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THE PREVERB ΞΕ- IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK AND IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at reviewing the formation of the Modern Greek preverb ξε-, in the various forms it appears in Standard Modern Greek and in Greek dialects (ξε-, ζ-, ζη-, ζι-, ζα-, etc.), exploring thus how it detached itself from the Ancient Greek ἐκ-, which was not the case with other Modern Greek preverbs (e.g. απο- < AGk ἄπο-, ανα- < AGk ἀνα-, etc.). This process is examined in combination with the meanings of the preverb in Modern Greek and its dialects.

1. Introduction

The Modern Greek preverb ξε- was the object of study for many linguists, both older and contemporary ones, obviously because of its especially interesting formation, as it is an element with Ancient Greek etymology but with a different form and different functions compared to its ancient ancestor.

2. Productivity

The preverb ξε- is always a bound morpheme,¹ added to substantives, e.g. ξεψαχνίζω, ξεζουμίζω, ξεκοκαλίζω, to adjectives, e.g. ξεχερσώνω, and to verbs, e.g. ξεκολλώ, ξεκουμπώνω, ξεβιδώνω. Its denominative character is indicated by cases like ξεφωνίζω, where there is no *φωνίζω. According to Tzitzilis (forth.), verbs like ξεστραβώνω, ξεθολώνω, that could be considered either denominatives or deverbatives, must come from verbs and not from adjectives.

Symeonidou-Christidou (1982) distinguishes the verbs with ξε- according to whether (1) their base is autonomous, with two groups (a) privatives (e.g. ξεγυρνάω – γυρνάω) and (b) intensives (e.g. ξεγελάω – γελάω), (2) their base is not autonomous (e.g. ξεζουμίζω), or (3) they coexist with verbs of the learned tradition containing the preverb εκ- (e.g. ξεκινάω – εκκινάω).

3. Forms and formation

The formation of ξε- is described by Chatzidakis (1905, 31): “The [...] extension of the augment (ε) to the present tense can be seen in other verbs too, i.e. those starting with ξε, such as ξεκάνω, ξεχωρίζω, etc., which are wrongly believed to have preserved ἐξ in its inverse form [...]. There is no doubt that the evolution was as follows: the old forms were ἐκφεύγω ἐξέφευγον ἐξέφυγον, ἐξετύλισσον ἐκτύλισσον, ἐξεκίνουν ἐκκινῶ, etc. [...]. After the use of ἐκ became restricted and its ἐξ form fell into misuse, there was no longer any sufficient similarity between ἐκκινῶ and ἐξεκίνουν and the like [...], and the initial ε of the form ἐξεκίνουν was perceived as the augment, which could be removed in order to form the present stem; just like in simple verbs, ἐφίλουον φίλω, the same applied to ἐξεκίνουν ξεκινώ (my translation).” Therefore, a necessary condition for the creation of the form ξε- was that the Ancient Greek preverb had the form ἐξ- before a vowel, i.e. before the vowel of the verbal augment, and that this form was clearly differentiated from ἐκ-, which appeared before consonants, while the creation of

1. See *inter alia* Ralli (2003, 119): “[...] kse- appears only in clusters/composites and never as an independent word”.

the Modern Greek preverb was also influenced by the fact that the initial vowel of the form $\acute{\epsilon}\xi-$, which appeared before the (internal) augment $\epsilon-$, was taken to be an augment.

The phonetic conditions that resulted in the autonomy of the preverb $\xi\epsilon-$ are examined by Tzitzilis (forth.), who accepts that words with the AGk preverb $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa-/ \acute{\epsilon}\xi-$ are represented in Modern Greek in three ways: (a) There are those beginning with a vowel in which the allomorph $\acute{\epsilon}\xi-$ appears for phonetic reasons, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, where the preverb is preserved without phonetic (except sometimes the elimination of the initial vowel) differentiations; (b) there are verbs beginning with a consonant, where the preverb appears either with the form $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa-$ or with usual phonetic differentiations, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega > \beta\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$; in some of the verbs of these two categories no semantic change has occurred; and any semantic changes are not related to the presence of the preverb; (c) finally, there is a third category of verbs with $\xi\epsilon-$, derived from AGk verbs beginning with a consonant, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\iota\nu\tilde{\omega} > \xi\epsilon\kappa\iota\nu\tilde{\omega}$.

