The Greek prefix ξε- ‘kse-’: its conceptual and grammatical motivations

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To my parents;
to Hope, Mary & Virginia;
to George.
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ABSTRACT

The interest of the present thesis lies on the conceptual and grammatical motivations that account for the polysemous Greek prefix ξε- (hence, kse-). The thesis discusses the existing bibliography and describes the inventory of senses provided so far for the prefix. The main aim is to propose a new organisation of the senses of kse- based on cognitive issues and to highlight the role of figuration as regards the formation and organisation of Greek verbs with kse-. For that reason, and with no intention of underestimating the importance of the grammatical motivations for the organisation of the senses of kse-, the analysis focuses more on the cognitive and figurative aspects of the issue. For the purposes of this thesis, an account of the theory of image schemas as the basic cognitive mechanisms that structure human understanding and contribute to the creation of a more comprehensible and patterned reality is provided. It is followed by an overview of the framework of Cognitive Linguistics (hence, CL) on the polysemy of words, with a focus on the account of polysemy by means of the cognitive mechanism of metaphor, as well as on the account of semantic networks. The semantic relation of oppositeness is also presented in relation to the polysemy of the prefix; Cognitive Grammar, and more specifically, tense and aspect, are discussed with regard to the grammatical motivations that underlie the organisation of the senses of kse-. Last, the thesis suggests that Lakoff and Johnson’s (1999) Event-Structure Metaphor (hence, ESM) accounts for the metaphorical meaning extension, and hence the polysemy, of the Greek verbs with kse-.
Chapter 1
1.1. Introduction

The aim of the present thesis is to propose a new organisation of the senses of the Greek verbs with *kse*- adopting a Cognitive Linguistics perspective, since the existing bibliography on verbs with *kse*- only provides a traditional-grammar approach to the matter. It should be noted that in Greek *kse*- is not only attached to verbs, but it is also attached to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. However, the present discussion is restricted to Greek verbs with *kse*- since we would be out of space and time to analyse all Greek words that are attached to it. There is no term strictly defined by scholars with regard to *kse*-, since there are different views on the matter. In this paper, the term *prefix* is preferred over the term *preverb* following the work of Ralli (2003) that presents semantic, phonological and morphological evidence over the prefixal status of *kse*-. The new organisation of the senses of Greek verbs with *kse*- that is proposed will be in terms of domains, and more specifically of the domains of physical/literal and abstract/figurative space. The discussion will support the view that verbs with *kse*- reflect image-schematic structure, and more specifically, that their senses are drawn from the MOTION and CONTAINER image schemas. In addition to that, the discussion will claim that apart from image schemas, the sense relation of oppositeness also plays a central role for verbs with *kse*-. It will also be suggested that the polysemy of verbs with *kse*- results not only from the image schemas from which the verbs draw their meaning, but also from the cognitive mechanism of metaphor. Namely, the meaning extension of verbs with *kse*- is figurative. Last, the discussion will refer to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1999) ESM, on the grounds that this model supports the present organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse*--proposed here, and that it accounts for their metaphorical meaning extension.

In the course of this thesis and for the needs of the present discussion, reference will be made to lexical semantics issues, namely to the sense relation of antonymy/oppositeness (Cruse 1986; Panther & Thornburg 2012). However, this reference will be confined to the needs of the discussion and for that reason it will not be extensive. The same will apply to hyperbole (Athanasiadou & Colston 2017). The figure of hyperbole will be referred to only as a feature of the sense of some verbs with *kse*- and no further discussion will be made as regards the CL theory on hyperbolic meaning. Last, with regard to works on *kse*-, the following papers have been taken into account for the present discussion: Εφθυμιου (hence Efthymiou, 2001), and Papanastasiou (2012). However, there will be no further reference in the course of the discussion on these works.
As follows, the aim of the present thesis, in addition to a review of preexisting literature on *kse-*-, is: (a) to attempt and introduce a new organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse-* in terms of domains; (b) to highlight the effect of figuration in the formation and use of verbs with *kse-*; and (c) to propose an analysis of verbs with *kse-* in terms of the ESM. The organisation of the thesis is as follows: Chapter 1 states the aim of the present thesis, lists the main issues of reference in the course of the thesis, and discusses previous research conducted under the framework of CL as regards *kse-*.

It also presents the methodology applied for the purposes of the present research and introduces the new organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse-*-. Chapter 2 discusses the literature available on the topic of Greek prefixes and presents the formal approach concerning the Greek prefix *kse-*-. Chapter 3 refers to the cognitive tools, or according to Geeraerts (2006a), the cognitive islands that relate to the study of *kse-*-, namely image schemas, Cognitive Grammar, polysemy, and metaphor, and makes a tour among them, also providing instances of Greek verbs with *kse-*-. It also refers to the sense relation of oppositeness, the embodied nature of the senses of Greek verbs with *kse-* and the ESM. Chapter 4 provides the analysis of representative verbs with *kse-* in terms of literal and figurative meaning, discusses those verbs with regard to oppositeness and tense and highlights the metaphorical extension of meaning that takes place between the domains in which the verbs are organised (physical/literal and abstract/figurative space). Chapter 5 discusses the conclusions drawn from the theoretical analysis of the data.

1.2. Previous work on *kse-* and methodology

An initial account of Greek verbs with *kse-* (Tsaroucha 2017, unpublished paper) claimed an organisation of those verbs on various parts of the PATH image schema as well as their distribution on a metonymy-metaphor continuum (Dirven 2003). More specifically, an in-context analysis of verbs with *kse-* indicated that they can be found in various points on the PATH schema and that the grammatical tense and aspect of each verb play an important role on the location of the verbs in each point of the schema. More specifically, the Present tense of verbs denotes an action that has not reached an end-point, while the Past tense of verbs indicates actions that are closer to reaching their end-point. For instance, the Past tense of the verb *ksefortono* (=to unload) in *i ergates ksefortosan*¹ to *fortiγo* (= The workers unloaded the truck) denotes an activity that is completed and thus, located on the end-point of the PATH schema. The Present tense of the same verb, namely *i ergates ksefortonun* to *fortiγo* (= The workers are unloading the truck), refers to an ongoing activity and as a result, this

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¹ I am aware of the difference between grammatical tense and aspect and of the importance of aspect for the analysis and understanding of the meanings of *ksefortosan* and *ksefortonun*. However, since this initial attempt to organise the senses of Greek verbs with *kse-* placed more emphasis on tense, aspect is not referred in this analysis.
activity cannot denote the end-point of the schema, but rather some other location or various locations on the schema prior to its end-point.

The present work initially followed a similar methodology, starting from the claim that Greek verbs with *kse-* reflect the image schema of MOTION. It was further claimed that the Greek verb of motion *ksekino* (= to start moving, to set out) denotes the source, or starting point, of the schema and that the vast majority of verbs with *kse-* express actions that are closer to their end-point, with regard to the image schema in question. However, this type of organisation has limitations as regards the semantics of the verbs, since many verbs denote more than just a point on the MOTION schema. In other words, a great number of verbs with *kse-* have a further meaning, that of oppositeness. An instance is the case of *ksefortono* that was previously discussed in terms of its location on the PATH schema. *Ksefortono* also denotes the opposite action of *fortono* (= to load). This led to a different perspective being adopted concerning the organisation of the verbs which included dictionary searches that focused on the meaning of each verb.

The two main dictionaries used in this search were The Dictionary of Etymology of SMG (Μπαμπινιώτης 2011, hence Babiniotis) and the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (Portal for the Greek Language). The initial parameter with regard to the dictionary search was that the list of verbs to be employed for the purposes of the present thesis should contain as many verbs with *kse-* as possible. Thus, the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek was preferred for the greater number of verbs it contains. However, due to the abundance of Greek verbs with *kse-* there was no intention of an exhaustive research of them all. The main aim was to collect most of the verbs with *kse-* provided by the electronic version of the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek and attempt to organise the verbs’ senses from a CL perspective. The basic criterion for the choice of specific verbs over others was the hypothesis that the image schematic structure of MOTION and CONTAINMENT as well as the sense relation of oppositeness are reflected in the verbs’ meaning. The search resulted in a list of 82 verbs of both literal and figurative meaning, indicated with (fig.), which will be analysed based on the theoretical concepts discussed in Chapter 3. The list that resulted from this search is found in the Appendix. Also, the ESM will be employed to explore the relation between literal and figurative meaning with regard to verbs with *kse-*.

1.3. The new organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse-*

In the previous section it was supported that verbs with *kse-* draw their meanings from the image schemas of MOTION and CONTAINER, as well as from the sense relation of oppositeness. It was also
claimed that this meaning reflection can take place in the domain of both physical and abstract space by means of metaphorical extension of meaning. This leads to the proposition of a new organisation of the senses of verbs with kse- (Figure 1).

This proposition claims that verbs with kse- are organised in two domains of experience: physical space and abstract space. Verbs that reflect abstract space are in most cases metaphorical extensions from the meanings of verbs that reflect physical space. Each domain involves the MOTION image schema, the CONTAINER image schema, and the sense relation of oppositeness\textsuperscript{2}. As regards MOTION and CONTAINER, they involve Removal and Manner. Removal and Manner are considered important steps within MOTION and CONTAINER in that they reflect more specific meanings.

For instance, with regard to Removal, an example from the CONTAINER schema that has both a literal and metaphorical extension of meaning is ksexilizo that denotes the overflow of a physical container (glass) with some fluid as well as the overflow of an emotion in a living being, as in the case of a person being overflown with anger or happiness. In this case, the body is the container of the emotion (Kövecses 2010). With regard to Manner, ksefevγo (= to escape from a place, (fig.) to escape a situation) is a representative example of manner of motion (MOTION image schema) in both physical and abstract space in that it focuses on exiting both a physical space and an abstract situation by fleeing from it.

The organisation of the senses of the Greek prefix kse- proposed in this paper is a new way of understanding the prefix in question. It is an attempt to a matter of great difficulty, since it is the first work to organise the senses of kse- by means of cognitive parameters. This is an approach that does not focus on form, but takes into account human cognition and conceptualisation as well as patterns

\textsuperscript{2} For reasons of uniformity, the third ‘part’ in the new organisation proposed here will also be referred to in small capitals as will be the image schemas. However, when reference is made to the sense relation of oppositeness, then the term will be in small letters.
of human experience. For those reasons, the organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse*- is an attempt to view them from the CL perspective.
Chapter 2: Existing research on the prefix kse-

2.1. An overview of the meanings of kse-

Among work on various Greek prefixes and prepositions, there is relatively little written on the Greek prefix kse-. The first semantic accounts of kse- can be traced in the early 20th century (Γαρδίκας, hence Gardikas 1912; Χατζιδάκις, hence Chatzidakis 1914); however, no other research is available in Greek until Efthymiou’s work (Ευθυμίου, 2002; 2018) that has provided information on the various senses of kse- in Modern Greek. Further information on the semantics of the prefix in question can be found in the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (hence, SMG) (Manolis Triandaphyllidis Foundation) as well as on the Dictionary of Etymology of SMG (Babiniotis 2011).

Kse- originates from the Greek prefix εκ- ‘ek-’(hence, ek-), that denotes an ‘out-of’ movement, and was first used by speakers of Medieval Greek, namely the variety of Greek spoken during the Byzantine Era (Bortone, 2010). Bortone (2010) refers to kse- as a phonetic merger of ek-. This claim is supported by the dictionaries previously mentioned that present kse- as the result of internal augmentation of verbs starting with ek-/eks- in the Imperfect and the Aorist tenses. It should be noted here that the formal development of kse- is not part of its meanings. For reasons of lack of time and space, no further reference will be made to this issue.

