



FACHLITERATUR
EDITION ROMIOSINI
ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΗ



ICGL12 | 12th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON GREEK LINGUISTICS
16 – 19 SEPTEMBER 2015
FREIE UNIVERSITÄT BERLIN, CEMOG

Proceedings of the ICGL12

vol. 1

The International Conference on Greek Linguistics is a biennial meeting on the study and analysis of Greek (Ancient, Medieval and Modern), placing particular emphasis on the later stages of the language.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ICGL12
ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ICGL12

**Thanasis Georgakopoulos, Theodossia-Soula Pavlidou, Miltos Pechlivanos,
Artemis Alexiadou, Jannis Androutsopoulos, Alexis Kalokairinos,
Stavros Skopeteas, Katerina Stathi (Eds.)**

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE 12TH INTERNATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON GREEK LINGUISTICS**

**ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ 12^{ΟΥ} ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ
ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ**

VOL. 1



© 2017 Edition Romiosini/CeMoG, Freie Universität Berlin. Alle Rechte vorbehalten.
Vertrieb und Gesamtherstellung: Epubli (www.epubli.de)
Satz und Layout: Rea Papamichail / Center für Digitale Systeme, Freie Universität Berlin
Gesetzt aus Minion Pro
Umschlaggestaltung: Thanasis Georgiou, Yorgos Konstantinou
Umschlagillustration: Yorgos Konstantinou

ISBN 978-3-946142-34-8
Printed in Germany

Online-Bibliothek der Edition Romiosini:
www.edition-romiosini.de

*Στη μνήμη του Gaberell Drachman (†10.9.2014)
και της Αγγελικής Μαλικούτη-Drachman (†4.5.2015)
για την τεράστια προσφορά τους στην ελληνική γλωσσολογία
και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα*

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

Το 12ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (International Conference on Greek Linguistics/ICGL12) πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Κέντρο Νέου Ελληνισμού του Ελεύθερου Πανεπιστημίου του Βερολίνου (Centrum Modernes Griechenland, Freie Universität Berlin) στις 16-19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2015 με τη συμμετοχή περίπου τετρακοσίων συνέδρων απ' όλον τον κόσμο.

Την Επιστημονική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Δώρα Αλεξοπούλου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αμαλία Αρβανίτη, Σταύρος Ασημακόπουλος, Αλεξάνδρα Γεωργακοπούλου, Κλεάνθης Γκρώμαν, Σαβίνα Ιατρίδου, Mark Janse, Brian Joseph, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Ναπολέον Κάτσος, Ευαγγελία Κορδώνη, Αμαλία Μόζερ, Ελένη Μπουτουλούση, Κική Νικηφορίδου, Αγγελική Ράλλη, Άννα Ρούσου, Αθηνά Σιούπη, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας, Κατερίνα Στάθη, Μελίτα Σταύρου, Αρχόντω Τερζή, Νίνα Τοπιντζή, Ιάνθη Τσιμπλή και Σταυρούλα Τσιπλάκου.

Την Οργανωτική Επιτροπή του ICGL12 στελέχωσαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Κώστας Κοσμάς, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου και Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος.

Οι δύο τόμοι των πρακτικών του συνεδρίου είναι προϊόν της εργασίας της Εκδοτικής Επιτροπής στην οποία συμμετείχαν οι Θανάσης Γεωργακόπουλος, Θεοδοσία-Σούλα Παυλίδου, Μίλτος Πεχλιβάνος, Άρτεμις Αλεξιάδου, Γιάννης Ανδρουτσόπουλος, Αλέξης Καλοκαιρινός, Σταύρος Σκοπετέας και Κατερίνα Στάθη.

Παρότι στο συνέδριο οι ανακοινώσεις είχαν ταξινομηθεί σύμφωνα με θεματικούς άξονες, τα κείμενα των ανακοινώσεων παρατίθενται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, σύμφωνα με το λατινικό αλφάβητο· εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι εναρκτήριες ομιλίες, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στην αρχή του πρώτου τόμου.

Η Οργανωτική Επιτροπή του ICGL12

ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΑ

Σημείωμα εκδοτών	7
Περιεχόμενα	9
Peter Mackridge: <i>Some literary representations of spoken Greek before nationalism(1750-1801)</i>	17
Μαρία Σηφιανού: <i>Η έννοια της ευγένειας στα Ελληνικά</i>	45
Σπυριδούλα Βαρλοκώστα: <i>Syntactic comprehension in aphasia and its relationship to working memory deficits</i>	75
Ευαγγελία Αχλάδη, Αγγελική Δούρη, Ευγενία Μαλικούτη & Χρυσάνθη Παρασχάκη-Μπαράν: <i>Γλωσσικά λάθη τουρκόφωνων μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως ξένης/δεύτερης γλώσσας: Ανάλυση και διδακτική αξιοποίηση</i>	109
Κατερίνα Αλεξανδρή: <i>Η μορφή και η σημασία της διαβάθμισης στα επίθετα που δηλώνουν χρώμα</i>	125
Eva Anastasi, Ageliki Logotheti, Stavri Panayiotou, Marilena Serafim & Charalambos Themistocleous: <i>A Study of Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek Stop Consonants: Preliminary Findings</i>	141
Anna Anastassiadis-Symeonidis, Elisavet Kiourti & Maria Mitsiaki: <i>Inflectional Morphology at the service of Lexicography: ΚΟΜΟΛεξ, A Cypriot Morphological Dictionary</i>	157

Γεωργία Ανδρέου & Ματίνα Τασιούδη: <i>Η ανάπτυξη του λεξιλογίου σε παιδιά με Σύνδρομο Απνοιών στον Ύπνο</i>	175
Ανθούλα- Ελευθερία Ανδρεσάκη: <i>Γατρικές μεταφορές στον δημοσιογραφικό λόγο της κρίσης: Η οπτική γωνία των Γερμανών</i>	187
Μαρία Ανδριά: <i>Προσεγγίζοντας θέματα Διαγλωσσικής Επίδρασης μέσα από το πλαίσιο της Γνωσιακής Γλωσσολογίας: ένα παράδειγμα από την κατάκτηση της Ελληνικής ως L2</i>	199
Spyros Armotistis & Kakia Petinou: <i>Mastering word-initial syllable onsets by Cypriot Greek toddlers with and without early language delay</i>	215
Julia Bacskai-Atkari: <i>Ambiguity and the Internal Structure of Comparative Complements in Greek</i>	231
Costas Canakis: <i>Talking about same-sex parenthood in contemporary Greece: Dynamic categorization and indexicality</i>	243
Michael Chiou: <i>The pragmatics of future tense in Greek</i>	257
Maria Chondrogianni: <i>The Pragmatics of the Modern Greek Segmental Markers</i>	269
Katerina Christopoulou, George J. Xydopoulos & Anastasios Tsangalidis: <i>Grammatical gender and offensiveness in Modern Greek slang vocabulary</i>	291
Aggeliki Fotopoulou, Vasiliki Foufi, Tita Kyriacopoulou & Claude Martineau: <i>Extraction of complex text segments in Modern Greek</i>	307
Αγγελική Φωτοπούλου & Βούλα Γιούλη: <i>Από την «Έκφραση» στο «Πολύτροπο»: σχεδιασμός και οργάνωση ενός εννοιολογικού λεξικού</i>	327
Marianthi Georgalidou, Sofia Lampropoulou, Maria Gasouka, Apostolos Kostas & Xanthippi Foulidi: <i>“Learn grammar”: Sexist language and ideology in a corpus of Greek Public Documents</i>	341
Maria Giagkou, Giorgos Fragkakis, Dimitris Pappas & Harris Papageorgiou: <i>Feature extraction and analysis in Greek L2 texts in view of automatic labeling for proficiency levels</i>	357