The form $\xi\epsilon-$ is attested in Medieval Greek, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Prodrom.), $\xi\epsilon\gamma\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\nu\omega$ (Georgil.), $\xi\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Imp.), etc. Besides, Modern Greek (DSMG s.v. $\xi\epsilon-$) also uses the form $\xi-$ before a vowel, especially before [a], in words like $\xi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'unarmed' and $\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to remove the salt'. The creation of the form $\xi-$ goes back to Medieval Greek, when the old form $\acute{\epsilon}\xi-$ lost its initial [e] before a vowel, e.g. Med. Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma > \xi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$. But in many Modern Greek derivatives the already autonomous form $\xi-$, derived from $\xi\epsilon-$, added to words beginning with a vowel, e.g. $\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (where no form $*\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega / *\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\lambda\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ is attested), formed as $\xi\epsilon-\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega > *\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega > \xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$. Words with $\xi-$, however, are harder for speakers to analyse, as the preverb only consists of two consonants, [ks].

Modern Greek dialects present more complicated and, therefore, more interesting phenomena.

(1) The two forms, $\xi\epsilon-$ before consonant and $\xi-$ before vowel, appear in the majority of the Greek dialects. Just to give a few examples: with the form $\xi\epsilon-$, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\gamma\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to stop tending goats', $\xi\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ 'to finish picking up', $\xi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to show one's face, to put one's nose out', $\xi\epsilon\eta\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'to not have eaten at all', $\xi\epsilon\psi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to remove the fish from the net'. Also in archaisms (Andriotis 1974): form $\xi\epsilon-$, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Pontos), $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu-\nu\omega$ (Cyprus) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (cf. $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega < \epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$), $\xi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ (E Crete) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ (Tsakonia) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\xi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Chios) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda-\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Chalce), $\xi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\iota\lambda-\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Rhodes) < $*\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\gamma\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Epirus) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\iota$, $\xi\epsilon\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Peloponnese) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\omega$ (Thera) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (W Crete) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\upsilon$ (Skyros) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$, etc. In Calabria we find the form $\sigma\epsilon-$ (< $\xi\epsilon < \acute{\epsilon}\kappa-$), e.g. $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu-\nu\omega$ (Calabria) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, and in Tsakonia the form $\tau\sigma\iota-$, e.g. $\tau\sigma\iota\chi\upsilon\mu\alpha < \acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\chi\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi\upsilon\mu\alpha$). Words with the form $\xi-$, e.g. $\xi\alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Carpathos), $\xi\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Syme, Thera) < $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ (in many places) < $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, are also archaisms, but they are irrelevant for the purpose of examining the evolution of $\xi\epsilon-$. Occasionally the form $\xi\epsilon-$ extended to words beginning with a vowel, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\xi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\upsilon\omega$, etc. (Chatzidakis 1915, 10).

(2) In Cyprus, before consonants the preverb appears either as $\xi\epsilon-$ or as $\xi\eta-$, the latter being more frequent, e.g. $\xi\eta\beta\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ 'to disembark, to go ashore' and $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$, $\xi\eta\beta\omicron\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\eta\gamma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\nu\omega$, $\xi\eta\delta\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\chi\omega$, $\xi\eta\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\omega$ and $\xi\epsilon\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\omega$, $\xi\eta\eta\tau\eta\lambda\acute{\omega}$ 'to pump out, to drain', $\xi\eta\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\omega$, etc. The form $\xi\eta-$ is also found in archaisms, e.g. $\xi\eta\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu-\nu\omega < \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, $\xi\eta\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\omega} < \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\zeta\eta\tau\acute{\omega}$, $\xi\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\beta\kappa\omega < \acute{\epsilon}\zeta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\phi\omega$, etc. Many words with $\xi\eta-$ are also found in the Peloponnese, e.g. $\xi\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\eta\phi\omicron\rho\rho\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (privatives), much fewer in Megara, e.g. $\xi\eta\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\xi\epsilon\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$, and very few in the Ionian Islands, e.g. $\xi\eta\mu\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (Zakynthos). It is written with an < η > and it is not related to the homophone $\xi\iota-$ of the Greek Northern Dialects, which will be examined below. The form $\xi\eta-$ is already attested in Medieval Greek, e.g. $(\epsilon)\xi\eta\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Belth.), $\epsilon\xi\acute{\eta}\beta\eta\kappa\alpha$ (Imp.), $(\epsilon)\xi\acute{\eta}\beta\eta\gamma$ (Chron. Mor.), $\epsilon\xi\eta\beta\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Poulol.), $\epsilon\xi\eta\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Physiolog.), $\xi\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\mu\alpha$ (Mach.), $(\epsilon)\xi\eta\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Assiz.), $\epsilon\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\pi\iota\sigma\alpha$ (Pigas), $\xi\eta\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega$ (Assiz.), $\xi\eta\pi\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Assiz.), etc. $\Xi\eta-$ was formed in a similar way as $\xi\epsilon-$, i.e. in verbs which began with a vowel and whose internal augment had the form [i], e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega - \acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega - \acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega - \acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha$ etc., the interpretation of the initial $\acute{\epsilon}-$ as a syllabic augment resulted in the creation of forms like $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha > \xi\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, etc.