Overall, the various meanings of kse- are preserved throughout the years. The changes observed on the senses of kse- in the following sections can be considered the result of language use through the years. The following list is a first account of those meanings (Gardikas, 1912; Chatzidakis, 1914; Ευθυμίου, 2002; Efthymiou, 2018), with a more detailed description provided in the following sections for each source separately. Thus, kse- can denote:

a) Out, outward movement
b) Removal, expulsion
c) The opposite meaning of the one denoted by the simple verb (verb without a prefix)
d) Intensification of the original meaning
e) An action taking place slowly and/or in secret
f) The means/way of a modification/change
g) Reaching the end of a time period by going through the whole of that period
h) The termination of a person’s office (found only in combination to nouns; no further reference will be made here3)

3 For further reference see section 1.1.
2.2. Gardikas (1912)

Gardikas (1912) is the first to attempt an organisation of the different senses of *kse-*.
The verbs discussed in this section are the same verbs discussed in his 1912 paper in which he provides an extensive account of the senses of *ek/-eks*- and offers a brief part of his monograph to *kse-* as the extension of *ek*-. He considers *kse-* a polysemous prefix and provides the following senses:

1. Out, outwards:
   a. *ksefitrono* (= to sprout, to spring)
   b. *ksestomizo* (= to take something out of one’s mouth)

   It is important to note that the verbs under (1) are discussed in the context of physical space. However, *ksefitrono* has a metaphorical extension in SMG, namely it denotes a person that appeared in a place or situation in an unexpected manner similar to the manner a plant springs from the ground, as in “Από που κσέφιτροσε παλι αφτοσ;” (= Where did he come from?) (Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, Portal for the Greek Language).

2. Removal, expulsion:
   a. *kseðodiazo* (= to remove one’s teeth)
   b. *ksexreono* (= to pay one’s dues)

3. Intensification of the simple verb’s meaning:
   a. *kseyimmnno* (= to strip a person)
   b. *kseðarevo* (= to take liberties with someone)

4. The opposite meaning from that denoted by the simple verb:
   a. *kseðiplono* (= to unfold)
   b. *ksetiliyo* (= to unwrap)

5. Forward or upward movement:
   a. *ksemitezo* (= to come out, to sneak out)
   b. *kseftilizo* (= to remove upwards the wick of an oil lamp)

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4 The senses of the verbs in Gardikas (1912) and Chatzidakis (1914) are provided by the authors. The translation in English is done by me.
5 The verbs are organized by the authors according to their senses. For that reason, *ksemitezo* is organized differently by Gardikas (1912) and Chatzidakis (1914) (see section 2.3.) according to its various senses.
Unlike Ancient Greek and the variety of Greek spoken in Gardikas’ time, in SMG ksemitizo and kseftilizo do not have a literal, physical-space sense, as in the examples above. Rather, ksemitizo has a metonymic extension in that it denotes a person’s slow, hesitant, careful movement out of a place they may have been hiding, or residing, so that they are not perceived by others. It is also used to denote an entity barely but increasingly visible behind some other entity. As regards kseftilizo, native speakers of SMG use this verb in a metaphorical way denoting either the act of completely humiliating and demeaning a person, or the devaluation of a currency.

(6) Reaching the end of a time period by going through the whole of that period:
   a. ksekalokeriazo (= to summer)
   b. kseximoniazo (= to overwinter)
   c. ksenixtizo (= to stay up late)
   d. ksemesimeriazo (= to pass one’s time during noon by being engaged in some pastime activity)

Figure 2 presents a brief account of the senses of kse- provided by Gardikas (1912). It is important to note that Figure 2, as well as Figures 3, 4, and 5, are not provided by Gardikas (1912), Chatzidakis (1914), Efthymiou (2002; 2018), and the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, respectively. These Figures represent the current author’s interpretation of the information provided in the before-mentioned sources.

Figure 2. Semantic network for kse- according to the senses provided by Gardikas (1912).
Figure 3. Semantic network for kse- according to the senses provided by Chatzidakis (1914).

2.3. Chatzidakis (1914)
Chatzidakis, following Gardikas’ account, presents an organisation of the senses of kse- that overall includes 10 “classes” of meaning (1914:18) (Figure 3). The central sense of kse- for Chatzidakis is ‘out’ in the sense of exiting a place, of being discharged of some object or situation, and of removal. Thus, beginning with the ‘out’ sense, Chatzidakis identifies the following senses of kse-:

(1) Out, in the sense of exit, discharge, and/or removal:
   a. kseportizo (= to oust a person from a room, to exit a room through the door)
   b. ksekokalizo (= to remove the meat from the bones)

In SMG, ksekokalizo reflects the mechanism of conceptual metonymy. Speakers of SMG use this verb to denote the physical activity of removing the bones from the meat meal they are having, and also to denote the act of devouring a meal and leaving only the meat bones. This indicates the use of hyperbole as well. Moreover, it has a metaphorical meaning extensions, namely to squander money one has earned or inherited, and to read a text with great dedication so that the person does not miss any part or meaning of that text.

(2) Out, in the sense of upward movement
   a. ksemitizo (= to ascend to the top peak of a mountain)
   b. ksepelayiazio (= to put (out) to sea, (metaph.) to spend more than one can afford)
(3) Out, in the sense of outward movement
    a. ksefitrono (= to sprout, to spring)
    b. ksekovo (= to detach a part of the flock from the whole, to cut ties with a person)

(4) Removal, expulsion
    a. ksexortariazo (= to clear the ground of weeds)
    b. ksemializo (= to remove one’s brain, (metaph.) to drive one mad)

(5) The opposite meaning from that denoted by the simple verb
    a. ksaryapo (= to stop loving a person, ≠ ayapo)
    b. ksedipso (= to quench one’s thirst, ≠ dipso)
    c. ksemetho (= to recover from being drunk, ≠ metho)

(6) The end-point of a change/ modification: it denotes the place/point that the change leads to and for that reason Chatzidakis supports that this sense is the opposite sense of ‘out.’
    a. ksemitizazo (= to sharpen a piece of wood)
    b. ksasteroni (= for the sky to become clear, without clouds)

(7) The means by which a change is achieved
    a. kseportizo (= to force one out of a room through the door)
    b. kseskupizo (= to clean with a broom)

(8) Intensification of the simple verb’s meaning
    a. ksekatbarizo (= to clear something to the ultimate degree)
    b. ksetreleno (= to drive one mad)
    c. ksebrevo (= to take liberties with someone)
    d. ksexno ( > ksexano, kse + xano > xano = to lose)

What is of attention here is the verb ksexno and the indication that language change has had a great influence on the way this verb has come to be used. More specifically, the origins of this verb are

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6 The verbs kseskupizo (7b) and ksepelajiao (2b) are provided by Chatzidakis and are probably dialectal. They have come into disuse by the speakers of Modern Greek.
traced back to the Medieval Period of the Greek language when the verb *ksexano* (*kse-* + *xano*= to lose) was used to denote a state of complete loss, of oblivion, of abandonment (the Dictionary of Etymology of Standard Modern Greek, Babiniotis, 2011). Thus, even in that period *ksexano* denoted both activities taking place in physical space, as in losing an object, as well as states that denoted a metaphorical event, as in the case of completely forgetting, and thus, metaphorically losing something, namely a memory. Speakers of SMG employ *ksexno* to refer to a state of mental, and thus, of metaphorical loss.

(9) **An action that takes place slowly and/or in secret, or is done superficially**
   
   a. *kseyelo* (= to deceive, to fool)
   b. *kseskalizo* (= to insidiously meddle with a state of affairs)

According to Chatzidakis, verbs that denote an action that takes place in a precautious manner, when combined with *kse-* they ‘transfer’ their meaning to the prefix. This is in accordance with a comment he provides in his work (1914: 37), namely that the polysemy of the prefix *kse-* stems from the verbs it is combined with, and more specifically this polysemy stems from the verbs’ tendency to ‘accept’ the various senses they acquire when combined with the prefix.

(10) **Reaching the end of a time period by going through the whole of that period;** both Gardikas (1912) and Chatzidakis (1914) attribute this sense to the same verbs with *kse-* (see section 2.2, sense (6)).

In his extended reference to the semantics of *kse-* Chatzidakis also notes the important semantic variety apparent in the verbs with *kse-* that present a meaning extension from the ‘out’ sense. More specifically, he claims that in the case where ‘out’ extends to the meanings of (a) being far away, and (b) absence, lack, and deprivation, the verbs obtain the opposite meaning from that of the simple verb. Chatzidakis supports that this feature of opposite-ness in meaning is the result of the prefixed word. For that reason, verbs like *agapo ≠ kseagapo* are common in Greek. A further meaning extension is the right-to-the-end ‘out’. Chatzidakis claims that these extensions in the senses of *kse-* result from the verbs’ semantics and their inherent flexibility as regards meaning extension.

Last, he states that verbs denoting non-reversible situations, like *peθeno* (= to die), cannot be combined with *kse-* since death is an once-in-a-lifetime experience and is not reversible (at least most of the times). Chatzidakis also refers to the verb *kovo* (= to cut) that denotes the physical action of cutting which is considered a non-reversible action. However, the verb *ksekovo* is used in SMG
(an instance of conceptual metaphor) and denotes the gradual distancing from a person that is not considered as a desirable companion (see this section, sense (3)).

2.4. Efthymiou (2002, 2018)
A recent account of the semantic network of kse- is that of Efthymiou (2002, 2018) who considers kse- both in semantic comparison to the prefixes ek- and apo- (2002) and in terms of its role in the formation of verbs in Greek (2018). Overall, Efthymiou (2018) subsumes kse- in the group of vernacular prefixes in contrast to apo- that is considered a formal prefix. Comparing the two main accounts of Efthymiou (2002, 2018) as regards the semantics of kse-, it becomes apparent that major differences exist in terms of the organisation of its meanings mainly due to progress in research as well as due to adopting different approaches. More specifically, in her description of and comparison among the semantics of ek-, kse-, and apo-, Efthymiou provides the following senses for kse-:

(1) Movement from a starting point
(2) Out
(3) Removal
(4) Retraction
(5) Intensification
(6) Termination, end

Her main claim in this account is that senses (2)-(5) can be reduced to the more general, umbrella sense (1), namely movement from a starting point, or else, exiting a place or situation (Efthymiou 2002: 207). However, in her 2018 book, Efthymiou provides five meaning extensions for kse- (Figure 4) with the main and most productive sense being that of retraction, in the sense of one action or situation being cancelled or reversed. In more detail, the senses of kse- provided by Efthymiou are the following:

(1) Cancellation/ reversal of a situation or action (retraction):
   a. kseðino (= to blow off steam)
   b. ksekliðono (= to unlock)
   c. ksemeθo (= to recover from being drunk)
   d. kseðipso (= to quench one’s thirst)
In contrast to Chatzidakis’ reading of \textit{kseδipso} and \textit{ksemeθo} that express the opposite\(^7\) meaning from that of \textit{δipso} (= to be thirsty) and \textit{meθo} (= to become drunk), Efthymiou (2002, 2018) organises those verbs with others denoting the reversal of a state or situation.

(2) \textbf{Removal of an object from some other object}:  
   a. \textit{ksefluδizo} (= to peel)  
   b. \textit{ksemaliazo} (= to remove one’s hair violently)

(3) \textbf{Outward movement}:  
   a. \textit{kseportizo} (= to sneak out of home for entertainment)  
   b. \textit{ksexilizo} (= to overflow)

(4) \textbf{Intensification of the meaning of the simple verb}:  
   a. \textit{ksekufeno} (= to deafen somebody by making exceedingly loud noise)  
   b. \textit{ksepefto} (= to become degraded)

(5) \textbf{Traversing a temporal period from beginning to end}:  
   a. \textit{ksenixtao}\(^8\) (=to stay up late, to entertain oneself during the night time)  
   b. \textit{kseximoniazo} (= to overwinter)  
   c. \textit{ksekalokeriazo} (= to summer, to spend one’s vacation)

Of note here is an extra category of verbs with \textit{kse-} that according to Efthymiou (2018) are only present in oral speech. Instances of this category are \textit{leo ke kseleo} (= I say something and then I take it back) which as is apparent form word pairs that denote opposite situations.

