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The pragmatics of the modern Greek grammatical system

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THE PRAGMATICS OF THE MODERN GREEK GRAMMATICAL SYSTEM

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Abstract

This thesis is primarily concerned with the Pragmatics of the Modern Greek (MG) grammatical system. A secondary aim is the investigation of the relationship between morpho-syntax, phonology and pragmatics' related features which form part of the grammar, in allowing a speaker's intention to be formulated into a linguistic expression. The term *grammatical mood* is used in this work as the category which includes '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' (Hengeveld 2004). Moreover, the analysis undertaken follows the framework provided by Hengeveld et al. (2007) of a systematic hierarchical classification of propositional and behavioural basic illocutions.

Recent research has provided an extensive analysis of the syntax and semantics of the MG verb moods; this thesis focuses on the way illocution is codified in a speaker's message, through the morphosyntactic and phonological choices the speaker has made. Based on morphosyntactic criteria, five MG grammatical moods are formally distinguished, namely the Indicative, the Subjunctive, the Imperative, the Prohibitive and the Hortative. Furthermore, the five prosodic contours available to a speaker when forming a linguistic expression are identified, which contribute to the specification of particular uses.

The main contribution of this thesis is a systematic representation of the basic illocutions of MG based on markers that have an illocutionary impact, such as the Verb Mood, the Negation, the Clitic Placement, the Intonation Patterns and any Additional Segmental Strategies used by MG speakers. In addition to Theoretical Linguistics and Pragmatics, the findings could benefit several other disciplines, including natural language acquisition, first and second language teaching as well as natural language interfaces, human-machine interaction, speech processing systems, and on-line language learning systems.

Acknowledgements

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List of abbreviations

FG	Functional Grammar
FDG	Functional Discourse Grammar
INT1	Intonation Pattern 1
INT2	Intonation Pattern 2
INT3	Intonation Pattern 3
INT4	Intonation Pattern 4
INT5	Intonation Pattern 5
SG	Singular
PL	Plural
PR	Present
PS	Past
PASS	Passive
SUBJ	Subjunctive (marker)
IMP	Imperative
HOR	Hortative (marker)
PRH	Prohibitive (marker)
NEG	Negation (marker)
PRF	Perfective (aspect)
IPF	Imperfective (aspect)
MIT	Mitigator
UNC	Uncertainty (marker)
WOND	Wondering (marker)
UNWISH	Negative wish/curse (marker)
PROF	Proffer (marker)
EMPH	Emphasis (marker)
PRT	Particle

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis investigates the Pragmatics (illocution, uses) of the Modern Greek (MG) Grammatical system, with emphasis on the MG verb moods.

We are interested in the elements available to an addressee, in other words the formal properties of the MG language system, which enable them to identify the Speaker's intention, and therefore the illocution, as expressed through a particular utterance. Conversely, we are interested in the grammatical tools available to a speaker, who makes (conscious or unconscious) choices, relevant to the best way they can achieve their goal (intention). Moreover, we are interested in identifying and classifying the functions which have become part of the grammatical system that a Speaker of Modern Greek has at his/her disposal in order to express their intention.

For instance, let's look at example (1) below, representing an exchange between speaker A and addressee B.

    (1) A: Να πλύνω τα πιάτα;

               Na plino ta piata?

               SUBJ wash.1.SG.PR.PRF. the dishes?

               May I wash the dishes?

      B: Εντάξει.

               Entaksi.

               OK

We show below the way example (1) would have been uttered by the speaker, through a Praat illustration of its prosodic contour.
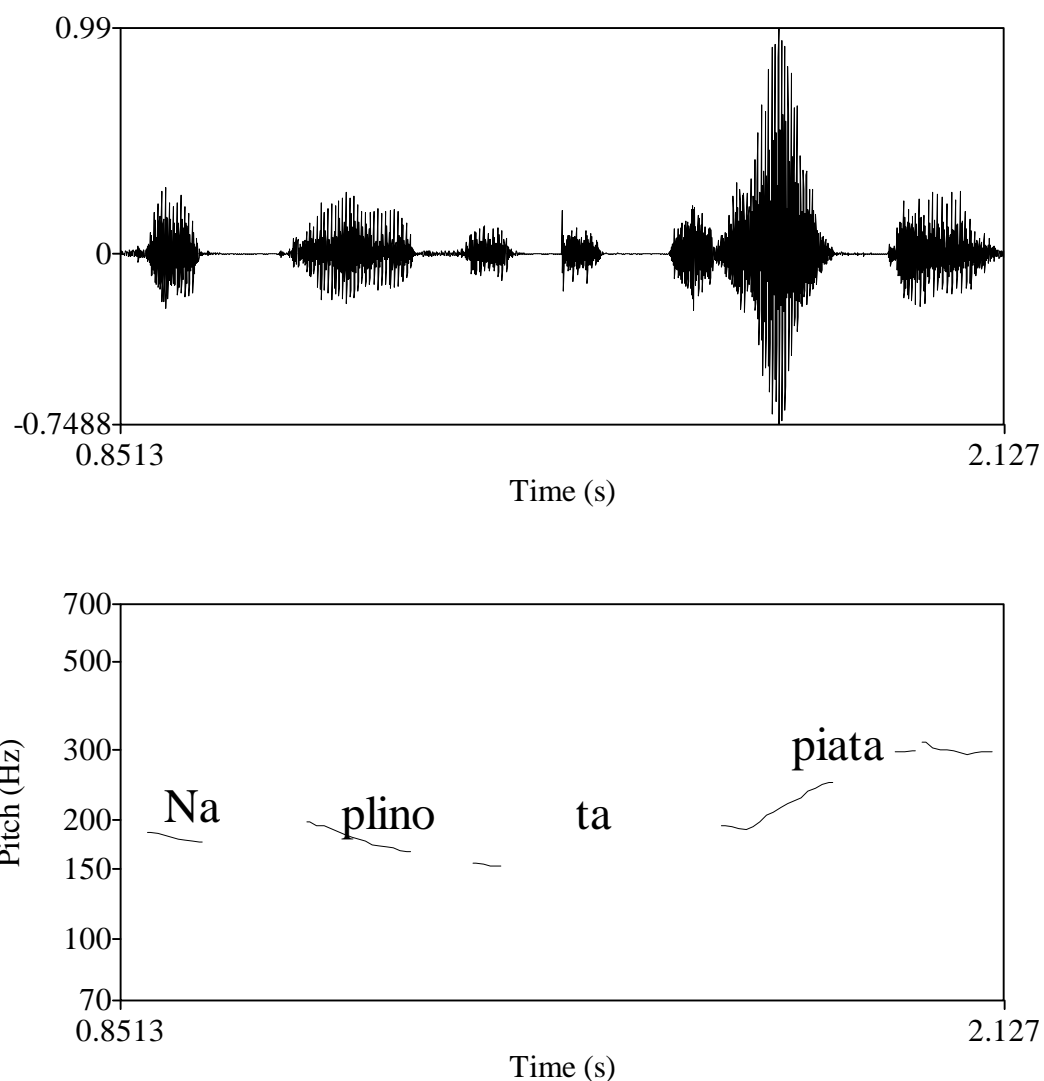
Figure 1: Praat illustration of a supplicative (request for permission) using INT4

Example (1) is a typical example of a request for permission (see also Pavlidou 1987). But how does the addressee recognise it as such?

When an addressee first hears this utterance, its intonation pattern signals that they are potentially facing a question (polar interrogative). The addressee has to verify whether the speaker is asking them to confirm or deny the truth value of a proposition, and whether the speaker intends to add some information to the Pragmatic Information (knowledge about the world) they already possess. The Addressee then processes the formal characteristics of the utterance:

- the verb form used (grammatical mood), which here- unusually for a question- is expressed in Subjunctive, as indicated by the use of the typical Subjunctive particle *να* 'na';

- the verb person in which the utterance is expressed (1st);

- the number and tense used, where appropriate: here the use of present is noted[1] ;

- the aspect: perfective aspect, as it is here the case, indicates a beginning, a middle and an end for the action it describes, and adds immediacy to the suggested action;

- the possible answer an addressee can provide: in a typical question the addressee can confirm or deny the validity of a state of affairs, but they cannot concede. If we were asked "Is the moon made of blue cheese?" The possible answers would be "yes", or "no", but we would not accept "OK" for an answer. Clearly, therefore, the intention behind an utterance such as (1) is not to confirm (or deny) the truth value of the utterance, but rather to affect the Addressee's (or the Speaker's) behaviour.

- the intonation pattern: intonation[2] provides an early cue to the addressee on how utterances can be interpreted. For example, in this case, the speaker is using intonation pattern INT4; the intonation guides the addressee that they might be dealing with a polar interrogative, a request for permission, a wondering or a mirative utterance, as we establish later in this thesis.

Hence, the combination of the characteristics of example (1), i.e. that it is expressed in Subjunctive, first person, present, perfective, using Intonation Pattern 4, indicates to the Addressee that they are dealing with a request for permission. Table 1 below provides a summary of the features of Supplicatives (requests for permission).

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[1] A past imperfect would be also possible, further mitigating the illocutionary force of the utterance.

[2] Levinson (1983) in the 2003 revised version of his 'Pragmatics' highlights the need for a systematic study of prosody, intonation and stress and stresses the importance of prosodic features in the study of Pragmatics, an area 'hugely understudied'.

Table 1: Characteristics of Supplicatives

Function	Supplicative
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive (particle *να*)
Tense	Present (unusually utterances can also be expressed in the Past, to further mitigate the request)
Aspect	Perfective (Present), Imperfective (Past)
Person	1st
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4
Acceptable answer	*Ναι* (Yes), *Όχι* (No), *Εντάξει* (OK), *Βέβαια* (Of course) etc.

1.2 Aim of the thesis

The aim of this thesis is to provide a systematic description of the basic illocutions of Modern Greek (MG) and the way they have been formalised in the MG language system, based on markers that have an illocutionary impact, such as the Verb Mood, the Negation, the Clitic Placement, the Intonation Patterns and any Additional Segmental Strategies used by MG speakers[3].

Our objective is to explore the link between the formulation of linguistic expressions and their encoding in morpho-syntax and phonology at the interpersonal (pragmatic) level in Modern Greek; in doing so, we are taking

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[3] According to Hengeveld (2004) 'mood is used in language description as the morphological category that covers the grammatical reflections of a large semantic area, subdivided into illocution and modality' (Hengeveld 2004:1190). Illocution involves identifying sentences as 'specific types of speech acts' (ibid) whilst modality 'is concerned with the modification of the content of speech acts' (ibid). As this research is not concerned with the modification of the content of the speech acts, semantics (modality) does not form part of it. It is useful to also note that, as far as illocution is concerned, the verb mood, as a morphological category (always according to Hengeveld 2004), 'has to be considered together with word order and intonation, as markers of particular sub-divisions'. By contrast, 'modality is expressed by modal markers only'.The formal properties which are considered having an illocutionary impact might also include specific mood markers. Illocutionary differentiation applies to main clauses only, while modality is expressed in both main and subordinate clauses.

further Hengeveld et al. (2007)'s research on 22 indigenous languages of Brazil. In this thesis we identify the illocutionary primitives involved, which form part of the Modern Greek system, as indicated by morpho-syntax and phonology.

The focus of our research is on the way illocution is codified in a Speaker's message, through the grammatical/phonological choices the Speaker has made. Since illocution is only relevant to main clause, we are considering main clauses only. A large part of our research involves exploring the relationship between grammatical mood and sentence type, as a means of expression of the Speaker's intention, and the way illocution (and grammatical mood choice) is codified in the message. Sentence types such as declarative, interrogative and imperative (encountered in most natural languages) are considered as the means of denoting the illocution of an utterance. According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985) the sentence type is included in a particular system of oppositions and reflects the relationship between illocutionary force and formal properties. Very often the various sentence types are proven problematic as far as their internal structure, as well as their extra-sentential boundaries, are concerned.

The Modern Greek verb mood system and its associated particles have been discussed by many scholars from a semantics or syntactic point of view, including Tsangalidis (in press, 2009, 2002, 1999), Roussou (in press, 2009), Giannakidou (2007), Holton, Macridge and Philippaki (2004 and 1997) among others. We are proposing a pragmatic approach, leading to a pragmatic classification of the MG verb mood uses, associated with corresponding illocutionary values, taking into account markers that make an illocutionary impact. Unlike earlier scholars, we formally distinguish between five MG verb Moods: the Indicative, the Subjunctive, the Imperative, the Prohibitive and the Hortative. We discuss their relationship with formalized sentence types associated with each grammatical Mood, whilst we differentiate between propositional and behavioral uses.

1.3 Organisation of the thesis

In order to achieve our aim, we provide

- In chapter 2 an overview of the theoretical background underpinning this thesis. Distinctions we respect e.g. between *formulation* and *encoding*, between *illocution* and *State of Affairs*, between the *grammatical* and *phonological* level, between *propositional* and *behavioral* uses (all terms explained in chapter 2) are largely inspired by Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) and by Hengeveld et al. (2007), research that illustrates the way Functional Discourse Grammar typology operates at a semantic and pragmatic level.

- In chapter 3 we present relevant aspects of Modern Greek Grammar, focusing on verb Mood, Negation, Tense (including number and person) and Aspect, Clitic Placement, additional Segmental Strategies and Intonation Patterns.

- Chapters 4, 5 and 6 concentrate on form and how it leads to function, focusing on Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative verb moods in combination with their corresponding illocutions.

- Chapter 7 provides an overview of basic illocutions in MG, putting functions (rather than form) at centre stage.

- Chapter 8 discusses possible further developments and contributions of this thesis, related in particular to possible areas of computational implementation and its links to state-of-the-art research.

Examples illustrating our analysis are based on the author's native speaker's competence, as it is common in this type of research, and verified through an informal group of informants and relevant web search examples.

1.4 Preview of most important results

In summary, in our thesis we defend

- The richness of the Indicative, and the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between Indicative Mood and Declarative sentence type. We demonstrate that Indicative's propositional uses include assertions, consisting of positive and negative assertions, emphatic assertions and assertions in disguise; mirative uses (of approval); and interrogative uses, consisting of polar and content interrogatives. Additional segmental marking produces requests for confirmation through the use of tag questions; wondering (self or other directed questions) marked by the use of *άραγε* ('araye', I wonder); and expression of uncertainty through the use of *ίσως* ('isos', maybe). Its single behavioural use (proffer) is marked by the use of *μήπως* ('mipos', perhaps).

- Subjunctive's association with behavioral uses (in *να* main clauses). Its propositional uses include wishes, curses, wondering, mirative expressions (of disapproval), as well as uncertainty. Subjunctive's behavioral uses include mitigated directives, mitigated prohibitives and mitigated requests, which lead us to claim that the Subjunctive particle *να* often acts as a mitigator of the illocutionary force. Optional additional segmental marking involves the use of *μακάρι* ('makari') for wishes; the use of *που* ('pou') for curses; the use of *μήπως* ('mipos') to further mitigate (an already mitigated) request; the use of *άραγε* ('arage') to further enhance wondering; and the use of *ίσως* ('isos') to further enhance uncertainty.

- A one-to-one relationship between the Imperative mood and the Imperative sentence type.

- A distinct MG Prohibitive mood. We argue that the particle *μη(v)* is of similar status as the particles *θα*, *να* and *ας*, when not preceded by the Subjunctive particle *να*. Its behavioural functions include Preventives, Warnings and Emphatic Prohibitions.

- A distinct MG Hortative verb mood, based on the distinct behaviour of the particles *να* and *ας*. *Aς* introduces propositional uses such as fulfillable and unfulfillable wishes, and its behavioural functions include exhortations (the most characteristic hortative function).

1.5 Main contributions of the Thesis

The originality of our Thesis is based on the following:

- We provide a new and innovative framework for analysing the Modern Greek verb mood system, from a Pragmatics' perspective. Many scholars have researched the Morphology, Syntax, and Semantics of the Modern Greek verb mood system, but not its illocution.
- We demonstrate that the Modern Greek Verb Mood System consists of 5 moods (Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative, Prohibitive, and Hortative) rather than 3, as many scholars suggest.
- We provide, for the first time in Greek linguistics, a comprehensive overview of the Modern Greek verb mood system **from form to function** (i.e. uses specifically associated with each mood) and **from function to form** (i.e. specific illocutions formally encountered in Modern Greek, and the verb form they might be expressed in).
- We propose a comprehensive classification of the different intonation patterns used by Modern Greek speakers at the level of utterance, both focusing on a particular mood (e.g. intonation patterns of Indicative and their associated uses) as well as focusing on a particular function (e.g. INT pattern 1, using broad focus and a high level of the accented syllable for Assertions, Mitigated Orders, expression of Uncertainty).

The outcomes of the research presented below are equally important for Theoretical Linguists, Hellenists, Modern Greek teachers and learners as well as Natural Language Engineers.

Exploring the typology of a particular language, and in particular illocutions which form part of the grammatical system, allows Theoretical Linguists to draw

comparisons across language families and offers impetus to confirm and/or extend the knowledge we have about language. In particular, work on the interface between Pragmatics on the one hand, and morphosytax and phonetics on the other, allows us to find out more about the way communication is effected.

In particular in relation to Natural Language Processing, Speech Processing and Computational Pragmatics, the outcomes of this thesis are directly related to applications involving intention-based dialogue systems' modelling: formally identifying a speaker's intentions allows for systems to be developed which, while parsing syntactic information, are able to define the intention expressed through a particular utterance, so that the user's needs can best be served. This also has a direct effect in improving Human Computer Interaction in speech or written language-based applications of Natural Language Interfaces to Data Bases and Intelligent Agents, including Belief Desire and Intention (BDI) systems, automatic machine translation systems, e-commerce applications and e-educational tools, which require the computer to be able to interpret what a user's objective (intention) is, so that the users' needs can be best served. The linguistic choices users make to express/phrase their query, for example, and the particular verb forms and particles they use, are crucial in identifying their intention. This becomes more apparent in natural languages with rich morphology such as French, Russian or Modern Greek; research in such languages allows us to reach conclusions which can be applied to other natural languages of a similar group. A greater collaboration has been suggested between theoretical linguists and natural language engineers, in order for state of the art applications to be informed by recent developments in linguistics. There is an on-going endeavour for computing implementations to focus not only on syntactic approaches but also on ways language is used, so that human-machine interaction can be improved. From earlier attempts, such as the one by Allen (1993), by the DMML team in 2000 (dialogue moves mark-up language) which marries XML with Pragmatics and provides the opportunity for personalised human-computer interaction, to Jokinen's (2009) overview of dialogue modelling, it becomes obvious that the interface between theoretical and computational pragmatics will have an important role to play in the development of man-machine interaction. It is

believed that spoken language will become the input of choice for user interface applications (for web browsers, e-commerce systems and home appliances among others).

2. Theoretical background- Research Methodology
2.1 Introduction

In this chapter we consider the theoretical framework that encompasses this research and show how it affected our methodology. We provide an outline for the Functional paradigm, that this research respects, highlighting the importance it puts on language as communication, where its use (Pragmatics) plays the principal part. We discuss in particular Functional Grammar (Dik 1997 and 1989), and Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008) which forms the background of our research„with particular reference to Hengeveld et al (2007) which provided the fundamental approach of classifying language uses into propositional and behavioural ones. We also establish the way we understand notions such as grammatical mood, and present definitions we have adopted. Finally, we describe the methodology we followed in this thesis.

2.2. The Functional paradigm

In Functional approaches, language is considered primarily as communication. Butler and Hengeveld (forthcoming) define functionalism as a 'set of approaches all of which attempt to account for the structures of language in terms of the functions they serve in communicative interaction'. Formal or Generative Linguistics supports the autonomy of syntax; at the heart of the theory we find a series of mathematical/formal rules which reflect the way we think (logic) rather than the way we communicate. Generative Linguistics has been criticised by functional linguistics for promoting the form (the linguistic competence) over the substance (the linguistic performance, or language use).

Functional approaches aim for results that account for similarities and differences across languages (typology, universals) whilst respecting the principles of adequacy and efficiency. Givon (1984) suggests that a functional linguist balances functions and typologies of structures which encode these functions. Language, as a living system, adapts to our communicative needs. As Rosenbaum (1997 p. 8) mentions, 'Language is an interpersonal communication system, so form and function must be studied jointly'. Different functional

theories express different views regarding the relationship between morpho-syntax and semantics/pragmatics.

2.3 Functional Grammar (Dik 1997 and 1989) and Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008)

2.3.1 Introduction

In this section we summarise the underlying theoretical principles which are fundamental for this research. We discuss Functional Grammar, and in more detail its offshoot, Functional Discourse Grammar. FDG lies in the background of our research, in that the notion of a linguistic expression's *encoding* following morphosyntactic and phonological operations on *formulation* is the impetus for exploring the relationship of function and form in Modern Greek.

2.3.2 Functional Grammar (Dik 1997, 1989)

At the heart of Dik's Functional Grammar (FG) theory we find an endeavour to place the Natural Language User into centre stage and to build an approach which forms part of a wider theory of verbal interaction which encompasses not only the ability for language but also a model for the human epistemic, logical, perceptive and social abilities. Such a theory, according to Dik, needs to be governed by the underlying principles of Pragmatic[4], Typological[5] and Psychological[6] Adequacy.

FG highlighted that language is primarily a communication system; Pragmatics, i.e. the way language is used to reflect a speaker's intention, is central to FG, and affects all other levels, including Syntax and Semantics. Speakers formulate linguistic expressions because they have a particular goal to achieve.