(3) In the Northern Dialects the expected form before a consonant is $\xi\iota-$ when the preverb is unstressed and $\xi\acute{\epsilon}-$ when it is stressed, e.g. $\xi\iota\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\upsilon$ (Pieria), $\xi\iota\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ (Kozani), $\xi\iota\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$ (Kozani), $\xi\iota\theta\prime\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (Pieria), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\nu\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Pieria), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Serres), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Serres), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa\iota\pi\alpha$ (adv., Kozani), etc. In archaisms, e.g. $\xi\iota\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (Imbros) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\tilde{\omega}$, $\xi\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (N Thrace) < $*\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$, $\xi\iota\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon$ (Imbros) < $*\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon$, etc.

An important peculiarity of the Northern Dialects² which begs for interpretation is the appearance of a new form ξ(α)-. There are many examples: ξαβασκαίνου (priv.) (Naoussa), ξάγναντου (intens.) (Veroia), ξαγουράζου (intens.) (Pieria), ξαγουρνά (intens.) (Pieria), ξαγραδίζου (intens.) (Rumelia), ξάγρους ‘unriperish’ (a little) (Serres), ξαδγάζου (intens.) (Pelion,³ Serres), ξαδραλίζου (priv.) (Naoussa, Pieria), ξάκλουστους (priv.) (Pieria), ξακόλλ’ τους (priv.) (Pieria), ξακουλνώ (priv.) (Naoussa, Pieria, Rumelia, Serres), ξακουνάζου (priv.) (Pieria), ξακούουμι (intens.) (Serres), ξακουσμένους (intens.) (Pieria), ξακουστός (intens.) (Pieria, Serres), ξακριδ’ (intens.) (Pieria), ξακριζου (intens.) (Germa, Kozani, Pelion, Serres), ξαλαφραίνου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαλαφρώνου (intens.) (Naoussa, Pieria), ξαλέθου (end) (Pelion), ξαλησιμοννά (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαλλάζου (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Serres), ξαλουνίζου (end) (Pelion), ξαμουλάου (intens.) (Pelion), ξαμπασκαλίζου (removal) (Serres), ξανάβου (intens.) (Serres), ξανάλλαγους (priv.) (Serres), ξανάλατους (priv.) (Pelion), ξανασαίνου (intens.) (Pelion, Serres), ξανασέρνου (intens.) (Kozani), ξανάχουμα (priv.) (Veroia, Kozani, Pieria), ξαναχώνου (priv.) (Kozani, Pieria), ξανδρουπχάζου (priv.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Pieria), ξανέβγαλτους (priv.) (Pieria), ξανένδρουπους (priv.) (Kozani, Pieria, Rumelia), ξανοίγου (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Pelion, Pieria, Serres), ξανόριχτους (priv.) (Pelion), ξανουστιζου (priv.) (Pelion), ξαντριζου (removal) (Serres), ξαντόνου (priv.) (Naoussa), ξαπιρνά (intens.) (Serres), ξαπλώνου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαπουλνώ (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Serres), ξαπουμένου (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria), ξαπουμνήσκου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαπουμνήσκου (intens.) (Serres), ξαπουστένου (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Pelion, Pieria, Serres), ξαπουστέλνου (intens.) (Serres), ξαπουχτώ (Kozani), ξαραδγάζου (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria, Serres), ξαραθμώ (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria), ξαραθμού (intens.) (Rumelia), ξαραθμώ (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαραχιάζου (removal) (Naoussa), ξαριθμώ (priv.) (Pieria), ξαρματώνου (priv.) (Pelion), ξαρμινάζου (priv.) (Pieria), ξαρμυραίνου (priv.) (Serres), ξαρμυρίζου (priv.) (Pelion, Serres), ξαρρουσταίνου (priv.) (Serres), ξαρρουστώ (priv.) (Serres), ξασλάρουτους (priv.) (Pieria), ξασπρίζου (intens.) (Pelion), ξασπρούλαβους (intens.) (Kozani), ξάσπρους (intens.) (Serres), ξάστιρου (intens.) (Veroia, Pelion), ξαστριγά (intens.) (Pieria, Serres), ξαστριώνου (intens.) (Pieria), ξαστουχώ (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria, Rumelia, Serres), ξάστρου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξάσφιχτους (priv.) (Pieria), ξατιμίζου (intens.) (Serres), ξαφανίζου (intens.) (Pieria), ξαφρίζου (intens.) (Germa, Kozani, Pelion). Beside these forms, in some cases there is the corresponding ξι- form, e.g. ξικουλνώ (Naoussa), ξιπιρνά (Serres), ξισλάρουτους (Pieria), ξιστριγά (Pieria, Serres), ξιστριώνου (Pieria), etc.