\(^7\) Over the literature, Cruse (1986) uses the term ‘reversal’, Vosshagen (1999) uses the term ‘oppositeness’, while Panther and Thornburg (2012) employ the term ‘antonymy’. I am aware that some of the examples provided in this thesis are cases of antonymy, some instances are cases of oppositeness, and some others cases of reversal of values. However, for the sake of easy reference and consistency I employ the term ‘oppositeness’.

\(^8\) The meaning of \textit{ksenixtao} “to stay up late” can refer both to pleasant and unpleasant activities that take place during the night.
Figure 4. Semantic network for kse- according to the senses provided by Efthymiou (2002; 2018).

2.5. The Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek

The present thesis, apart from the existing bibliography on kse- also takes interest in the way Greek dictionaries account for the prefix in question. Both The Dictionary of Etymology of SMG (Babiniotis, 2011) and The Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek (Manolis Triandaphyllidis Foundation) were employed. However, since the latter is more detailed in terms of containing more verbs with kse-, it was selected as the guide for the purposes of the present thesis. The version employed here is the electronic version of the Dictionary made available via the Portal for the Greek Language website. The group of scholars responsible for the electronic adaptation of the Dictionary has organised the senses of kse- in the following way:

(1) Out, outward movement
   i. kseportizo (= to sneak out of home for entertainment)
   ii. ksexilizo (= to overflow)

(2) a. The opposite action from that denoted by the simple verb
   i. ksedipso (= to quench one’s thirst)
   ii. kseklidono (= to unlock)

   b. The end of a situation or action that is expressed or denoted by the simple verb
   i. ksemeθo (= to recover from being drunk)
   ii. ksemuidazo (= to stop feeling numb, to stretch in order to stop feeling numb)
c. Traversing a temporal period from beginning to end (see section 2.4., sense (5))

d. The removal of an object that is denoted by the simple verb
   i.  ksaraxniazo (= to clean a place from spiders accumulated from long disuse)
   ii. ksefluizo (= to peel)

(3) a. Intensification of meaning in the sense of ‘very much,’ ‘completely’
   i.  kseθarevo (= to take liberties with someone)
   ii. ksetreleno (= to excite, to drive one mad)

b. Diminutive meaning in the sense of ‘little by little,’ ‘secretly’
   i.  ksemakreno (= to stray from)
   ii. kseylistro (= to slip away)

(4) The expression of great disagreement, of rejection, and/or of disregard towards one’s interlocutor (mainly in stereotypical expressions of oral speech)\(^9\)
   i.  léi ke kseléi (= to say and unsay something)
   ii. ipa ksipa (= I said something, I take it back)

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**Figure 5.** Semantic network for *kse*- according to the senses provided by the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek.

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\(^9\) The examples provided in (4) are obviously a restricted subset of the more general meaning discussed in (2a). However, the organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse*- discussed in Section 2.5. is the exact same organisation with that provided by the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek.
The literature discussed in Chapter 2 indicates that the Greek prefix *kse-* is a polysemous entity that, when attached to verbs, it provides them with an extra meaning. This meaning can be both literal and figurative. The polysemous nature of *kse-* is also supported by Ralli (2003) on the basis of the semantic coherence presented by *kse-* on its various uses/meanings.
Chapter 3: Cognitive Tools

The present Chapter is the captain of this voyage towards the understanding of the organisation of the senses of kse-. The discussion will refer to image schemas as the basic CL islands-tools of human conceptualisation and their link to polysemy and oppositeness as regards meaning extension. Tense and aspect will also be discussed in terms of their role as grammatical motivations for the organisation and extension of the senses of verbs with kse-. Also, the ESM will be presented, since, as is proposed in this thesis, it is the main metaphor system that accounts for the understanding and organisation of the verbs’ senses.

The organisation of this Chapter is as follows: Section 3.1. discusses the role of image schemas in human understanding and in the organisation of thought and language, since in interaction with the cognitive mechanism of metaphor, image schemas contribute to the formation of semantic networks and are thus, connected to polysemy. Section 3.2. refers to the notion of polysemy and links it to image schemas through the discussion of Brugman and Lakoff’s (2006) work on over, since in the case of the semantic network of kse-, polysemy holds an important place in its understanding. Namely, the senses of verbs in physical space are figuratively extended by means of metaphor and thus, the same verbs have extensions of meaning in abstract space as well. They are polysemous in the two domains of experience. Section 3.3. deals with the notion of oppositeness, a sense relation that is apparent in the verbs with kse-. Section 3.4. discusses the grammatical devices of tense and aspect in English and Greek, mainly from a CL perspective. Section 3.5. briefly discusses the embodied nature of verbs with kse- and Section 3.6. presents Lakoff and Johnson’s (1991) ESM.

3.1. On image schemas


Mark Johnson, in his book The Body in the Mind (1987) postulated that human knowledge is non-propositional, non-sentential, and non-static, and thus, “grounded in and structured by various patterns of our (human) perceptual interactions, bodily actions, and manipulations of objects” (Gibbs and Colston 1995:347). These recurring as well as dynamic patterns are called image schemas and in combination to their transformations they “constitute a distinct level of cognitive operations” that do not bear any resemblance either to “concrete rich images (mental pictures)” or to “abstract, finitary propositional representations” (Johnson 1987:27). An image schema is a pattern that exists at a more general and abstract level, a fact that allows its repeated contribution as an identifying pattern “in an indefinitely large number of experiences, perceptions, and image formations” as regards events and/
or objects “that are similarly structured in relevant ways” (ibid:28). As a consequence, image schemas do not operate on a one-modality basis, but rather “exist across all perceptual modalities” (Gibbs and Colston 1995:349) (are simultaneously visual, tactile, kinesthetic, and auditory), a prerequisite for human experience to be coordinated on a sensorimotor level. Thus, image schemas are considered as relatively malleable cognitive operations, since they manifest such “a recurring underlying structure” for human conceptualisation (Johnson 1987:30). Their structure being as flexible is the main contributing factor to their constituting the chief means for ordering, comprehending, and reasoning about human experience.

Both Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1987) provided the literature with a standard inventory of image schemas, the core of which includes the following ones as presented in Hampe (2005:2):

(1) a. CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER, PATH/SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY, BALANCE

b. the FORCE schemas: ENABLEMENT, BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE, ATTRACTION, COMPULSION, RESTRAINT, REMOVAL, DIVERSION

Items under (2a) appear only in Johnson (1987) while the orientational ones under (2b) appear only in Lakoff (1987). Hampe (2005:2) also claims that image schemas “have never constituted a closed set” and as a consequence the items presented in (3) represent only a small number of the numerous additions on the set of image schemas:

(2) a. CONTACT, SCALE, NEAR-FAR, SURFACE, FULL-EMPTY, PROCESS, CYCLE, ITERATION, MERGING, MATCHING, SPLITTING, OBJECT, COLLECTION, [MASS-COUNT], [SUPERIMPOSITION]

b. UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK

(3) a. INANIMATE MOTION, ANIMATE MOTION, SELF MOTION, CAUSED MOTION (Mandler 1992: 593-596), LOCOMOTION (Dodge and Lakoff, this volume)


(Hampe, 2005:2-3)

It is considered typical for an image schema to have parts and relations. The former usually “consist of a set of entities,” such as events, goals, states, and people, while the latter “include causal
relations, temporal sequences, (and) part-whole patterns” among others (Johnson 1987: 28). An instance that could explain the role and function of parts and relations for an image schema is the PATH schema (Figure 6).

Figure 6. The PATH image schema (Johnson 1987:28)

The PATH schema is part of the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema that is invoked by the MOTION schema. It is constituted by three elements, namely the source (point A), the goal, or terminal point B, and the vector that traces a path between point A and point B. The relation that constitutes the schema in question is the force vector that moves from the source to the goal passing through “a sequence of contiguous locations” (Johnson 1987:113). Johnson calls this a FROM-TO schema and states that it is characterised by “a recurrent structure manifested in a number of seemingly different events” (ibid:28). It can be interpreted both literally, as in the event of walking from one’s home to their job that involves actual, physical motion, and metaphorically, as in the event of ice melting into water, in which both points A and B and the force vector are fictive, namely figurative. A consequence stemming from the PATH schema’s internal structure is the imposition of directionality on a certain path as well as its contribution to the way people understand temporality, since it also has a temporal dimension mapped on to it (also Clausner and Croft 1999).

As indicated in the introduction of this thesis and according to the organisation of the senses of kse-, verbs organised in the MOTION image schema also denote the manner of motion. For instance, ksemeno (= to stay behind) indicates that due to a slower pace of motion from the people that have stayed behind, the rest of the team has gained lead and are thus further away in the path of motion. The Dictionary of Modern Greek (Portal for the Greek Language) provides the following example: 

\[
\text{stamatisame gia liyo mexri na mas ftaun i ypolipi pu ikan ksemini (= We stopped our course for a little bit till those who had stayed behind could reach us).}
\]

A further example is that of ksemakreno (= to stray) that denotes the slow and steady pace of motion of a person away from a place, as in kaihise sti gonia ke tin kitaze na ksemakreni, namely (= S/he sat at the corner and watched her go away).

As regards the CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER image schema, Johnson (1987:21) refers to it as “an ordinary instance of image schematic structure” that stems from our everyday, pervasive “experience of physical containment.” Not only do humans manipulate objects by inserting or exerting other objects or substances in or out of them, as in the cases of filling a cup with coffee, or
picking a piece of attire from one’s closet, but they also experience physical containment by means
of their surroundings, as when people enter or exit a room. Most importantly though, humans
experience containment with respect to their own bodies which serve as containers to food, liquids,
and sentiments, among others, that can both enter and exit the body-container. These cases indicate
“repeatable spatial and temporal organizations” of experience, namely typical image schematic
instantiations of physical containment or spatial boundedness with the more salient sense being “that
of three-dimensional containment” (Johnson 1987:21) with cases ranging from the womb to a room
as a place of physical containment. According to Johnson (1987) the main parts of the
CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER image schema are: the contained object-entity (X), and the container
(circle) (Figure 7).

![Figure 7. CONTAINMENT/CONTAINER image schema. (Johnson 1987:23)](image)

Verbs with *kse*- that prompt from the CONTAINER image schema indicate the exit of the contained
entity from the container. In this case, there is a sense of removal. As stated in the Introduction,
Removal and Manner are not image schemas but steps of the MOTION and CONTAINER image
schemas, in that they offer a more specific extension of meaning of the verbs with *kse*- understood by
means of each image schema. With respect to Removal, verbs with *kse*- show removal from a
container. For instance, the verbs *ksebavvo* (= to exhume a body or object from the earth) and
*ksepitono* (= to oblige people to leave their home) both express the exit of some entity out of a
place/container (the earth and one’s home, respectively). An interesting case is that of *ksekolvo* (= to
unstick) and *kserizono* (= to uproot a plant) (see Section 4.1.2.) where the former refers to the
removal of an object stuck on a surface, while the latter refers to the removal of an object from
underneath a surface. Their meaning does not coincide with the semantics of the CONTAINER image
schema, since they denote removal from/out of a surface; however, salience is assigned on the
removal aspect.