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[4] According to Dik, for a linguistic theory to be pragmatically adequate, it needs to allow us to understand the way linguistic expressions are used.

[5] The theory should apply to all types of natural languages (although both the similarities as well as the differences across languages ought to be respected).

[6] A linguistic theory ought to link linguistic processes to other cognitive processes involved in natural language processing; linguistics is, thus, placed within cognitive science.

A speaker forms a linguistic expression based on the Pragmatic information they possess (about language, the world, their addressee), making specific lexical, syntactic, semantic and prosodic choices which will best support the realisation of his/her intention. The addressee, based on his/her Pragmatic information, is able to interpret the linguistic expression and, thus, to reconstruct the Speaker's intention (and to comply, if we are to also to consider Grice's 1975 principle of cooperation). Such approach does not underestimate the influence of Syntax on Semantics and of Semantics on Pragmatics.

Moreover, FG fully appreciates that for any language uses (illocutions) to be distinguished in a particular language through an empirical approach, they need to form part of the grammatical system of the language in question. This has a direct reflection to our research methodology (see also section 2.5) where for the Modern Greek illocutions to be identified a series of tests were applied, involving morphosyntax (including clitic placement; particles; inflection; verb mood; aspect; tense; person; and additional segmental strategies) and phonology (prosodic contour/intonation patterns).

2.3.3 Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008)

FG evolved into Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), a typology based structural functional discourse grammar (rather than a sentence grammar) where the Discourse Act is the primary source of analysis. It is a grammatical model which describes typologically different languages in a systematic way. It is considered the grammatical component of a wider model of verbal interaction. The language user possesses knowledge of functional and formal elements and knowledge of rules that specify how they can combine.

FDG reflects a top-down organisation, with the speaker's intention at the top and the linguistic expression at the bottom. Formulation, Encoding and Articulation follow the Speaker's intention for the linguistic expression to be formed.

FDG applies four levels of analysis, as part of its grammatical components: the Interpersonal level (Pragmatics); the Representational level (Semantics); the Morphosyntactic level (Morphosyntax); and the Phonological level (Phonology). These are linguistic levels which, despite the fact that they describe language in terms of function, form part of a particular language's grammatical system. A layered structure of analysis applies to all levels. The Linguistic expressions built are analysed through the operation on four components:

- the **conceptual component**, where the speaker's communicative intention initiates the linguistic expression construction;
- the **grammatical component** where the linguistic expression is formed, based on the Speaker's communicative intention;
- the **contextual component,** where additional information (e.g. knowledge about the world) affecting the linguistic expression is added in; and
- the **output component,** where phonological, writing or signing elements become apparent.

The FDG's non-grammatical components, namely the Conceptual, the Output and the Contextual components, communicate with the grammatical components because of the formulation and encoding processes.
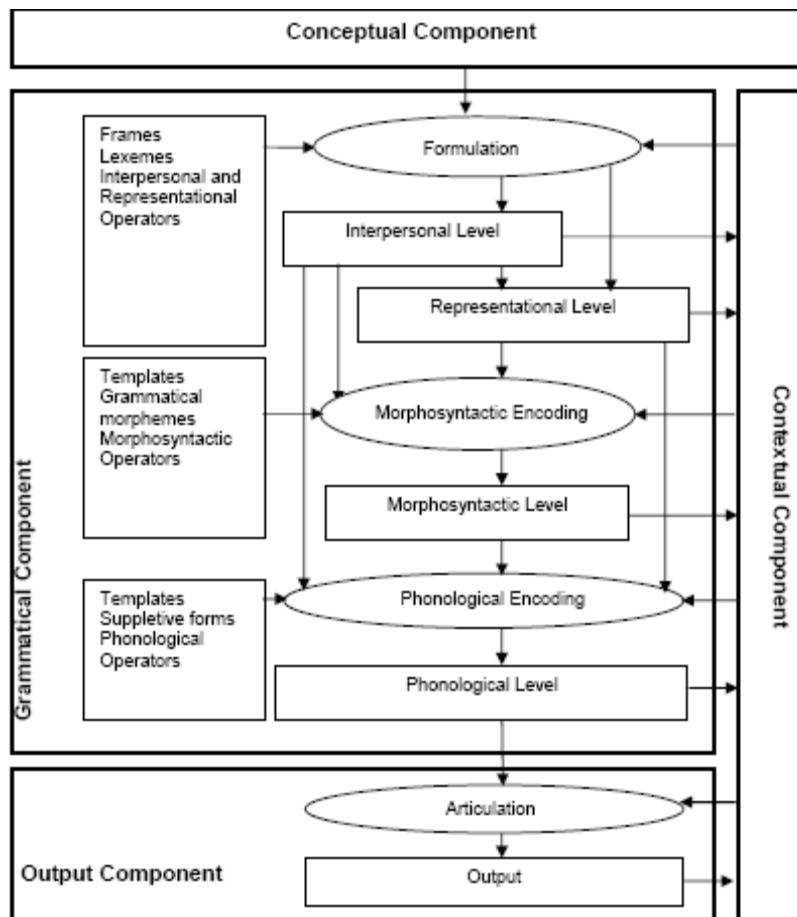
Figure 1: The FDG Architecture[7]

At the Conceptual Level a speaker conceives an intention; this, through formulation, is represented at the Pragmatics (Interpersonal) and the Semantics (Representational) level. The outcome of these operations is then assigned a morphosyntactic structure at the Morphosyntactic level. In turn, the outcome of the morphosyntactic operation is enriched by the Phonological level. Each of these levels respects a hierarchical layered organisation.

2.3.3.1 The FDG Interpersonal level

The Interpersonal Level is responsible for elements that reflect the interaction between a Speaker and an Addressee. This is the component which deals with types of particular illocutions, which convey the Speaker's intention.

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[7] (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2010, ch.15 fig. 2)

The highest unit that can be grammatically analysed is the Move. Its complexity varies; it includes at least one Discourse Act (A), an Illocution (F) and the Speaker (P_1), whose presence is necessary at this level. The communicative content (C_1) comprises the content of what the speaker is trying to transmit to the Addressee and might include one or more Subacts (which might involve Topic, Focus and Contrast functions). We can see the structure of the Interpersonal Level in Figure 2.

$(\pi\ M_1:$ [	Move
$(\pi\ A_1:$ [	Discourse Act
$(\pi\ F_1:$ ILL $(F_1): \Sigma\ (F_1))$	Illocution
$(\pi\ P_1: ...\ (P_1): \Sigma\ (P_1))_S$	Speaker
$(\pi\ P_2: ...\ (P_2): \Sigma\ (P_2))_A$	Addressee
$(\pi\ C_1:$ [	Communicated Content
$(\pi\ T_1: [...]\ (T_1): \Sigma\ (T_1))_\Phi$	Ascriptive Subact
$(\pi\ R_1: [...]\ (R_1): \Sigma\ (R_1))_\Phi$	Referential Subact
] $(C_1): \Sigma\ (C_1))_\Phi$	Communicated Content
] $(A_1): \Sigma\ (A_1))_\Phi$	Discourse Act
] $(M_1): \Sigma\ (M_1))$	Move

Figure 2: The layered structure of the Interpersonal Level[8]

2.3.3.2 The FDG Representational level

This level focuses on the Semantics of linguistic units, in other words on the way linguistic units relate to the world. Its highest unit is the Propositional Content, which includes factual (i.e. known to be true) and non-factual information (such as hopes, wishes, beliefs). The Propositional Content might be affected by Propositional Attitudes (such as uncertainty, disbelief) or by the origin of a particular content (e.g. visual information). It is not unusual for it to be ascribed to the Addressee or a third party.

A Propositional Content might include one or more Episodes, which consist of States of Affairs (SoAs), which in turn might include events and states,

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[8] Figures 1-5 in this chapter are from Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2010

characterised by a configurational property, built from categories that might involve individuals and lexical properties. Figure 3 illustrates the layered structure of the Representational level.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
(\pi\,_{\mathrm{P1}}: & \text{Propositional Content} \\
\quad (\pi\,_{\mathrm{ep1}}: & \text{Episode} \\
\qquad (\pi\,_{\mathrm{e1}}: & \text{State-of-Affairs} \\
\qquad\quad [(\pi\,_{\mathrm{f1}}: \quad [& \text{Configurational Property} \\
\qquad\qquad (\pi\,_{\mathrm{f1}}: \blacklozenge\,(\mathrm{f_1}): [\sigma\,(\mathrm{f_1})_\Phi]) & \text{Lexical Property} \\
\qquad\qquad (\pi\,_{\mathrm{x1}}: \blacklozenge\,(\mathrm{x_1}): [\sigma\,(\mathrm{x_1})_\Phi])_\Phi & \text{Individual} \\
\qquad\qquad \ldots & \\
\qquad\quad]\,(\mathrm{f_1}): \quad [\sigma\,(\mathrm{f_1})_\Phi]) & \text{Configurational Property} \\
\qquad (\mathrm{e_1})_\Phi]: [\sigma\,(\mathrm{e_1})_\Phi]) & \text{State-of-Affairs} \\
\quad (\mathrm{e_{P1}}): [\sigma\,(\mathrm{e_{P1}})_\Phi]) & \text{Episode} \\
(\mathrm{P1}): [\sigma\,(\mathrm{P1})_\Phi]) & \text{Propositional Content}
\end{array}
$$
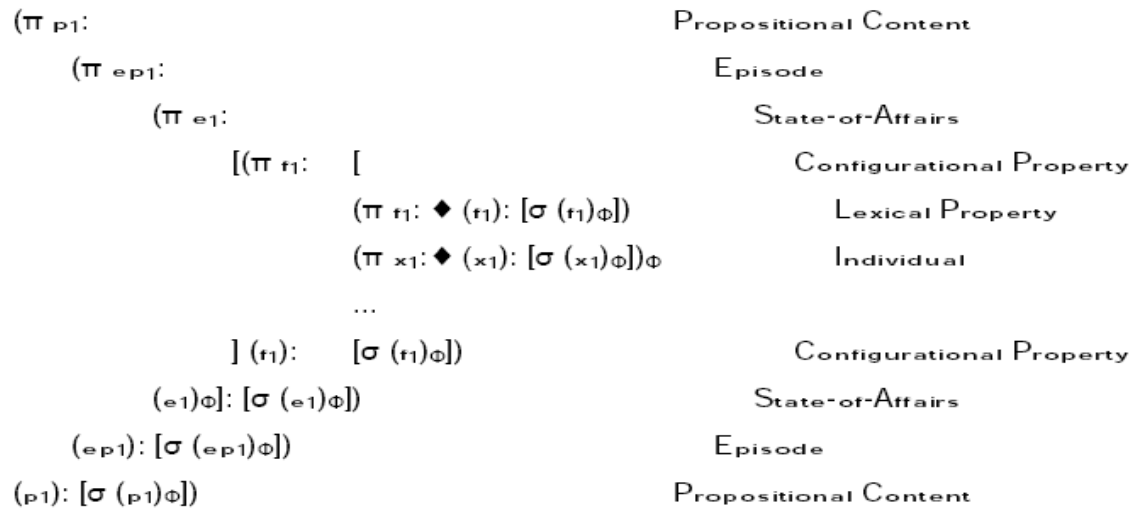
Figure 3: The layered structure of the Representational Level

2.3.3.3 The FDG Morphosyntactic level

The morphosyntactic level deals with the structure of the linguistic unit. FDG does not differentiate between Syntax and Morphology, as the same principles are considered to define structures and operations within words, phrases and clauses. Its input lies on both Pragmatics and Semantics relevant units, which feed into the morphosyntactic encoding process. Its primary unit is the Linguistic Expression, which consists of at least one morphosyntactic unit which is formed by words (and their combinations), phrases and clauses. Its layered structure is illustrated in Figure 4.

```
(Le1:                              Linguistic Expression
    (Cl1:                          Clause
        (XP1:                      Phrase
            (Xw1:                  Word
                (Xs1)              Stem
                (Aff1)             Affix
            (Xw1))                 Word
        (XP1))                     Phrase
    (Cl1))                         Clause
(Le1))                             Linguistic Expression
```

Figure 4: The layered structure of the FDG Morphosyntactic Level

2.3.3.4 The FDG Phonological level

The interaction among FDG levels of analysis forms an important foundation for our research. According to FDG, an utterance's phonological encoding, which informs the Phonological level, is the result of the interaction between the Interpersonal Level, the Morphosyntactic Level and the Representational Level, which in turn informs the Contextual Component and the Output Component. Characteristics included here involve prosodic contrasts, such as rising as opposed to falling intonation phrases, low as opposed to high phonological phrases etc.

As Nespor and Vogel (1986) have shown, phonological representations respect a hierarchy; their proposed hierarchy is also respected by FDG as follows:
the minimal unit is the *syllable* (possibly divided into *morae*), followed by the *foot*, and the *phonological word*, (Nespor and Vogel insert here in the hierarchy the *clitic group*), followed by the *phonological phrase*, the *intonational phrase* and finally the *utterance*.

The Input from the Interpersonal Level, the Representational Level and the Morphosyntactic Level will already carry some phonemic characteristics, possibly marked by stress position, tone patterns, quantity indications etc. depending of the language in question. The Phonological Level analysis will coincide at places with the Morphosyntactic analysis (e.g. boundaries of

Phonological Phrases). Issues such as focus, the psychology of the speaker affecting the intonation pattern of a specific utterance etc. are dealt at the Output component.

```
(π U₁: [                                    Utterance
      (π IP₁:  [                            Intonational Phrase
            (π PP₁:  [                      Phonological Phrase
                  (π PW₁: [                 Phonological Word
                        (π F₁:[             Foot
                              (π S₁)ᴺ       Syllable
                        ] (F₁))             Foot
                  ] (PW₁))                  Phonological Word
            ] (PP₁))                        Phonological Phrase
      ] (IP₁)                               Intonational Phrase
] (U₁))                                     Utterance
```
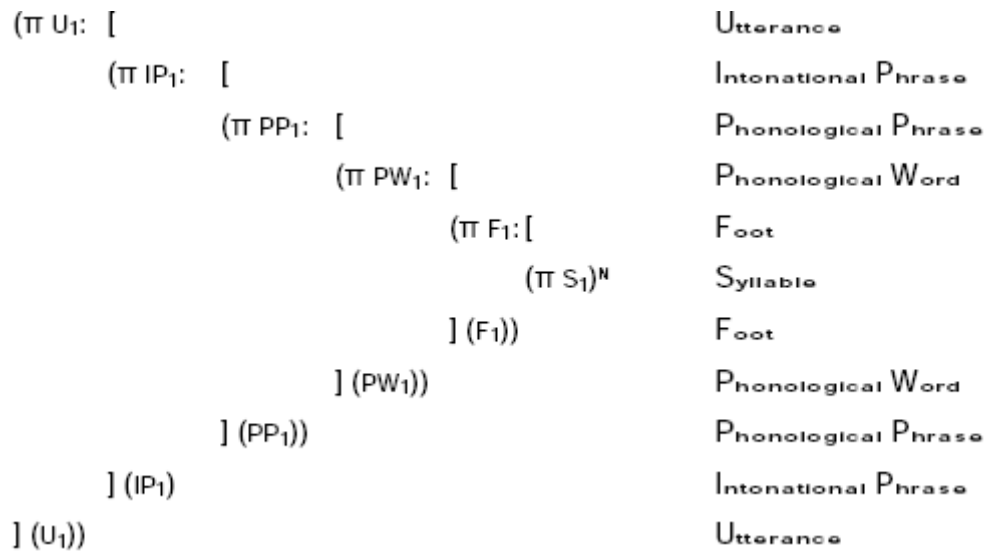
Figure 5: The layered structure of the Phonological level

2.4 Important definitions for our work

2.4.1 Introduction

In this section we highlight some essential notions for our work; we explain how we define the concepts of grammatical mood and basic illocution. Moreover, we discuss Hengeveld et al (2007)'s hierarchical classification of basic illocutions, from where we will adopt the division of illocutions into propositional and behavioural ones.

2.4.2 Grammatical Mood and Basic Illocution

Grammatical Mood is 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' (Hengeveld 2004). De Groot (2010), following Dik (1997) and Hengeveld (2004), explains that a mood is the grammatical reflection of a semantic notion which encompasses illocution and modality. Illocution consists of linguistic expressions

related to specific uses (basic illocutions or speech acts) whilst modality involves modifications on the content of these speech acts. De Groot (2010) suggests that mood needs to be considered together with word order and prosodic contour; modality, however, needs to be considered in relation to mood markers only. Modality is not touched upon in the current research.

A *basic illocution* (also Sentence Type or Speech Act prototype) is 'a coincidence of grammatical structure and conventional conversational use' (Sadock & Zwicky 1985). Linguistic expressions are occurrences of different types of speech acts. Basic illocutions are expressed by the speaker in various forms, using syntactic, morphological and phonological means. Dik (1997) defines basic illocutions as illocutions explicitly coded in linguistic expressions.

Languages do not always formally distinguish among the same basic illocutions; the most frequent ones are considered the Declarative basic illocution (assertions), the Interrogative basic illocution (questions) and the Imperative basis illocution (orders). Basic illocutions might be formally encoded in a grammatical system through syntax, morphology and phonology. Our research focuses on main clauses, as the main purpose of an utterance (or signed/written expression) is identified in a main clause.

2.4.3 Propositional and behavioural basic illocutions

Hengeveld et al. (2007), in considering 22 indigenous languages of Brazil, propose a systematic hierarchical classification of the way basic illocutions are distributed both within as well as across languages. They demonstrated that the existence of certain basic illocutions presupposes the existence of others; for example, if a particular language has a formally coded basis illocution for content interrogatives, the assumption is that a basic illocution for polar interrogatives will also exist. Figure 6 below illustrates the hierarchy of basic illocutions. Hengeveld et al. demonstrated the relationship between the morphosyntax and phonology on the one hand, and Pragmatics on the other. Moreover, they showed that a basic illocution, linguistically marked through specific syntactic, morphological or phonological means, might have a *default*

interpretation, as in the case of a declarative illocution having an assertive interpretation, as well as non-*default* interpretations.
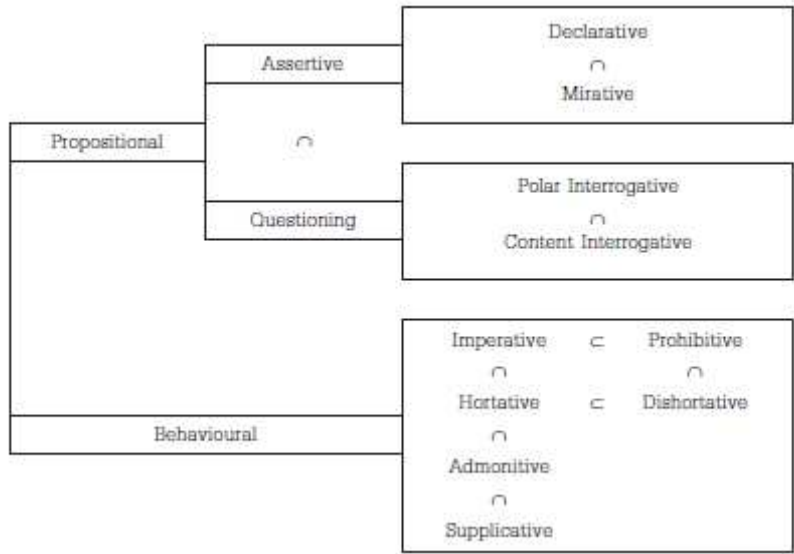
Figure 6: Hierarchy of basic illocutions (Hengeveld et al. 2007)

Hengeveld et al. distinguish between propositional and behavioural uses when discussing the indigenous languages of Brazil. Propositional basic illocutions relate to the Propositional Content of the utterance. According to Hengeveld et al, propositional uses are associated with assertive and questioning illocutions. Assertive subtypes consist of declarative and mirative uses, whilst questioning subtypes consist of polar and content interrogatives.

Behavioural uses involve speech acts that intend to influence or affect the behaviour of the Addressee and/or others. Behavioural (positive and negative) uses include imperative subtypes (orders), hortative subtypes (exhortations), admonitive subtypes (warnings) and supplicative subtypes (requests for permission). Figure 7 illustrates the basic illocutions identified in the sample of indigenous languages of Brazil.

Language	Declarative	Mirative	Polar Interrogative	Content Interrogative	Imperative	Hortative	Admonitive	Supplicative	Prohibitive	Dishortative
Apalai	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
Bororo	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Canela–Krahô	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Cubeo	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Dâw	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
Desano	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
Hixkaryana	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Kamayurá	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kanoê	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
Karipuna Creole	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
Kwaza	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
Macushi	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
Mayoruna	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Nambikwara	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Paumarí	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Pirahã	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Sabanê	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Sanuma	(+)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
Tucano	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Urubu–Kaapor	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
Waiwai	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Warekena	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
Wari'	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–

Figure 7: Basic illocutions in the sample languages of the Brazil (Hengeveld et al. 2007)

2.5 Research Methodology

2.5.1 Introduction

The sections below describe the phases of our adopted methodology in order to define the illocutions of the Modern Greek grammatical system. An additional objective, and also one of the main contributions of our work, is to describe the morphosyntactic and phonological strategies which allow a Speaker to express a certain illocution.