The following considerations come into play in order to interpret the form ξα-: The existence of [ʃ] and not [s] in the preverb should be attributed to the existence of a semivowel, which was lost after palatalising the previous consonant. This means that in these Northern Dialects the regular form ξι- before consonants was extended to words beginning with a vowel, i.e. before [a]. This process must be understood as follows: just like the Standard Modern Greek form ξε- is added today to partly opportunistic yet surely loose formations like ξεαγχώνομαι, with the full form ξε- and not with the form ξ- expected before [a], in many Northern Dialects the form ξι- was added to words beginning with a vowel, in which the vowel /i/ easily turned to semivowel and then palatalised the preceding [s], resulting in the form ξα-.

The extension of ξι- to words beginning with a vowel is found:

(a) in privative adjectives with the preverb α-, e.g. άκλουστος – *ξιάκλουστους > ξάκλουστους, ασλάρουτους ‘uncared-for, untidy’ – *ξιασλάρουστους > ξασλάρουστους but also ξισλάρουστους < ξι- + σλαρώ(νου) -τους, ακόλλ’ τους – *ξιακόλλ’ τους > ξακόλλ’ τους, etc. In these cases the privative preverb ξι- (< ξε-) was added in order to reinforce the privative meaning of the adjectives with the preverb α-.

(b) in other words, e.g. αγραδίζου – *ξιαγραδίζου > ξαγραδίζου, άγρους ‘unripe’ – *ξιάγρους > ξάγρους, αδγάζου – *ξιαδγάζου > ξαδγάζου, αδραλίζου – *ξιαδραλίζου > ξαδραλίζου, ακούουμι – *ξιακούουμι > ξακούουμι, αλαφρώνου – *ξιαλαφρώνου > ξαλαφρώνου, αλέθου – *ξιαλέθου > ξαλέθου, etc. In these cases the preverb ξι- (< ξε-) is usually privative or intensive.

In the case of privative adjectives, a new preverb ξα- was created as a result of the combination of the preverb ξι- with the privative α-. The prefixation of ξα- is related to the fact that it was contrasted with simple adjectives, forming pairs of the type κουλλ’ ττός – ξακόλλ’ τους etc., or with the corresponding verbs, forming pairs of the type κλώθου – ξάκλουστους, etc. When the privative prefix was α- before a vowel, the new preverb took the form ξαν-, e.g. ξανάλλαγους, ξανάλατους,

2. For the Northern dialects, the material comes from Eastern Rumelia (Albanoudis 2009), Veroia (Svarnopoulos 1973), Germa in the Prefecture of Kastoria (Georgiou 1962), Kozani (Dinas 2005), Naoussa (Apostolou 2007), Pelion (Liapis 1996), Pieria (Douga-Papadopoulou & Tzitzilis 2006) and Serres (Paschaloudis 2000).

3. In Pelion, according to Liapis (1996), most of the words are also attested with a non-palatalised [s].

ξανόριχτους. In the case of other words, particularly verbs, the combination of the preverb ξ- with the initial α-, which sometimes was prothetic, resulted in the prefixation of the form ξα-, insofar as the prothetic vowel is unstable, e.g. (α)βασκαίνου – ξαβασκαίνου, (α)κουλνώ – ξακουλνώ, (α)λησιμουνώ – ξαλησιμουνώ, etc. Thus, the reanalysis of ξα- as a preverb was affected by the fact that in many of the aforementioned words α- was either a morphological element or its presence was not obligatory. Before other initial vowels ξ- (< ξι-) was very rare, and the remaining conditions for it to acquire the character of a morphological element were missing. The [ʃ] of ξα- then extended to other words beginning with ξα-, e.g. ξάγναντου > ξάγναντου, ξαγουράζου > ξαγουράζου, ξακουσμένους > ξακουσμένους, ξακουστός > ξακουστός etc., this evolution being purely phonetic.⁴