Dionysis Goutsos, Georgia Fragaki, Irene Florou, Vasiliki Kakousi & Paraskevi Savvidou: <i>The Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th century: Design and compilation</i>	369
Kleanthes K. Grohmann & Maria Kambanaros: <i>Bilectalism, Comparative Bilingualism, and the Gradience of Multilingualism: A View from Cyprus</i>	383
Günther S. Henrich: „Γεωγραφία νεωτερική“ στο Λίβιστρος και Ροδάμνη: μετατόπιση ονομάτων βαλτικών χωρών προς την Ανατολή;.....	397
Noriyo Hoozawa-Arkenau & Christos Karvounis: <i>Vergleichende Diglossie - Aspekte im Japanischen und Neugriechischen: Veritäten - Interferenz</i>	405
Μαρία Ιακώβου, Ηριάννα Βασιλειάδη-Λιναρδάκη, Φλώρα Βλάχου, Όλγα Δήμα, Μαρία Καββαδία, Τατιάνα Κατσίνα, Μαρίνα Κουτσομπού, Σοφία-Νεφέλη Κύτρου, Χριστίνα Κωστάκου, Φρόσω Παππά & Σταυριαλένα Περρέα: <i>ΣΕΠΙΜΕ2: Μια καινούρια πηγή αναφοράς για την Ελληνική ως Γ2</i>	419
Μαρία Ιακώβου & Θωμαΐς Ρουσουλιώτη: <i>Βασικές αρχές σχεδιασμού και ανάπτυξης του νέου μοντέλου αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων για τη διδασκαλία της Ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας</i>	433
Μαρία Καμηλάκη: «Μαζί μου ασχολείσαι, πόσο μαλάκας είσαι!»: Λέξεις-ταμπού και κοινωνιογλωσσικές ταυτότητες στο σύγχρονο ελληνόφωνο τραγούδι.....	449
Μαρία Καμηλάκη, Γεωργία Κατσούδα & Μαρία Βραχιονίδου: <i>Η εννοιολογική μεταφορά σε λέξεις-ταμπού της ΝΕΚ και των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων</i>	465
Eleni Karantzola, Georgios Mikros & Anastassios Papaioannou: <i>Lexico-grammatical variation and stylometric profile of autograph texts in Early Modern Greek</i>	479
Sviatlana Karpava, Maria Kambanaros & Kleanthes K. Grohmann: <i>Narrative Abilities: MAINing Russian–Greek Bilingual Children in Cyprus</i>	493
Χρήστος Καρβούνης: <i>Γλωσσικός εξαρχαϊσμός και «ιδεολογική» νόρμα: Ζητήματα γλωσσικής διαχείρισης στη νέα ελληνική</i>	507

Demetra Katis & Kiki Nikiforidou: <i>Spatial prepositions in early child Greek: Implications for acquisition, polysemy and historical change</i>	525
Γεωργία Κατσούδα: <i>Το επίθημα -ούνα στη ΝΕΚ και στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα</i>	539
George Kotzoglou: <i>Sub-extraction from subjects in Greek: Its existence, its locus and an open issue</i>	555
Veranna Kyprioti: <i>Narrative, identity and age: the case of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes, Greece</i>	571
Χριστίνα Λύκου: <i>Η Ελλάδα στην Ευρώπη της κρίσης: Αναπαραστάσεις στον ελληνικό δημοσιογραφικό λόγο</i>	583
Nikos Liosis: <i>Systems in disruption: Propontis Tsakonian</i>	599
Katerina Magdou, Sam Featherston: <i>Resumptive Pronouns can be more acceptable than gaps: Experimental evidence from Greek</i>	613
Maria Margarita Makri: <i>Opos identity comparatives in Greek: an experimental investigation</i>	629
2ος Τόμος	
Περιεχόμενα	651
Vasiliki Makri: <i>Gender assignment to Romance loans in Katoitaliótika: a case study of contact morphology</i>	659
Evgenia Malikouti: <i>Usage Labels of Turkish Loanwords in three Modern Greek Dictionaries</i>	675
Persephone Mamoukari & Penelope Kambakis-Vougiouklis: <i>Frequency and Effectiveness of Strategy Use in SILL questionnaire using an Innovative Electronic Application</i>	693

Georgia Maniati, Voula Gotsoulia & Stella Markantonatou: <i>Contrasting the Conceptual Lexicon of ILSP (CL-ILSP) with major lexicographic examples</i>	709
Γεώργιος Μαρκόπουλος & Αθανάσιος Καρασίμος: <i>Πολυεπίπεδη επισημείωση του Ελληνικού Σώματος Κειμένων Αφασικού Λόγου</i>	725
Πωλίνα Μεσηνιώτη, Κατερίνα Πούλιου & Χριστόφορος Σουγανίδης: <i>Μορφοσυντακτικά λάθη μαθητών Τάξεων Υποδοχής που διδάσκονται την Ελληνική ως Γ2</i>	741
Stamatia Michalopoulou: <i>Third Language Acquisition. The Pro-Drop-Parameter in the Interlanguage of Greek students of German</i>	759
Vicky Nanousi & Arhonto Terzi: <i>Non-canonical sentences in agrammatism: the case of Greek passives</i>	773
Καλομοίρα Νικολού, Μαρία Ξεφτέρη & Νίτσα Παραχεράκη: <i>Το φαινόμενο της σύνθεσης λέξεων στην κυκλαδοκρητική διαλεκτική ομάδα</i>	789
Ελένη Παπαδάμου & Δώρας Κ. Κυριαζής: <i>Μορφές διαβαθμιστικής αναδίπλωσης στην ελληνική και στις άλλες βαλκανικές γλώσσες</i>	807
Γεράσιμος Σοφοκλής Παπαδόπουλος: <i>Το δίπολο «Εμείς και οι Άλλοι» σε σχόλια αναγνωστών της Lifo σχετικά με τη Χρυσή Αυγή</i>	823
Ελένη Παπαδοπούλου: <i>Η συνδυαστικότητα υποκοριστικών επιθημάτων με β' συνθετικό το επίθημα -άκι στον διαλεκτικό λόγο</i>	839
Στέλιος Πιπερίδης, Πένυ Λαμπροπούλου & Μαρία Γαβριηλίδου: <i>clarin:el. Υποδομή τεκμηρίωσης, διαμοιρασμού και επεξεργασίας γλωσσικών δεδομένων</i>	851
Maria Pontiki: <i>Opinion Mining and Target Extraction in Greek Review Texts</i>	871
Anna Roussou: <i>The duality of mīpos</i>	885

Stathis Selimis & Demetra Katis: <i>Reference to static space in Greek: A cross-linguistic and developmental perspective of poster descriptions</i>	897
Evi Sifaki & George Tsoulas: <i>XP-V orders in Greek</i>	911
Konstantinos Sipitanos: <i>On desiderative constructions in Naousa dialect</i>	923
Eleni Staraki: <i>Future in Greek: A Degree Expression</i>	935
Χριστίνα Τακούδα & Ευανθία Παπαευθυμίου: <i>Συγκριτικές διδακτικές πρακτικές στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2: από την κριτική παρατήρηση στην αναπλαισίωση</i>	945
Alexandros Tantos, Giorgos Chatzioannidis, Katerina Lykou, Meropi Papatheohari, Antonia Samara & Kostas Vlachos: <i>Corpus C58 and the interface between intra- and inter-sentential linguistic information</i>	961
Arhonto Terzi & Vina Tsakali: <i>The contribution of Greek SE in the development of locatives</i>	977
Paraskevi Thomou: <i>Conceptual and lexical aspects influencing metaphor realization in Modern Greek</i>	993
Nina Topintzi & Stuart Davis: <i>Features and Asymmetries of Edge Geminates</i>	1007
Liana Tronci: <i>At the lexicon-syntax interface Ancient Greek constructions with ἔχειν and psychological nouns</i>	1021
Βίλλυ Τσάκωνα: <i>«Δημοκρατία είναι 4 λύκοι και 1 πρόβατο να ψηφίζουν για φαγητό»: Αναλύοντας τα ανέκδοτα για τους/τις πολιτικούς στην οικονομική κρίση</i>	1035
Ειρήνη Τσαμαδοῦ- Jacobberger & Μαρία Ζέρβα: <i>Εκμάθηση ελληνικών στο Πανεπιστήμιο Στρασβούργου: κίνητρα και αναπαραστάσεις</i> ...	1051
Stavroula Tsiplakou & Spyros Armostis: <i>Do dialect variants (mis)behave? Evidence from the Cypriot Greek koine</i>	1065
Αγγελική Τσόκογλου & Σύλα Κλειδή: <i>Συζητώντας τις δομές σε -οντας</i>	1077