2.5.2. Research hypothesis and evaluation of criteria defining an illocution

Following Hengeveld (2004) and Hengeveld et al. (2007), we formulated the criteria for identifying a particular illocution in MG, namely its type (propositional or behavioural); its function (i.e. its particular use); its grammatical characteristics (i.e. mood, tense, aspect and person); and its prosodic contour (distinct intonation pattern). Of these criteria, we needed to establish the

organization of the MG verb mood system (as mood is also the category which comprises illocution) as well as the intonation patterns MG speakers use. Both of these act as 'tools' that a Speaker has at their disposal, which allow them to express their intentions, and form part of the FDG grammatical component[9] (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).

During the very early stages of this research we adopted the view that the MG mood system consists of the Indicative, the Subjunctive and the Imperative, which are widely accepted. However, in the light of Hengeveld (2004), Hengeveld et al. (2007) and Auwera (2006) we revisited work by Joseph (2001),,Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton (1993), Giannakidou (2007), and Tsangalidis (in press, 2009, 2002, 1999b), among others, which hint at the possibility that Hortative and Prohibitive form also part of the MG mood system in their own right[10]. Our revised methodology consequently includes 5 MG moods.

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). It might be useful to note at this point that Kotsifas and Chaida make an assumption of four basic illocutions in Modern Greek (Statement, Question, Command and Request) which are not investigated further in their work.

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[9] FDG's outline also reflects Levelt's (1989) 'blueprint of a speaker', where once an intention is conceived (with relevant information selected and monitored) as part of the *conceptualiser,* it needs to be grammatically and phonologically encoded in the *formulator*, within FDG's grammatical component. The grammatical and phonological encoding forms part of our criteria for identifying an illocution.

[10] For further discussion on the case for a Prohibitive and Hortative mood in MG see sections 3.2.6 and 3.2.7 respectively.

Our methodology assumed the existence of the following intonation patterns, as outlined in Table 2 below. Note that the adopted intonation patterns were later revised and reduced to 5, as we discuss in section 3.5.

Table 2: MG intonation patterns as part of our initial methodology

Intonation Pattern Name	Utterance Type	Additional characteristics	Final Boundary[11]
INT1	Assertions Directives?	Broad focus[12]	Low
INT2	Assertions Directives?	Narrow focus Alternative to INT1	Low
INT3	Content Interrogatives		High
INT4	Polar Interrogatives		High-Low[13]
INT5	Directives? Curses		Low-High[14]
INT6	Assertions-in-disguise (Rhetorical Questions)? Miratives? Wishes?		?

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[11] A boundary identifies the final phrase of an utterance. An utterance (or its finale phrase) might end at the highest (H), medium, or lowest (L) point of a speaker's range.

[12] Focus can be defined as the type of information which is new and is 'textually and situationally non-derivable information' (Halliday 1967). It might be highlighted syntactically or phonologically. When the intended focus encompasses the entire phrase or utterance, or when the entire utterance is considered consisting of new information, then focus is defined as *broad*. When the new information is included only in a particular part/word/phrase of the utterance, then its focus is defined as *narrow*. See also Grice, Ladd and Arvaniti 1980 for further information.

[13] 'The High accent of the final intermediate phrase upsteps the low boundary to the value of the speaker's range' (Beckman and Hirschberg 1994).

[14] 'A low intermediate phrase followed by a High boundary to the value of the middle of the speaker's range' (Beckman and Hirschberg 1994).

2.5.3 Evaluation process: Identifying an MG Speaker's formal tools

For each MG mood we used a series of examples from a range of sources, to demonstrate that there is sufficient morphosyntactic evidence that satisfies our evaluation criteria. We implemented a series of tests[15] involving particles (which signal the use of a particular mood as a morphological category); inflection (where appropriate); negation (as different negation particles might apply to different moods); and clitic placement (which also signals the presence of particular MG moods). Those choices were based on Hengeveld (2004), where it is stated that illocution (being one of mood's two subdivisions) might be expressed through word order; intonation; particles; inflection; use of auxiliary verbs; use of periphrastic constructions; and derivation.

We expanded our range of examples (to 220) to illustrate different functions each grammatical mood is used for. Our data were collected introspectively, drawn from the linguistic intuitions of the author and compared against examples from reference grammars. The examples were also checked by an informal group of informers (6 male and 6 female, aged 12-72, based in different geographical areas of Greece (5 male and 4 female from Athens, Thessaloniki, Crete and Patras) and members of the Greek diaspora (1 male and 2 female based in London and in New York, USA). The informers were contacted on a regular basis over a period of 9 months, (and less frequently towards the final stages of this work), and were individually asked to check the provided examples against their intuition. The sets of examples were separated by mood and function, while brief scenarios were offered for specific cases (e.g. miratives). We were interested in the informants' production instinct (rather than their perception): although for an illocution to be effective it needs to be recognized by an addressee, the addressee might not pay the necessary attention, might not want to recognize the illocution or might lack necessary background information to do so (Levelt 1989). In that sense, illocution is a speaker-centered notion (Levelt 1989, p. 59). Furthermore, sets of examples were compared to internet-based uses (in Indicative this only applied to examples using *θα*, *άραγε*, *ίσως* and *μήπως*). The

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[15] The analysis and outcomes of this phase are presented in sections 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4

internet is an easily accessible source of linguistic expressions in use; it is very common for linguists to create web-based informal mini-corpora of specific linguistic phenomena. For example, the interchangeable distribution of μη with and without a final 'n' was checked against an internet–based sample of prohibitive uses. For the mini-internet searches, blogs and chat groups were mainly accessed, where the language used is closest to the way current MG users speak; particles and segmental markers were used as the main key-words.

In addition, during the evaluation process, we explored the prosodic contour of instances of uses in each grammatical mood. Prosodic contour, as mentioned earlier, is one of the criteria that allow us to establish a particular illocution. In order to capture the prosodic contour of the utterances, we opted to use Praat (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/), an open-source software for speech analysis and synthesis. Praat was developed at the University of Amsterdam by Paul Boersma and David Weenink, and is widely respected and used by the linguistic community across the world. It allows linguists to manipulate speech and perform multiple operations such as acoustic editing and measurements, creating pictures, produce spectograms, and analyse formants among others. Praat's tools and functionalities allowed us to illustrate and visualise the prosodic contour of utterances. Praat's illustrations can also assist in establishing a diagnosis (for example as part of a comparative approach). In the current research, Praat allowed us to illustrate the intonation of different uses. Moreover, by comparing the data in the form of Praat illustrations of different uses, we were able to establish 5 different illocutionary patterns.

Using a single speaker (the author), we performed a production experiment; by recording examples for each grammatical mood in studio conditions, using a laptop and a portable microphone, we took advantage of Praat's mono recording tool. 85 examples were recorded in total (some in multiple versions) which were edited and analysed using Praat. Their manipulation involved identifying the *pitch* (initially set at 500 Hz, then at 700 Hz) and its *periodicity*. We used a logarithmic drawing which we annotated by producing a text grid. The evaluation of the results, i.e. the comparison of the Praat illustrations of intonation patterns across different uses and verb moods, made us revise our

methodology (and reject the possible 6th intonation pattern originally considered for assertions in disguise, miratives and wishes) and helped us establish the 5 distinct intonation patterns which formally contribute to distinguish different MG illocutions. This approach allowed us to fulfill one of our objectives, i.e. to relate Pragmatics with Phonology, as both form part of the grammatical component, and led to the classification of main uses in Modern Greek, as presented in chapter 7.

2.5.4 Focus on form and its relationship to illocutions

The instances of illocutions which formed part of our data set, expressed in a particular mood, were closely examined to identify characteristics which formally establish an illocution, including those inherent to a particular mood (particles, negation) but also tense, aspect, number, person, the addressee's response, where appropriate, as well as additional segmental strategies[16]. This approach reflects FDG, which adopts a 'form-oriented function-to-form approach' (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, p.38) and signals another contribution of this thesis, i.e. the detailed attribution of formal morphosyntactic (and intonation) characteristics which identify a particular function.

A subsidiary hypothesis was that Indicative and Subjunctive lead to a series of basic and secondary illocutions, while other grammatical moods exhibit a closer link to the illocution they designate. This hypothesis is confirmed, as can be seen in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

2.5.5 Focus on function

The last phase of our methodology involved a realignment of the previous phase outcomes with functions (illocutions) as the starting point. Each illocution was revisited on its own merit, while grammatical moods become part of the strategies available to speakers to express their intention. It was anticipated that some illocutions might be expressed through more than one grammatical mood.

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[16] See section 3.3 on segmental strategies.

This led to a comprehensive table outlining the formal properties linked to illocutions in Modern Greek (see chapter 7).

2.6 Summary

In this chapter we discussed the functional paradigm, a framework which encompasses our research, and we referred in particular to two theories within the functional paradigm, Functional Grammar and Functional Discourse Grammar, which lie in the background of our findings. We defined mood and illocution, notions which are central to our research and we outlined the methodology we follow, informed by our theoretical framework. In the following chapter we are presenting relevant aspects of Modern Greek Grammar which allow us to identify the Modern Greek uses which form part of the system. In particular, we establish the five Modern Greek moods and we present the intonation patterns available to speakers in order to achieve particular intentions.

3. Relevant Aspects of Modern Greek Grammar

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter we describe relevant aspects of Modern Greek Grammar, which provide useful tools for our analysis in later chapters. We discuss the Modern Greek verb system and in particular the verb mood system. We argue that Modern Greek formally differentiates between five verb moods: Indicative, Subjunctive, Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative. We discuss the five moods' formal properties, with reference to inflection, negation, distribution in main and subordinate clauses, and word and clitic placement. Moreover, we discuss additional segmental strategies a Speaker employs and present the intonation patterns available to him/her. Note that we focus only on verb forms that are used in main clauses; hence forms such as gerund, nominalised verbs that can be used instead of infinitive forms etc. are not discussed in the sections below. Modern Greek has ceased exhibiting an infinitive verb form.

3.2 The Modern Greek verb Mood System

3.2.1 Introduction

In section 2.4.1 we defined mood as the grammatical reflection of a semantic notion which encompasses illocution. In order therefore to explore the relationship between illocution, on the one hand, and morphosyntax and phonology, on the other, our attention has initially focused on the Modern Greek verb. Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki (1997) describe the verb Mood as a 'grammatically marked verbal category' which is distinguished by traditional grammar based on either morphology or particles. In Classical Greek, mood opposition was based on morphology, while in Modern Greek it is marked by modal particles. For example, particle *θα* marks a future indicative, particle *να* marks the Subjunctive, particle *μη(ν)-* when not proceeded by *να-* marks the Prohibitive, and particle *ας* marks the Hortative. The only morphological opposition that remains is the one of Imperative/non-Imperative given that the second person singular imperative is the only form, clearly distinguished by morphology (inflection). For example, if we were to consider the verb *φτιάχνω*

(ftiahno, I make) in the second person singular, we would observe that the independent 2nd person singular form *φτιάχνεις* (ftiahnis, you make/are making etc.) contributes to the Present Indicative, Present Subjunctive and Future Continuous tenses. The dependent form *φτιάξεις* (ftiaksis, you make) operates in the same way; it is dependent, in the sense that it has to always be preceded by one of the particles *θα, μη(ν), να, ας,* or a segmental marker[17] such as *μήπως, ίσως,* or *άραγε*. Tsangalidis (2002) prefers a realis–irrealis distinction for independent/ dependent forms. He also suggests that the choice of negation is a matter of modality, rather than of mood. The only morphologically distinct category is the Imperative, as the imperative 2nd person singular form e.g. *φτιάξε* (ftiakse, make!) can clearly be identified because of its unique inflection (ending).

Other features that Modern Greek verbs are marked for include voice (active or passive, which we will not refer to), aspect, tense and agreement.

Aspect defines the temporal structure of an action, event or state. It shows whether the Speaker considers the event, action or state to be bound (perfective aspect) or unbound (imperfective aspect). A grammatical *tense* links the time of the action, event, or state, to the time of the linguistic expression. Modern Greek exhibits Present, Past and Future tenses. Verb moods are marked for the presence or absence of Past. Agreement involves number (singular or plural) and person (1st, 2nd or 3rd). We differentiate the two categories, as a subsidiary hypothesis for our research is that number and person can mark illocution, as can also mood, aspect and tense. Below we will refer to each grammatical mood and how we establish them.

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[17] For a definition of the term *segmental marker*, see section 3.3

3.2.2. The Indicative

The Modern Greek Indicative is defined by the lack of specific mood particles[18] (as in the case of *να* for subjunctive); its dedicated negation particle *δεν* allows us to establish its existence (e.g. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton 1987). The future marker *θα* is associated with the Indicative[19] since it cannot combine itself with the subjunctive marker *να*, neither with the hortative *ας* (nor with the prohibitive *μη(ν))*. Moreover it cannot combine itself with the Imperative form. In addition, the future *θα* combines with the negation particle δεν, which is associated with indicative uses; the negation always precedes the future particle (as also in example 6 below, as part of the complement clause). The morphological distinction (i.e. suffixes/endings differentiation[20]) between Indicative and Subjunctive has been abandoned in Modern Greek; Indicative and Subjunctive are distinguished by the use of the dedicated subjunctive particle *να* as well as through the use of different negation markers (*δεν for* Indicative and *μη(ν) for Subjunctive*), as we can see in examples (1)-(4) below. In example (1) we see a positive Indicative example, in example (2) a negative indicative example, in example (3) a positive Subjunctive example and in example (4) a negative Subjunctive example.

    (1) Δουλεύω στην τράπεζα.

        Doulevo stin trapeza.

        Work-1SG.PR. to the bank

        I work at the bank.

    (2) Δεν δουλεύω στην τράπεζα.

        Den doulevo stin trapeza.

        NEG work-1SG.PR to the bank

        I don't work at the bank.

---

[18] However, in subordinate clauses, Indicative is often introduced by ότι/ πως/ που ('that' equivalent).

[19] See Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton (1983), as well as Philippaki-Warburton and Veloudis (1984) for a discussion on the semantics of the na/tha distinction.

[20] For example, difference in spelling.

(3) Να δουλεύω στη τράπεζα, αυτό θέλω.

Na doulevo stin trapeza, afto thelo.

SUBJ work-1SG.PR.IPF to the bank, this want-1SG.PR

What I want is to work at the bank..

(4) Να μην δουλεύω στη τράπεζα, αυτό θέλω.

Na min doulevo stin trapeza, afto thelo.

SUBJ NEG work-1SG .PR.IPF to the bank, this want-1SG.PR

What I want is not to work at the bank.

In examples (1)-(4) above we also observe that the explicit mention of the person (through, for example, the use of a personal pronoun) can be omitted, as the feature 'person' forms part of the morphology of the verb, through a distinct ending, marked for person.

Indicative is aspect neutral[21]. It comprises Present; Simple (Perfective) and Continuous (Imperfective) Past; Simple (Perfective) and Continuous (Imperfective) Future with the particle θα; Present and Past Perfect formed with the auxiliary verb έχω (I have) and the past participle; and Future Perfect, formed by the future particle θα, the auxiliary verb έχω (I have) and the past participle. Present, Continuous Past and Continuous Future share the same imperfect stem (independent[22] form, also shared by the Subjunctive imperfect forms), while Simple Past and Simple Future share the aorist stem (also used in subjunctive perfect forms).

Clitics in Indicative clauses always precede the verb (proclisis). The negation, as in example (4), and the future particle always precede the clitic, as in example (5).

(5) Δεν τη ρώτησες την Κατερίνα αν έλαβε τα λεφτά;

Den ti rotises tin Katerina an elave ta lefta?

---

[21] In the sense that aspect affect specific verb tenses, rather than verb moods.

[22] The term is adopted by Holton et. al (1997)

NEG her ask-2SG.PS.PRF the Katerina if receive-3SG.PS.PRF the money?

Didn't you ask Katerina whether she received the money?

(6) Θα μου το πληρώσει ακριβά..

Tha mou to plirosi akriva.

FUT me it pay-3SG.PR.PRF expensive.

S/he is going to pay for this.

Although we discuss Indicative's illocutions in chapter 4, we have to mention that it is not only the Declarative mood par excellence, but it is also used in polar and content interrogatives. Additional uses will be investigated in chapter 4.

Indicative is found both in main as well as in subordinate clauses. Its subordinate clauses are introduced by *που* ('pou') as in example (7), *ότι* ('oti') or *πως* ('pos') as in example (8), *μήπως* ('mipos') as in example (9) and *ό,τι* ('ooti') as in example (10). The time of the complement clauses introduced by *ότι*, *που* and *πως* is independent of the time in the main clause.

(7) Σε είδα που έκλαιγες.

Se ida pou ekleyes.

You see.1SG.PS.PRF PRT cry.2SG.PS.IPF

I saw you crying.

(8) Υποθέτω ότι/πως η κατάσταση δεν θα βελτιωθεί.

Ipotheto oti/pos i katastasi den tha veltiothi.

Suspect-1SG.PR PRT the situation NEG FUT improve-3SG.PRF.PASS

I suspect that the situation will not improve.

(9) Αναρωτιέμαι μήπως αργήσει.

Anarotieme mipos aryisi.

Wonder-1SG.PR PRT be-late.2SG.PR.PRF.

I wonder whether s/he might be late.

(10) Είπα ό,τι είχα να πω.

      Ipa oti iha na po.

      Say-1SG.PS.PRF oti have-1SG.PS SUBJ say-1SG.PR.PRF

      I said everything I had to say.

An example of inflection, for active present and future endings, (also in common with the Subjunctive, Prohibitive and Hortative) is presented in Table 3 below:

Table 3: An example of MG inflection (active present and future endings)

Singular Present/Future	Plural Present/Future	Past Singular	Past Plural
-ω/-ώ (-o)	-ουμε/άμε (-oume/ame)	-α (-a)	-αμε (-ame)
-εις /-άς (-is)	-ειτε/άτε (-ite/ate)	-ες (-es)	-ατε (-ate)
-ει /-ά (-i)	-ουν/άνε (-oun/-ane)	-ε (-e)	-αν (-an)

3.2.3 The Subjunctive

Traditionally the term Subjunctive is taken to mean a particular grammatical mood with its own semantic identity (modal value, modality). As a modal category, it is often described as the mood of "doubt", of "uncertainty", of "non-factual". Moreover, the subjunctive is taken to express the "subjectivity of the Speaker". In chapter 5 we show that such views represent only part of the uses expressed by Subjunctive; we demonstrate that Subjunctive can be better understood if we define its uses (illocutions).

As we mentioned in section 3.2.1, there is no morphological distinction between subjunctive and indicative. It is defined by the necessary presence of the particle *να* 'na' (Veloudis and Philippaki-Warburton 1983, Veloudis 1987), which always precedes the Subjunctive verb. Where Indicative uses are associated with the negation particle *δε(ν)* ('den'), Subjunctive uses the negation *μη(ν)* ('mi(n)') which is placed after *να*, as in example (11).

(11) Να μην του το δώσεις το δώρο.

Nα min tou to dosis to doro.

SUBJ NEG him it give-2SG.PR.PRF the present.

Don't give him the present.

The unique character of the Modern Greek Subjunctive, when compared with the subjunctive in other languages (such as French), is that it does not appear always as a main verb's complement, but in both main and subordinate clauses. In example (11) we see a negative subjunctive used in a main clause, while in example (12) below we see an example of a content interrogative like (expressing wondering).

(12) Ποιος να χτυπάει την πόρτα;

Pios na xtipai tin porta?

Who SUBJ hit-3SG.PR.IPF the door?

Who might be knocking at the door?

In example (11) above we also observe a proclitic clitic placement, as was the case with indicative. The clitics always precede the Subjunctive verb, but follow the subjunctive particle and the subjunctive negation.

Subjunctive occurs in Present and Past Tense, both in Perfective and Imperfective Aspect. Its Present Perfective form is not shared with the Present Indicative, however we also see the particular form in the Future Indicative Perfective (introduced by the particle θα), in the Hortative Present Perfective (introduced by the particle ας) as well as in the Prohibitive Present Perfective (introduced by the particle μη(ν), in the second person singular and plural only).

Complements in the subjunctive are simply introduced by να, without an additional complementiser. Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton (1997, p. 451) divide Modern Greek verbs into four main categories, depending on the kind of complement they take: '(i.) verbs of saying, thinking, believing and similar ones which take an indicative complement clause introduced by ότι/πως; (ii.) factive verbs, i.e. verbs which presuppose that their complement clauses express a fact and are followed by an indicative complement clause introduced

by *που*; (iii.) future referring verbs of wishing verbs of wishing, planning, desiring, requesting, ordering etc. which take a subjunctive complement clause; and (iv) verbs of fearing, which may take either an indicative introduced by *ότι* or a subjunctive introduced by *να*, or an indicative introduced by *μη* or *μήπως'.Να* fills also the gap created by the lack of an infinitive verb type in Modern Greek. We see some examples of Subjunctive in complement phrases in examples (13) and (14) below.

(13) Εύχομαι να τα καταφέρω.

   Efxome na ta katafero.

   Wish-1SG.PR. SUBJ them achieve-1SG.PR.PRF

   I wish to accomplish it.

(14) Θέλω το σπίτι μου να είναι μεγάλο.

   Thelo to spiti mou na ine meyalo.

   Want-1SG.PR the house SUBJ be-3SG.PR big.

   I want my house to be big.

The particle *να* cannot co-occur with the future particle *θα* (see example 15); it might be worth noting that its relationship with the notion of future is of great interest from a Semantics point of view (as the notion of Subjunctive 'irealis' has been considered linked to a built-in future element to it).

(15) * Να θα έρθω αύριο.

   Na tha ertho avrio.