(4) Finally, as regards the forms of the preverb, there are also words of AGk origin where the preverb ἐκ-/ἐξ- resulted in several phonetic effects in Standard Greek, especially in Greek dialects. For example, in verbs such as βγαίνω and βγάζω, the origin is: AGk ἐκβαίνω ‘to step out’ > *ἐγβαίνω > γβαίνω > βγαίνω. AGk ἐκβιβάζω ‘to make someone go, to go out’ > *εκβάζω (haplology [viva > va]) > *εγβάζω (assimilation [kv > gv > γv]) > *εβγάζω (metathesis [γv > vγ]) > βγάζω (elimination of the initial vowel). These words cannot be analysed, and this is also the case with many dialectal archaisms:

- εκ-, e.g. εκδημία (Chios) < ἐκδημία; εκπλύνω (Thera) < ἐκπλύνω; εκτέτε (Cappadocia) < ἐκτοτε;
- εξ-, before a vowel, e.g. εξαγκωνίζω (Cyprus) < ἐξαγκωνίζω; εξαμάσσω (Chios) < ἐξαμάσσω; εξαίρετε (Tsakonia) < ἐξαίρετος; εξαλείφω (Epirus etc.) < ἐξαλείφω;
- αφσ-, e.g. αφσαίφνη (Apulia) < ἐξαίφνης, with a characteristic phonetic treatment [ks] > [fs];
- εγ-, before a voiced consonant, e.g. εγβαίνω, εγβάλλω (Pontos) < ἐκβαίνω, ἐκβάλλω (and with metathesis εβγ-, e.g. ιβγατή [Macedonia, /i/ < /e/] < ἐκβατός, and with elimination of the initial vowel βγ-, e.g. βγάση [Thrace] < ἐκβασις, βγατό [Thrace, Lesbos, Chios] < ἐκβατός, cf. Standard Modern Greek βγαίνω, βγάζω < ἐκβαίνω, ἐκβάλλω; and αβγ-, e.g. αβγάλλω [Cyprus] < ἐκβάλλω, αβγατό [N Thrace] < ἐκβατός); εγδέχομαι (Cyprus, Chios) < ἐκδέχομαι. εγδίκηση (Tsakonia) < ἐκδίκησις; and before a voiceless consonant εχ-, e.g. έχτομος (Pontos) < ἐκτομος; εχτρέβω (Pontos) < ἐκτρέπω;
- (ε)γκ-, e.g. εγκλαβή (Rhodes) (and ακ-, e.g. ακκλαβή [Nisyros, Rhodes, Samothrace, Syme], avg-, e.g. avgλαβή [Chalce]) < ἐκλαβή; εγουάδδω, ’γουαίν-νω (Calabria) < ἐκβάλλω, ἐκβαίνω;
- (ι)g-, e.g. (ι)γουαίν-νω, ’γουάλλου (Apulia) < ἐκβαίνω, ἐκβάλλω;
- εϊ-, e.g. εϊβαίνω (Pontos) < ἐκβαίνω;
- ογ-, e.g. ογβαίνω (Pontos) < ἐκβαίνω; ογδούρι (Carpathos) < ἐκδόριος;
- (α)χ-, e.g. αχπάνω (Pontos), χπαίνω (Pontos) < ἐκσπῶ;
- γ-, e.g. γβάλλω < ἐκβάλλω (Pontos); γδορά (Skyros), γδουρά (Peloponnese) < ἐκδορά; γδούρι (Thera), γδοῦρ’ (Euboea) < ἐκδόριος; γδέχομαι (Crete, Chios) < ἐκδέχομαι (and αγ-, e.g. αγδέχομαι [Cyprus] < ἐκδέχομαι; άγλαμπρος [Calymnos, Rhodes, Telos] < ἐκλαμπρος); γλακῶ (Carpathos, Crete) < *ἐκλακῶ, γλουπίζω (Pontos) < ἐκλωπίζω; and before a voiceless consonant χ-, e.g. χταμπιούμαι (Kythnos), χταβιούμαι (Mykonos), χταμπιέμαι (Syros), χταβιέμαι (Kea), χταμπίζομαι (Siphnos), χταπίζομαι (Kea) < ἐκθαμβῶ; χτουπίζω (Pontos) < ἐκτοπίζω (and αχ-, e.g. άχτομος [Pontos] < ἐκτομος);

κ’-, representing a double consonant, resulting from ἐκκ-, e.g. κ’ρούνου (Tsakonia) < ἐκκρίνω.