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10 Johnson (1987:46-47) discusses the image schema REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT. However, the present thesis discusses
removal in the sense of separating two entities or things from each other, or from the place they are located. For that
reason no further reference will be made to Johnson’s REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT image schema.
Concerning verbs with *kse*- that denote the manner of action, an instance would be the verb *ksefonizo* (= to yell) (see Section 4.1.2.) that expresses the act of conveying information to other people by means of screaming in order for that information to reach its receptor. Also, the verbs *ksestomizo* (= to utter) (see Section 4.1.2.) and *ksefiso* (= to breathe out) are both highly embodied in the sense that the container is the human body and the parts by means of which the exit is realized are parts of the body. More specifically, in *ksestomizo* the words are uttered via the mouth (they exit the body via the mouth) and in *ksefiso* a great quantity of air comes out of the mouth, or the nose, as an indication of indignation and/or fatigue (the air exits the body in which it is contained). Last, the verb *kseprovalo* (= to emerge, to come out) denotes a slow motion of emerging out of, or behind some place, as in the example *apo tin korifi tu vuυu kseprovale to fegari* (= The moon emerged behind the mountain) (Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, Portal for the Greek Language).

What can be observed from the discussion on specific image schemas is that they are recurrent patterns of bodily and spatial experiences that provide the structure for the ordering and understanding of events. Evidence for this fact also stem from the instances of Greek verbs with *kse*- discussed in this section.

### 3.2. On polysemy

The semantic relation of polysemy is a long debated one among scholars of philosophy and linguistics. Radden & Dirven (2007:343, hence RD) define polysemy as “the phenomenon of an expression having two or more senses that are related in a motivated fashion.”

In 1897 Bréal established the term *polysémie* and the branch of semantics as separate from those of lexicography and etymology. This initiated a new era in the research on polysemy. The focus was not on multiple meanings of a mere lexical entry, but on “polysemy as a phenomenon of language use, language acquisition, (and) language change” (Nerlich 2003:60). Bréal (1924) supported the view that polysemy resulted from semantic innovation of words that acquired meanings they did not previously have without their old meanings being eliminated. Thus, he claimed a simultaneous, parallel existence of new and old meanings. Yet, a paradox was observed that is still in effect. Polysemy of words is not actually apparent in everyday language use, since speakers do not delve into selecting the sense of the word they wish to convey. It is a natural procedure that does not seem to cause problems in communication most of the time and the factor that contributes to the success of meaning transmission is context, that on the one hand favours multiplicity of meaning, but on the other hand eliminates all “adjoining meanings in favour of” that in question (Nerlich 2003:61).
It is only a natural consequence of language use that the meanings of words are subject to change and that this change may start off as slight and indistinct, but it may also cause major changes in the semantics of a word. The cognitive mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy are two of the most active factors that may contribute to and motivate such sudden meaning shifts as they are means of structuring bodily experience (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Gibbs 1994). This will become apparent in Chapter 4 where the metaphorical extension of the meaning of verbs with kse- will be discussed. Cognitive semantics supports the view that the meanings a word may obtain are not accumulated around this word at random, but rather that they “follow certain cognitive pathways or patterns” that are both part of human cognition and the structuring devices of “experience, knowledge and language” (image schemas) (Nerlich and Clarke 2003:7). The remaining of this section will thus discuss the cognitive approach to the study of polysemy, also providing instances of verbs with kse-.

One of the tenets of CL is that meaning is dynamic and flexible and this issue raises questions relating to meaning extension; namely what mechanisms are employed for semantic flexibility, and by what means the various senses of a word or expression relate to one another? In order for meaning flexibility to be accounted for, various models “for the polysemic architecture of expressions” (Geeraerts 2006a:9) are postulated, with those referring to radial networks, schematic networks, and prototype theory being the most important. Prototype theory is the umbrella term of models under which radial and schematic networks fall and its main characteristics are its psychological nature and the inability “of criterial (…) attributes” (Geeraerts 2006b:146) to define it, the importance of family resemblances that hold among the word senses, the criterion “of category membership” (ibid), as well as the absence of specific boundaries among the categories.

As regards schematic networks, their concept plays an important role in the discussion of “the relationship between vagueness and polysemy” (Geeraerts 2006a:10). Tuggy (1993), in Ambiguity, polysemy, and vagueness, distinguishes among the three terms and claims that ambiguity relates to separation of different meanings whereas vagueness corresponds to their unity. Polysemy is placed in between ambiguity and vagueness. Following Tuggy’s cognitive model that is based on categorisation of meaning as proposed in Langacker’s Cognitive Grammar (1987; 1991), polysemy corresponds to those senses that can be “both clearly separated and clearly united” (Tuggy 1993:282) and that the differences that arise in the categories of those polysemous cases are gradual and not absolute.

Brugman and Lakoff (2006:109, hence BL) mainly claim that, “a polysemous lexical item is a radial category of senses” which are in turn linked by various links. Some of those links involve information shared by the senses linked, some account for relations between general and specific
cases while some links are figurative. As a consequence, some of those links may be image-schematic in structure, as they provide non-arbitrary senses between relations, are principled, occur systematically, and are thus recurrent in the lexicon. As a result, they occur naturally in the cognitive system and this factor, together with their “independently motivated character,” (BL 2006:110) provides the main proof of the existence of polysemy in language and in thought. Thus, a polysemous word has senses that “form a radially-structured lexical network” (ibid:112) that may be defined on the one hand by shared properties between the senses and on the other hand by image-schemas or by means of figuration, i.e. extension via metaphor and/or metonymy.

In the present thesis, meaning extension – and thus, polysemy – is the extension from the domain of physical space to the domain of abstract space, and for that reason two identical organisations are proposed (Figure 1). Namely, the domain of physical space is figuratively extended to the domain of abstract space; the MOTION and CONTAINER image schemas as well as OPPOSITENESS are identical variants of the two domains, while Removal and Manner are steps of the MOTION and CONTAINER image schemas.

More specifically, the verbs that draw from the MOTION image schema are mainly end-point focused as regards abstract space, as in the case of ksepsixo (= to die), ksexreono (= to pay off debt or favour), and ksekano (= to kill). On the contrary, verbs expressing physical motion also denote the source of the schema, as in the case of the verb ksekino (= to start moving), while others focus on the duration of movement along the path, namely ksemakreno (= to stray). This clarifies the fact that image-schemas play an important role in the organisation of the senses of kse-, especially in the case of the MOTION image schema. Moreover, it proves BL’s argument on the nature of the links that hold between senses. Namely, all verbs discussed here provide information on motion (this information is shared by those verbs), and the senses of verbs expressing abstract motion indicate figurative links from the senses of verbs denoting physical motion. Thus, the focus on the shift in meaning is from physical to abstract (figurative) space.

3.3. On oppositeness of meaning

One of the parameters considered essential for the organisation of the senses of kse- is the sense relation of oppositeness. Oppositeness is widely discussed in lexical semantics and holds a very important role in that field. More specifically, “[a]ntonymy, or oppositeness of meaning, is an (...) interesting sense relation that manifests itself on various levels of linguistic organisation and function” (Panther & Thornburg 2012:161, hence PT). PT claim that antonymy is “the most salient sense relation” (ibid), since tests on the association of meaning between words suggest that what people most frequently associate in relation to a word is a word with the opposite meaning. A
common denominator in the CL framework has been the fact that people tend to evoke a word’s opposite in a spontaneous manner and that the overall “tendency to associate words with their” opposites “is to some extent reflected in linguistic structure and use” (ibid:163).

PT (2012) claim that this spontaneous opposite-evocation and the tendency for opposite-association is a fact that can be accounted for by means of conceptual frames or domains that among other information about a word also contain information on the word’s opposite concepts, and thus could be considered a primary means of evoking oppositeness of meaning. The main suggestion in PT’s account of antonymy is that it should not be considered as a mere “semantic relation entrenched between lexical items,” but rather as a relation that is dynamically construed in everyday communication and that “operates on various lexicogrammatical and pragmatic levels” (2012:186).

Two important contributions to the sense relation of oppositeness are the work of Vosshagen (1999) and of Cruse (1986). Vosshagen (1999) discusses oppositeness in meaning by reference to words used to convey the opposite meaning from what they usually mean, as in fine in What a fine day! that is used to express aversion towards bad weather. He claims that this is a conceptual process that is based on the cognitive mechanism of metonymy. More specifically, Vosshagen suggests that the two opposite meanings belong to one conceptual domain and for that reason the mappings that occur between the two meanings occur in the same domain, since they are influenced by factors of conceptual contiguity and salience, among others. He terms this procedure “motivation of metonymic mappings” (1999:289) and concludes that opposite meanings should be discussed not only on a lexical level, but also on a level of conceptual associations.

Cruse (1986) discusses various types of opposites. As regards verbs with kse-, the type of opposites that best accounts for them is that of reversives, which “denote motion or change in opposite directions” (Cruse 1986:226). As is the case with most of the verbs denoting oppositeness in both physical and abstract space, Cruse (1986) pinpoints the fact that the motion denoted by reversives can also be interpreted abstractly. Thus, he proposes a figurative interpretation of oppositeness. In his discussion of reversionary opposites, Cruse (1986) distinguishes between two categories of reversives. Reference here will be made only to the former category, since the latter does not touch the subject of interest. Thus, the first category is that of verbs that express “change between two determinate states” (ibid:226), namely a change between points A and B denoted by one lexical item, and its reverse change between points B and A denoted by the opposite lexical item.

An instance is “appear : disappear” (Cruse 1986:226) where each word denotes the reverse change of situation than the other word. In the case of “tie : untie” (ibid) however, the action of untiyng one’s shoe-laces is not the exact reverse of tying one’s shoe-laces. Nonetheless, the importance lies not on the precise reversal of actions or processes, but on the realization of those
appropriate states denoted in the lexical pair. A few instances found in Cruse (1986:226) correspond to Greek opposite pairs with the prefix *kse-* , as in “lock : unlock” (*klíðono : kseklíðono*), “cover : uncover” (*skepazo : kseskepazo*) \(^{11}\), and “embark : disembark” (*barkaro : ksebarkaro*). The second example extends to abstract space by means of metaphor. *Kseskepazo* is used to denote not only physical uncovering, as for example of some person under their bedsheets, but also figurative uncovering, as in the case of a criminal arrested by the police because of crimes that were finally revealed.

The present thesis suggests that verbs with *kse-* that denote oppositeness in meaning in the domain of physical space are mainly metaphorically mapped onto the domain of abstract space, and thus there is a *motivation of metaphorical mappings* present in the understanding of those verbs. It also takes into account Cruse’s (1986) reversive opposites in order to discuss abstract motion and containment.

### 3.4. On Cognitive Grammar: tense and aspect

As RD (2007:171) insightfully point out, “[c]ommunication is about situations,” namely “about events that happen and states things are in.” Thus, information people convey in the description of states and events is temporal and refers to three parameters constituting the event, that is its aspectual type, the time it occurred, and its reality status. These notions are expressed both in English and in Greek “by means of the grammatical categories *aspect, tense* and *modality*” (RD 2007:171). These categories are grammatically interrelated with the verb and semantically informative of the time sphere and related concepts applying to an event or state. Of the three grammatical devices only tense and aspect will be discussed here, since they constitute grammatical motivations for the organisation of the senses of Greek verbs with *kse-* proposed in the present thesis. Thus, a brief overview will provide some insight on the way these devices function in English and Greek.

In English, grammatical aspect “is part of the conceived situation” (RD 2007:171), as it provides information on the temporal structure of the situation in question. On the contrary, grammatical tense is “external to a situation” (ibid), since it grounds the situation in time. More specifically, as regards aspect, it is a grammatical form that speakers use when taking a specific view on a situation. In English, as well as in Greek, there are two forms of aspect: the progressive (imperfective) and the non-progressive (perfective) aspect (RD 2007; Mózér 2009, hence Moser). The former provides the speaker and hearer with a *restricted viewing frame*, that is, the event is not seen in its entirety because it is either not finished or those involved are not aware of, or interested

\(^{11}\) It needs to be noted that the simple verb *skepazo* can have the exact similar reverse figurative interpretations as has the verb with *kse-*.
in, its end. The latter form of aspect allows for a *maximal viewing frame* of a situation, namely the event is seen as a whole. Situations can be viewed as bounded and unbounded with regard to whether they have an end-point or not. Thus, accordingly, bounded events are seen with a restricted viewing frame, whereas unbounded events are viewed with a maximal viewing frame. In Greek, the presence or absence of the progressive is expressed by means of the verb stem for the Greek Aorist and the Present tense, respectively. As in English, the Greek aspectual system is not built on some objective temporal differentiation of the situation in question, but rather on the perspective the speaker chooses in order to refer to the situation.