Αλεξιάννα Τσότσου:	
<i>Η μεθοδολογική προσέγγιση της εικόνας της Γερμανίας στις ελληνικές εφημερίδες</i>	1095
Anastasia Tzilinis:	
<i>Begründendes Handeln im neugriechischen Wissenschaftlichen Artikel: Die Situierung des eigenen Beitrags im Forschungszusammenhang.....</i>	1109
Κυριακούλα Τζωρτζάτου, Αργύρης Αρχάκης, Άννα Ιορδανίδου & Γιώργος Ι. Ευδόπουλος: <i>Στάσεις απέναντι στην ορθογραφία της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής: Ζητήματα ερευνητικού σχεδιασμού</i>	1123
Nicole Vassalou, Dimitris Papazachariou & Mark Janse:	
<i>The Vowel System of Mišótika Cappadocian</i>	1139
Marina Vassiliou, Angelos Georgharas, Prokopis Prokopidis & Haris Papageorgiou:	
<i>Co-referring or not co-referring? Answer the question!.....</i>	1155
Jeroen Vis:	
<i>The acquisition of Ancient Greek vocabulary.....</i>	1171
Christos Vlachos:	
<i>Mod(aliti)es of lifting wh-questions.....</i>	1187
Ευαγγελία Βλάχου & Κατερίνα Φραντζή:	
<i>Μελέτη της χρήσης των ποσοδεικτών λίγο-λιγάκι σε κείμενα πολιτικού λόγου</i>	1201
Madeleine Voga:	
<i>Τι μας διδάσκουν τα ρήματα της ΝΕ σχετικά με την επεξεργασία της μορφολογίας.....</i>	1213
Werner Voigt:	
<i>«Σεληνάκι μου λαμπρό, φέγγε μου να περπατώ ...» oder: warum es in dem bekannten Lied nicht so, sondern eben φεγγαράκι heißt und ngr. φεγγάρι</i>	1227
Μαρία Βραχιονίδου:	
<i>Υποκοριστικά επιρρήματα σε νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα</i>	1241
Jeroen van de Weijer & Marina Tzakosta:	
<i>The Status of *Complex in Greek.....</i>	1259
Theodoros Xioufis:	
<i>The pattern of the metaphor within metonymy in the figurative language of romantic love in modern Greek.....</i>	1275

THE PRAGMATICS OF THE MODERN GREEK SEGMENTAL MARKERS

Maria Chondrogianni
University of Westminster
M.N.Chondrogianni@westminster.ac.uk

Περίληψη

Η ανακοίνωσή μας συζητά τα πραγματολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των τμηματικών δεικτών-συμπεριλαμβανομένων των μήπως, άραγε, ίσως, μακάρι, που, για, και των ερωτήσεων ηχώ-δηλαδή των γραμματικοποιημένων λεξιλογικών στοιχείων ή μορίων, τα οποία οι ομιλητές έχουν στη διάθεσή τους για να εκφράσουν μια προσλεκτικότητα κι έτσι να πραγματοποιήσουν την πρόθεσή τους. Επίσης, οι τμηματικοί δείκτες διευκολύνουν τους ακροατές να ερμηνεύσουν συγκεκριμένες χρήσεις. Η ανάλυσή μας ενισχύει την άποψη ότι υπάρχει μια άρρηκτη σχέση ανάμεσα στην Πραγματολογία, την Μορφοσύνταξη και τη Φωνολογία, μια και βασίζεται στην προσλεκτικότητα, τους μορφοσυντακτικούς περιορισμούς και το προσωδιακό περίγραμμα του κάθε δείκτη.

Keywords: Pragmatics, Segmental Markers, tag questions, mipos, araye, isos, makari

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to systematically describe the Pragmatics of function-linked segmental markers, i.e. of lexical elements (or combination of) or particles that speakers have at their disposal in order to express a particular illocution and achieve their intention. Such markers provide, in return, a clue to the addressee on how particular uses are to be interpreted. The segmental markers we analyse- namely tag questions,

mipos, araye, isos, makari, pou and yia- form part of the grammatical system. In some cases their use is necessary in order for a particular illocution to be expressed, while in others they are optional elements of an utterance, used in addition to a dedicated verb mood or negation particle, aiming to strengthen or mitigate an utterance's illocutionary force, hence they always carry an illocutionary impact. The segmental markers discussed are considered in conjunction with other markers carrying an illocutionary impact, including verb mood; negation; prosodic contour; number, person and tense where applicable; and the addressee's response, where applicable.

Our analysis highlights the interface between Pragmatics, Morphosyntax, and Phonology: each identified segmental marker is described in terms of its illocution; morphosyntactic constraints-where appropriate; and prosodic contour (through relevant Praat illustrations). In our analysis we use the term *basic illocution* (also Sentence Type, or Speech Act prototype) as 'a coincidence of grammatical structure and conventional conversational use', as defined by Sadock & Zwicky (1985). Basic illocutions are expressed by the speaker in various forms, using syntactic, morphological and phonological means. We are interested in distinctions which form part of the language system. Moreover, we have adopted Hengeveld's (2004) definition of (grammatical) Mood, as the category 'said to comprise all grammatical elements operating on a situation/ proposition, that are not directly concerned with situating an event in the actual world, as conceived by the speaker'. The methodology we followed involved:

- The identification of morpho-syntactic tools speakers have at their disposal to express their intention i.e. by establishing the MG verb moods through a series of tests involving morphology; use of particles; negation; clitic placement; and participation to subordination (e.g. see Chondrogianni 2012).
- The identification of phonological tools speakers have at their disposal to express their intention: establishing a hypothesis on 5 intonation patterns used, which were confirmed recursively, through a production experiment using Praat (see section 1.1 below).
- Following an initial introspective data collection; the data were verified by an informal group of informers and by mini internet searches; a production experiment followed. The results were further checked with a Corpus-based experiment, using the University of Athens Corpus of Greek texts (Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων, Goutsos 2010) as well as other web-based sources such as www.slang.gr.
- Finally, our results were classified based on the segmental markers' function.

1.1 Phonological tools: our proposed 5 intonation patterns

In order to establish the MG intonation patterns, we considered different approaches in MG Phonology. One of these approaches was GR ToBi (Arvaniti and Baltazani 2006, accessible at <http://idiom.ucsd.edu/~arvaniti/grtobi.html>), a tool for the intonational, prosodic and phonetic representation of Greek spoken corpora, designed to capture Athenian Greek and focusing on a prosodic analysis of phrase based structures. We also considered approaches aiming to explore the relationship between intonation and sentence type interpretation (from a production and perception point of view) such as Kotsifas (2009) and Chaida (2008).

An utterance’s intonation pattern is also influenced by a speaker’s topicality and focality choices. Baltazani (2007) highlights that focus and topic in Greek are marked by phrasing, type of pitch accent and boundary tone. Focus tends to ‘delete a boundary after the focus word and de-accent all following words’, as she notes, while ‘topicalisation creates an IP boundary at the end of the topic phrase’.