These forms are not perceived as prefixes, not only because they are very rare in the dialects in which they appear, but also because in these dialects the corresponding form of the preposition is not attested as an independent morpheme, as shown by the comparison between the forms of the morpheme and of the preposition: the preposition has the forms εχ in Telos, ακ in Cyprus, αχ in Epirus, Cyprus, Macedonia and Pontos, α in Bithynia, Thera, Calymnos and Naxos, οκ in Carpathos, οχ in Zakynthos, Epirus, Cephalonia, Peloponnese (Andriotis 1974, s.v. ἐκ) and on the other hand forms like άτσε, αττσε, ασε in Calabria, αφς, αφς, εφς, αφσε, αφτσε, ατσε in Apulia, ας in Apulia, Cappadocia, Pontos and Chios (Andriotis 1974, s.v. ἐξ).

4. Expanded forms

In some cases the preverb ξε- or one of its forms (ξ(α)-, ξη- etc.) is added to an already prefixed verb:

(1a) with the privative prefix απο-, e.g. ξηποράφω, ξηποσσεπάζομαι, ξηποτυλιώ ‘to unwind, unwrap’ (Cyprus), reinforced by the privative ξε- (in Cyprus ξη-), resulting in the form ξαπο- (in Cyprus ξηπο-), with a privative meaning.

4. It should be stressed that the form ξα- found in many Northern dialects is not universal, e.g. it is not found in Lesbos.

(1b) with the intensive απο- (& > απου-), e.g. ξαπουμένου (Kozani, Pieria), ξαπουμινήσκου (Naoussa), ξαπουμνήσκου (Serres), ξαπουστέλνου (Serres), reinforced with the intensive ξε-, resulting in the form ξαπο- with an intensive meaning.

(2) with ανα-, e.g. ξανασέρνου (intens.) (Kozani), ξαναχώνου (priv.) (Kozani, Pieria).

5. Meanings

Regarding the identification of the meanings of the preverb, the review of the literature shows that there are many differences among scholars, though partly apparent ones. The ancient meanings of the preverb ἐκ- are largely preserved (Méndez Dosuna 1997), although it should be acknowledged that the boundaries between them have been blurred (Euthymiou 2002, 200).

Gardikas (1912, 170-73; cf. Chatzidakis 1915, 14) wrote about the meanings of the AGk ἐκ- and the Modern Gk ξε-, indicating six meanings: (a) ‘out’, e.g. ξεβλαστώνω, ξεστομίζω, (b) ‘removal or loss, or privative’, e.g. ξαφρίζω, ξαραχνιάζω, (c) ‘intensive’, e.g. ξεγδέρνω, (d) ‘the meaning denoted by the old ἐκ and ἀνά’, e.g. ξεδιπλώνω, ξεκουβαριάζω, (e) ‘forward or upward’, e.g. ξεφτυλλίζω, ξεμυτίζω, (f) ‘the meaning denoted by the old διά and δι- + ἐκ’, e.g. ξεχειμωνιάζω, ξεκαλοκαιριάζω.

Chatzidakis (1915, 10-11) identified eleven meanings of the preverb ξε-: (1) compounds, like ξεμανδρίζω = ‘to drive out of the fold’, ξεφαραγγώνω ‘to come out of the ravine’ etc., (2) compounds denoting the opposite of the above, like ξεκαμπίζω ‘to go out to the plain’, ξεπελαγιάζω, ξεραχνιάζω [...] etc., (3) compounds like ξαραχνιάζω, ξαρμυρίζω [...] ‘to remove the cobweb, the salt’ [...], (4) compounds like ξαστερώνει = ‘the stars appear’ [...], ξεφεγγαρώνει = ‘the moon rises’ [...], (5) compounds like ξεσμλώνω ‘to dislocate or damage something with a chisel’, ξεπασσουλίζω ‘to move something with a pole’ [...], (6) ξαποσταινώνω, ξεδιαντρέπομαι [...] which are intensive, (7) other compounds, like [...] ξεβγατίζω, ξεδίδω etc., clearly denoting ‘out’, (8) other compounds denoting diminutive in some way, like ξεπλύνω, ξεπετώ, ξεσκαλίζω [...], (9) other compounds where the preverb annuls the meaning of the verb, ξεγράφω, ξεβάφω [...], (10) other compounds where εξ- ξε- seem to denote the end, ξεθερίζω, ξεσκολίζω = to finish harvest, school [...] and (11) other compounds denoting ‘spending time’, like ξεχειμωνιάζω, ξενυχτώ [...].