In relation to tense, it is “the grammatical expression of notions of time” (RD 2007:229). English speakers conceptualize time as an axis where situations occur. During interaction, people refer to particular situations which take place on a particular point of the time axis. This point consists the *time of interaction* between the interlocutors, and also offers the viewpoint from which the time of a situation can be located. In English, the present tense refers to situations occurring at the present and the past tense refers to situations of the past. In Greek, the prevailing differentiation concerning time is between situations placed in the past, or in the non-past, namely in the present (Moser 2009)\(^\text{12}\).

In practical terms, what is apparent in the Greek verbs with *kse*- is the effect voice (active/passive/middle), as well as grammatical tense (present/past) and aspect (perfective/imperfective) exert on verbs in general in terms of the extension from physical to abstract space. A case in question is the verb *ksefortono* (= to unload) (active voice, present tense, imperfective aspect) that denotes an action of unloading burden in physical space. On the contrary, *ksefortonome* (= to get rid of) (passive voice, present tense, imperfective aspect) denotes an action that is not taking place in physical space, but rather refers to the act of getting rid of a person or object that is of no interest or is harmful to some other person.

In relation to aspect, as stated in the introduction, the viewing of a situation highly contributes to the arrangement of verbs with *kse*- on the image schema of MOTION. More specifically, the maximal viewing frame provided by the Greek Aorist alters the position of verbs towards the end-point of the schema, since the situation can be viewed in its entirety. For instance, in *i ergates ksefortosan to fortiγo* (= The workers unloaded the truck), the Past tense of the verb denotes an activity that is completed and thus, located on the end-point of the PATH schema. In *i ergates ksefortonun to fortiγo* (= The workers are unloading the truck), the Present tense of the verb refers to

\(^{12}\) In the present discussion no reference is made to the future tense in Greek and English, since in both languages the status of the future has been disputed. Also, it does not bear upon the analysis of the verbs with *kse*-.
an ongoing activity and as a result, this activity cannot denote the end-point of the schema, but rather some other location or various locations on the schema prior to its end-point\(^\text{13}\).

### 3.5. Embodiment and the Greek verbs with \textit{kse-}

The importance of the human body and of physical movement in space is crucial for the creation and understanding of abstract concepts. An instance of this fact can be seen by the effect of emotions as causes. More specifically, in \textit{Cognitive English Grammar}, RD (2007) argue that human emotions affect people’s physiological and psychological reactions. In English this is apparent through the use of prepositions that provide “at least four construals of viewing emotional causality” (ibid:329).

Of interest here are two of the construals, namely those provided by the prepositions \textit{in/into} and \textit{out (of)}. In the English examples “He jumped back in fear” and “He ran away out of fear (of punishment)” (RD 2007:329), intense emotion and motive for reaction are respectively expressed. RD claim that as regards the preposition \textit{in}, emotions expressed by this container preposition are intense. Also, reactions triggered by those emotions are not in the person’s control, as can be inferred by the example where the person unconsciously and spontaneously jumps back because of fear. In the case of the preposition \textit{out (of)} and the emotions it expresses, the example provided indicates that the person running away because of fear has an “active and controlled part in determining” (RD 2007:330) their reaction to their emotions. The metaphor that accounts for this understanding of emotions as triggering reactions is \textit{EMOTIONS ARE ENTITIES WITHIN A PERSON} (alternative name for \textit{BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS}), provided by the Master Metaphor List (Lakoff, Esperson, & Schwartz 1991).

The main sense of \textit{kse-} is the ‘out of” sense and in this case the ‘out of a container’ sense. For that reason, two examples with verbs with \textit{kse-} will be discussed in Chapter 4: the verb \textit{ksekarðizome} (= laugh one’s head, burst into laughter) and the verb \textit{ksexilizo} (= overflow). They reflect the \textit{EMOTIONS ARE ENTITIES WITHIN A PERSON and BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS} metaphors, respectively.

### 3.6. The Event-Structure Metaphor (ESM)

Following an experientialist approach to events and causes, LJ claim that event-structure concepts, namely events, causes, actions, changes, states, and purposes, have metaphorical extension in order to enable human reasoning about causes and events and that the metaphors employed “emerge from everyday bodily experience” (1999:171). Thus, event-structure concepts are fundamental human

\(^{13}\) It is important to be noted that the simple \textit{fortosanfortonun} can have the exact similar reverse figurative interpretations as have the verbs with \textit{kse-} (see Section 4.2.2.).
concepts that arise from human bodily experience and are “metaphorical in significant, ineliminable ways” (ibid). The bases for reasoning about and understanding event-structure concepts are two fundamental ESMs: the Location ESM and the Object ESM. These two metaphors differ in terms of the means they employ to conceptualize events: locations in the case of the Location ESM and objects in the case of the Object ESM. However, both employ the CAUSES ARE FORCES and CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS primary metaphors to constitute what is called Event-Structure Duality.

3.6.1. The Location ESM

The Location ESM is a complex mapping that together with its various submappings uses human experience and knowledge of everyday motion in space to provide the speakers’ “most common and extensive understanding of the internal structure of events” (LJ, 1999:179). Motion in space is the source domain and events are employed as the target domain. The following submappings constitute the Location ESM:

- States Are Locations (interiors of bounded regions in space)
- Changes Are Movements (into or out of bounded regions)
- Causes Are Forces
- Causation Is Forced Movement (from one location to another)
- Actions Are Self-propelled Movements
- Purposes Are Destinations
- Means Are Paths (to destinations)
- Difficulties Are Impediments To Motion
- Freedom Of Action Is The Lack Of Impediments To Motion
- External Events Are Large, Moving Objects (that exert force)
- Long-term, Purposeful Activities Are Journeys

(LJ, 1999:179)

Thus, speakers are able to reason and conceptualize about events simply by means of their own knowledge of and experience with motion in space. Their own movements as well as other people’s movements are perceived by speakers and are metaphorically extended to help them grasp event-structure concepts that do not have a physical, literal basis. This is valid both for English and for Greek.
3.6.2. The Object ESM

LJ (1999) discuss the Object ESM as the metaphor dual of the Location ESM. They define dual metaphors as “metaphors that overlap in content but differ in figure-ground orientation” (LJ 1999:194) and provide the example of the time metaphors Moving Time and Moving Observer. In the former, “times move and the observer is stationary” (ibid), while in the latter it is the observer that moves and time remains stationary. This kind of metaphor duality is also characteristic of ESM.

As already stated, the focus of the Location ESM is locations. The States Are Locations mapping combines with the Changes Are Movements mapping to express the change that occurs in an entity as “the movement of that entity from one location to another” (LJ 1999:195). These two mappings also combine to Causes Are Forces to express causation as forced motion from one location to another.

The metaphor duality between the Location and Object ESMs is based on the mapping States Are Locations, which according to LJ has Attributes Are Possessions as its dual. Attributes is synonymous to objects in one’s possession, namely a person can have a fine reputation, or a headache in the same way they possess a car or a house. The duality can be best grasped in the minimal difference occurring between Tom’s easygoing (States Are Locations) and Tom has got an easygoing manner (Attributes Are Possessions). In the first instance an easy-going manner is understood as a location a person is in, while in the second instance, one’s easygoing manner is an object they possess. This difference is a figure-ground shift as in the example of time metaphors. Namely, in the States Are Locations case Tom is the figure and his easygoing manner is the ground in which the figure is located. In the Attributes Are Possessions case Tom is the ground and his easy-going manner is the figure.

As in the States Are Locations mapping, the Attributes Are Possessions mapping also combines with the Changes Are Movements and the Causes Are Forces mappings. These combinations yield the understanding of attributes as possessible objects. In the case of Changes Are Movements, attributes are understood as objects that are either acquired or become lost from one’s possessions, whether motion is from or to the person. Hence, Tom can both have and lose his easygoing manner. In the case of Causes Are Forces, attributes are understood as being forced to move to or away from an entity, since causation can be understood as “giving or taking” (LJ 1999:196). Therefore, Tom can preserve his easygoing manner when he finds himself in a normal, not too irritating environment, but he can also lose his easy going manner in case of a nerve-racking situation. The Object ESM is constituted by the following mappings:

− Attributes Are Possessions
– Changes Are Movements Of Possessions (acquisitions or losses)
– Causation Is Transfer Of Possessions (giving or taking)
– Purposes Are Desired Objects
– Achieving A Purpose Is Acquiring A Desired Object
– Achieving A Purpose Is Getting Something To Eat
– Trying To Achieve A Purpose Is Hunting
– Trying To Achieve A Purpose Is Fishing
– Trying To Achieve A Purpose Is Agriculture

(LJ 1999:198)

3.6.3. Special-case Metaphors
The Location ESM and the Object ESM are the two fundamental complex metaphors employed for the conceptualisation of event-structure concepts. However, these concepts express very general as well as important ideas and thus, cannot be simply accounted for by means of the Location and Object ESMs. LJ (1999:203) claim that, event-structure concepts “are invariably conceptualized” in other ways as well. They present three more metaphors that through the use of the primary metaphors employed in the Location ESM and through the addition of other primary metaphors provide a new “distinctive perspective on events” (ibid). These are: The Action-Location Metaphor, The Moving Activity Metaphor, and the Existence as Location Metaphor (LJ 1999:203-206).

In the case of the Action-Location Metaphor, the common human experience that provides the source domain for this mapping is the fact that an action can be performed by an actor only “when the actor is at the action location” (LJ 1999:204). One can turn off the stove when they are standing in front of the stove. This correlation in experience is ubiquitous, thus producing the primary metaphor An Action Is Being In A Location.

Moving things, like cars, are part of everyday human experience. The destination those moving things reach is also part of this experience. These everyday facts are used as the source domain elements that map onto activities and the completion of those activities in the Activities Are Things That Move metaphor. In combination to the primary metaphors of the Location ESM (States Are Locations, Causes Are Forces, Purposes Are Destinations), the Activities Are Things That Move metaphor produces the Moving Activity Metaphor. LJ suggest that the two primary metaphors that constitute the Moving Activity Metaphor are the Activities Are Things That Move and the Completion Of The Activity Is Reaching A Destination metaphors.
Last, in the Existence as Location Metaphor, existence is understood “as presence in a bounded region around some deictic center” (LJ 1999:205), namely where a person is at a particular moment. In combination to the Change Is Motion mapping, Existence Is Being Located Here yields submappings that indicate that things come into existence (Becoming Is Coming Here), and that they stop existing (Ceasing To Exist Is Going Away). Hence, creation is conceptualized as being into existence. Moreover, and combined with Causation Is Forced Movement, the Existence as Location Metaphor provides submappings such as Causing To Exist Is Forced Movement Here and Causing To Cease To Exist Is Forced Movement Away. For example, “I got rid of all the evidence” (LJ 1999:206) maps the removal of evidence to the fact that the evidence is no more; it does not exist. Life is also recognized “as a form of existence” (ibid).
Chapter 4: The organisation of Greek verbs with *kse-* in physical and abstract space

As stated in the introductory Chapter, the aim of the present work is to present a new organisation of the senses of *kse-* by means of domains of experience, rather than in terms of lexical meanings as is done in the works discussed in Chapter 2 (Gardikas 1912; Chatzidakis 1914; Efthymiou 2002; 2018; the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek). It is proposed that the Greek verbs with *kse-* selected for the purposes of this thesis express events, states, changes, causes, actions, and purposes which take place in physical space. However, by means of their image schematic structure and the cognitive mechanism of metaphor, the verbs’ meanings extend to the domain of abstract space.