   SUBJ FUT come-1SG.PR.PRF tomorrow

   *I may will come tomorrow.

(16) * Να ας έρθω αύριο.

   Na as ertho avrio.

   SUBJ HORT come-1SG.PR.PRF tomorrow.

   *I may let come tomorrow.

Moreover, *να* cannot co-occur with the hortative particle *ας*, as in (16) above. Its relationship with *ας* is intriguing, in that *ας* is considered in interchangeable relationship with *να*, suggested as an alternative subjunctive complement (e.g. Horton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton 1997). Although in earlier publications we also shared this view (e.g. Chondrogianni 1997a), since our approach adopted Hengeveld's (2004) and (2007) views we came to reconsider the relationship between *ας* and *να*. For instance, of the examples presented above, only (11) would be grammatical (and acceptable) using *ας* (i.e. *ας* cannot occur in complement closes). As we will show in later chapters, the alternative use of *ας* and *να* might have some syntactic similarities but pragmatically (and semantically) is very distinct. Its Pragmatics suggests and supports that *ας* is of equal status to *να*, but denoting a separate and distinct verb mood (Hortative). Using particles as one of our illocution criteria (following Hengeveld's 2004 illocution related strategies), we adopt the view that the necessary presence of the particle *να* preceding the verb becomes an absolute and necessary condition for a verb form to be classified as MG Subjunctive. For this reason we make a case for a Prohibitive and a Hortative MG verb mood in sections 3.2.6 and 3.2.7 respectively, where we take this discussion further.

Finally, the particle *να* cannot be used independently, e.g. in single word utterances (neither can the future particle *θα*, the hortative *ας*, nor the negation *δε(ν)*; among them, only *μη(ν)* can occur independently in single-word utterances).

3.2.5 The Imperative

The Imperative mood is differentiated by all other Modern Greek verb moods based on morphology: its second person singular has a distinct ending (as also does French and Italian, among other languages). Zanuttini (1997) calls the 2nd person singular imperative a *true imperative* (because of its form which is unique to imperative among all moods). It shares its 2nd person plural form with the other grammatical moods (hence for Zanuttini (1997) these constitute *suppletive imperatives*). As for French and Italian, the Imperative subject does not need to be explicitly mentioned; unlike other languages, though, this is not a unique

characteristic of the Imperative, as the Modern Greek verb morphology allows the Speaker to opt for overt subject omission across grammatical moods, given that the feature *person* is decoded by the Addressee based on the verb's person distinct endings.

Its characteristic 2nd person endings are –ε/–α (active voice) and –ου (passive voice). For example, an active voice regular verb such as *διαβάζω* ('diavazo', I read), which is a first conjugation regular verb ending in –ω, forms its imperfect 2nd person imperative through the combination of the present stem *διαβαζ* and the ending –ε. Its stress also moves one syllable up, when compared to the Present indicative, as in example (17). The Perfective imperative is formed by the aorist stem and the ending -ε, as in example (18).

(17) Διάβαζε.
     Diavaze.
     Read-2SG.IMP.IPF
     Keep reading..

(18) Διάβασε.
     Diavase.
     Read-2SG.IMP.PRF
     Read.

Imperative does not exhibit tense differences; it is restricted to non-past forms. While its active verbs differentiate between a Perfective and an Imperfective Aspect, for the passive voice verbs only the perfective aspect applies, as in example (19).

(19) Χτενίσου.
     Htenisou.
     Comb_yourself-2SG.IMP.PRF
     Comb your hair.

Imperatives do not participate in questions and cannot combine with the particles να, θα, ας , δε(ν), μη(ν). Clitics here follow the verb (enklisis), as in example (20).

(20) Δώσε τού το πίσω τώρα σου λέω!
      Dose tou to piso tora sou leo.
      Give-2SG.IMP.PRF him it back now you say-1SG.PR.
      Give it back to him now, I am telling you!

Imperative does not participate in complement clauses (an argument for the strong relationship between form and illocution). A main clause imperative might be followed by a complement clause justifying the reason for the action (e.g. 'Study because if you don't you will fail tomorrow's exam'), placing it in time (e.g. Study while we are out and the house is quiet'), as in examples (21) and (22).

(21) Διάβασε γατί αλλιώς θα αποτύχεις στο διαγώνισμα αύριο.
      Diavase yiati alios tha apotihis sto diayonisma avrio.
      Read-2SG.IMP.PRF because otherwise you will fail to the exam tomorrow.
      Read (study) or you will fail tomorrow's exam.

(22) Διάβασε όσο θα λείπουμε και θα έχει ησυχία στο σπίτι.
      Diavase oso tha lipoume kai tha exis isixia sto spiti.
      Read-2SG.IMP.PRF   as long FUT be_absent-1PL. and FUT have-3SG.PR quietness to the house.
      Read (study) while we are out and the house is quiet.

Imperative forms might be preceded by the particle *για*, as in example (23) and its variation in example (24). Example (23) is also of interest as we note an imperative followed by a second imperative. This is common with the imperative verb form *έλα* ('ela', come), or *πήγαινε* ('piyene', go) only.

(23) Για έλα πες μου ένα τραγούδι

Yia ela pes mou ena trayoudi..

PRT come-2SG.IMP.PRF say-2SG.IMP.PRF me a/one song.

Come to sing me a song.

(24) Για έλα να μου πεις ένα τραγούδι.

Yia ela na mou pis ena trayoudi..

PRT come-2SG.IMP.PRF SUBJ me say-2SG.PR.PRF a/one song.

Come to sing me a song.

The Modern Greek Imperative cannot be negated. With imperative having no typical negation, it is often mentioned in the literature that it 'borrows' its negation from Subjunctive. We resist views suggesting that Imperative borrows its negation from the Subjunctive offering us a 'surrogate' negative imperative, as such views are against the spirit of the functional paradigm. Instead we demonstrate that a distinct Prohibitive mood applies to Modern Greek, for the reasons we present in the section 3.2.6 below.

3.2.6 The Prohibitive

In this section we discuss the Modern Greek Prohibitive. During the preliminary stages of this research (e.g. Chondrogianni 1997a) we were not making a distinction between uses of μη(ν) when preceded by να and when used independently. In the light of Hengeveld (2004), which motivated the view that when no other morphological characteristics apply the presence of a mood particle is a necessary condition for a grammatical mood to be established, we revisited the relationship between the two types of uses. Our approach was also influenced by Hengeveld et al. (2007), and in particular by their proposed classification of basic illocutions (which motivated us to further explore MG prohibitive uses) and by Auwera (2006) survey of prohibitive uses. The outcomes of this investigation are presented below We ought to remind here that the morphological opposition that applies to Modern Greek is the one of imperative/non-imperative; when non-imperative is not introduced by a particle, then we are dealing with an Indicative form.

Our research is based on formal characteristics, namely the distinct independent use of particle *μη(ν)* 'mi(n)', when it is not preceded by the Subjunctive particle *να* 'na'. We suggest that such uses indicate that *μη(ν)* is a particle of equal status to the particle *να* (as well as to the future particle *θα* 'tha' and the hortative particle *ας* 'as').

3.2.6.1. The case for a Prohibitive mood

Negative imperatives function as expressions of prohibition (or prevention). Many languages exhibit specific constructions to express prohibitions, through specific prohibitive markers. In Modern Greek (as also in Latin, Spanish, Romanian, Italian, Catalan, and Sardinian among others), the combination of imperative forms with the indicative or the subjunctive negation is not permitted, as we can see in examples (25), preceded by the indicative negation *δε(ν)*, and (26) where the imperative is preceded by the negation *μη(ν)* below.

(25) *Δεν διάβασε.

  Den diavase.

  NEG read-2SG.IMP.PRF

  *Not read.

(26) *Να μη διάβασε.

  Na mi diavase.

  SUBJ NEG read-2SG.IMP.PRF

  *Not read.

Note that in our view, for *μη(ν)* to be considered the Subjunctive negation, it needs to be preceded by the subjunctive particle *να*. Without it we cannot justify that a subjunctive form and/or a subjunctive negation is present. However, we demonstrate below that the imperative form is also ungrammatical when preceded by *μη(ν)* independent of *να*, as in example (27). In this example we introduce for the first time the notion of *μη(ν)* as a prohibitive marker.

(27) *Μη διάβασε.

Mi diavase.

PRH read-2SG.IMP.PRF

*Not read.

Examples (25)-(27) allow us to claim that negative imperative does not exist; and to propose that a special prohibitive marker is used instead. Auwera (2006) discusses in detail the preference of languages for prohibitive markers based on a corpus of over 100 different languages. In most languages it is indeed the case that negative expressions used in Declarative cannot combine with imperatives.

The question for us is whether a unique particle in Modern Greek has been assigned with the task of distinguishing prohibitions from other uses. Consider example (28): there is no doubt that we are dealing here with a Subjunctive, because of the presence of the subjunctive particle. The verb is expressed in the second person plural.[23] In example (29) we observe that the form can appear in both second and third person (singular and plural). It can also take an interrogative intonation ('Shouldn't they talk to strangers?'), and the verb can be placed in the past tense, as in example (30).

(28) Να μη μιλάτε σε αγνώστους.

Na mi milate se aynostous.

SUBJ NEG speak-2PL.PR.IPF to strangers.

You shouldn't talk to people you don't know.

(29) Να μη μιλάνε σε αγνώστους.

Na mi milane se aynostous.

SUBJ NEG speak-3PL.PR.IPF to strangers.

They shouldn't talk to strangers..

---

[23] In chapter 5 we are showing that this is a mitigated prohibition.

(30) Να μη μιλούσανε στο Γιάννη;

Na mi milousane sto Yianni?

SUBJ NEG speak-3PL.PAST.IPF to Yannis?

Shouldn't they speak to Yannis?

Examples (29) and (30) would be ungrammatical and unacceptable if the subjunctive marker *να* was not present. But example (31), where *μη(ν)* is used independently of the subjunctive marker, can only be grammatical and acceptable if used in the second person singular or plural. There is no formal indication that this is a Subjunctive form, unless we assume that *μη(ν)* can stand as a subjunctive marker on its own merit irrespective of the presence of *να*. However, there is a wide acceptance that Subjunctive is marked by *να*, which is strictly adjacent to the verb form. Moreover, this structure does not allow past non-imperative to be used, nor interrogative like intonation i.e. it does not respect Subjunctive's formal characteristics. In our view, these restrictions indicate that *μη(ν)* is the Modern Greek Prohibitive marker, when used independently, marking a distinct grammatical verb mood.

(31) Μη μιλάτε σε αγνώστους.

Mi milate se aynostous.

PRH speak-2PL.IPF .to unknown

Don't talk to people you don't know

Another approach we considered was the significance, if any, of the absence or presence of the final 'n' in *μη(ν)*. Joseph (2001) highlights that μη can be used in a single word utterance, as in example (32), always n-less, while the negation *μη(ν)* always offers the option of the 'n' at the end. He questions whether the n-less μη is a different constituent altogether.

(32) Μη!

Mi!

PRH

Don't

The use of final ν 'n' in the particle *μη(ν)* is indeed optional. The final *ν* 'n' usually occurs before vowels and unvoiced stops and some times before fricatives. This final 'n' distinction also applies to particle *δε(ν)*, as well as in other constituents e.g. the singular accusative of masculine and feminine definite articles. Many differences have been observed between Northern and Southern Greek speakers, with Northern Greek speakers (who have more often the tendency to 'nasalise') to opt for the +n option. Non-typical consistent omissions of final 'n' are also quite common among individual speakers. For Joseph and Philippaki (1987) the omission of final 'n' suggests that there are two variants of *μη(ν)* in Modern Greek: the negation particle with the possible 'n' at the end, but also another negation particle *μη* usually n-less, used independently of να for specific constituent negation, as in example (33) (Joseph and Philippaki 1987, p.64 and p.69).

(33) Μην πάρεις αυτά το χάπι, μη!

Mi(n) paris afto to hapi, mi.

PRH take-2SG.PRF this the pill PRH

Don't take this pill, don't!

We undertook an internet search to identify whether prohibitions introduced by the independent *μη(ν)* follow a consistent pattern, and whether the hypothesis of two separate *μη(ν)* can be justified; we concluded that Greek internet users currently use *μη* and *μη(ν)* interchangeably, often irrespective of phonological restrictions, based on their own idiolect. A systematic separation of the n-less *μη* cannot be justified in our view (apart from the nominals' negation category). Hence we adopt the view that it is the presence of absence of the subjunctive marker *να* which affects the status of *μη(ν)*, rather than of the final 'n'.

3.2.6.2 Summary of the formal characteristics of the Prohibitive

In summary, the Modern Greek Prohibitive includes the following characteristics: it is introduced by the particle *μη(ν)*, which is adjacent to the verb. The verb form can only appear in a non-past, 2nd person singular or plural. It distinguishes between Imperfective and Perfective Aspect, while its clitic placement is proclitic, as per all other Modern Greek non-imperative forms.

3.2.7 The Hortative

An additional Modern Greek grammatical mood we are making a case for is the Hortative, introduced by the dedicated particle *ας* ('as'). Modern Greek scholars classify *ας* as a Subjunctive marker in interchangeable use with the subjunctive particle *να*. At the sane time they recognise, however, that *ας* has a distinct formal distribution; for example, unlike *να*, it cannot introduce subordinate/complement clauses. A possible explanation for that is its historically origin from the verb form 'άφες', which did not introduce subordinate clauses (i.e. a form of 'formal blocking' applies). Furthermore, scholars also recognise its dedicated hortative character. Our research findings do not support *ας* as a Subjunctive marker, also given that the rationale for such approaches is rather contradictory: for particles to be considered in interchangeable use, their formal properties as well as their functions need to coincide. We appreciate, nevertheless, the difficulty in distinguishing hortative forms in many languages. We believe that *ας*' formal (and Pragmatic) properties justify a different approach i.e. the proposal for a distinct Modern Greek mood, as we show in section 3.2.7.1 below.

3.2.7.1 The case for a Distinct Hortative Mood

In this section we present our rationale for a distinct Modern Greek Hortative Mood; to achieve this we will compare the formal distribution of *ας* and *να*.

Ας cannot co-occur with the Subjunctive *να* or the future *θα* (nor can it take objects like the English equivalent 'let'). The nature and behaviour of the particles *να* and *ας* are quite distinct: consider the following examples (which we revisit in chapter 5 where we discuss the Subjunctive), all grammatical and acceptable if introduced by the Subjunctive *να*. Their grammaticality and/or their accessibility, when introduced by the hortative particle, has been assessed both by the author as well as by an informal group of informants. In addition, despite the fact that in this particular chapter we are concentrating on formal properties leaving the discussion on function for later chapters, some of our arguments involve the change in the function of a linguistic expression that the permutation

of *ας* (when replacing *να*) would create. Examples (34)-(59) should be considered in Subjunctive-Hortative pairs.

(34) Να συγχωρεθούν τα πεθαμένα σας!

Na sighorethoun ta pethamena sas!

SUBJ forgive-3PL.PR.PRF.PASS the dead your.

May the dead members of your family be forgiven.

(35) ?Ας συγχωρεθούν τα πεθαμένα σας!

As siyhorethoun ta pethamena sas!

HORT forgive.3.PL.PR.PFV.PASS the dead your.

?Let the dead members of your family be forgiven.

Example (34) is an example of a stereotypical wish in Subjunctive, uttered possibly within a religious context. In replacing the subjunctive by the hortative particle, the wish sounds unusual (i.e. loses its stereotypical form) and can be possibly interpreted as of a concessive nature. Other wishes might exceptionally allow the interchangeable use of *να* and *ας*, usually where the first preference of the Speaker would be for an *ας* construction, as in (36) and (37) (note that such examples are considered having a conditional/concessive underlying character).

(36) Να ήμουν πλούσιος!

Na imoun plousios.

SUBJ be-1SG.PS. rich!

I wish I were rich!

(37) Ας ήμουν πλούσιος!

As imoun plousios.

HORT be-1.SG.PS rich.

If only I were rich! (Let me be rich!)

Example (38), a curse, is rather peculiar when uttered in hortative, and received the same reaction as the pair of (34)-(35). Example (39) cannot be defined as

ungrammatical or unacceptable, but it is considered unusual, with a similar concessive interpretation as (35) and (37). The differences in functions of the subjunctive examples are lost when the hortative particle is used instead. Similarly, while the subjunctive in (40) is not a curse/negative wish, its counterpart in *ας* in example (41) has also a concessive/indifference interpretation, as in (39).

(38) Να πας να πνιγείς.

Na pas na pniyis.

SUBJ go-2SG.PR.PRF drawn-2SG.PR.PRF

Go drown yourself.

(39) ?Ας πας να πνιγείς.

As pas na pniyis.

HORT go-2.SG.PR.PFV SUBJ drawn-2.SG.PR.PFV

?Let you go to get yourself drown.

(40) Να σιδερώσεις τα ρούχα σου.

Na siderosis ta rouha sou.

SUBJ- iron-2SG.PR.PRF the clothes your.

You should iron your clothes. (now or shortly)

(41) Ας σιδερώσεις τα ρούχα σου.

As siderosis ta rouha sou.

HORT iron.2.SG.PR.PRF the clothes your.

Let you iron your clothes. (now or shortly)

Below we have a sequence of four pairs (examples 42-49) where all the utterances introduced by *ας* are ungrammatical. Although we will analyse the subjunctive functions further in chapter 5, we demonstrate below that they are not identical for examples (40), (42), (44) and (46); these utterances are clearly incompatible with *ας*, which can certainly not replace *να* as the dedicated subjunctive marker in these instances.

(42) Να πλύνω τα πιάτα;

Na plino ta piata?

SUBJ wash.1.SG.PR.PFV. the dishes?

May I wash the dishes?

(43) * Ας πλύνω τα πιάτα;

As plino ta piata?

HORT wash-1SG.PR.PRF the dishes?

*Let I wash the dishes?

(44) Να βγάλεις το παλτό σου;

Na vyalis to palto sou?

SUBJ remove-2SG.PR.PFV the coat your

Shouldn't you take your coat off?

(45) * Ας βγάλεις το παλτό σου;

As vyalis to palto sou?

HORT remove-2.SG.PR.PFV the coat your

*Let you take your coat off?

(46) Να έφτασε ο Γιάννης στην ώρα του;

Na eftase o Yannis stin ora tou?

SUBJ arrive-3.SG.PS.PRF. the Yannis to the hour his?

Did Yannis arrive on time (I wonder)?

(47) *Ας έφτασε ο Γιάννης στην ώρα του;

As eftase o Yannis stin ora tou?

HOR arrive-3.SG.PS.PRF. the Yannis to the hour his?

*Let Yannis arrive on time (I wonder)?

(48) Τι να κάνουμε;

Ti na kanoume?

What SUBJ do-2.PL.PR.IPF.

What can we do?

(49) *Τι ας κάνουμε;

      Ti as kanoume?

      What HOR do-2.PL.PRS.IPFV.

      *What let we do?

The mitigated prohibitive in Subjunctive in (50) becomes another concession/indifference example in (51). We note the negation *μη(ν)* in Hortative.

(50) Να μην μιλάτε στον οδηγό.

      Na mi milate ston odiyo.

      SUBJ NEG talk.2.PL.PR.IPF to the driver.

      You shouldn't talk to the driver.

(51) Ας μην μιλάτε στον οδηγό.

      As mi milate ston odiyo.

      HORT NEG talk.2.PL.PRS to the driver.

      Let you not talk to the driver.

Finally, additional segmental markers a Speaker might use to express his/her intention (see also section 3.3. below) can only be used with the subjunctive *να* (as in examples (52), (54) and (56)) but are ungrammatical when introduced by ας (as we can see in examples (53), (55) and (57)).

(52) Μακάρι να γίνει καλά.

      Makari na yini kala.

      WISH SUBJ become-3.SG.PR.PRF well.

      May he/she get better.

(53) *Μακάρι ας γίνει καλά.

      Makari as yini kala.

      WISH HORT become-3.SG.PR.PRF well.

      *May let he/she gets better.

(54) Που να μη σε είχα συναντήσει ποτέ. (unfulfillable wish/curse)

Pou na mi se iha sinantisi pote.

UNWISH SUBJ NEG you had met never.

I wish I had never met you.

(55) *Που ας μη σε είχα συναντήσει ποτέ. (unfulfillable wish/curse)

Pou as mi se iha synantisi pote.

UNWISH HORT NEG you have-1SG.PS. meet-participle never.

*I wish let I had never met you.

(56) Ίσως να έφυγε.

Isos na efiye.

UNC SUBJ leave-3SG.PS.PRF

Maybe s/he has left.

(57) *Ίσως ας έφυγε.

Isos as efiye.

UNC HORT leave-3SG.PS.PRF

*Maybe let s/he let left.

Through examples (34)-(57) we demonstrated that *να* and *ας* do not only differ as far as complement clauses are concerned, but they also behave differently in their typical uses. As we will show in chapters 5 and 6 respectively, their pragmatic propositional and behavioural functions are quite distinct. Furthermore, their segmental marking is quite dissimilar: for example, *να* can combine with *μακάρι* (for wishes), *που* (for curses), *ίσως* (for enhanced expression of uncertainty) and *άραγε* (for expressions of wondering), none of which can combine with *ας*.

3.2.7.2 Summary of the formal characteristics of the Hortative

Hortative in Modern Greek is only introduced by the particle *ας*, which can be associated with main clauses only. *Ας* introduces present as well as past perfective forms. It differentiates for perfect and imperfect Aspect, it follows the non-imperative morphology and has proclitic clitic placement. The Negation *μη(ν)* is used in negative hortatives.