Euthymiou (2001, 210) accepts seven different meanings for Modern Greek ξε-: (1) undoing of an action,⁵ e.g. ξεεντώνω, ξεκλειδώνω, (2) removal of an object, e.g. ξεφλουδίζω, ξεδοντιάζω, (3) intensification or completion, e.g. ξεκουφαίνω, ξετρελαίνω,⁶ (4) end of a state or quality, e.g. ξεμεθώ, and ξεκρύο, ξέπαπας (in stereotypical expressions), (5) spending a period of time, e.g. ξεχειμωνιάζω, (6) ‘out’, ‘outwards’, e.g. ξεπορτίζω, ξεσπιτώνω, (7) diminutive, e.g. ξεκλέβω, ξεγλιστρώ. She argues that for an important number of words built with the prefix ξε- and denoting removal, distancing or reversal, the semantic instruction of the prefix could be specified as a move away from some original reference point determined by the semantic properties of the base and by the nature of the arguments of the verbal derivative.

She summarises the semantic property of ξε- as follows: “The meanings of ‘out’, removal of an object from a container or a location at large, undoing of an action, end and intensification, they can all

5. With regard to the meaning of undoing, Euthymiou (2002, 201) states that “[...] unlike its ancestor, ξε- is extremely prolific in building words that denote undoing, whereas it builds much fewer words belonging to other semantic subgroups”. This meaning “is almost non-existent in ancient words with ἐκ-. [...] identified less than ten words of this type and this suggests that the Ancient Greek ἐκ- most likely did not construct the meaning of undoing. Méndez Dosuna also mentions very few examples of this type: ἐξαιλείφω, ἐκκολλάπτω, ἐκκαλύπτω, ἐκχαλινώω and ἐκζηλώω. If one takes a closer look at the meaning of these words, whose bases denote placing something or causing a surface to change – and also at the meanings of ἐκλύφω, ἐκγράφω [...] – one detects the original meaning of removal. This meaning is clearer in the examples ἐκχαλινώω, ἐξηλώω, where it is easier to detect the nominal base. I believe that these words denote primarily the meaning of removal, ‘removal of the bridle’, ‘removal of the nails’ and that this is the meaning which led to the meaning of undoing an action. It is highly likely that the large number of verbs denoting reversal which were created later with the prefix ξε- were modelled after words of this type” (my translation). (Euthymiou 2002, 201)

6. According to Euthymiou (2003, 525-26), intensification which is not combined with the notion of exceeding the limit is also denoted by words with the prefix ξε-: ξεγδέρνω, ξεσκίζω, ξεκαθαρίζω, ξεγυμνώνω, ξεμουρλαίνω, ξετρελαίνω. [...] Such words denote exiting an original state and entering a final one.

come under the umbrella of the meaning of exiting a space or a state. It suggests a move away from a starting point [...], which however presupposes the notion of inside (my translation).⁷

Méndez Dosuna (1997, 587), having contributed very much to the semantic evolution of the preverb, refers to the distinction of the words with the Ancient Greek preverb ἐκ- > ἐξ- in two categories, and traces the role of semantics in the evolution εκ- > ξε-: “Eks- originally denoted an outward movement, separation or extraction: ekbaino: ‘to step out’, ekserkhomai ‘to go, to come out’, ekselauno: ‘to drive away’ [...]. Secondly, the prefix expressed the idea of completion, intensification (cf. E. out): ekkathairo: ‘to clean thoroughly’, eklouo: ‘to wash out’, ekpimple:mi ‘to fill up’ [...]. Alternatively, the notion of separation, extraction evolved into that of deprivation, removal, cancellation of a verbal state or action: eksoplizo: ‘to disarm’, eksaleipho: ‘to wipe off, to obliterate’, ekkalupto: ‘to uncover’ [...]. [...] in Medieval Greek [...] verbs compounded with eks- (ek-) split into two groups. One set of verbs follows the natural matter of course, i.e. they undergo fusion. Sound changes were permitted to apply regularly: e.g. ekbaino: > *egbaino: (voice assimilation) > *εγβανο [...]. > *γβανο [...]. > vjeno [...]. However, in a second set of verbs, eks- was reshaped into kse-: ksefevgo ‘to run off’, ksekovo ‘to cut off’, ksepleno ‘to wash out’ [...].”