Among the main tenets of Cognitive Linguistics is that supporting the important role metaphor plays in the organisation of meaning. More specifically, it is suggested that metaphor cannot and should not be considered as a mere literary tool, but rather as a basic factor of structuring meaning. In other words, metaphor holds a determining place in the human conceptual system that is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). It is also claimed that metaphor is based on human experience and thus, it cannot be adequately comprehended and/or represented if it is not linked to experience, which also accounts for people’s embodied experience. Johnson (1987) postulates an embodied theory of meaning and argues that since it is with and through their bodies that people experience and grasp the world around them, then these “embodied and imaginative structures of understanding” should be given the focal point as regards “meaning and rationality” (xiii).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999, hence LJ:176), supporting Narayanan (1997a; 1997b), state that “[o]ur structuring of all events, concrete or abstract, arises from the way we structure the movements of our bodies”. The aim of this Chapter will thus be to suggest that Greek verbs with *kse-* express events, states, changes, causes, actions, and purposes both in physical and in abstract space. Namely, it will try to provide proof that those verbs are used both literally and figuratively; that the situations expressed by those verbs have a physical, embodied basis and that their meaning is extended via metaphor to express an abstract, figurative situation. This meaning extension from the domain of physical space to the domain of abstract space seems to occur via the ESM (LJ 1999). There are also verbs that draw on the *HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER* metaphor and emotion metaphors. Last, the verbs with *kse-* will be discussed in terms of the effect their opposite-meaning verbs as well as the verbs from which they derive have on the meaning they acquire.

In the remaining of the present Chapter the verbs will be discussed in terms of: (a) the image schema from which they draw their meaning; (b) whether their meaning is literal or figurative/metaphorical; (c) the effect their opposite verb has on their own meaning; and (d) the ESM metaphor that is suggested to reflect their meaning and account for their polysemy. Verbs with literal
meaning will be presented in Section 4.1. (Table 1, Appendix), while verbs with figurative meaning will be analysed in Section 4.2. (Table 2, Appendix). Instances with both literal and figurative senses will also be accounted for (Table 3, Appendix).

4.1. Verbs with kse- in the physical space domain

The dictionary search conducted in the electronic version of the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek resulted in 34 verbs with kse- that have a literal meaning (Appendix, Table 1). These verbs will be discussed in Sections 4.1.1. and 4.1.2., mainly in terms of the image schema from which their meaning is drawn.

4.1.1. Physical space: MOTION

Regarding the verbs with kse- that prompt from the MOTION image schema in physical space a number of representative ones will be discussed in this section due to lack of space and time. It is important to be mentioned that the vast majority of those verbs indicate a prevailing sense of oppositeness in their meanings.

More specifically, those verbs with kse- express the opposite action from the verbs that do not combine with the prefix in question. For instance, ksebleko tis klostes\(^\text{14}\) (= to untangle threads), ksepleko to pulover (= to unpick stiches from the pullover I am knitting), ksekliðono tin porta (= to unlock the door), and kseskepazo to moro (= to uncover the baby from its bed sheets) express a physical action that is the opposite from the one denoted by bleko tis klostes (= to tangle the threads), pleko to pulover (= to knit the pullover), kliðono tin porta (= to lock the door), and skepazo to moro (= to cover the baby with its bed sheets). In terms of the processes that take place into the human body, ksepianome (= muscles stop feeling sore), ksemuðiazo (= to stop feeling numb), and kseïðrono (= to stop being sweaty), also denote the opposite state from that denoted by the verbs that do not combine with kse-.

However, this opposition also reflects the motion in space that any physical action entails. Thus, when one has untangled the threads, unlocked the door, uncovered the baby from its bed sheets, or stopped being sweaty, they have reached the end-point of this action and have achieved their goal of completing this action. In other words, they have started off from location A in which the threads were still tangled, the door was still locked and the body was still sweaty, and they have reached location B in which the goal was achieved after passing through other stages of the

\(^{14}\) Most of the Greek examples provided come from the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, Portal for the Greek Language. Some of the examples are everyday typical Greek expressions that are not included in the before-mentioned dictionary.
procedure. It is suggested that this meaning is prompted from the mapping Changes Are Movements (into/out of bounded regions). In this mapping “a change of state” is understood “as a movement from one bounded region to another” (LJ 1999:183). Although in English this mapping occurs with verbs of motion like go, enter, and come, as in “He went crazy” (ibid), as well as with prepositions like into or between, as in “The clothes are somewhere between wet and dry” (ibid), in Greek this change of state is expressed via the prefix kse-, the image schema of MOTION and the sense relation of oppositeness.

A further instance that prompts from the MOTION image schema is ksevγazo (= to rinse out). While the verb with kse- refers to the physical activity of washing the soap off a cloth, the verb it derives from, vγazo, is highly polysemous with both literal and figurative senses. It mainly means to take out, to take off, to remove an entity from the place it is found. What is apparent in this case is that the verb with kse- maintains the main sense of the simple verb. This fact, in combination to the image schema of MOTION, and the prototypical sense for kse-, namely ‘out,’ contribute to the meaning of rinsing out. Ksevγazo also draws its meaning from the Changes Are Movements mapping, since the change of state between the cloth soaked in soap and the cleaned cloth can be understood as movement from one location to another.

Last, the prototypical verb of motion in Greek, namely ksekino, is also a case worth mentioning with regard to the image schema of MOTION. More specifically, ksekino means to start moving/to start an activity, hence it denotes the starting point of motion along a path with the intention of reaching an end-point. It thus draws its meaning from the MOTION schema. It is also suggested that it yields the mapping Purposeful Action Is Self-Propelled Motion to a Destination (LJ 1999) in which the entailment that actions are understood as self-propelled movements presupposes that specific aspects of those actions are conceptualized as specific aspects of movement. This parameter is in opposition to ksepsixo (= to die), since death, in terms of the soul exiting the body, is not a self-propelled movement, but rather the person is not accountable for it. Ksepsixo will be discussed further in Section 4.2.1. With regard to ksekino and the verb it is derived from, namely kino, it is important to note that the verb with kse- is not merely a derivative, but rather it is synonymous to kino. In the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, the prototypical sense for kino is to make an inert object move. However, ksekino is also provided as a sense for kino. The example kinise na paei stin eklisia (= He set off for the church) could also be rephrased into ksekinise γia tin eklisia (=He set off for the church) with the only difference being that kinise is more formal than ksekinise.
4.1.2. Physical space: CONTAINER

It has been mentioned throughout this thesis that the prototypical meaning for *kse-* is ‘out’/ ‘out of a container.’ In physical space, there are a number of verbs that express this ‘out of a container’ sense. For instance, *ksexortariazo* (= to rid of weeds), *kserizono* (= to uproot), and *ksespitono* (= to oblige a person to leave their home indefinitely) are representative cases in which a physical entity (human beings included) is forced out of a physical container. In *ksexortariazo* the container is the earth and the weeds are the entities forced out of the container. The same applies to *kserizono* in which various plants are forced out of the earth, whereas in *ksespitono* the entity forced out of the house is a person. Thus, these verbs clearly prompt from the CONTAINER image schema. *Kserizono* and *ksespitono* also denote the exact opposite action from *rizono* (= for plant: root, for people: put down roots) and *spitono* (= host a person in one’s home, provide a person with a home) that also draw their meaning from the CONTAINER image schema to express the insertion of an object or person in a physical container.

It is also suggested that *ksexortariazo*, *kserizono*, and *ksespitono*, as well as *kseγeno* (= to deliver a baby), draw their meaning from the mapping Causes Are Forces in which a caused change of state is “understood as forced” movement “from one state to another” (LJ 1999:184). More specifically, the change of state apparent in weeds and plants in general that have been forced out of the earth, in the person that has been obliged to abandon their home, and the baby that has been taken out of its mother’s womb, are understood as forced movements that take place from an initial state to an ultimate one.

With regard to actions involving parts of the human body, *ksefonizo* (= to yell) and *ksestomizo* (= to say something that should remain a secret) are representative cases to be discussed. *Ksefonizo* derives from the prefix *kse-* and the Greek noun for voice (*foni*). Its meaning is to shout real loud, to yell and in this way it expresses the exit of the voice from the body that constitutes a physical container. Similarly, *ksestomizo* that derives from *kse-* and the Greek noun for mouth (*stoma*), and means to let loose, to reveal something that should remain secret, denotes that by opening one’s mouth, words that should remain secret exit the body that again constitutes a physical container. These verbs are claimed to prompt from the mapping Actions Are Self-Propelled Movements where the action is carried out by an agent “under the agent’s own force” (LJ 1999:187). Namely, the actions of shouting really loud and revealing secrets are understood as movements carried out by the person’s own will (thus, they are self-propelled).

Last, two interesting instances that draw their meaning from the CONTAINER image schema are *ksemeθo* (= to stop being hangover) and *kseōipso* (= to quench one’s thirst). These verbs respectively express the change of state of being hangover or thirsty to the exact opposite state. Their
opposite verbs *meta* (= to be/become hangover) and *dipso* (= to feel thirsty) are claimed to yield the mapping *Changes Are Movements of Possessions* that also applies to the verbs with *kse*-.. In the case of the simple verbs, the mapping expresses the acquisition of a possession, namely the states of being hangover and feeling thirsty, while in the case of verbs with *kse* the loss of possession, and thus, of the before-mentioned states, is denoted.

The assumption that can be drawn from this analysis is that the image schematic experience of motion in space and of physical containment is a contributing factor to the understanding and organisation of the senses of Greek verbs with *kse*-. It is also claimed that the sense relation oppositeness plays an important role for the polysemy of those verbs. Thus, the discussion of the meanings of verbs with *kse*- in physical space yields the following schematic network, as proposed in Chapter 1:

![Figure 8. Physical space domain.](image)

4.2. Verbs with *kse*- in the abstract space domain

As with the verbs that express actions taking place in physical space, the dictionary search that was conducted resulted in 30 verbs with *kse*- that have a figurative meaning (Appendix, Table 2). The verbs that prompt from the MOTION image schema will be discussed in Section 4.2.1. and the verbs that draw their meaning from the CONTAINER image schema will be discussed in Section 4.2.2. Also, verbs with a metaphorical extension of meaning from physical to abstract space will be discussed in the course of this Section.

4.2.1. Abstract space: MOTION

In Section 4.1.1. verbs with a prevailing sense of oppositeness were discussed, namely *ksebleko*, *ksepleko*, and *ksekliðono*, to name just a few. In abstract space, the same verbs maintain this sense of
oppositeness and are also believed to denote a change of state as do the verbs with literal meaning. This change is mapped to the change of location and thus, to motion from one location into/out of a bounded region. For instance, *prospaθo na skefto pos tha kseblekso apo afti tin istoria* (=I am trying to figure out how to get out of this situation) indicates that first, the person is already involved in a dangerous/undesirable situation and that they wish to get out of it, and thus, get out of trouble. Although in English, this event is expressed via the preposition ‘out’ that draws its meaning from the CONTAINER image schema, in Greek it is the prefix *kse*- that clearly denotes the opposite action of getting into a troublesome situation. In other words, the person wishes to change their state and this also entails that they have to act/move in order to achieve their goal. Again, the image schema of MOTION is prevailing, without however excluding the CONTAINER schema.