3.3 Segmental Strategies

In addition to the dedicated mood and negation particles, speakers have at their disposal a number of additional function-linked segmental markers, i.e. lexical elements or particles which provide a clue to the addressee on how particular uses are to be interpreted. Such segmental markers are discussed in detail in the relevant grammatical mood chapters; here we will just briefly list them.

i. Tag questions: when speakers request a confirmation of the truth value of the utterance, they deploy a necessary tag question following their assertion. Such strategy usually applies to Indicative, as in (58).

(58) Θα έρθεις αύριο, δεν θα έρθεις;
Tha erthis avrio, den tha erthis?
FUT come-2SG.PRF tomorrow, NEG FUT come-2SG.PRF?
You will come tomorrow, won't you?

ii. *Μήπως* ('mipos', perhaps): Speakers have at their disposal a dedicated proffer marker (followed by Indicative), as in example (59).

(59) Μήπως θέλετε βοήθεια;
Mipos thelete voithia?
PROF need-2PL.PR. help?
Perhaps you need some help?

iii. Άραγε ('araye', 'I wonder'): this is a dedicated wondering marker, which might be followed by Indicative as in example (60) or by Subjunctive as in example (61).

(60) Άραγε βρέχει;
Araye vrehi?
WOND rain-3SG.PR
Is it raining, I wonder?

(61) Άραγε να βρέχει;

Araye na vrehi?

WOND SUBJ rain-3SG.PR

May be raining, I wonder?

iv.   *Ίσως* ('isos', maybe): this is the dedicated uncertainty marker, which may be followed by Indicative, as in examples (62) and (63) with negation or by Subjunctive as in examples (64) and negative Subjunctive in (65).

(62) Ίσως έφυγε.

Isos efiye.

UNC leave-3SG.PS.PRF

Maybe he left.

(63) Ίσως δεν έφυγε.

Isos den efiye.

UNC NEG leave-3SG.PS.PRF

Maybe he didn't go.

(64) Ίσως να έφυγε.

Isos na efiye.

UNC SUBJ leave-3SG.PS.PRF

Maybe he left.

(65) Ίσως να μην έφυγε.

Isos na min efiye.

UNC SUBJ NEG leave-3SG.PS.PRF

Maybe he didn't go.

v.   *Μακάρι* ('makari', 'I wish'): this is the dedicated wish marker, followed only by Subjunctive, as in example (66).

(66) Μακάρι να γίνει καλά.

Makari na yini kala.

WISH SUBJ become-3.SG.PR.PRF well.

I wish he/she gets better.

   vi. *Που* ('pou', negative wish): this is a dedicated marker for negative wishes/curses, followed always by Subjunctive, as in example (67).

(67) Που να μη σε είχα συναντήσει ποτέ.

Pou na mi se iha sinantisi pote.

UNWISH SUBJ NEG you had met never.

I wish I had never met you.

vii.   *για* ('yia', mitigator): 'yia' is used to lessen the impact of an imperative, as in example (68) below.

(68) Για έλα να μου πεις ένα τραγούδι.

Yia ela na mou pis ena trayoudi..

MIT come-2SG.IMP.PRF SUBJ me say-2SG.PR.PRF a/one song.

MIT come to tell (sing) me a song.

3.4 Table summarising the characteristics of the Modern Greek verb moods

The characteristics of the five Modern Greek moods are summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Summary of the MG verb mood characteristics, including segmental markers.

Grammatical Mood	Distinct Particle	Negation	Clitic Placement	Distribution	Additional Segmental Markers	Inflection
Indicative	*(Θα)*	*Δε(ν)*	Proclisis	Main&subordinate	Tag-questions Μήπως Άραγε Ίσως	As per non-imperative forms
Subjunctive	*Να*	*Μη(ν)*	Proclisis	Main&subordinate	Μήπως Άραγε Ίσως Μακάρι Που	Non-imperative forms
Hortative	*Aς*	*Μη(ν)*	Proclisis	Main only	-	Non-imperative forms
Imperative	-	-	Enclisis	Main only	Για	Unique to 2nd person singular
Prohibitive	*Μη(ν)*	-	Proclisis	Main only	-	Non-imperative forms

3.5 Intonation patterns in Modern Greek

3.5.1 Introduction

In this section we describe the Modern Greek prosodic contours available to a Speaker when forming a linguistic expression. To propose our 5 intonation patterns below, we considered related work, such as Arvaniti and Baltazani (2005) (as well as their GRToBI relevant website) who, in describing GRToBI's Tone Tier, state and define three types of tonal events: the *pitch accent*, the *phrase accent,* and the *boundary tones*; as well as two levels of phrasing: the *intermediate phrase* and the *intonational phrase*. The pitch accent effectively coincides with the stressed syllable of a Modern Greek word (bearing in mind that syllables might be stressed but not accented, stressed and accented or unstressed, as well as that a word might potentially carry two pitch accents). Arvaniti and Baltazani (2005) suggest five pitch accents[24], namely H* (nuclear accent in declarative sentences; broad focus), L* (low plateau, nuclear position before a rise in yes-no questions), L*+H (default accent in pre-nuclear position and/or nuclear position in calls, imperatives, negative declaratives), L+H* (narrow or contrastive focus) and H*+L (in 'stating the obvious' utterances). Arvaniti and Baltazani also refer to three *phrase accents*, namely H-, L- and !H-. In addition, GRToBI includes three types of boundary tone, namely H%, L% and !H%.

An utterance's intonation pattern will also be 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-accents all following words', while 'topicalisation creates an IP boundary at the end of the topic phrase'.

---

[24] The symbols used for the 5 pitch accents, based on the ToBI notation, are defined as follows:
L-: phrase accent (Low) at intermediate phrase boundary;
H-: phrase accent (High) at intermediate phrase boundary;
L%: final boundary tone (Low);
H%: final boundary tome (High);
%H: initial accent (High), left edge of intonation phrase;
H*: peak accent on the accented syllable (High, on the upper part of a speaker's range for the phrase);
L*: low accent on the accented syllable (Low, at the lower part of a speaker's range for the phrase);
!H: downstepped (High) tones.
See also Beckman and Hirschberg (1994)

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 FDG Phonological component). We have, therefore, taken a slightly more schematic approach, similar to the one presented below by Chaida (2008) (also by Kotsifas 2009). We have not dealt with focality issues unless absolutely necessary (e.g. INT2), whilst we have kept phonological analysis to a minimum, at an utterance (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 8: Tonal structures proposed by Chaida 2008

Although we disagree with Chaida (2008) as far as the 'sentence types' in MG are concerned (in chapter 7 we summarise the richness of the MG illocutions), our suggested intonation patterns partially coincide on three occasions, as we show in Table 4 below. Her proposed statement-related tonal structure coincides with our intonation pattern INT1; the polar question-related tonal structure coincides with our INT4; and the wh-question tonal structure coincides with INT3. We take different views as far as our INT5 is concerned (where we show in section 3.5.6 and 5.2.2.1 its distinct pattern, dedicated to curses). In addition, in section 6.2.3 we demonstrate that directives are uttered using INT1, rather than a command-dedicated tonal structure, as Chaida (2008) suggests. Furthermore, we adopt a separate prosodic contour (INT2) when narrow focus applies, as an alternative to INT1.A summary comparison of the two approaches can be seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Comparison between our proposed intonation patterns with Chaida (2008).

Proposed Intonation Patterns	Chaida (2008)	Comments
INT1	'Statement tonal structure'	Chaida's pattern presents a variation to our INT1; however, as we show in chapters 4,5, and 6, this pattern is not restricted to 'statement' uses only.
INT2	-	Chaida makes no provision for narrow focus intonational phrases in utterances; however, this pattern can be used as an alternative to INT1 (e.g. in assertions).
INT3	'Wh-question' tonal structure	The two approaches coincide. Again, we show that INT3 uses are not restricted to wh-questions.
INT4	'Polar question' tonal structure	The two patterns coincide. However, we show that INT4 uses are not restricted to polar interrogatives.
INT5	-	Our work disagrees with Chaida regarding directives (or 'command' tonal structures). Her suggestion presents a variation of her 'statement' tonal structure; we demonstrate that directives are uttered in INT1. However, we identify a distinct pattern for curses, with a low-high boundary.

For our analysis we adopt the distinction of five intonation patterns, as described in sections 3.5.2, 3.5.3, 3.5.4, 3.5.5, and 3.5.6 below. The proposed sixth intonation pattern, as outlined in section 2.5.2, Table 2, was dropped, given that evidence from the Praat illustrations did not support it, as can be seen in sections 4.2.3 (miratives of approval in indicative), 4.2.4 (declarative assertions in

disguise) 5.2.2 (wishes in subjunctive) 5.2.4 (miratives of disapproval in subjunctive), 5.4.2 (wishes introduced by μακάρι) and 6.4.2 (wishes in hortative).

3.5.2 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, which can be also observed in the Praat illustration of Figure 10, include a heightening of the pitch starting at the first accented syllable (in our example 'Ya') with it pitch at the first post-accented syllable (in the Praat example in 'nis'). There is a small dip after 'tha' and a fall for 'ayapai'. 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 9 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[25] focus.

Figure 9: Intonation Pattern 1 (INT1)

Consider example (1), which will allow us to illustrate INT1 using Praat.

(1) Ο Γιάννης θα με αγαπάει.
O Yannis tha me ayapai.
The Yannis will me love.3.SG.FUT.IPF.
John will love me.

Below we see the Praat illustration of the prosodic contour of (1), an example of an assertion in Indicative.

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[25] For the definition of terms *broad* and *narrow* focus, see section 2.5.2, footnote 12, p. 24.
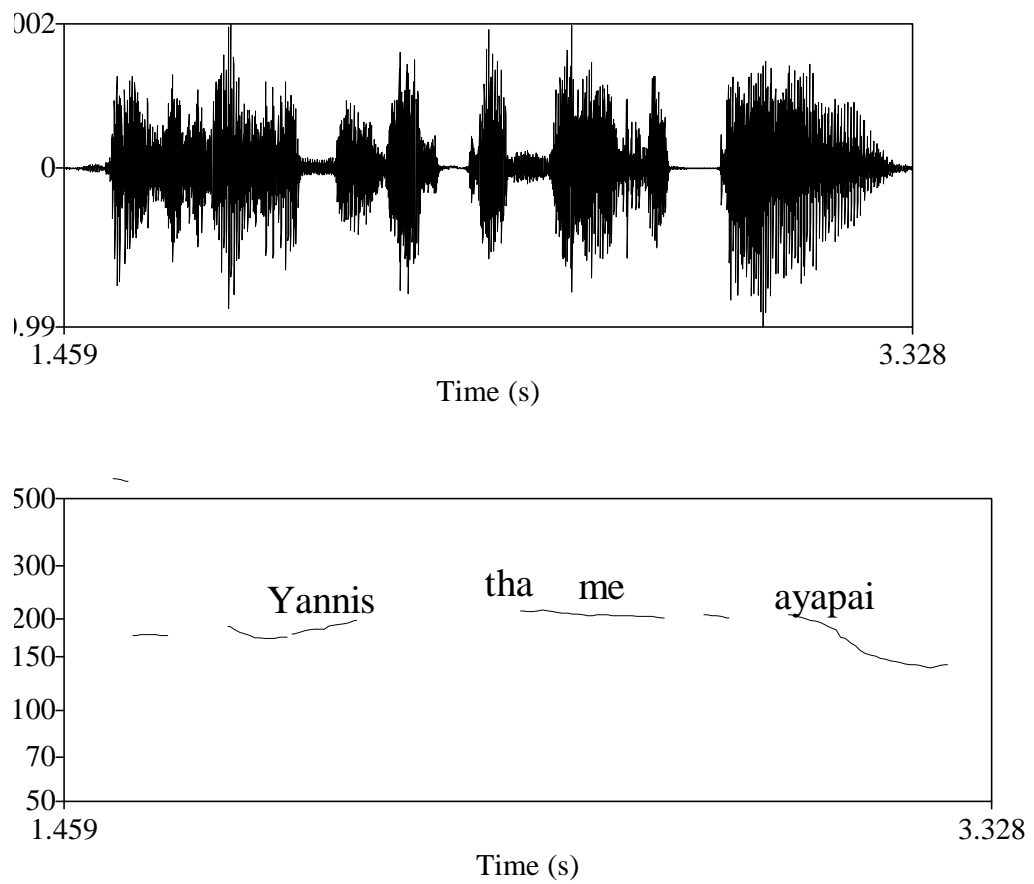
Figure 10: a Praat illustration of INT1.

3.5.3. Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)

Now consider example (2) below, which will allow us to illustrate INT2.

(2) Ο Γιάννης δεν με αγαπάει.

O Yannis den me agapai.

The Yannis NEG me love-3SG.PR.

John does not love me.
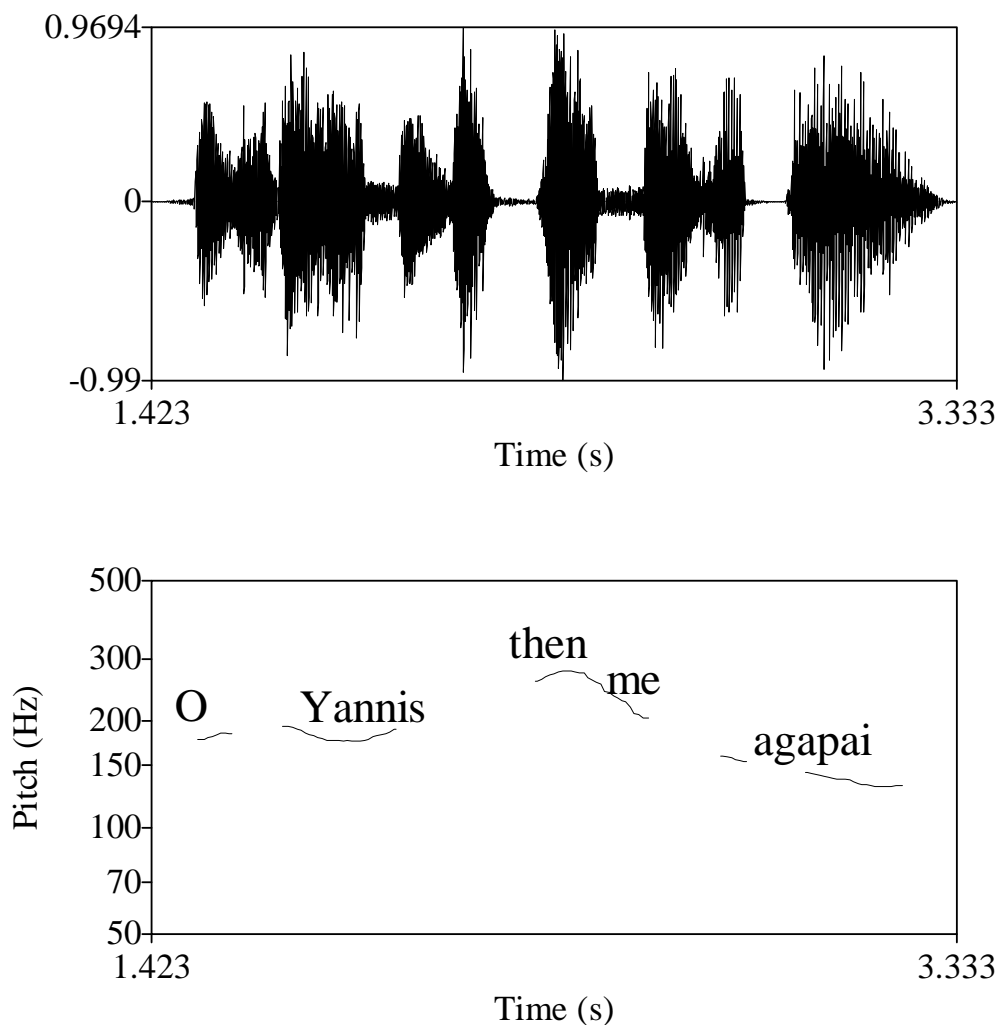
Figure 11: Praat illustration of INT2

Here, as we can see from the Praat illustration of Figure 11, we start with a plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear 'then' followed by a fall from the post-nuclear syllable onwards. Schematically, INT2 tonal structure is illustrated in Figure 12 below. It characterises narrow focus; in the example provided the focal point is on the negation 'then'.
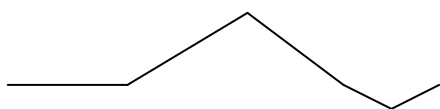
Figure 12: Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2).

3.5.4 Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3)

Example (3) below, a content interrogative, allows us to illustrate INT3.

(3)   Πότε μπορείς να με πάρεις τηλέφωνο;

Pote boris na me paris tilefono?

When can-2S.PR.IPF.PRT me call-2S.PR.PF phone?

When can you call me on the phone?
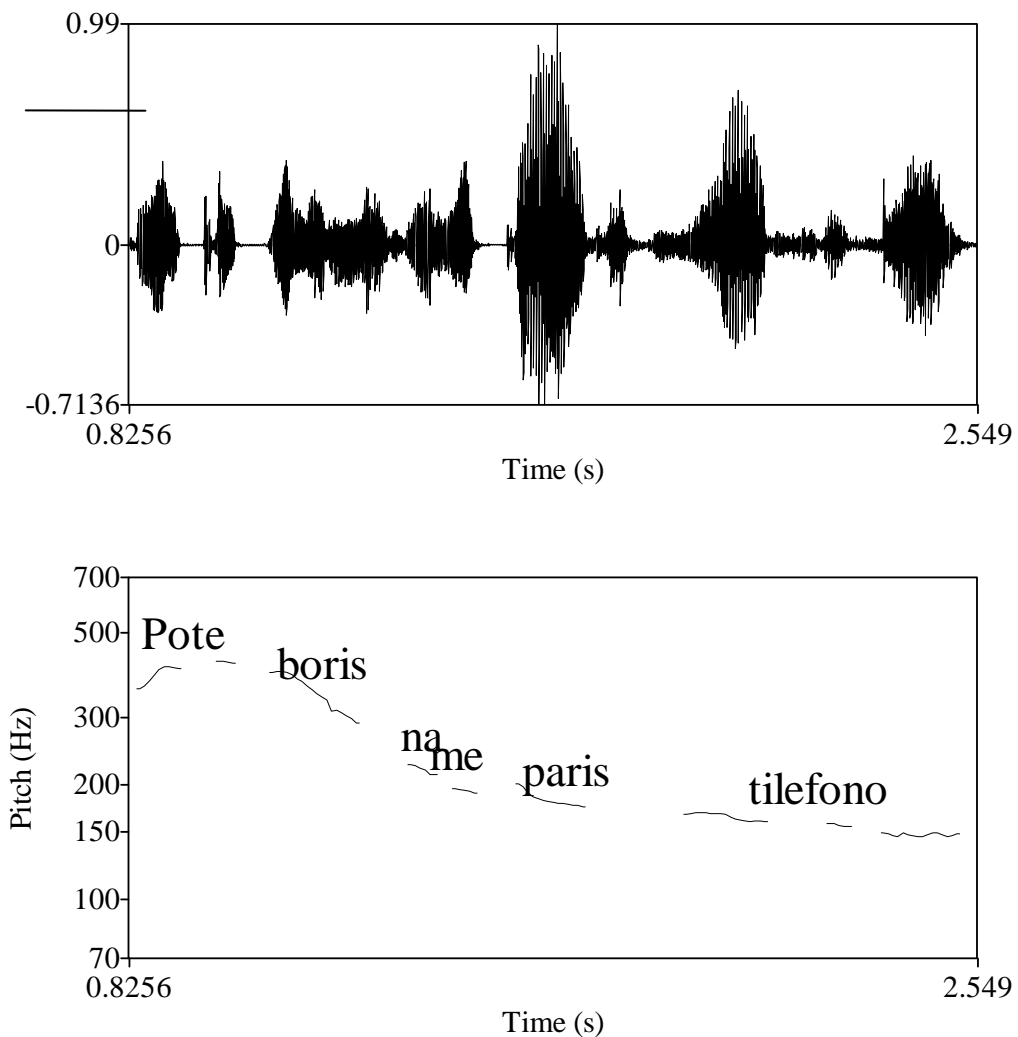
Figure 13: Praat illustration of INT3.

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 14 below:

Figure 14: Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3).

3.5.5 Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

(4) Μιλάς αγγλικά;

Milas aglika?

Speak-2SG.PR. English?

Do you speak English?

Example (4) above, a polar interrogative question, allows us to illustrate INT4, as can be see in Fig. 15 below.