Méndez Dosuna (1997, 590-93) also raises the question of whether “the fusion and non-fusion of eks- compounds [...] are dependent on the semantics of the prefix.” As far as the basic meanings of the preverb is concerned, ‘outward movement’, ‘intensification’ and ‘reversal’, (1) “direction is one of the most salient components in a motion event [...]” and “lexical (amalgamated) expression of direction is indeed not infrequent”, (2) “intensification will seldom be expressed lexically” and “reversal [is] most suitable for morphological encoding.” “Fusion is especially frequent in the case of compounds where AGk eks- indicated an outward movement” and “morphotactically transparent kse- can express (often redundantly) an outward movement or separation. But this device has lost productivity. Unlike in Ancient Greek, one is no longer free to build compounds like *kse-trexo, *kse-kolimbo.” “Intensifying kse- is not uncommon in Modern Greek, but its productivity remains low as well. [...] The semantic feebleness is conducive to morphosemantic opacity: ksefvazo ‘to rinse’ is hardly decomposable in kse- + vfvazo ‘to put out’ [...].” “By contrast, when expressing reversal, a sense more suitable for morphological expression, the prefix kse- remains fully productive. [...]”

It is true that the discussion of whether the preverb ξε- has six, seven or eleven meanings is pointless, since (a) it has been accepted that the boundaries between them are unclear, and (b) it is known that more than one semantic nuances can come under one meaning. The two major semantic categories covered by ξε- are those referred to by Ralli (2003, 109-10): (a) privative (e.g. ξεπτόνω – πτόνω) and (b) intensive (e.g. ξεγελώ – γελώ).⁸

7. See Euthymiou (2001, 207). This is self-evident in the meaning of exiting a space, but it is also true in the rest of the meanings: “In the groups ‘end of a state or quality’ and ‘undoing an action’ again there is the meaning of exiting a state and moving into a new one: ξεμεθώ, ξεπαπάζ, ξελέω, ξεπτόνω. As Ralli (2001) rightly points out, ξε- builds the meaning of undoing only with verbs which denote completion, not state, process or accomplishment. [...] Less evident yet equally present – to our eyes – is the meaning of exit in words which denote intensification: ξεγδέρνω, ξεσκίζω/ξεκαθαρίζω [...] These words denote exiting an original state and entering a final one (or else its most extreme form). It is no coincidence that only in this group, as stated by Ralli (2001), is ξε- combined also with verbal bases which denote accomplishment: ξεπέφτω, ξεφεύγω. [...] Lastly, in the small group of words which are constructed with bases denoting “period of time”, such as ξεκαλοκαριάζω, ξεχειμωνιάζω, again there is the meaning of exiting the boundaries of a time period, of transition from one period of time to another or of moving away from the beginning of a time period towards its end.” (Euthymiou 2002, 207, my translation)

8 Ralli studies ξε- in juxtaposition to ξανα- and παρα-: “As opposed to verbs with ksana-, the kse- and para- verbal formations do not show a consistent behaviour with respect to semantics. Firstly, there are occurrences where kse- or para- do not affect the aspectual properties and the argument structure of the verbal base. In that sense, they behave like ksana”, e.g. κλειδώνω, ξεκλειδώνω. (Ralli 2003, 112) Ξε- reverses what the verb expresses and “productively combines with verbs denoting an accomplishment [...]. [...] kse- cannot be adjoined to verbs denoting an achievement”. (Ralli 2003, 112) Ξε- also has an intensive meaning, e.g. ξεκαθαρίζω. “It is under the intensive meaning that kse- can combine with some verbs of achievement, and form verbs with a non-compositional, and highly lexicalized meaning, something that would not have been possible if kse- had a reversative meaning.” (Ralli 2003, 114) She believes that ξε- is polysemic and that there are no two homonymic ξε-. (Ralli 2003, 115) “Structurally, kse- and para- behave as prefixes [...]”. (Ralli 2003, 126) “Kse- and para- display a dual character, since they can assume an internal or an external role, while ksana- is used only as an external preverb”. (Ralli 2003, 130) Karantzola & Giannouloupoulou (2000) recognise two meanings: (1) completion of the action denoted by the verbal base, which certain verbs preserve almost unchanged, as shown by the use of both the simple and the compound form (examples from Kartanos, χωρίσωμεν and εξεχώρισεν (82)), but other examples illustrate “the productivity of the meaning ‘completion of the action’, since ξε- preserves the

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obvious meaning of εκ/εξ it is derived from, i.e. it expresses the notion of ‘outward motion’ and (2) the opposite of the meaning of the verbal base.