Greek tense and aspect also have an impact on the way this event is understood by speakers in terms of the point of the image schema of MOTION that is focused upon (source, path, or goal). Namely, in the example provided above, the future tense of the verb and the phrase *prospaθo na skefto* express an action that has not yet taken place and that the person is still in a troublesome position (source). Unlike the future tense used in the example, the present tense of the verb *ksebleko* denotes an event that does not have an end-point. Thus, the speaker has a restricted knowledge of this event (path), as in *akoma ksebleko me afti tin katastasi* (= I am still in the process of getting out of this situation). Moreover, the past tense of the verb *ksebleksa* expresses an event that has reached its end-point and the speaker has complete knowledge of all the stages of the event, as in *epitelus ksebleksa apo afti tin katastasi* (= At last, I am out of this situation). However, taking aspect into consideration, it is important to note that in the case the verbs are marked for the progressive or the imperfective, there is no guarantee that location B (the goal) has been reached, since *ksebleko*, unlike *ksebleksa* or *tha kseblekso*, does not denote a complete action. This holds for all verbs discussed in the present thesis.

A representative instance that draws its meaning from the image schema of MOTION and expresses an action taking place in abstract space is *ksetreleno* (= to excite someone) that derives from the prefix in question and the verb *treleno* whose prototypical sense is to drive someone mad/crazy. *Ksetreleno* clearly prompts from the image schema of MOTION, since mental and psychological stability can be understood as the starting point of a path and someone’s excitement can be understood as distancing from the starting point and thus, approaching the end-point which in this case is a state of mental and psychological instability. It also seems that *ksetreleno* maintains the meaning of *treleno* and adds a sense of intensification to this action by means of *kse*- . The proposition made here suggests that *treleno* yields the mapping Changes Are Movements which also applies to *ksetreleno* since the change of one’s mental and psychological state can be mapped to
motion in a path. Last, the passive-voice counterpart of *ksetreleno*, namely *ksetrelenome* presents the same semantic relation to *trelenome* as stated above for the active voice verbs. It also prompts from the MOTION image schema, and yields the same mapping as *ksetreleno*. More specifically, in *ksetrelaθika apo ti xara mu* (= I went crazy with joy), the change of one’s state of mind, from sanity to insanity, is mapped onto a change of location via movement from one bounded place to another.

A further example is *ksespo* that prototypically denotes an outbreak in society, in nature, and in venting one’s feelings. More specifically, *ksespase kima aperγion* (= A stream of strikes broke out) refers to outbreaks in society, *θa ksespasi kateyido* (= There’s a storm coming) refers to the outbreak of natural phenomena, and *ksañika ksespase se klamata* (= He suddenly broke down in tears) refers to the outburst of emotions. It is suggested that in those examples the verb maps the causes for the outbreak of strikes, the coming of the storm, and the emotional outburst with the forces that characterize those situations and lead to their outbreak. The latter applies mostly to the social outbreak and the emotional expressive behaviour examples and maps the caused change of state with forced motion from a state to another. Namely, strikes break out because specific people are the ‘force’ that incites them, and people break into tears because there is an emotional force that builds up in them and leads them to sudden, forceful tears. Thus, *ksespo* yields the mappings Causes Are Forces and Causation is Forced Movement. With regard to the verb from which it is derived, namely *spazo*, it expresses the act of breaking an object by forcing strength on it. This sense is maintained by *ksespo*, since it denotes the ‘breaking’ of a situation or of one’s feelings because of figurative strength/force exerted on it.

Instances that present a metaphorical extension of meaning from physical to abstract space and draw their meaning from the image schema of MOTION are *ksefvyi* and *sekuno*. *Ksefvyi* literally expresses the act of escaping from a physical bounded region, as in a prison, and figuratively expresses escaping from an abstract prison, as in the case of a difficult situation, as well as being different and thus, escaping from the ordinary. In *katafere na ksefyi apo tis δýskoles erotisis tus* (= She managed to evade their difficult questions), the woman figuratively escapes from answering questions she does not desire to answer. This metaphorical escaping is mapped onto the act of literally escaping a place, and the means employed to elude this situation are mapped onto the means used to escape the physical bounded space. In *to forema afto ksefyi apo ta siniðismena* (= This dress is extraordinary), the dress in question presents with characteristics that are exceptional, that people are fascinated by. In this case, an ordinary situation is mapped onto one state (a dress being normal/ordinary), a situation that exceeds the ordinary is mapped onto another state (an exceptionally made/different dress), and movement from one situation to the other is mapped onto the change of
states from the ordinary to the extraordinary. Thus, ksefenvyo draws its meaning from the Changes Are Movements mapping.

Ksekuno literally denotes that an object is removed from its initial position, as in ksekuníðike o medeses (= the hinge has been removed from its place) and figuratively expresses the act of prompting a person into some sort of activity, as in an ðen ton ksekunisis ðen ñenvi ekso (= he will not go out if you do not shake him into something). This ‘movement’ sense is maintained from kuno, the verb that combines with kse-, which means to change the place or position of an object, mainly an object that is static as in o aeras kunai ta klaðia ton ðedron (= the air is making the branches of the trees move). Ksekuno yields the Causes Are Forces mapping, since the person is forced to change the state they are in, and thus, to move from the place they are found.

LJ (1999:206) discuss creation in terms of “bringing something into existence.” However, things or people do not just come into or go out of existence. It is often the case that they are caused to start or cease to exist. As regards caused ceasing of existence, the Greek verb ksekovo (= to cut ties with a person) seems to draw its meaning from the mapping Causing To Cease To Exist Is Forced Movement Away. For example, in iðele na ton ksekopsi apo tis kakes parees (= She wanted to cut his ties from people that had a bad influence on him) we have the mapping of the man and his undesired companions to things that exist, and the act of cutting ties between those people to the forced movement of the one away from the others. It is important to be noted that the verb kovo from which ksekovo is derived expresses the act of cutting an object in smaller pieces by means of a tool. This sense of cutting is metaphorically extended to abstract space and combined with kse- it denotes the act of cutting ties with people.

Last, as regards “life as a form of existence” (LJ 1999:206), the Greek verb ksepsixo is discussed in terms of it drawing its meaning from the mapping Death Is Removal Of The Soul. Ksepsixo denotes the removal of the soul from the human body by means of both the MOTION and the CONTAINER image schemas. With regard to the MOTION image schema, life is understood as directed motion along a path, and death as the end-point of this path. Thus, when the soul leaves the human body, the body can no longer remain alive and the person dies. In other words, starting from the beginning of life, the person traverses the path of life to finally reach its last point, namely death. This constitutes the natural order of events and is not part of self-propelled motion along this path, as in the case of ksekino discussed in Section 4.1.1. Regarding the CONTAINER image schema, it is the combination of the prefix kse- and the Greek noun for soul (psixi) that account for the verb denoting

15 Concerning the conceptualisation of life as being in existence, LJ (1999:201) provide the mapping Death Is Going Away to refer to the euphemism of death being understood as departure. However, the verb ksepsixo indicates that the soul is removed from the body and for that reason LJs’ mapping is substituted by the mapping Death Is The Removal Of The Soul.
the exit of the soul from the body. In other words, it is not only the Existence As Location Metaphor that accounts for the understanding of *ksepsixo*, but also the **HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER** metaphor in which the body and its functions are understood as physical containers. Thus, the human soul is conceptualized as an object/fluid contained in a container, and its removal from the human body is understood as the exit of the object/fluid from the container. An extension of this understanding is that life is a thing contained and death is a thing freed from its container.

### 4.2.2. Abstract space: CONTAINER

In Section 3.1. the discussion on the **CONTAINER** image schema supported that it is structured by patterns of our everyday, pervasive bodily experience of containment. Namely, apart from our experience of inserting or taking objects out of a container, or entering/exiting a place, the human body is in itself a physical container of food, of fluids, of sentiments. Two instances of verbs with *kse*- that map this understanding of the human body as a container in which feelings are enclosed are *ksekarðizome* and *ksexilizo* which respectively reflect the metaphors **EMOTIONS ARE ENTITIES WITHIN A PERSON** and **BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS**.

*Ksekarðizome* (*kse + karðia*, ‘heart’) literally means to have one’s heart taken out of their body (**CONTAINER**) and metaphorically expresses the sensation of one’s heart being affected by positive emotions, as in *ksekarðistikame sta γελια me ta astia tu* (= We laughed our heads off with his jokes). In this example, the intense emotion that is caused by laughter is mapped to the human heart that is understood as an entity within the body. This instance indicates that the meaning of the verb draws from image schematic experience and embodied cognition. In terms of the example provided for *ksekarðizome*, it is interesting to focus on the body part that Greek and English employ to map the intense emotions caused by laughter. Namely, in Greek it is the heart that is focused upon while in English it is the head that is affected by this surge of emotions. However, apart from ‘laugh one’s head off,’ English speakers also employ ‘laugh heartily’ to express the sense *ksekarðizome* denotes. In that case, both Greek and English use the heart as the physical entity on which intense emotions are mapped.

*Ksexilizo* (*kse + xilos*, ‘verge, rim’) denotes both the physical act of overflowing a physical container, as in *to krası ksexilise apo to potiri ke xyðike sto trapezi* (= The wine in the glass overflowed and was spilled on the table) and the abstract concept of an emotion overflowing a person, as in *i karðia tu ksexilizi apo ayapi* (= His heart is overflown with love). In the instance of the metaphorical overflowing of the heart, *ksexilizo* views the heart as a physical container (a glass) and love the liquid overflowing this container (wine). Thus, love is ‘contained’ in the heart and the heart is contained by the body. This yields the **BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS** metaphor.
Further representative cases of verbs that present with a metaphorical extension of their meaning from physical to abstract containment are ksezumizo, ksekufeno, ksefortono, and ksekokalizo. With regard to ksezumizo (kse + zumi, ‘cooking juice/juice’), it literally expresses the act of squeezing a fruit off its juice, while metaphorically it denotes the removal of some object a person possesses away from that person. In den exi δυλία ke ksezumizi tus γόνις tu (= He is unemployed and leeches off his parents) the act of extorting money is mapped to the act of squeezing the juice off of some fruit and the parents are mapped onto the fruit. This yields the mapping Causation Is Transfer of Possessions and here it maintains the sense of loss of one’s possessions. More specifically, the example above expresses causation (ksezumizi ‘leeches off’) as forced movement of some possessed object (the parents’ money) away from some entity (the parents).

Ksekufeno literally expresses the removal of one’s hearing ability (akoí), and metaphorically denotes the discomfort caused to people because of talking loudly. In mas ksekufanes me tis fones su (= Stop talking so loudly; you have deafened us) the discomfort caused by loud conversation is mapped onto the state of losing one’s hearing ability. Again, ksekufeno draws its meaning from the Causation Is Transfer of Possessions mapping, since a person figuratively loses their hearing ability (it is transferred away from them) as a result of loud voices. In terms of the verb from which ksekufeno derives, kufeno means to deafen a person. Thus, it can be implied that ksekufeno preserves the meaning of deafening a person and through kse- it adds a sense of intensification.

Ksefortonome is also a case of meaning extension from physical to abstract space. It is the passive-voice counterpart of ksefortono and it metaphorically expresses the act of getting rid of an object one does not want/need. It denotes the opposite meaning from fortonome and by extension fortono. In ksefortonome, the physical act of moving the furniture in θέλω na ksefortoθέ κα palia epipla (= I want to get rid of my old furniture) is done by another person, the one interested in buying the old furniture. On the contrary, ksefortono, in the active voice, expresses the literal, physical act of a person unloading items from a vehicle. Thus, starting from physical space, the verb denotes literal removal of objects from a location. Extended to abstract space, the passive voice verb ksefortonome maps physical unloading to figurative removal of one’s possessions via the help of others, and indicates the transfer of possessions taking place. This again yields the mapping Causation is Transfer of Possessions. Ksefortono and ksefortonome, are instances that highlight the important role voice plays in the organisation of the senses of verbs with kse-.

