

Verbal pairs in Medieval and Modern Greek

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In both Medieval and Modern Greek, we find pairs of formations which are derived from the same base but have different verbalizers (cf., among others, Koutsoukos & Efthymiou 2021, and Katsouda 2007, and Papanastasiou 2007). Some verbal pairs overlap in meaning and are in competition (differing only in some pragmatic or inflectional features) (cf. 1), while some others have completely different meanings (cf. 2) (Efthymiou and Koutsoukos in press a and b).

(1) Verbal pairs with overlapping meaning

σκουλήκι _N [skulíci] ‘worm’	σκουληκ-ιάζ(ω) _V [skulicázo] ‘(to) get full of worms’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	Med.Greek
	σκουληκ-ών(ω) _V [skulikóno] ‘(to) get full of worms’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	
τσιμέντο _N [tsimédo] ‘cement’	τσιμεντ-άρ(ω) _V [tsimedáro] ‘(to) cement’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	Mod.Greek
	τσιμεντ-ών(ω) _V [tsimedóno] ‘(to) cement’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	

(2) Verbal pairs with no (or partial) semantic overlapping

κέρατο _N [cérato] ‘1. horn, 2. cheating’	κερατ-ίζ(ω) _V [ceratízo] ‘(to) butt with horns’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	Med.Greek
	κερατ-ών(ω) _V [ceratóno] ‘(to) cheat’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	
ψάρι _N [psári] ‘1. fish, 2. rookie’	ψαρ-εύ(ω) _V [psarévo] ‘(to) fish’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	Mod.Greek
	ψαρ-ών(ω) _V [psaróno] ‘(to) confuse’ STEM-VERBALIZER.INFLECTION	

Doublets are attested cross-linguistically, e.g. *accuracy/accurateness* (English) (cf., among others, Szymanek 2005) and most studies focus on the semantic specification/polysemy of the derivational outputs (cf. Marchand 1969, and Gardani *et al.* 2019, and Fradin 2019). Verbal doublets have attracted very little attention in the relevant bibliography (cf. Plag 1999, and Bauer *et al.* 2013). The emergence of verbal doublets can be related to the changes in the productivity of the verbalizers and their polyfunctionality (Efthymiou and Koutsoukos in press b). In this paper, we examine whether and how the polysemy of the nominal base triggers the coining of verbal pairs with no (or partial) semantic overlap (cf. 2). (Mikrouli in progress, and Varvara & Zamparelli 2019). Based on the analysis of Mod.Greek verbal doublets (Koutsoukos and Efthymiou 2021) we extend our analysis with 361 doublets/triplets from Med.Greek (from the same or different varieties). The analysis shows that in

Mod.Greek, the verbalizer -ono instantiates metaphorical meanings, while -izo (the most productive verbalizer) non-metaphorical meanings. The same tendency is also checked in Med.Greek.

Keywords: verbal doublets, verbalizers, polysemy, semantic overlap, Medieval Greek

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