The approach we take is focused on intonation patterns as one of the criteria for identifying specific illocutions, in other words intonation patterns as markers of illocution at *Utterance* level (as per the layered structure of the Functional Discourse Grammar Phonological component). We have, therefore, taken a slightly more schematic approach, similar to the one presented below by Chaida (2008), as outlined in Figure 1 (also by Kotsifas 2009). We have not dealt with focality issues unless absolutely necessary (e.g. INT2), whilst we have kept a phonological analysis to a minimum, at an utterance level, rather than at phonological word and/or phonological phrase level.





Sentence Type	Tonal structure	Boundary
STATEMENT		Low
POLAR QUESTION		Rise-Fall
WH-QUESTION		Rise
COMMAND		Low

Figure 1 | Tonal structures proposed by Chaida 2008

Although we do not fully coincide with Chaida (2008) as far as the ‘sentence types’ in MG are concerned, our suggested intonation patterns partially coincide on three oc-

casions. Her proposed statement-related tonal structure coincides with our intonation pattern INT1, outlined in section 1.1.1 below; the polar question-related tonal structure coincides with our INT4 intonation, outlined in 1.1.4 below; and the wh-question tonal structure coincides with INT3 intonation, outlined in 1.1.3. We take different views as far as our INT5 is concerned. Furthermore, we adopt a separate prosodic contour (INT2) when narrow focus applies, as an alternative to INT1.

1.1.1 Intonation Pattern 1 (INT1)

The characteristic of this pattern is its broad focus and a high level of the accented syllable. The Fundamental Frequency (FO) characteristics of this pattern include a heightening of the pitch starting at the first accented syllable with a pitch at the first post-accented syllable. The boundary is low. This is consistent with Kotsifas (2009) and Chaida (2008) description. Schematically, the tonal structure of our INT1 pattern is illustrated in Figure 2 below. The nucleus might create variations on this pattern. In some cases it can be used interchangeably with INT2, when focality affects the way an utterance is expressed; INT1 characterises broad focus.



Figure 2 | *Intonation Pattern 1 (INT1)*

1.1.2 Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)

In INT2 we start with a plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear, followed by a fall from the post-nuclear syllable onwards. Schematically, INT2 tonal structure is illustrated in Figure 3 below. It characterises narrow focus.



Figure 3 | *Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)*

1.1.3 Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3)

This is the typical pattern for content interrogatives. It starts high, with the first accented syllable and it starts dropping immediately after it, with a potential slight rise at the end. Although typical questions are expected to finish with rising intonation, the question word here provides the key to the addressee on how the utterance is to be interpreted, hence a variation with a slightly rising, level or slightly falling end syllable is not unexpected. INT3 can schematically be illustrated in Figure 5 below.

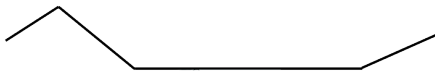


Figure 4 | Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3).

1.1.4 Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

This is the typical polar question intonation pattern. The peak is on the last stressed syllable of the final word. Following a gradual fall, we have a low plateau followed by a rise (it might or might not slightly fall at the end). The boundary is Rise-fall. Schematically we present its tonal structure in Figure 5 below.



Figure 5 | Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

1.1.5 Intonation Pattern 5 (INT5)

This pattern starts with a small fall, followed by a rise (and possibly a high plateau), and followed by a fall (and a potential small rise at the end). The boundary is low-high. Schematically we are illustrating INT5 in Figure 6 that follows.

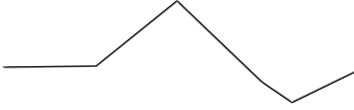


Figure 6 | Intonation Pattern 5 (INT5).

2. Segmental markers in indicative

Indicative in MG is not associated with a typical particle, apart from optional use of future particle *θα*; and the typical indicative negation *δεν*. Indicative is often associated with the Declarative sentence type; however, they are not one and the same. While declaratives can only be expressed in indicative, indicative is deployed for a variety of propositional and behavioural uses. Below we discuss segmental markers expressed in indicative.

2.1 Assertions in disguise- contrastive statements

Segmental markers in indicative include tags, which contribute to declarative uses disguised as questions. In example (1) below, the tag question is a compulsory element of the utterance's structure; it strengthens the force of the assertion as described in the matrix. Both the speaker and the addressee know the 'answer' to such a question-like utterance-such answer cannot but be positive. In fact, the speaker is certain of what the answer should be (had the utterance been interpreted as a question), and they believe that the addressee is also aware both of the 'answer' as well as of the fact that the speaker already possesses this information.

- (1) Στο έχω πει να πλένεις τα χέρια σου, δεν στο έχω πει;
 It have-1S.PR told SUBJ wash-2S.PR.IPF the hands your, NEG it have-1S.PR told?
 I have told you to wash you hands, haven't I told you?

The intonation pattern consists of an INT2 intonation (for the matrix) and an INT4 intonation for the tag. This intonation sequence, illustrated in Figure 7 below, indicates that the combined assertive/interrogative nature of the utterance is possibly not fully integrated.

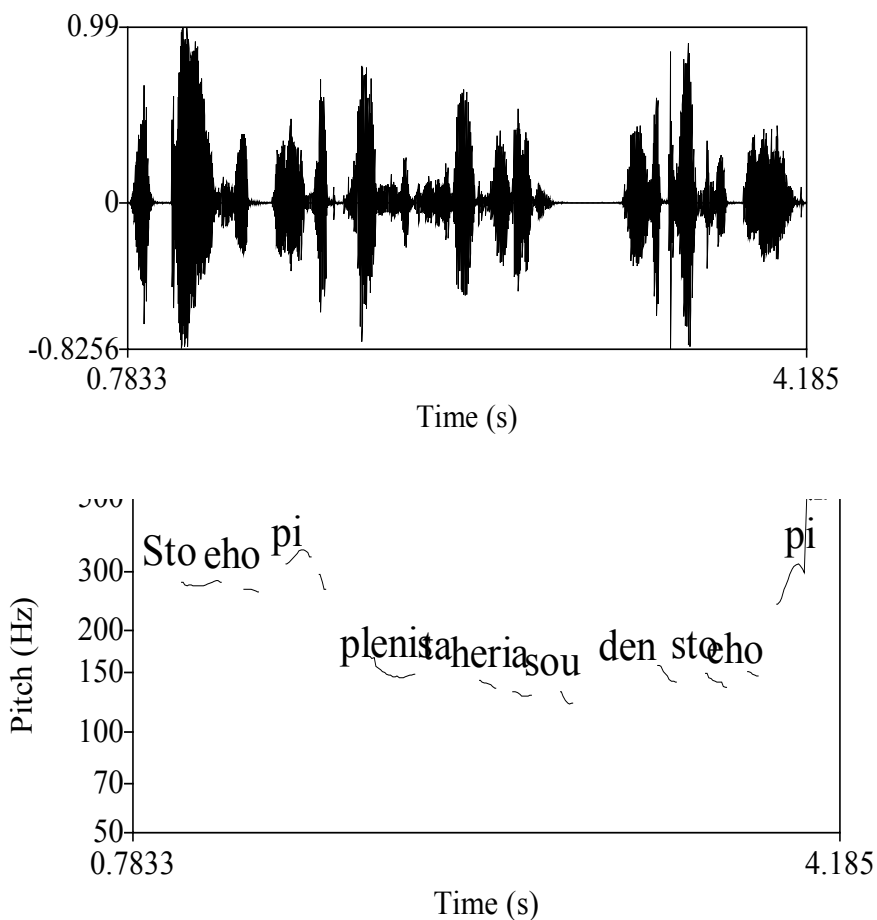


Figure 7 | PRAAT illustration of assertions-in-disguise/contrastive statements

2.2 Assertions in disguise-requests for confirmation

While in (1) the tag of opposite polarity to the matrix was used by the speaker to strengthen the force of an utterance, a speaker might also use a tag in order to invite the addressee to confirm (or deny) the propositional content of the matrix.