0.99

0

-0.5684

0.8412   1.889

Time (s)

700
500

300

Pitch (Hz)

200

150

100

70

0.8412   1.889

Time (s)

Milas   aglika
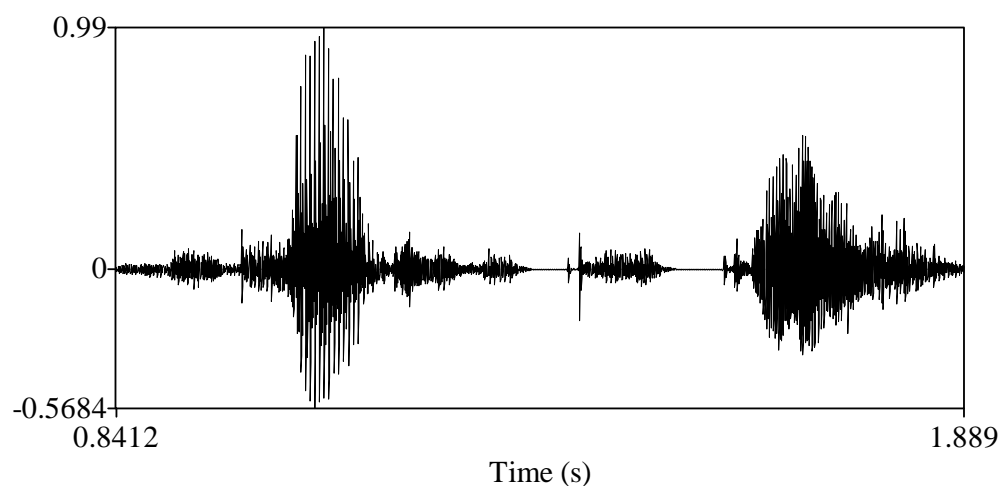
Figure 15: Praat Illustration of INT4

This is the typical polar question intonation pattern. The peak is on the last stressed syllable of the final word, in the example above 'aglikά'. Following a gradual fall, we have a low plateau followed by a rise (we might or might not slightly fall at the end). The boundary is Rise-fall. Schematically we present its tonal structure in Figure 16 below.

Figure 16: Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4).

3.5.6. Intonation Pattern 5 (INT5)

Example (5) below, an example of a curse, allows us to illustrate INT5:

(5)   Που να σπάσεις το πόδι σου!

Pou na spasis to podi sou!

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

Break your leg!
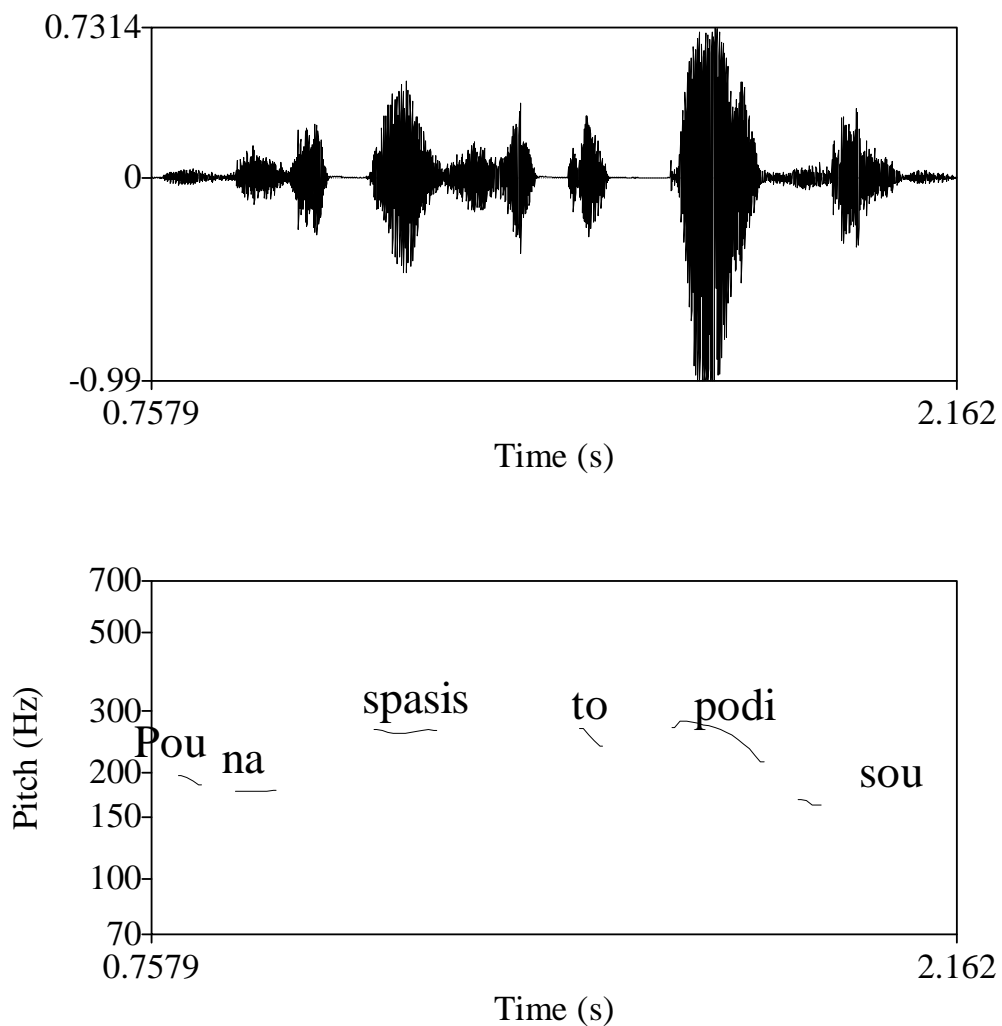
Figure 17: Praat Illustration of INT5.

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

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boundary is low-high. The example shown above is from a curse. Schematically we are illustrating INT5 in Figure 18 below.
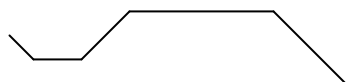
Figure 18: Intonation Pattern 5 (INT5).

Further discussion on the relationship between sentence types (illocutions) and intonation patterns is presented in chapter 7.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter we described the morphosyntactic and phonological formal tools a Modern Greek Speaker has at their disposal in order to best formulate a linguistic expression reflecting their intention. We established the five grammatical moods the Modern Greek verb system consists of, namely the Indicative (optional future particle *θα*, negation *δε(ν)*); the Subjunctive (dedicated particle *να*, negation *μη(ν)*); the Imperative (distinct morphology, for the true imperative second person singular); the Prohibitive (introduced by the Prohibitive particle *μη(ν)*, in the Present second person singular and plural only); and the Hortative (particle *ας*, negation *μη(ν)*). Furthermore, we presented additional segmental markers a speaker has available to denote particular functions. Finally, we presented evidence for the 5 intonation patterns carrying an illocutionary impact at the level of utterance that apply to Modern Greek. The grammatical tools will allow us to establish the language uses which form part of the Modern Greek grammar. In chapter 4 we will discuss the Indicative functions: person, number, tense, aspect, and intonation patterns will allow us to distinguish among Indicative's propositional and behavioural uses.

4. The Indicative

4.1. Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the illocutionary values of the Modern Greek Indicative verb mood. Our research hypothesis is that we are dealing with a grammatical mood which is linked to a variety of uses, and where, thus, the relationship between grammatical mood and sentence type is quite complex.

In the sections that follow we discuss the Indicative's propositional uses, including declarative uses such as assertive uses (with the variation of emphatic assertive uses), mirative uses and assertive uses in disguise (rhetorical questions). We also consider the Indicative within an interrogative context and discuss polar interrogatives and content interrogatives. In addition, we explore behavioural uses of the Indicative, such as directives. Furthermore, we consider additional segmental marking, and refer in particular to requests for confirmation, proffer, expressions of uncertainty and wondering uses.

The criteria we use to identify particular uses include morphosyntactic features, such as particles associated with clauses in indicative in Modern Greek, as well as the particular prosodic contour, as another formal feature of distinguishing sentence types. Moreover, we investigate the role of segmental markers such as the particle *μήπως* 'mipos' (perhaps), used in Indicative interrogative or interrogative-like sentences. We demonstrate that this type of question-like utterances' use differs from questions as it has no informational/propositional value; the speaker rather aims to change the addressee's behaviour.

4.2. The declarative sentence type

4.2.1. Introduction

Noonan (1985) defines Indicative as the form that 'mostly resembles declarative main clauses', while Hengeveld (2004) stresses that 'they are not one and the same'.

It is debatable whether one can argue that declarative uses are the typical uses of the Indicative, since, for example, the Indicative is used just as much in questions, suggesting an Interrogative as well as a Declarative value.

The declarative sentence type in the Indicative is mostly associated with propositional illocutions. Behavioural uses are typically associated with the Subjunctive, the Imperative, the Prohibitive and the Hortative (see also chapters 5 and 6).

Intonation in declaratives is dictated by focal choices. Mennen and Okalidou (2007) demonstrate that broad focus involves a 'high level of the accented syllable' (an intonation contour that coincides with our INT1 intonation pattern, as described in section 3.4.2), while narrow focus involves a 'rise from low to the accented syllable, which is high' (which coincides with INT2, as described in 3.4.3). Typical declaratives involve assertions, expressions of belief, reports etc.

4.2.2 Assertive uses of the Indicative

Assertions are typically expressed in the Indicative. This type of basic illocution, which seems to be universal, aims to provide the addressee with information. INT1 and INT2 intonations apply, as defined in chapter 3. Example (1) is a typical example of an assertion; it is defined solely by the use of Indicative combined with the characteristic prosodic contour INT1 exhibiting a board focus; its prosody is illustrated below using Praat.

(1) Ο Γιάννης με αγαπάει.

O Yannis me ayapai.

The Yannis me love-3S.PR.IPF.

John loves me.
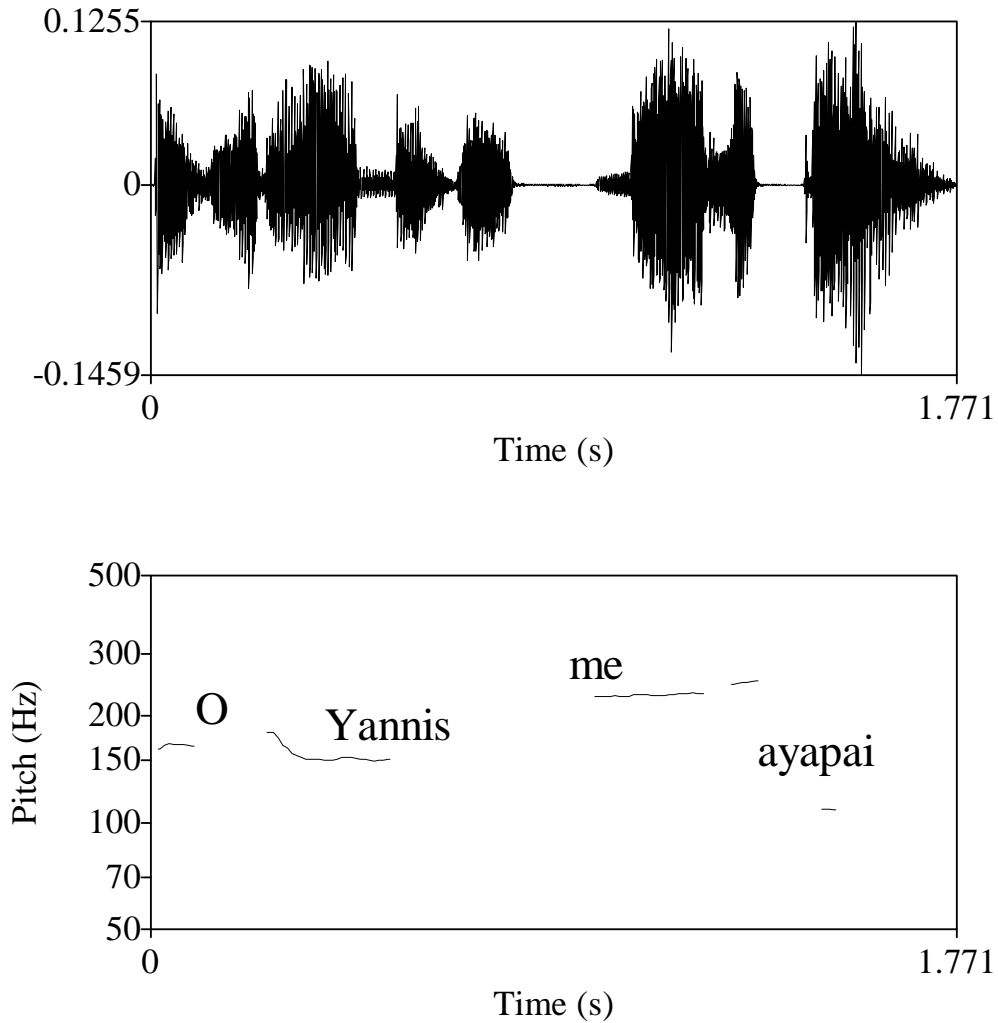
Figure 19: Praat illustration of assertion using INT1.

Any number, person and tense might be used for assertions in Modern Greek. Aspectual differences do not apply to the Present, but can be seen in the past and future. The optional use of particle *θα* preceding the verb, as in example (2), allows the Speaker to place the utterance in future time. No additional segmental strategies apply. The Praat illustration of INT 1 is provided below.

(2) Ο Γιάννης θα με αγαπάει.

O Yannis tha me ayapai.

The Yannis will me love.3.SG.FUT.IPF.

John will love me.
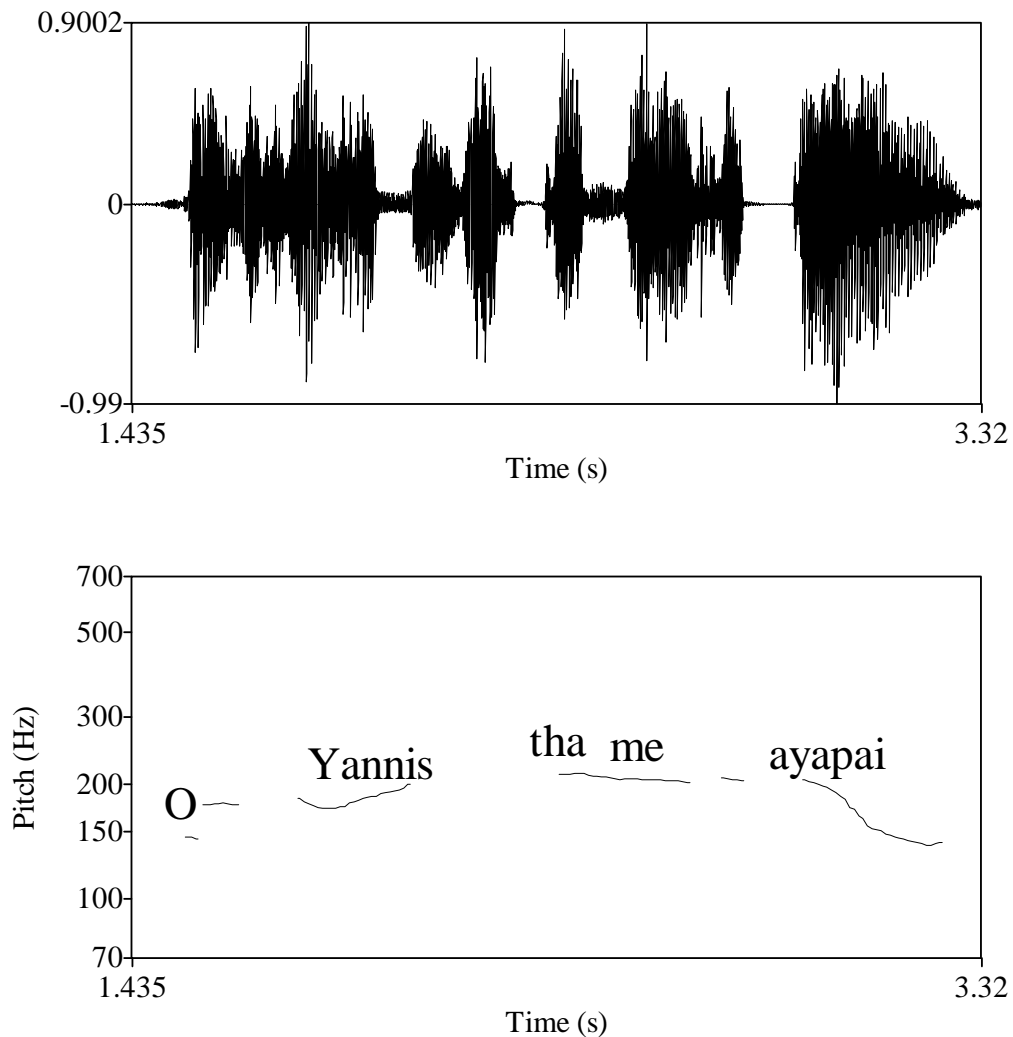
Figure 20: Praat Illustration of θα assertion using INT1.

The Negative Indicative is marked by the indicative negation particle *δε(ν)* ('den'), positioned before the verb, as in example (3). Negative declaratives are characterised intonationally by a rise from low from the accented syllable to high after the accented syllable, according to Mennen and Okalidou (2007). The negation provides a focal point for the assertive utterance, hence we place them under the INT2 intonation pattern, indicating a narrow focus on the negation, as

it can be seen below. Negative assertions, in our view, do not constitute separate illocutions.

(3) Ο Γιάννης δεν με αγαπάει.

    O Yannis then me agapai.

    The Yannis NEG me love-3SG.PR.

    John does not love me.
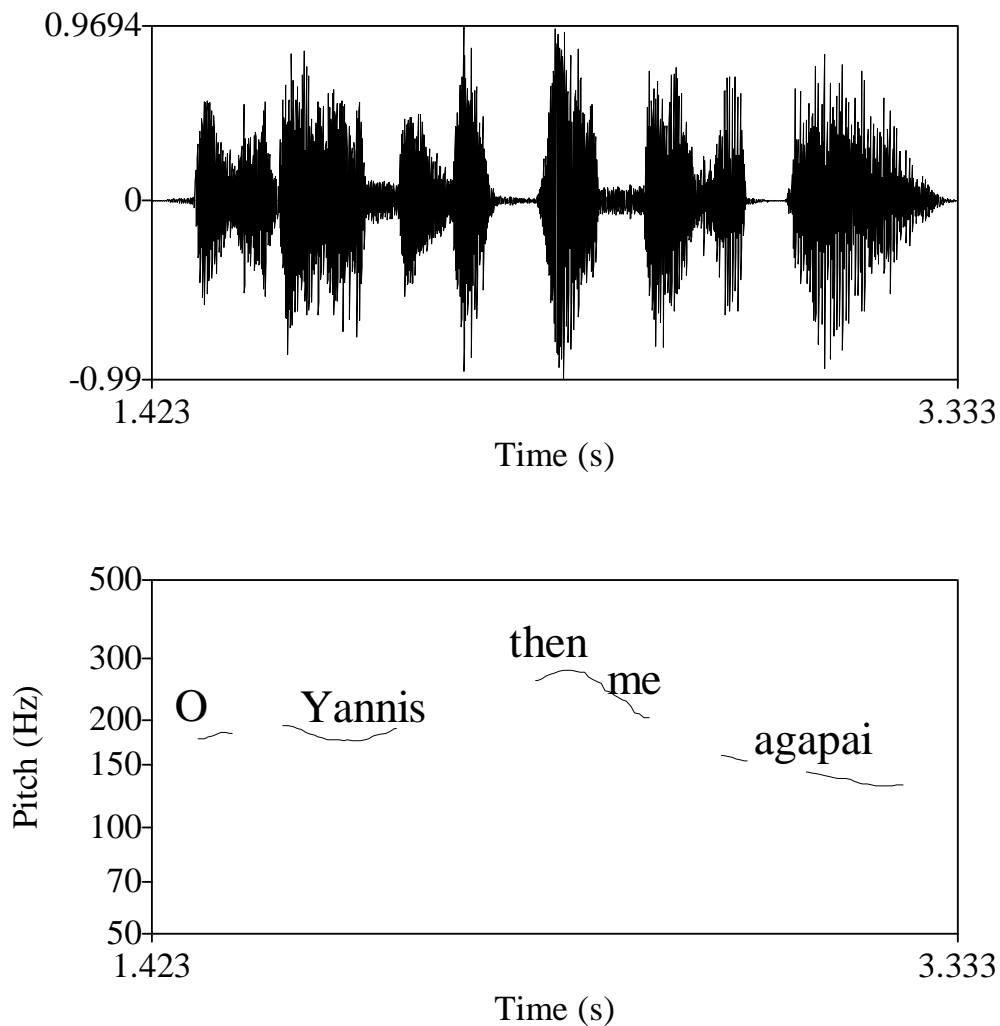
Figure 21: Praat Illustration of negative assertion using INT2.

There is a very complex interaction between the overall prosodic contour and the emphasis (focus) a speaker might place on a specific constituent in an assertion. Although no specific grammatical strategy can be identified, which would allow for a distinct use of emphatic assertions to be specified, speakers might place

narrow focus on a particular constituent, or might opt to emphasize their assertions through lexical means, for example using *οπωσδήποτε* ('oposdipote', definitely). Such focal points might be verbal as in (4), nominal as in (5), or adverbial as in example (6). The speaker can focus on any of the constituents (verb, time or location for example), with verb focus being particularly common. INT2 applies here.

(4) **Θα πας** στο γιατρό αύριο.

Tha pas sto yatro avrio.

PRT go-2S.PF to-the doctor tomorrow.

You will go to the doctor tomorrow.

(5) Θα πας **στο γιατρό** αύριο.

Tha pas sto yatro avrio.

PRT go-2S.PF to-the doctor tomorrow.

You will go **to the doctor** tomorrow.

(6) Θα πας στο γιατρό **αύριο**.

Tha pas sto yatro avrio.

PRT go-2S.PF to-the doctor tomorrow.

You will go to the doctor **tomorrow**.

Emphatic assertions have been considered as variation of assertive uses. No formal of phonological characteristics justify their treatment as a separate illocutionary category.