Last, ksekokalizo (kse + kokalo, ‘bone’) is a further case of metaphorical meaning extension from physical space to abstract space. Literally, it means to remove all meat from a bone while

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16 I am aware of the sense of hyperbole in the case of ksekufeno; however, I will not discuss this sense further in the present thesis.
eating, as in *ksekokalise ti brizola pu ixe sto piato tu* (= He picked his steak clean)\(^\text{17}\). Metaphorically it expresses first, the act of consuming all the money one owns or has inherited, as in *mesa se eksi mines katafere na ksekokalisi tin periusia tu patera tu* (= He managed to spent all of his father’s property in six months). Second, it denotes the act of being very absorbed in the reading of a book or document that not a word misses the person’s attention, as in *kate kyriaki ksekokalizi tin efimeriōa* (= Every Sunday he reads the newspaper to the last word). The verb’s literal sense provides the source domain for the submapping and thus, the money spent, or the book read is mapped onto food, and the act of spending or reading is mapped onto the act of eating. This yields the mapping *Purposes Are Desired Objects* and the more specific mapping *Achieving A Purpose Is Getting Something To Eat*.

Again, the assumption that can be drawn from this analysis is that the image schematic experience of abstract motion and containment is the result of the cognitive mechanism of metaphor. It is also claimed that the sense relation of oppositeness plays an important role for the polysemy of verbs with *kse-* in abstract space as well, as stated in the conclusion of Section 4.1.2. with regard to the physical space meaning of those verbs. Thus, the discussion of the senses of verbs with *kse-* in abstract space yields the following schematic network, as proposed in Chapter 1:

\[\text{Figure 9. Abstract space domain.}\]

\(^{17}\) This sense is not literal. Rather it can be considered metonymic, since food stands for eating the food. However, Dirven (1993), in his metonymy-metaphor continuum suggests that metonymic meaning is closer to literal meaning than is metaphorical meaning. The example provided here accounts for a metonymy that is close to the literal pole of the continuum and for that reason it will be referred to as literal.
Chapter 5: Summary and concluding remarks

The main aim of this thesis is to propose a new organisation of the senses of Greek verbs with *kse*- adopting the cognitive linguistic framework. This new organisation is done in terms of domains of experience, and more specifically of the domains of physical and abstract space (Figure 1, presented here for easy reference). This organisation is highly dependent on human experience, since the verbs in question draw their meanings from image schemas as well as from the sense relation of oppositeness. For that reason it is considered a more adequate way of understanding the semantics of *kse*-, since it takes into account both human cognition and the patterns of human experience. The verbs employed for the purposes of this work were collected from the electronic version of the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek, Portal for the Greek Language.

Chapter 1 discussed the methodology that was followed for the selection of the verbs and for the means employed for their analysis and introduced the new organisation of the senses of verbs with *kse*-. Chapter 2 provided an account of the existing bibliography on the prefix *kse*-. Greek scholars have so far provided categories or classes of meaning that are divided according to the lexical meanings of the verbs. In contrast to this approach, the present thesis discussed verbs with *kse* by means of embodiment and metaphorical meaning extension. The conclusion drawn from this cognitive approach is that *kse* is a polysemous entity that, when attached to verbs, it provides them with a new meaning that can be both literal and figurative. Chapter 3 dealt with the cognitive linguistic tools that underlie the organisation proposed in this work, namely image schemas, and tense and aspect from a Cognitive Grammar perspective. The semantic relation of polysemy and the sense relation of oppositeness were also discussed, followed by a reference to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1999) Event-Structure Metaphor.

*Figure 1.* Physical and abstract space domains.
The analysis of Greek verbs with *kse*- that draw their meaning from the MOTION and CONTAINER image schemas indicated that indeed image schematic structure is important for the conceptualisation of human experience and also for the organisation of meaning. Instances of verbs that prompt from these schemas verified the claim that these recurrent patterns of bodily and spatial experience are contributing factors for the ordering and understanding of events. With regard to the importance of the sense relation of oppositeness in the organisation of verbs with *kse*-, it is accounted for by the claim that oppositeness in meaning is a rather salient part of the verbs’ semantics and that in combination to the image schematic experience of MOTION and CONTAINMENT it is mapped from physical space to abstract space. This indicates that metaphorical mappings are motivated as regards the understanding of the particular verbs. However, an important conclusion resulted from the analysis of verbs with *kse*- in Chapter 4. Namely, it is not only the sense relation of oppositeness that plays a contributing role in the organisation of those verbs in the two domains of experience and in their polysemy, but also derivation. More specifically, the verbs with which *kse*- is combined are also of semantic importance and contribute to the polysemy of verbs with *kse*-. Also, tense and aspect are grounding devices for the organisation of particular verbs with *kse*- since first, the description of event-structure concepts is temporal and second, the grammatical categories of tense and aspect and aspect are interrelated with the verbs in terms of grammar and are also semantically informative of the concept of time sphere that applies in the event-structure concepts. Last, according to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1999) claim that human structuring of event-structure concepts is based on the way people move their bodies, Chapter 4 presented the physical, embodied basis of several verbs with *kse*- and the metaphorical extension of their meaning from the domain of physical to the domain of abstract space via the ESM. This was done by means of various examples and constructions. Overall, the present thesis supports that Greek verbs with *kse*- express event-structure concepts, such as events and actions that arise from human bodily experience, for the understanding of abstract concepts. This argument by no means excludes other Greek verbs from being understood and organised in terms of the ESM. Rather, since the present discussion is interested in and focused on Greek verbs with *kse*-, it employs the ESM as a means of understanding and organising those verbs’ meanings.

Thus, the present thesis has been a first attempt to discuss specific verbs with *kse*- from a cognitive linguistic perspective in order to organise their senses and understand their meaning extensions. Overall, it suggested that image schematic structure, the sense relation of oppositeness, and grammatical tense and aspect highly contribute to the understanding and organisation of the senses of Greek verbs with *kse*-. Although reference to some of these aspects was more detailed that for others, the conclusions that can be drawn from this discussion is that indeed the prefix *kse*- and
the verbs it is combined with: (a) have senses that prompt from image schemas; (b) are organised in the domains of physical and abstract space; (c) are metaphorically extended to abstract space by means of the ESM; and (d) are polysemous by means of the sense relation of oppositeness and of derivation.
References


Χατζιδάκις, Γ. (1914). ‘Περί της χρήσεως της προθέσεως εκ, εξ (ξε) εν τη νεωτέρα ελληνική’. *Αθηνά* 26: 8-47.

**Online sources**

Appendix

Full list of the verbs with *kse-* discussed in the present thesis.

1. *ksekino* = to start moving/an activity
2. *ksepiyazo* = to spring
3. *ksemeno* = to drop behind, (fig.) to run out of
4. *ksemakreno* = to stray, (fig.) to become estranged
5. *kseprovoðizo* = to see off
6. *ksefevγo* = to escape from a place, (fig.) to escape a situation
7. *ksepsixo* = (fig.) to die
8. *ksesiniðizo* = (fig.) to fall out of a particular habit
9. *ksepleno* = to rinse out, (fig.) money laundering, freeing oneself from embarrassment
10. *kseγγazo* = to rinse out
11. *ksexno* = (fig.) to forget
12. *ksenerono* = (fig.) to turn a person off
13. *ksekreleno* = (fig.) to excite, (fig., pas.v.) ksetrelenome = to become infatuated
14. *ksenixto* = (fig.) to stay up late
15. *ksexreono* = to pay off debt
16. *kseγrafo* = to write off, (fig.) to give up on somebody
17. *kseyelo* = (fig.) to deceive, to fool
18. *kseberδevo* = to untangle, (fig.) to get over with
19. *ksesarevo* = (fig.) to take liberties with
20. *ksekano* = (fig.) to kill
21. *ksesikono* = (fig.) to rouse, to excite
22. *ksebondo* = (fig.) to make a person feel very hungry
23. *kseperno* = to outperform, (fig.) to get over a problem
24. *ksekuno* = for an object: to be removed from its initial position, (fig.) to prompt a person into doing something
25. *ksepeto* = (fig.) to do something hurriedly
26. *ksesikono* = (fig.) to rouse, to excite
27. *ksekovo* = (fig.) to cut ties with, to stop a habit
28. *kseyeno* = to deliver a baby
29. *ksesavo* = to exhume’, (fig.) to reveal
30. *sekalupono* = to remove mold from something
31. ksexortariazo = to rid of weeds
32. ksespitono = to oblige a person to leave their home
33. kserizono = to uproot, (fig.) to banish
34. ksebarkaro = to disembark
35. ksezumizo = to squeeze a fruit of its juice, (fig.) to take advantage of a person’s property, to squeeze a person off their physical energy
36. ksekurazo = to let a person rest
37. ksekolo = to remove a stuck object, (fig.) to unwillingly detach oneself from a person or situation
38. ksefortono = to unload, (fig., pas.v.) ksefortonome ‘to get rid of a person or some object that causes trouble’
39. ksetripono = to get a person or an object out of a hole
40. kseprovalo = to emerge
41. ksefonizo = to yell
42. ksestomizo = to let loose, to say something that should remain a secret
43. ksexilizo = for liquids: to overflow an object, (fig.) to overflow with emotion
44. ksefiso = to breathe out as a result of stress, sadness, etc.
45. ksefurnizo = (fig.) to say on impulse
46. kseōino = (fig.) to blow off steam
47. ksespo = (fig.) for social turmoil/weather conditions: to erupt, to break out, for person: to get very angry and blow up
48. ksekokalizo = to remove the bones from food, to eat meat/fish heartily, (fig.) to to read a book to the last work with great adherence to the process, to squander a person’s money
49. ksenixiaz = (fig.) to step on one’s toe nails and cause the person pain
50. ksekufeno = (fig.) to speak really loud and cause other people discomfort
51. ksemitizo = (fig.) to peep, to sneak out
52. kseftilizo = (fig.) to demean
53. ksekaroizome = (fig.) to laugh heartily
54. kseskalizo = (fig.) to rummage
55. kseportizo = to sneak out of home for entertainment
56. ksekubizo = (fig.) to force a person to leave by swearing at them, or by using violence
57. kseōipso = to quench one’s thurst
58. ksemeθo = to stop being hungover
59. ksevromizo = to remove dirt
60.  ksekubono = to unbutton
61.  ksevulono = to remove the cork, (fig.) to unclog
62.  ksestolizo = to take down decorations
63.  ksepayono = to defrost something/ for something to defrost
64.  ksepikrizo = to stop something from being bitter
65.  ksebleko = to untangle, (fig.) to get out of a serious situation, to make a complicated situation clear
66.  kseöiplono = to unfold, (fig.) to reveal one’s talent, to expand one’s thoughts
67.  ksepleko = to unpick stitches in knitting, to let one’s plaits loose
68.  kseklidono = to unlock
69.  ksekurðizo = to unwind
70.  ksenikiazo = to end a renting contract
71.  kseskepazo = to uncover, (fig.) to reveal an unfair/illegal situation that was being intentionally kept a secret
72.  kseskonizo = to dust, (fig.) to revise in order to regain knowledge
73.  ksevafo = to discolour
74.  kseiðrono = to stop being sweaty
75.  ksemuðiazo = to stop feeling numb
76.  ksefuskono = to deflate, (fig.) for fame: to stop being first news
77.  ksetiliɣo = to unwrap, (fig., pas.v.) ksetiliɣome = for an event/situation: to happen step by step
78.  kseyinete = (fig.) something is undone
79.  kseleo = (fig.) to backpedal
80.  kselaspono = to clean the dirt from a person or an object, (fig.) to bail out
81.  ksepianome = for muscles: to stop feeling sore
82.  ksematiazo = (fig.) to free a person from the evil eye by means of prayer
1. Table of the physical space domain and the verbs with *kse*- grouped in it.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTION</th>
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2. Table of the abstract space domain and the verbs with *kse*- grouped in it.

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3. Table of verbs with both a physical and an abstract space meaning.

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