- (2) Θα έρθεις αύριο, έτσι δεν είναι;
 FUT come-2S.PF tomorrow, 'like that' NEG is?
 You will come tomorrow, isn't it (won't you)?

Unlike English, the formulaic tag ‘έτσι δεν είναι;’ might be used irrespective of the verb (είναι or otherwise) in the matrix. The negative δεν is used here for emphasis, rather than as a negation of the matrix (also unlike the French ‘n’est-ce pas?’).

Less often the matrix might be followed by the tag ‘δεν είναι;’. The verb in the matrix can be in any tense (past, present or future). If the tag involves είναι, then it is always in the 3rd person present; if it involves the same verb as in the matrix (e.g. its negation), then tense, number and person are in agreement in the matrix and tag. The use of tags strengthens the assertive element. The speaker most likely believes their assertion to be true, but they attempt a ‘double checking’ (in order to avoid, for example, a false presupposition).

The matrix reflects an assertive intonation; it is usually affected by topicality/focality elements, as it is the case here with the nucleus on the verb (INT2 intonation); the tag always reflects a polar interrogative intonation INT4 as shown in Figure 8.

Table 1 below summarises the formal characteristics of requests for confirmation.

Function	Requests for Confirmation
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (optional particle θα, optional negation δεν)+ tag
Scope	Propositional
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	Usually 2nd, 3rd and 1st possible
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT1/2 (matrix) + INT4 (tag)

Table 1 | From function to form-Requests for confirmation

2.3 Segmental markers in indicative: behavioural uses-proffer

In (3) we consider an example where the speaker offers the addressee their help in a non-offensive way. The speaker attempts a change of heart from the point of view of the addressee (i.e. to get them to accept the help on offer) by mitigating the strength of the proposition in the question, and to get the addressee’s consent for a changed behaviour, hence μήπως acts here as a behavioural illocution marker.

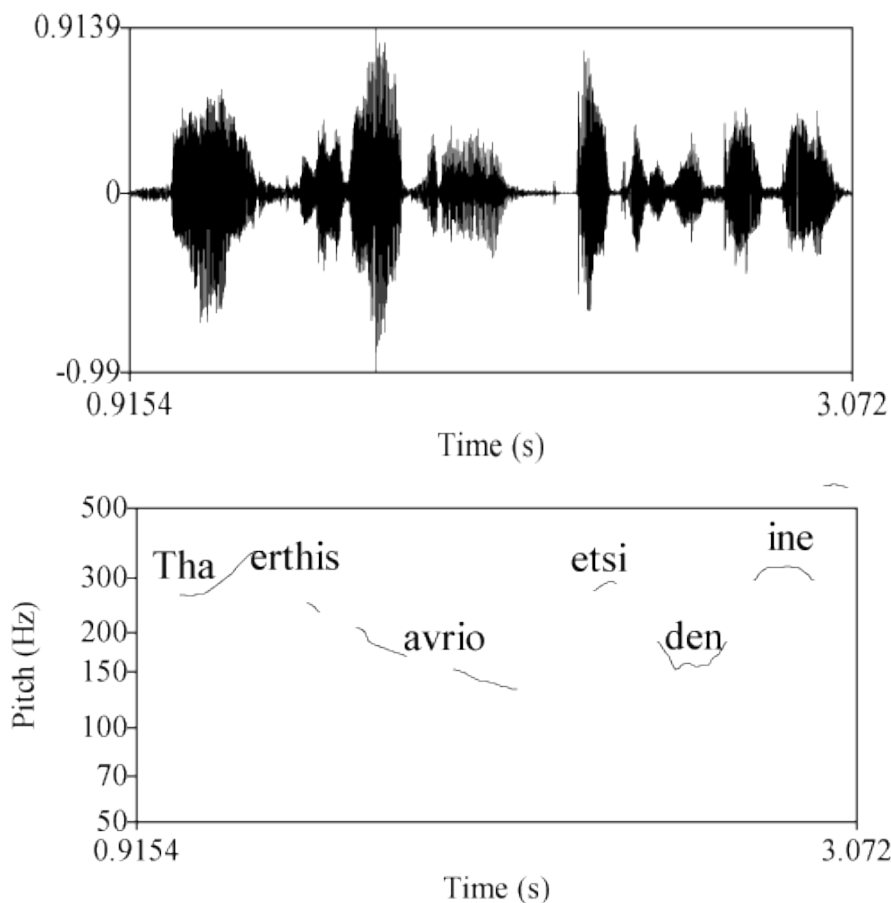


Figure 8 | PRAAT illustration of assertions in disguise-requests for confirmation

The speaker might in fact be suggesting that the addressee need their help, and there is no harm in admitting so. Such utterances, always in the 2nd person singular or plural, are often used by the speaker in order to provide the addressee with a piece of advice.

- (3) Μήπως θα θέλατε βοήθεια;
 PRT FUT need-2P.PR.IPF help?
 Perhaps you would want some help?

Such utterances follow an INT4 intonation; it can be observed, though, that μήπως presents a minor focal point, not as distinct though as an INT3 pattern (content inter-

rogatives). Figure 9 on the next page illustrates the proffer prosodic contour, while Table 2 summarises the formal characteristics of proffer utterances.

Μήπως might be used in indicative constructions as a mitigator of the illocutionary force (e.g. in mitigated polar interrogatives), or a discourse marker. Although some scholars characterise it a subjunctive marker (e.g. Tzartazanos 1946), or suggest that it acts both as an indicative as well as a subjunctive marker (e.g. Babiniotis and Clairis 1999) we adopt the view that it is primarily an indicative marker (e.g. Tsangalidis 1999).

Function Grammatical Mood	Proffer Indicative (segmental marker μήπως, optional particle θα, optional negation δεν)
Scope	Behavioural
Tense	Present/Past
Aspect	Perfective or Imperfective
Person	2nd most common
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4

Table 2 | From function to form-proffer

2.4 Segmental markers in Indicative: wondering (self directed questions)- use of άραγε

A further example of question-like utterances, where a speaker does not really expect an answer from an addressee, are the ones expressing wondering. When in indicative, the presence of άραγε is compulsory. Examples (4) and (5) show us the uses of wondering in indicative. Figure 10 illustrates its prosody.

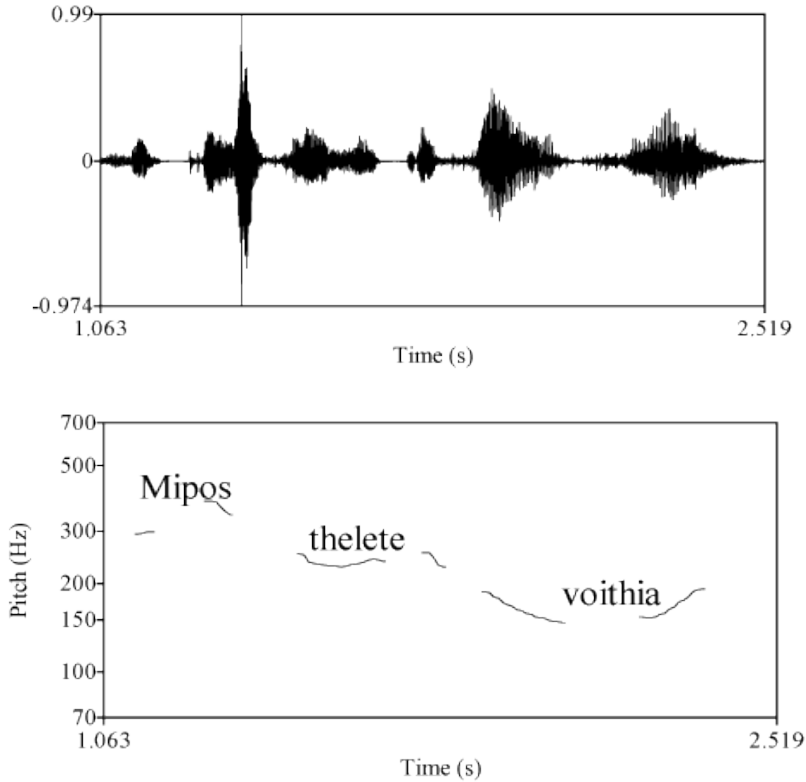


Figure 9 | PRAAT illustration of Proffer

(4)¹ [Παμε να δούμε τι λένε τα παιδιά], τι γνωρίζουν άραγε οι μικροί μαθητές για τις δημοτικές εκλογές; [SEK]
 [Go.1.P.IMP SUB] see.1.PL.PR what say-3.PL.PR the children] what know-3.PL.PR WOND the small pupils for the local elections
 [Let's go to see what the children say], what do the young pupils know, we wonder, about local elections?