4.2.3. Mirative uses of the Indicative

When a speaker utters an assertion, they intend to share with the addressee some information. When a speaker expresses their admiration through an utterance, effectively they are also sharing some information with their addressee. Hengeveld et al. (2007) state that most languages exhibit the declarative sentence type, which often is 'the most unmarked basic illocution'. They add, however, that, in some languages, declarative uses '…contrast with another type of basic illocution that is used to inform, the mirative. In this type, it is not so much the content of the utterance itself that is being transmitted, but rather the emotional reaction of the speaker with respect to this content, in particular feelings such as surprise or delight' (ibid).

Utterances in this category demonstrate a mixture of declarative and interrogative properties; they exhibit content interrogative intonation characteristics (INT3). The speaker conveys his/her (positive) emotional reaction to the addressee, e.g. surprise or admiration, as in (7). However, by contrast to content interrogatives, the speaker does not question a particular part of the utterance and does not expect a response by the addressee (apart from a possible reaction of gratitude, such as 'thank you'). Such response should not be confused as indicating consent, as would be the case in directives.

(7) Τι ωραίο φόρεμα είναι αυτό!

Ti oreo forema ine afto!

What beautiful dress is-3SG.PR. this!

What a beautiful dress this is!
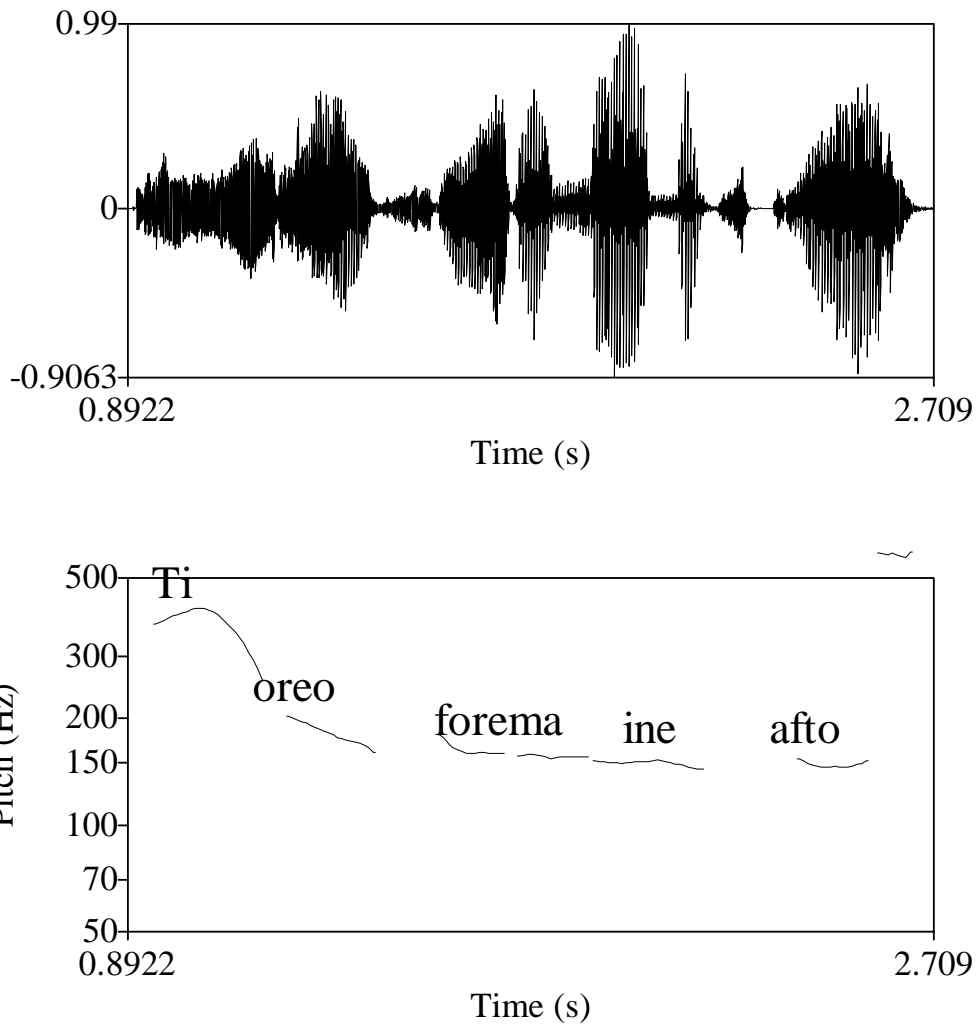
Figure 22: Praat illustration of a Mirative (of approval) using INT3.

Such utterances are often preceded by an exclamative, such as *πω!πω!* ('po!po!' ouhaouh!). Moreover, they might be introduced by a question word, as in example (7), which further demonstrates their combined declarative and interrogative characteristics.

4.2.4 Declarative assertions in disguise: rhetorical questions

Below we present some declarative uses of the indicative disguised as questions; both the speaker, as well as the addressee, know the answer to such question-like utterances; the question-like intonation is used to achieve a special effect.

Rhetorical questions exhibit similar intonation to relevant interrogative constructions, namely INT3 and INT4[26]. The fundamental difference between rhetorical questions and interrogatives is based on the fact that the speaker here does not intend to elicit information. The speaker neither expects the addressee to provide them with a positive or a negative reply that confirms or denies the propositional content of the clause, nor to provide them with information about a missing constituent. Furthermore, the speaker is not seeking the addressee's consent to perform a particular action. 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.

Declarative assertions in disguise often are formulaic in nature, as in example (8) below.

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[26] We observe that there is a variation to the intonation pattern of example (8) when compared to the other INT4 patterns (e.g. with example (24)), due to the 'unfinished' or incomplete nature of the assertions in disguise. We are of the view that such variation in the final rise does not constitute a separate intonation pattern and is due to the 'incomplete' character of the utterance. We ought to note that several experiments took place, using Praat in order to establish and confirm the intonation pattern of this particular category. The experiments involved recording a number of linguistic expressions of identical constituents both as assertions, assertions in disguise and interrogatives.

(8) Τι είναι η πατρίδα μας;

Ti ine I patrida mas?

What is-3S.PR the homeland our?.

What is our country?
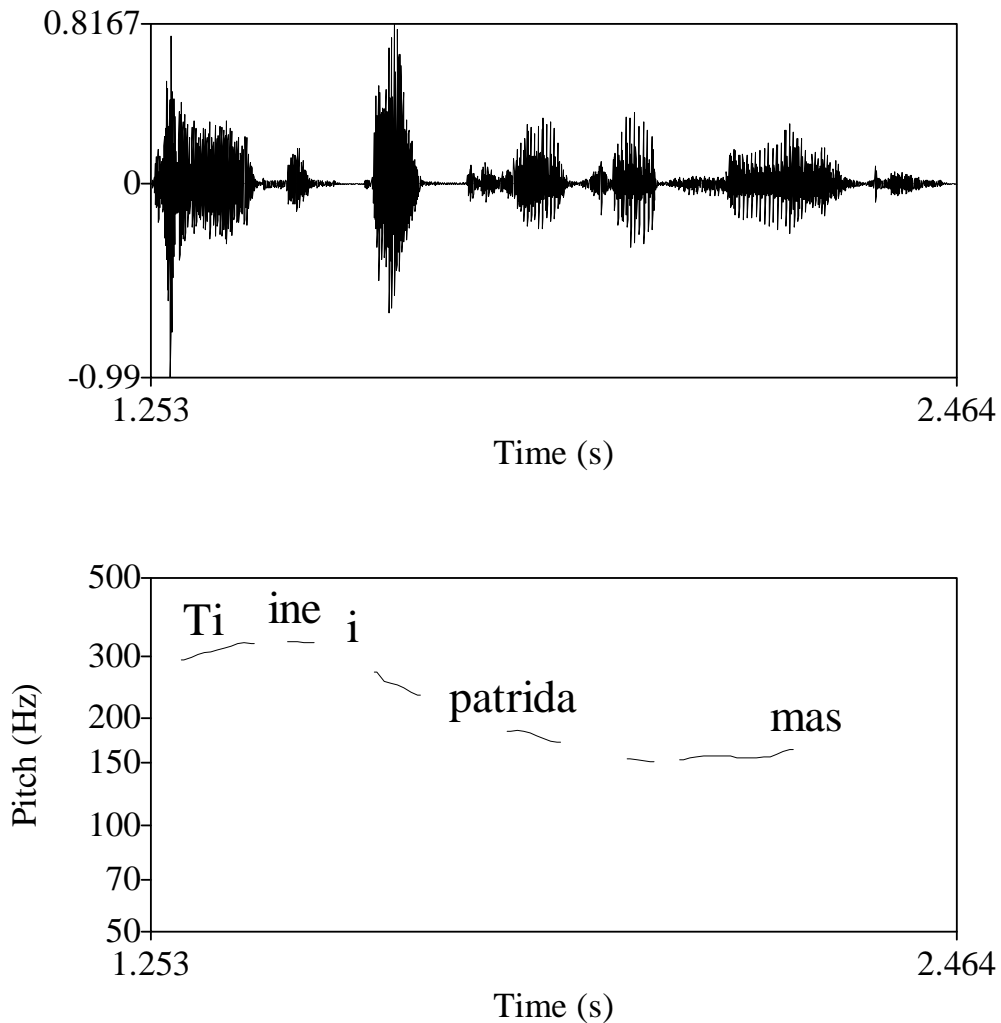
Figure 23: Praat illustration of an assertion in disguise (INT3).
Moreover, assertions in disguise might be used in order to affect the addressee's behaviour, allowing them to reflect upon the potential 'answer' that the speaker implies as a unique option; again some common (formulaic) patterns can be observed as in (9) and (11), with specific examples in context in (10) and (12).

(9) Πόσες φορές σου έχω πει...;

Poses fores sou exo pi…?

How many times you have-1S.PR. tell-PP

How many times have I told you…?

(10) Πόσες φορές σου έχω πει να πλένεις τα χέρια σου πριν το φαγητό;

Poses fores sou eho pi na plenis ta heria sou prin to fayito?

How many times you have-1SG.PR told SUBJ wash-2SG.PR.IPF the

hands your before the meal?

How many times have I told you to wash you hands before meals?

(11) Πόσον καιρό ακόμα θα...;

Poson kero akoma tha…?

How much time still FUT…?

(For) how much longer will…?

(12) Πόσον καιρό ακόμα θα. σιδερώνω τα ρούχα σου;

Poson kero akoma tha siderono ta rouha sou?

How much time still FUT iron-1SG.IPF the clothes your?

(For) how much longer will I have to iron your clothes?

Examples (13)-(16) below present a sample of declarative utterances disguised as questions where the speaker intends to condemn the addressee's current behaviour (and therefore change their attitude). Examples (13) and (15) are in a polar interrogative-like form; the speaker would utter such formulaic 'questions' to enhance the propositional content of any previously made assertions. Examples (14) and (16) also involve the use of a question word; a wise addressee would know better than to answer such questions.

(13) Δε ντρέπεσαι;

De drepese?

Not 'be ashamed'-2SG.IPF?

Aren't you ashamed?

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(14) Τι με νοιάζει εμένα;

Ti me niazi emena?

What me bother-3SG.PR.IPF me?

Why should it bother me (why should I care personally)?
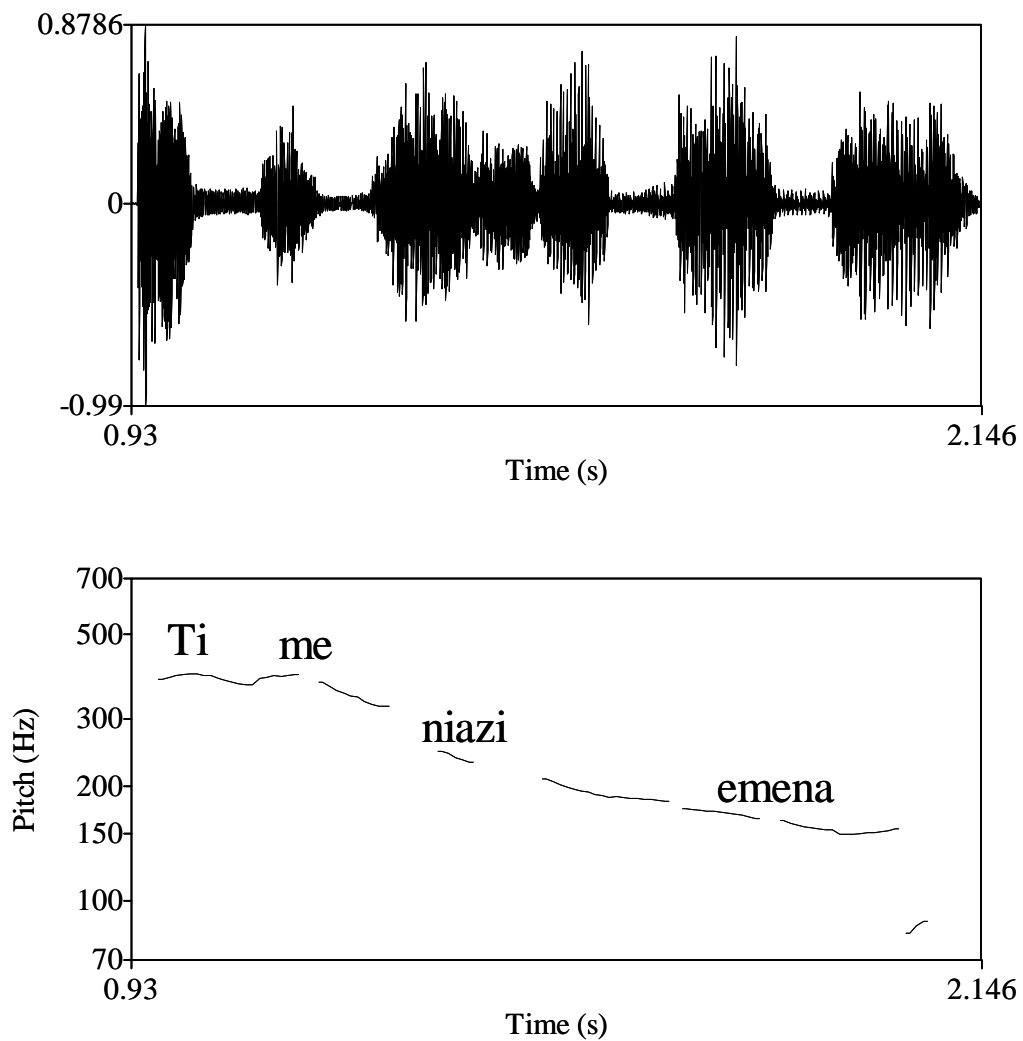
Figure 24: Praat illustration of an assertion in disguise, using INT3.

(15) Τρελάθηκες;

Trelathikes?

Got crazy-2SG.PST.IPF?

Have you gone crazy?

(16) Τι σου συμβαίνει, τέλος πάντων;

Ti sou symveni telos padon?

What you happen-3SG.PR after all?

What is the matter with you now?

Example (17) below is introduced by *μήπως* ('mipos', perhaps); *μήπως* acts here as a discourse marker, rather than an illocutionary marker which distinguishes this particular function (see further discussion on *μήπως* 'mipos' in section 4.5.2 below). It is used as a means to enumerate different contributions the speaker has made for the addressee's benefit, thereby enhancing the force of the biased answer hinted at, which is always positive. Again, note that the addressee is not expected to offer any type of response, hence the utterance should not be treated as a question. If *μήπως* were to be omitted here, the intention would not be affected; moreover, the negation particle *δε* (de) is used for emphasis, rather than in a negative meaning.

(17) Μήπως δε σε φροντίζω;

Mipos den se frontizo?

PRT NEG you look after-1SG.PR

Is it that I don't look after you?

4.2.4.1 Assertions in disguise- contrastive statements

Example (18) offers another instance of an assertion in disguise, where the assertion is followed by a tag. The tag question is a compulsory element of the utterance's structure and reinforces the force of the assertion as described in the matrix. The intonation pattern consists of an INT2 intonation (for the matrix) and an INT4 intonation for the tag. This intonation sequence indicates that the combined assertive/interrogative nature of the utterance is possibly not fully integrated.

(18) Στο έχω πει να πλένεις τα χέρια σου, δεν στο έχω πει;

Sto eho pi na plenis ta heria sou, den sto eho pi?

It have-1SG.PR told SUBJ wash-2S.PR.IPF the hands your, NEG it have told?

I have told you to wash you hands, haven't I?
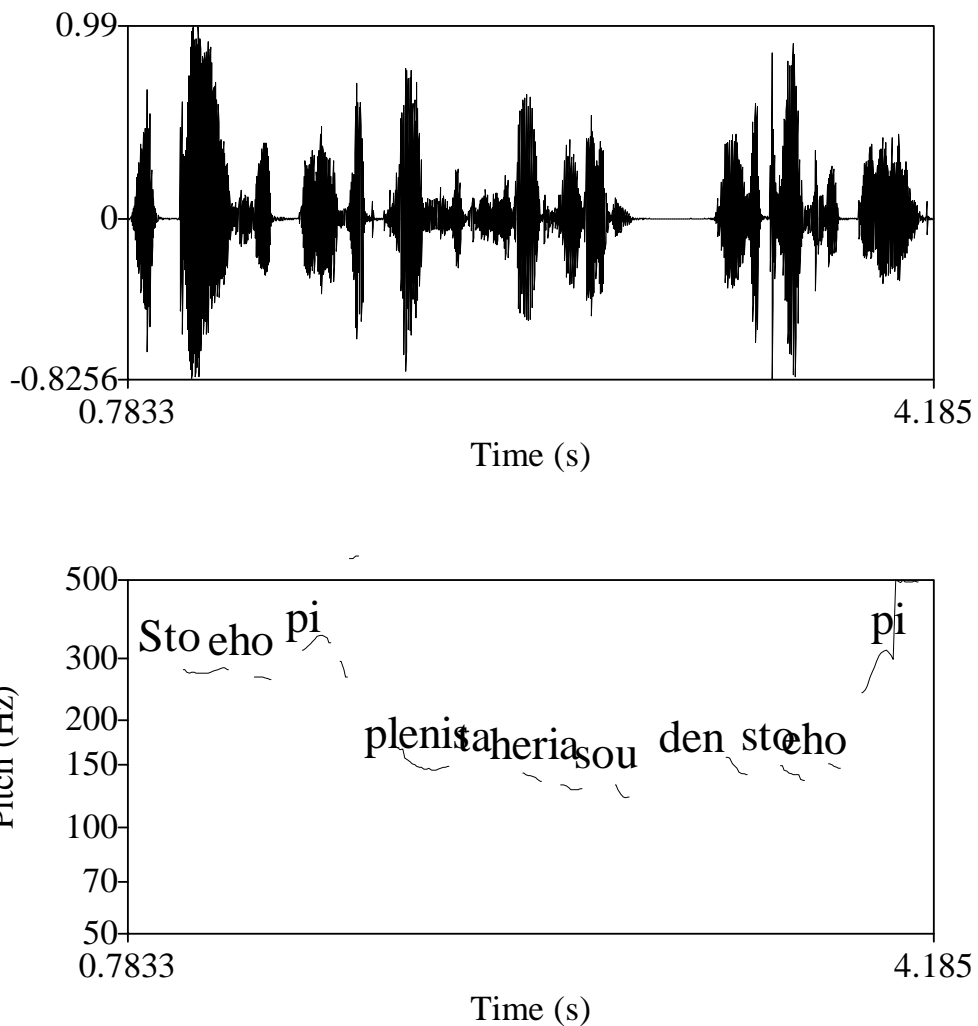
Figure 25: Praat illustration of an assertion in disguise- contrastive statement with a tag (INT2 and INT4).

Example (19) introduces μήπως ('mipos', perhaps) as a compulsory element of the matrix (rather than as a discourse marker, which was the case in example (17)).

(19) Μήπως δεν την κάλεσε τη Μαρία;

Mipos den tin kalese ti Maria?

PRT NEG the invite-3SG. PS.PRF the Maria?

But didn't he invite Maria?[27]
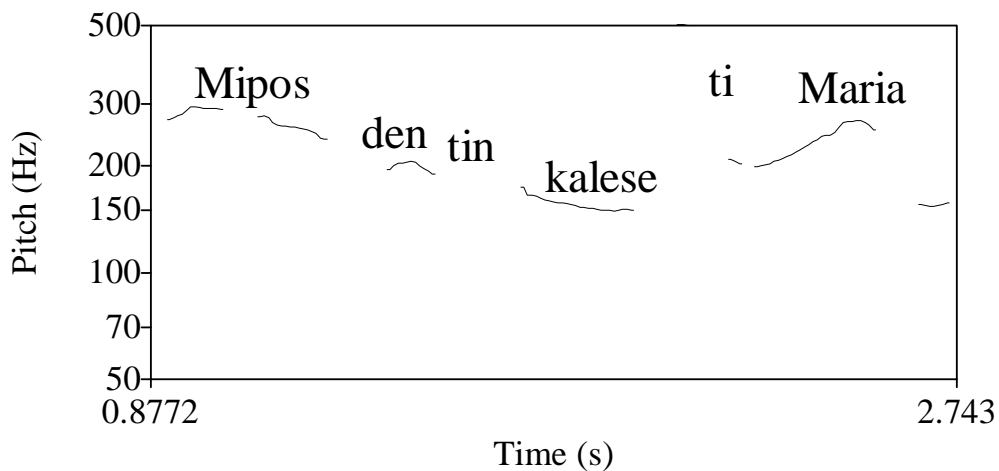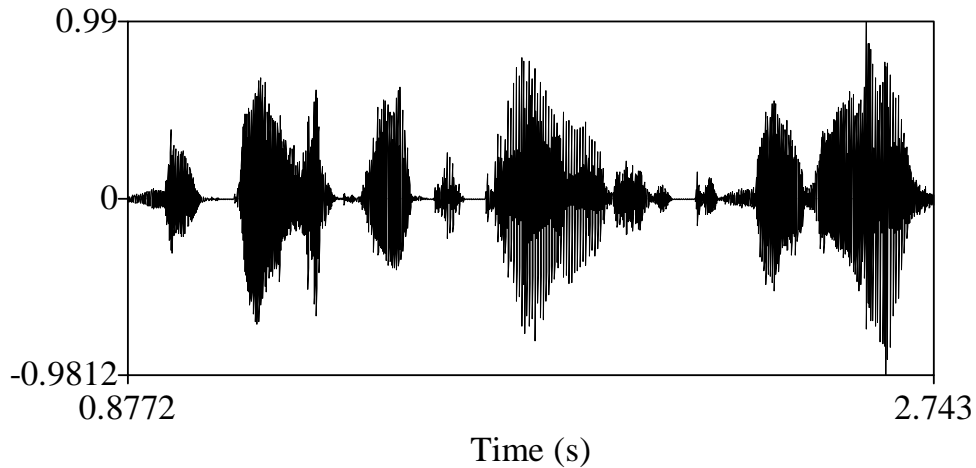
Figure 26: Praat illustration of an assertion in disguise-contrastive statement, introduced by *μήπως*, in INT4.

