(ω)* is less frequent in the corpus, it is more frequent in some cells of the paradigm of the aorist: 1st person singular *κορνίζωσα* (5 occurrences) vs *κορνίζαρα* (1 occurrence), 3rd person singular *κορνίζωσε* (8 occurrences) vs *κορνίζαρε* (1 occurrence). This can be explained by the fact that verbs in *-άρ(ω)* do not display the prototypical formal distinction between the imperfective and the aorist (i.e. the addition of the suffix *-s*) which is very crucial for Modern Greek verbs (see, among others, Efthymiou 2013a, Veloudis 2009).²³

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we showed that the semantic interpretation of the verbal doublets forms a continuum; In doublets, some verbs do not display semantic overlap, while some others may overlap – but in different degrees. Verbs which show semantic overlap can hardly be considered absolute synonyms. A careful examination of the corpora shows that the two members of the pair usually differ in their usage. For example, one member of the verbal pair covers a wider semantic range and has less selectional restrictions, while the other displays semantic specialization (forming a semantic niche) and/or metaphorical meaning. Some verbs may also combine with certain complements to form collocations. The members of the verbal pairs also differ in their inflectional characteristics. For example, some verbs have a defective inflectional paradigm which may be complemented by the other member of the pair.

In general, verbal doublets illuminate an interesting aspect of synchronic morphological variation. Although the members of verbal doublets are usually considered synonymous, a careful examination of the relevant data shows that they usually have specific domains in which they are (more) frequent (and/or productive). Verbs in doublets usually compete only regarding certain contexts. These findings are in accordance with other analyses which show that competition between doublets is usually resolved as the two forms create their own distinctive profile (see, among others, Plag 1999; Fradin 2019; Nagano 2022).

²² Although the form *κιτρινισμένος* is also frequent.

²³ The form *τράκαρα* is ambiguous as it can be parsed as both 1SG imperfective or 1SG aorist. As one of the reviewers rightly points out, some verbs display alternative forms in the aorist such as *τράκαρε* and *τρακάρισα* (1SG) (cf., Efthymiou 2013a).

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**ΚΛΙΤΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΕΣ ΙΔΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΖΕΥΓΩΝ ΣΤΗ ΝΕΑ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ**

Περίληψη

Στο παρόν άρθρο, εξετάζουμε τα ρηματικά ζεύγη της Νέας Ελληνικής. Ως ρηματικά ζεύγη ορίζουμε ομάδες δύο ή τριών ρηματικών σχηματισμών που έχουν την ίδια δόμηση αλλά διαφέρουν ως προς τα παραγωγικά στοιχεία που τα σχηματίζουν. Τα ρηματικά ζεύγη είναι ένα πολύ συχνό φαινόμενο τόσο στη Νέα Ελληνική όσο και διαγλωσσικά αλλά δεν έχουν μελετηθεί αρκετά. Προεκτείνοντας προηγούμενη έρευνά μας, ο στόχος του παρόντος άρθρου είναι να εξετάσουμε τις σημασιολογικές και κλιτικές ιδιότητες ζευγών που μπορούν να θεωρηθούν συνώνυμα. Συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζουμε την κατανομή κάποιων ζευγών μέσα σε σώματα κειμένων και αναλύουμε τα συμπληρώματα τους και τις συμφράσεις μέσα στις οποίες εμφανίζονται καθώς και τις κλιτικές τους ιδιότητες (κενά στην κλίση και εμφάνιση κλιτικών τύπων). Υποστηρίζουμε ότι δεν υπάρχουν απόλυτα συνώνυμα ρηματικά ζεύγη καθώς μία προσεκτικότερη ανάλυσή τους δείχνει ότι μπορεί να διαφέρουν σε κάποιες σημασιολογικές χρήσεις ή να έχουν διαφορετικό κλιτικό προφίλ. Η παρούσα έρευνα στοχεύει στο να συμβάλει στη συζήτηση για τον ορισμό της συνωνυμίας στα ρηματικά ζεύγη και να φωτίσει μία ακόμα πλευρά αυτού του φαινομένου.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: ρηματικά ζεύγη, σημασιολογικές ιδιότητες, κλιτικές ιδιότητες, Νέα Ελληνικά, παραγωγή