(5) Άραγε βρέχει;
 WOND rain-3.SG.PR
 I wonder whether it rains.

¹ Examples (4), (8) and (10) are from the Corpus of Greek texts, www.sek.edu.gr; see also Goutsos (2010).

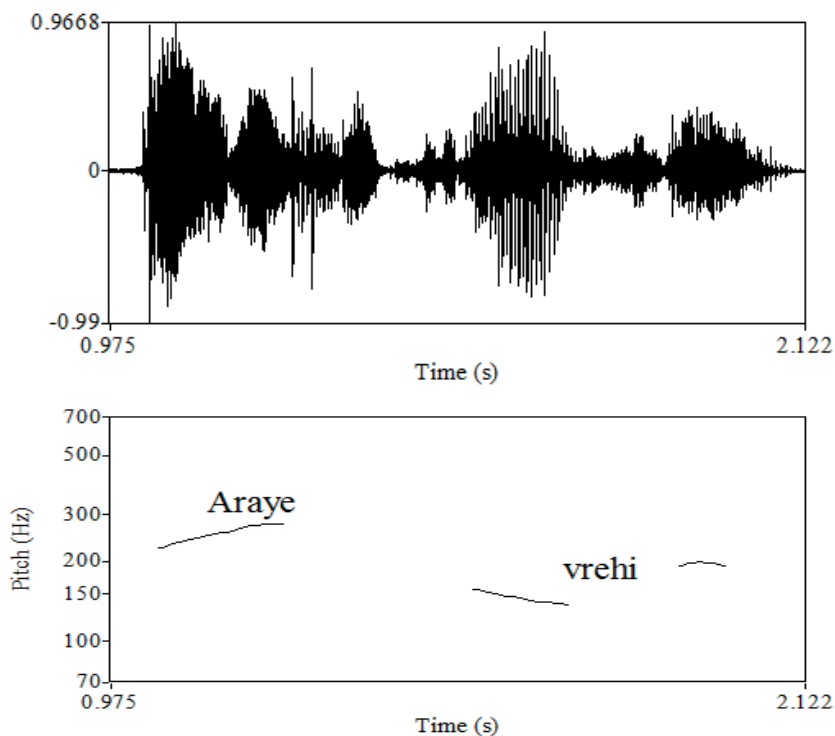


Figure 10 | PRAAT illustration of wondering in indicative

2.5 Segmental markers in Indicative: expression of uncertainty- *ίσως*

Another segmental marker available to a MG speaker, when they intend to express their uncertainty about the propositional content of a clause, is the particle *ίσως* (maybe, perhaps), followed by indicative, as in (6). The uncertainty particle provides a focal point for the utterance, as we can see from the figure 11 Praat illustration below. The speaker needs to provide an early illocutionary hint to the addressee that this utterance should not be confused with an assertion, hence the narrow focus of the segmental marker in order to attract the addressee's attention.

- 6) *Ίσως έφυγε.*
 UNC leave-3SG.PR.PRF
 Perhaps he left.

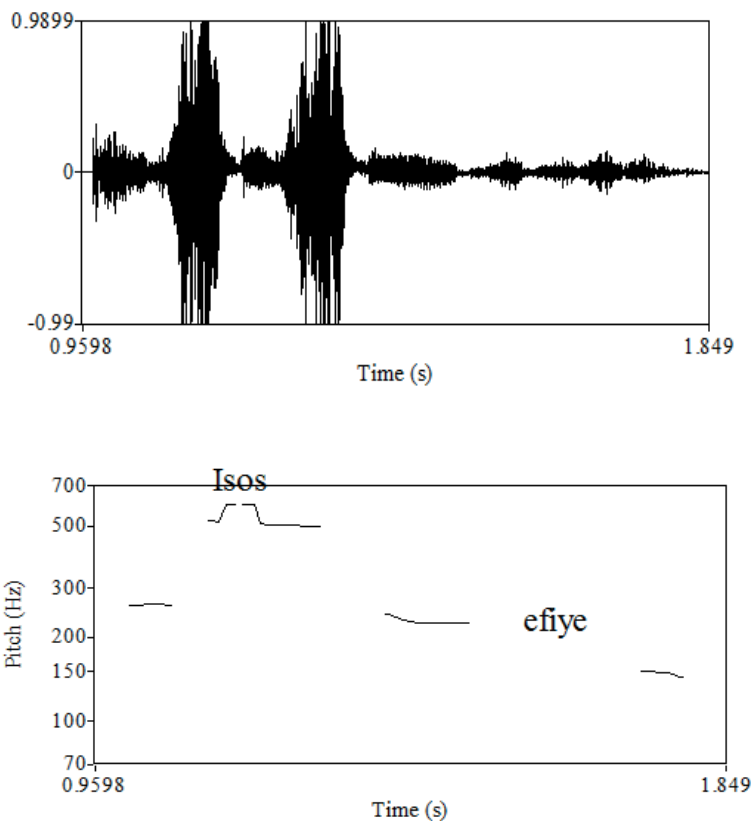


Figure 11 | PRAAT illustration of expression of uncertainty- in indicative

3. Segmental markers in Subjunctive

Below we discuss segmental markers in subjunctive, including utterances expressing wondering, uncertainty, wishes and curses.

3.1 Wondering in Subjunctive

In addition to indicative wondering uses, a speaker might opt to strengthen the force of an utterance by combining *ápaye* with subjunctive as in example (7). The choice of mood is guided by modal criteria; through the use of subjunctive the speaker is less

inclined to believe at the possibility of the truth of the content of the clause (irrealis). Table 3 below summarises the formal properties of the wondering function, including both indicative and subjunctive uses. Such approach gives the opportunity to revisit each illocution on its own merit, while grammatical moods become part of the strategies available to speakers to express their intention.

- (7) Άραγε να βρέχει;
 WOND SUBJ rain-3SG.PR.IPF
 Is it raining, I wonder?

Function	Wondering
Grammatical Mood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indicative (segmental marker άραγε, optional particle θα, optional negation δεν) • Subjunctive (particle να, or combination of segmental marker άραγε and να, optional negation μην)
Scope	Propositional
Tense	Present/Past
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	3rd (1st for deliberative questions) 2nd person acceptable for indicative uses only
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4

Table 3 | From function to form-the Wondering function

3.2 Segmental markers in Subjunctive: expression of strong sense of uncertainty- ίσως

To highlight their uncertainty, a speaker might opt to strengthen the built-in uncertainty element of a subjunctive utterance by using ίσως. Its combination with subjunctive indicates a stronger uncertainty element, when compared with indicative uses, as examples (8) and (9) indicate.

- (8) ...σαν κοινότητα (.) σαν [έτσι [σε λίγα χρόνια (.) ίσως κι η Παιανία να γίνει Αθήνα () ε ποτέ δεν ξέρεις
 ...as community () as [such [in few years () UNC and the Peania SUBJ become.3SG.PRF Athens () eh never NEG know.2SG.PR
 ...as a borrow () as [the way things go[in a few years () maybe Peania also will become part of Athens () eh, you never know.
- (9) Ίσως να έφυγε.
 UNC SUBJ leave-3SG.PR.PRF.
 Perhaps he left.

Figure 12 on the next page indicates that INT1 (assertion-like) intonation applies here. The uncertainty marker does not need to be placed in a focal position (to ensure that the addressee interprets the utterance appropriately). Unlike the uncertainty in indicative, as we saw in 2.5 above, the combination of *ίσως* with subjunctive leaves no possibility for a misunderstanding of the uncertainty intention. Table 4 summarises the formal characteristics of the expression of uncertainty both in indicative and in subjunctive.

Function	Expression of uncertainty
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (necessary segmental marker <i>ίσως</i> , optional particle <i>θα</i> , optional negation <i>δεν</i> ; segmental marker usually proceeds the verb, but position after the verb acceptable) Subjunctive (optional segmental marker <i>ίσως</i> in fixed pre-verb position, particle <i>να</i> , optional negation <i>μην</i>)
Scope	Propositional
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	Any (3rd very common)
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation pattern	INT1/INT2

Table 4 | From function to form-Expression of uncertainty

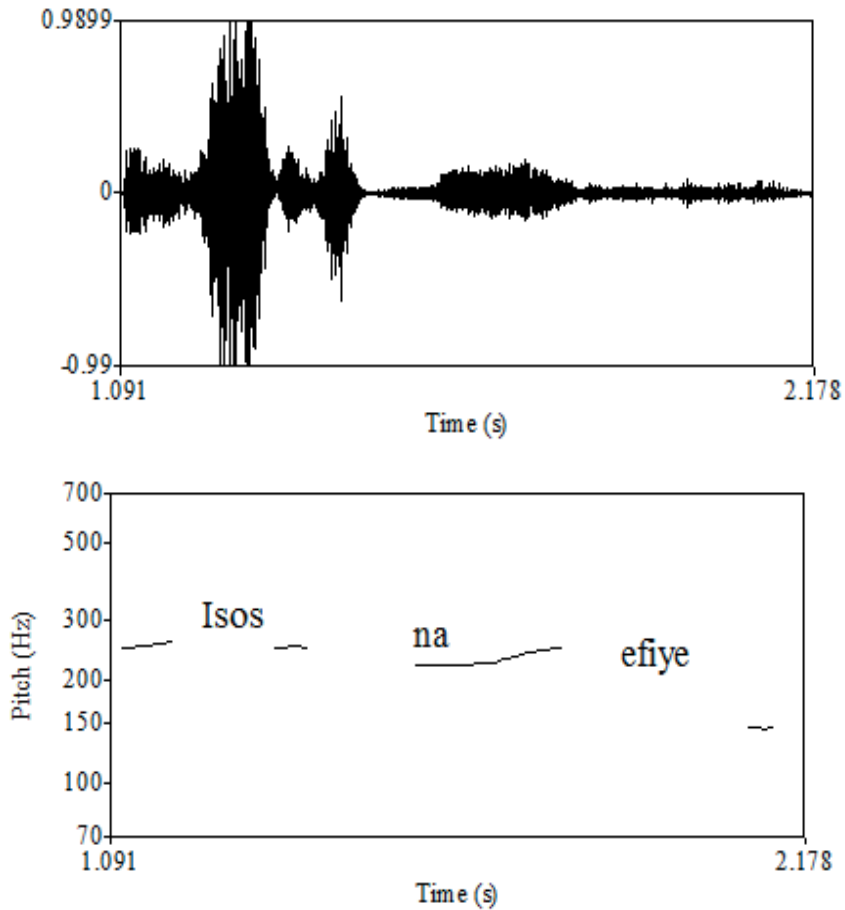


Figure 12 | PRAAT illustration of uncertainty in Subjunctive

3.3. Segmental markers in Subjunctive: wishes marked by μακάρι

Wishes (in subjunctive) might be marked by a special particle, μακάρι, as in (10) and (11). Such wishes might be fulfillable (now or in the future) or unfulfillable (now or in the past). Elliptical single word uses of the segmental marker (e.g. responses to somebody else's assertion or wish) are also common. Wishes are expressed using INT2, with the focal point on the segmental marker (figure 13).

(10) ... μακάρι να έχει αίσιο τέλος, αγγλιστί: happy end.
 WISH SUBJ have.3SG auspicious end, in English happy end.
 May it have a happy ending- as they say in English.

(11) Μακάρι να γίνει καλά.
 WISH SUBJ become-3SG.PRF well.
 I wish he/she gets well.

Table 5 below summarises the formal properties of wishes.

Type	Propositional
Function	Wishes
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive (particle <i>να</i> , optional negation <i>μη(ν)</i> , optional segmental marker <i>μακάρι</i>) (also Hortative <i>ας</i>)
Tense	Present (fulfillable) Past (unfulfillable)
Aspect	Imperfective (Present, Past) Perfective (Present)
Person	1st, 2nd and 3rd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT1 (INT2 when introduced by <i>μακάρι</i>)
Addressee's response	N/A

Table 5 | Segmental markers in Subjunctive: wishes marked by *μακάρι*

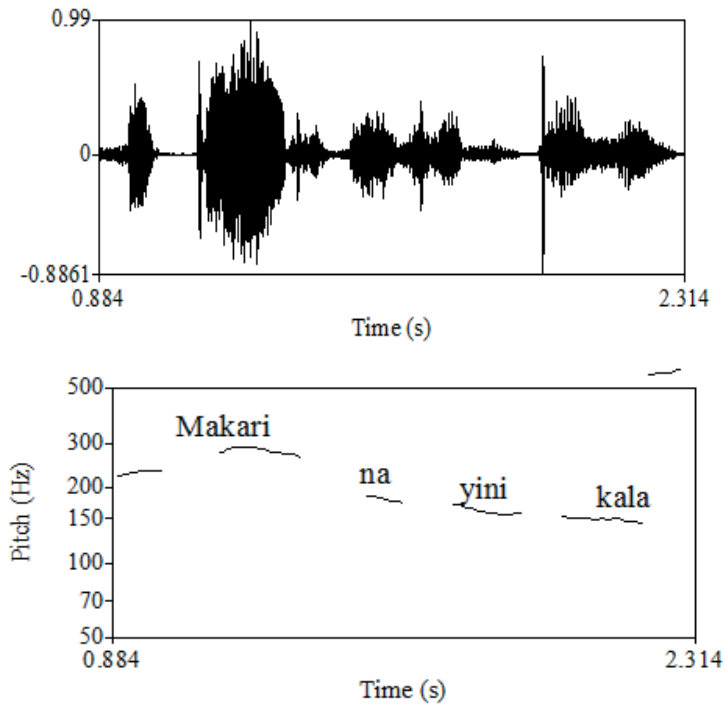


Figure 13 | PRAAT illustration of a wish

3.4 Segmental markers in Subjunctive: curses introduced by *που*

The use of the segmental marker *που* followed by a subjunctive adds a temporary value of immediacy to a negative wish or a curse as we can see in examples (12), (13) and (14).

(12) Που να μη σε είχα συναντήσει ποτέ!
 UNWISH SUBJ NEG you have-1SG.PS met never.
 May I had never met you.

(13)² Που να κρᾶξουν κουκουβάγιες στα κεραμίδια σου!
 UNWISH SUBJ hoot.3PL.PRF owls on the roof-tiles your!
 May the owls hoot on your roof-tiles!

2 Example from www.slang.gr, http://www.stephanion.gr/laiko_glossari_katares.htm “t „_parent, www.icurse.gr

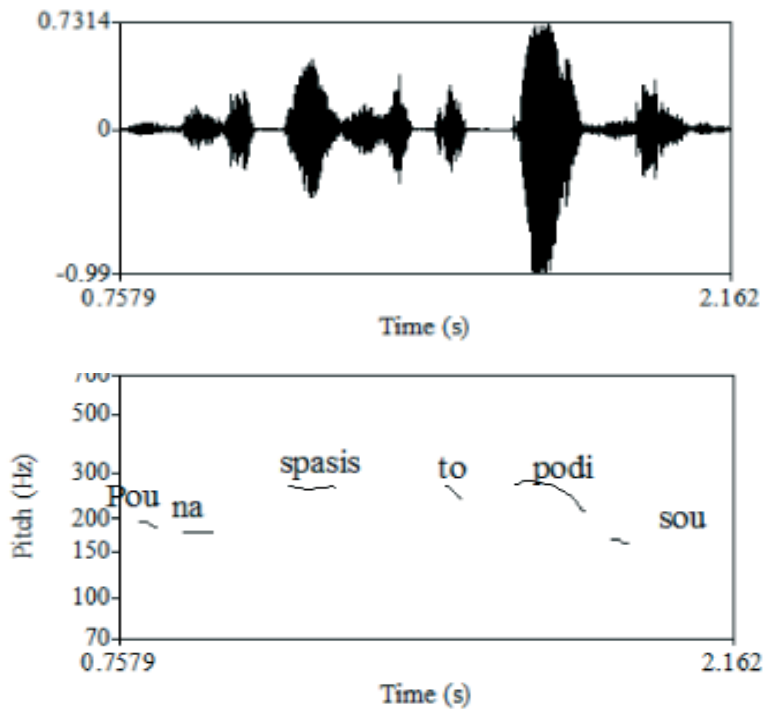


Figure 14 | Curses with INT5

(14) Που να σπάσεις το πόδι σου!

UNWISH SUBJ break.2SG.PR.PRF the leg your.

You may brake your leg.

Curses introduced by *που* are uttered using INT5, as we can see in figure 14. This pattern starts with a small fall, followed by a rise (and possibly a high plateau), and followed by a fall (and a potential small rise at the end). The boundary is low-high.

4. Segmental markers in Imperative: mitigated imperatives introduced by για

To mitigate the force of an imperative utterance, the particle ??? might be used, as in examples (15) and (16). Assertion-like intonation (INT1) applies.

- (15) Για έλα εδώ Δάφνη να μας πεις τα νέα σου!
MIT come-2SG. PRF.IMP here, Daphne, to us tell the news your.
Let you come here, Daphne, to tell us your news.
- (16) ... πρώτη κάνω ερώτηση στον Μπαμπινιώτη, για πες μου δάσκαλε, αν θα
μπορέσεις εσύ που πάλεψες ...
...first do.1SG.PRF question to Babiniotis, MIT tell.2SG.IMP me teacher, HYP
FUT can.2SG.PRF you who fight,2SG.PAST.PRF
...I ask a question first to Babiniotis, let you tell me teacher, if you can, you
who fought ...

5. Conclusion

In this paper we discussed:

- I. Tag questions; we showed that when speakers request a confirmation of the truth value of an utterance, they deploy a necessary tag question following their assertion. Moreover, we showed that tag questions represent an optional element for assertions in disguise. They usually combine with indicative. Intonation-wise, we demonstrated that the tag is not blended with the first part of the utterance.
- II. *Μήπως* ('mipos', perhaps): a dedicated proffer marker, when combined with indicative, which mitigates the force of an utterance when it combines with subjunctive.
- III. *Άραγε* ('araye', I wonder): the dedicated wondering marker, which might be followed by indicative (compulsory use) or by subjunctive (optional use).
- IV. *Ίσως* ('isos', maybe): the dedicated uncertainty marker; its use is compulsory when it combines with indicative, while it is an optional utterance element in

subjunctive. *Άραγε* and *ίσως*, when they combine with indicative, tend to be placed in a focal position, as our intonation illustrations demonstrate.

- V. *Μακάρι* ('makari', 'I wish'): an optional wish marker, which is always followed by subjunctive.
- VI. *Που* ('pou', negative wish): in utterances where subjunctive is used, when introduced by *που*, the latter acts as a dedicated marker for negative wishes/curses. *Που* is an optional marker for curses, which are identified through a dedicated intonation.
- VII. *Για* ('για', mitigator): it introduces an order (marked by imperative, a dedicated grammatical mood) and is used to lessen the impact of an imperative.

References

- Arvaniti, Amalia. 2007. "Greek Phonetics: The State of the Art." *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 8:97–208.
- Arvaniti, Amalia, and Mary Baltazani. 2005. "Intonation analysis and prosodic annotation of Greek spoken corpora." In *Prosodic Typology: The Phonology of Intonation and Phrasing*, edited by Jun Sun-Ah, 84–117. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baltazani, Mary. 2006. "Intonation and pragmatic interpretation of negation in Greek." *Journal of Pragmatics* 38(10):1658–1676.
- Baltazani, Mary. 2007. "Intonation of polar questions and the location of nuclear stress in Greek." In *Tones and Tunes, Vol.2 Experimental Studies in Word and Sentence Prosody*, edited by Carlos Gussenhoven, and Tomas Riad, 387–405. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Beckman, Mary, and Julia Hirschberg. 1994. "The ToBI Annotation Conventions." Unpublished manuscript, Ohio State University and AT&T Bell Telephone Laboratories, Accessed June 10, 2016 <http://www.cs.columbia.edu/~julia/files/conv.pdf>.
- Chaida, Anthi. 2008. "Prosodic perception and sentence type in Greek." Paper presented at the 2nd ISCA tutorial and research workshop on experimental linguistics, Athens 25-27 August 2008, 61–64.
- Chondrogianni, Maria. 2012. "Basic illocutions of the MG Indicative." In *Proceedings of the 10th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*,

- edited by Zoe Gavriilidou, Angeliki Efhtimiou, Evangelia Thomadaki, and Penelope Kambakis-Vougiouklis, 223–234. Komotini, Greece.
- Clairis, Christos, and Georgios Babiniotis. 1999. *Grammatiki tis Neas Ellinikis: To Rima*. Athens: Ellinika Grammata
- Gonzalez, Monteserrat. 2004. *Pragmatic markers in oral narrative*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Goutsos, Dimitrios. 2010. “The Corpus of Greek Texts: A reference corpus for Modern Greek.” *Corpora* 5(1):29–44.
- Hengeveld, Kees. 2004. “Illocution, Mood and Modality.” In *Morphology: An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, edited by Geert Booij, Christian Lehman, Joachim Mugdan, and Stavros Skopeteas, Vol. 2, Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Hengeveld, Kees, and Lachlan Mackenzie. 2010. “Functional Discourse Grammar.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistics Analysis*, edited by Bernd Heine, and Haiko Narrog, 367–400. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hengeveld, K. et al. 2007. “Basic illocutions in the native languages of Brazil.” In *Advances in Functional Discourse Grammar*, Special issue of *Alfa-Revista de Lingüística* 51.2, edited by Marize Mattos Dall’Aglio Hattner, and Kees Hengeveld, 73–90.
- Kotsifas, Dimitrios. 2009. “Intonation and sentence type interpretation in Greek: a production and perception approach.” MA Thesis, University of Skovde.
- Lewis, Diana. 2011. “A discourse-constructional approach to the emergence of discourse markers in English.” *Linguistics* 49(2):415–443. Amsterdam: De Gruyter.
- Sadock, Jerold, and Arnold Zwicky. 1985. “Speech Act Distinctions.” In *Syntax, in Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, edited by Timothy Shopen, 155–196. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Triantafyllidis, Manolis. 1988. *Lexico tis Kinis Neoellinikis*. Accessed 6/10/2016 http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides/
- Tsangalidis, Anastasios. 1999. “Ti ine ipotaktiki? Rimatikes katigories sta Nea Ellinika Lexika kai Grammatikes.” *Meletes gia tin Elliniki Glossa* 20:543–554. Thessaloniki: Kiriakidis.
- Tzartanos, Ahilleas. 1946. *Neoelliniki Sintaxis*, 2vols, Thessaloniki: Kiriakidis [1989. Reprint of the 2nd edition].