Utterances like (19) reflect the Speaker's reaction to something the addressee has said or done. We are dealing, therefore with assertions also disguised as questions. When introduced by *μήπως*, the verb is commonly used in the past or present; first or third person singular or plural applies.

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[27] i.e. It is a fact the he invited Maria; therefore can this potentially be interpreted as a proof that he really likes her, rather than ignoring her?

4.3 The interrogative sentence type

4.3.1. Introduction

According to Givon (1989), the goal of a Declarative sentence type utterance is to impart information, whilst the goal of an Interrogative sentence type is to elicit information, either 'to confirm the identity of an item' (for WH-questions, or content interrogatives), or 'to confirm the truth of a proposition' (for Y/N questions, or polar interrogatives).

Questions in Modern Greek indicative include polar and content interrogatives. Polar interrogatives are differentiated from assertions only by their intonation pattern. According to Mennen and Okalidou (2007), their intonation pattern is 'low level from the accented syllable; it appears as the nuclear accent before a continuation rise'. In chapter 3 we defined this intonation pattern as INT4.

Content interrogatives are marked by question words such as *ποιός*, ('pios', who), *πού* ('pou', where), *τι* ('ti', what), *γιατί* ('yiati', why), *πώς* ('pos', how), *πότε* ('pote', when) which identify the piece of information the Speaker is missing; it is also possible to question more than one element in a clause. Moreover, Modern Greek content interrogatives are marked by intonation, reflecting our intonation pattern INT3. Mackenzie (2009) has published an extensive research on content interrogatives based on a sample of 50 languages.

In this section we compare Interrogative sentence types with Declarative ones to the extent that they use the Indicative.

4.3.2. Polar Interrogatives

Polar questions in Modern Greek are differentiated from declarative statements by their distinct intonation. Intonation (interrogative prosodic contour) is the main feature (some times the only feature) that differentiates a Declarative sentence type (assertion) from an Interrogative sentence type. No other distinct lexical or structural features apply, in a way similar to other languages such as Italian and Spanish.

Polar interrogatives have intonation as their marker (non-DECL intonation, INT4). Word order is non-specific at the level of the clause; it is defined by topicality/focality relations. Although an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) word order in very common in Modern Greek, VSO, OVS, OSV might also be used given a specific context. Answers expected from the addressee include *ναι* ('ne', yes), *όχι* ('ohi', no), *ίσως* ('isos', maybe) or *πιθανόν* ('pithanon', possibly'), but not answers denoting consent, such as *εντάξει* ('entaksi', OK).

Example (20) shows a negative polar interrogative using the indicative negation particle *δε(ν)*.

(20) Ο Γιάννης δεν με αγαπάει;

        O Yannis den me agapai?

        The Yannis NEG me love- 3SG.PR.IPF.

        John does not love me?

Observing the examples (20) and (21) below we can make the following remarks: example (21) follows a Subject-Object-Verb word order; when compared with example (1) in this chapter, it allows us to observe that intonation is the only feature that differentiates an assertion from a question. Note that the way this particular utterance was expressed sounded more like 'John, does he love me?'. We see a more typical question intonation illustration in example (22).

(21) Ο Γιάννης με αγαπάει;

O Yannis me ayapai?

The Yannis me love-3S.PR.IPF

Does John love me?
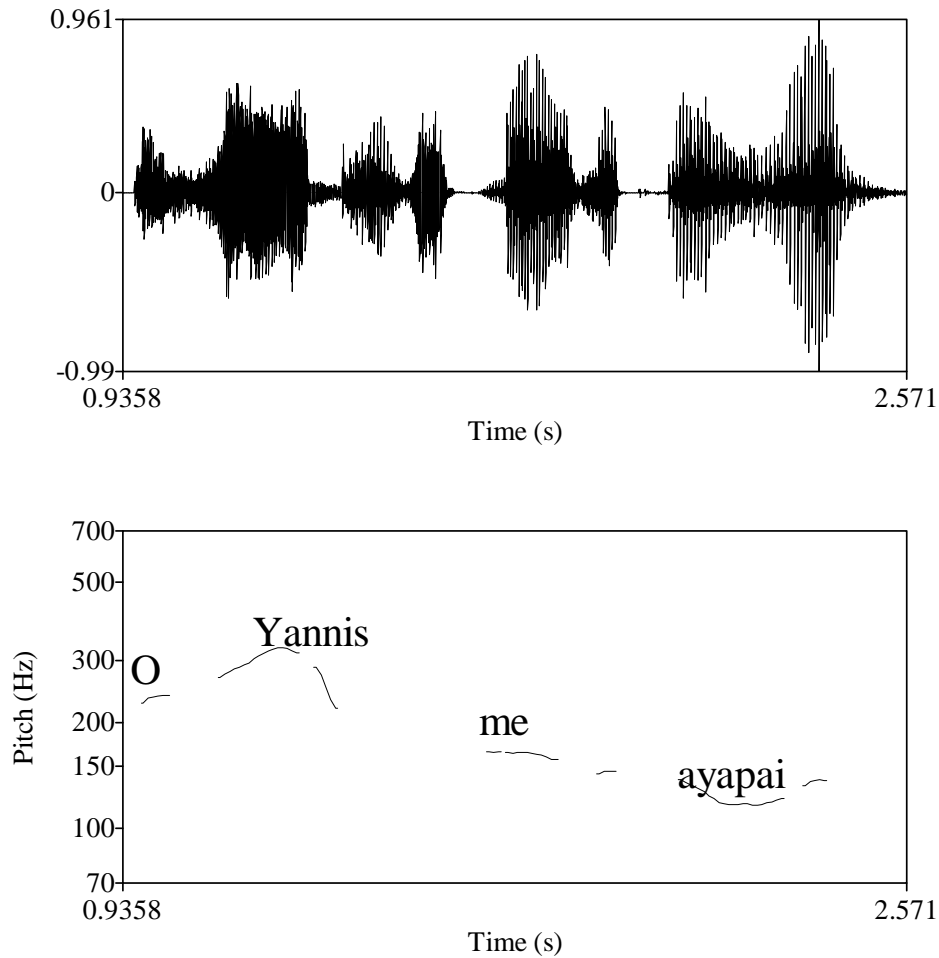
Figure 27: Praat illustration of a polar interrogative in INT4.

Note that example (21)'s illustration pattern is marked for focality: 'o Yannis' is a focal point for the utterance. The polar interrogative pattern starts at 'me' as indicated by the following two illustrations. In example (22), an alternative example of a polar interrogative, we see a comparison of two Praat illustrations based on the same recording; in the second Praat illustration the octave jumps have been removed to allow us to compare the two patterns.

(22) Σ' αρέσει το Λονδίνο;

S'aresi to Londino?

You please-3.SG.PR. the London?

Do you like London?
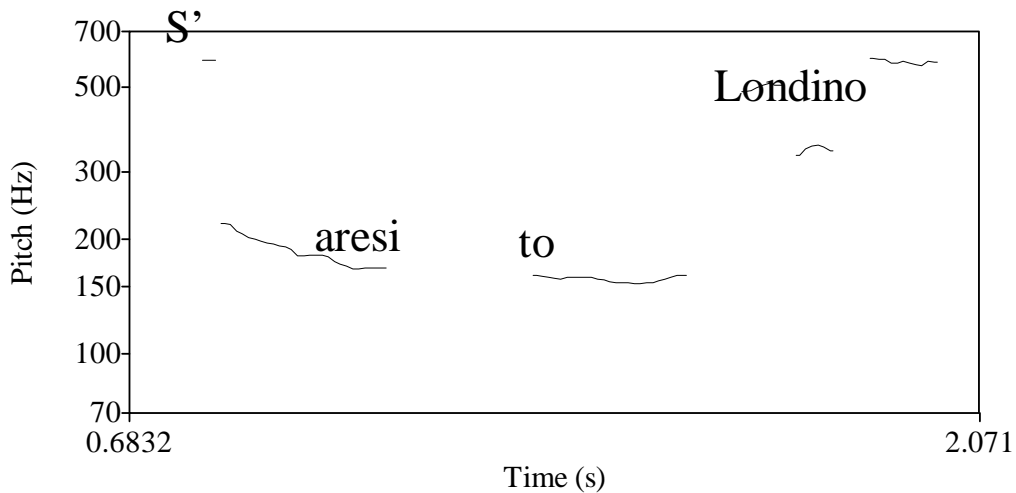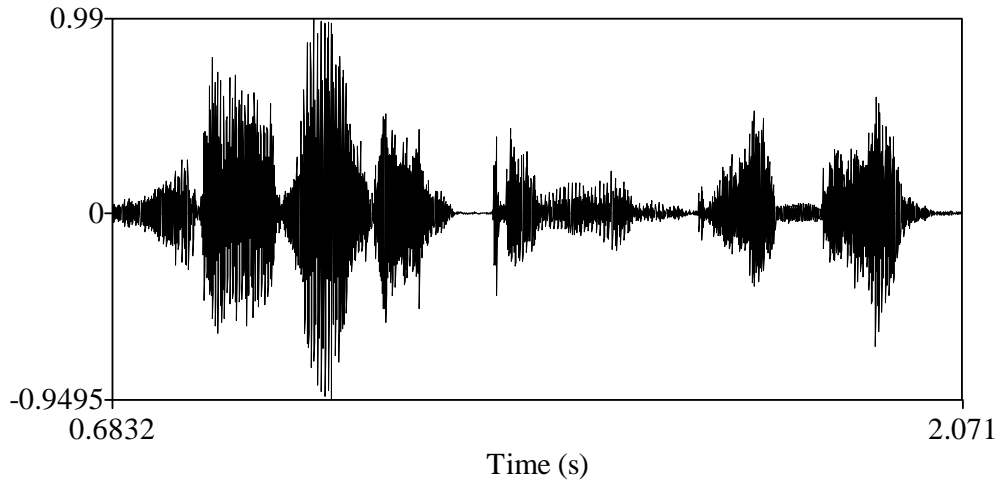
Figure 28: Another polar interrogative Praat illustration in INT4.

The second Praat illustration of example (22) in Figure 29 below has octave jumps removed: they have been automatically made smaller than half an octave by Praat. We use Praat's *octave jump kill* function in order to observe whether the deep drop followed by a low plateau in Figure 10 is due to the roughness of the sound. We are aware that real octave jumps occur in speech, and Praat tries to follow the way the human ear perceives them. Part of the problem is that in human speech some times octave jumps reflect a certain 'roughness' in speech

(rather than literally a jump). The choice of the most accurate pattern of the two can be challenging, in the sense that an octave jump kill can alter the illustration of a particular pattern. For some of our examples we use this dual illustration which allows us to show that, although there might be small variations, the five basic intonation patterns we proposed in chapter 3 are present.
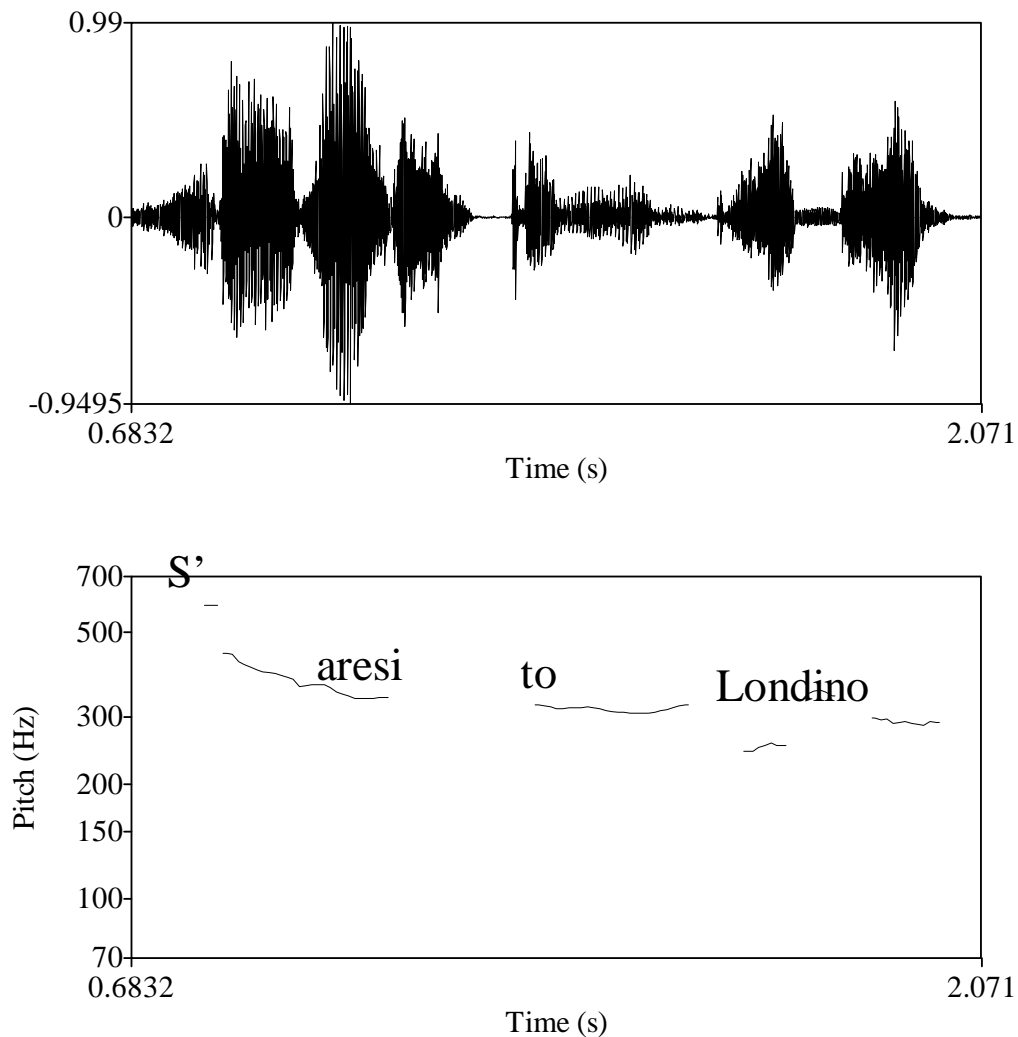
Figure 29: A variation of figure 28 with octave jumps removed.
We referred to example (23) when we first presented the intonation pattern INT4 in section 3.4.5. We consider its prosodic contour the most typical of a polar interrogative. Intonation only differentiates it from an assertion; it follows a Verb-Object word order, while the subject is not explicitly mentioned; it is deduced by the 2nd person ending of the verb. The addressee would have

responded by 'yes' or 'no' (or similar variations) but not with a consent response (such as an 'OK' equivalent.).

(23) Μιλάς αγγλικά;

Milas aglika?

Speak-2SG.PR. English?

Do you speak English?
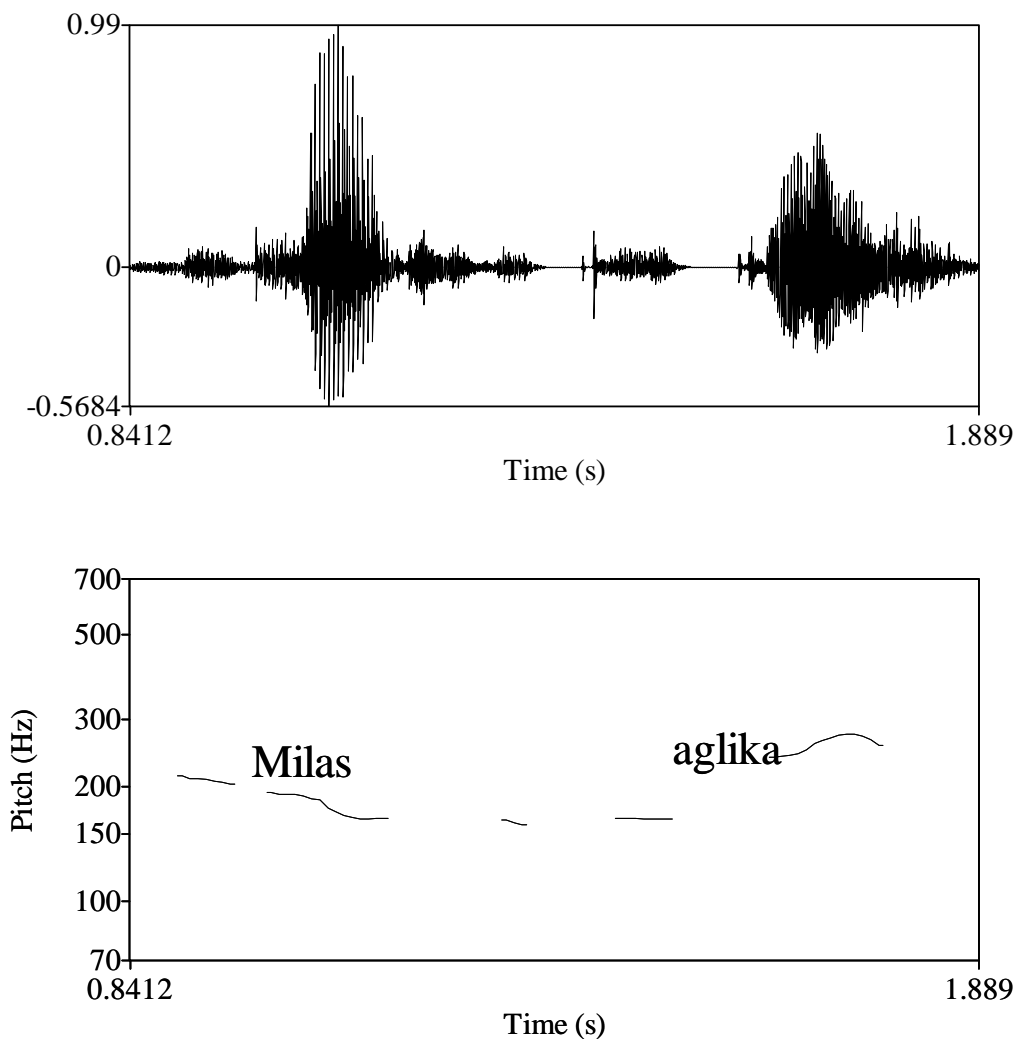
Figure 30: Alternative Praat illustration of a polar interrogative using INT4.

4.3.3. Content Interrogatives

As mentioned in section 4.3.1 above, content interrogatives involve the use of question words, using INT3 intonation, as in example (24). The speaker intends to elicit information specifically related to the 'slot' in the sentence currently

filled by the question word (here we refer to the question word 'who'). Constituents the Speaker questions include, among others, the agent as in example (24), in subject position and in nominative; the manner as in example (25); the reason, as in example (26); the ownership of the goal as in example (27), which is in first position in the utterance and in genitive; the timing of the action, as in example (28) in the following page. The indicative negation δεν 'den' applies here too, as shown in examples (24) and (26).

(24) Ποιός δεν θέλει παγωτό;

Pios den theli payoto?

Who NEG want-3SG.PR ice-cream?

Who does not want some ice-cream?

(25) Πώς πίνει ο Γιώργος τον καφέ του;

Pos pini o Yioryos ton kafe tou?

How drink-3SG.PR the Yioryos the coffee his?

How does Yioryos drink his coffee?

(26) Γιατί δεν το έφαγες όλο το φαγητό σου;

Yiati den efayes olo to fayito sou?

Why NEG it eat-2SG.PS.PRF all the food your?

Why didn't you eat all your food?

(27) Ποιού φοιτητή την εργασία διαβάζεις τώρα;

Piou fititi tin eryasia diavazis tora?

Who's student the work read-2SG.PR now?

Which student's work are you reading now?

In example (28) below we can also observe the Praat illustration of the intonation pattern of content interrogatives, INT3. Content interrogatives are marked by both the presence of a question word as well as by a dedicated prosodic contour.

(28) Πότε μπορείς να με πάρεις τηλέφωνο;
      Pote boris na me paris tilefono?
      When can-2S.PR.IPF.PRT me call-2S.PR.PF phone?
      When can you call me on the phone?
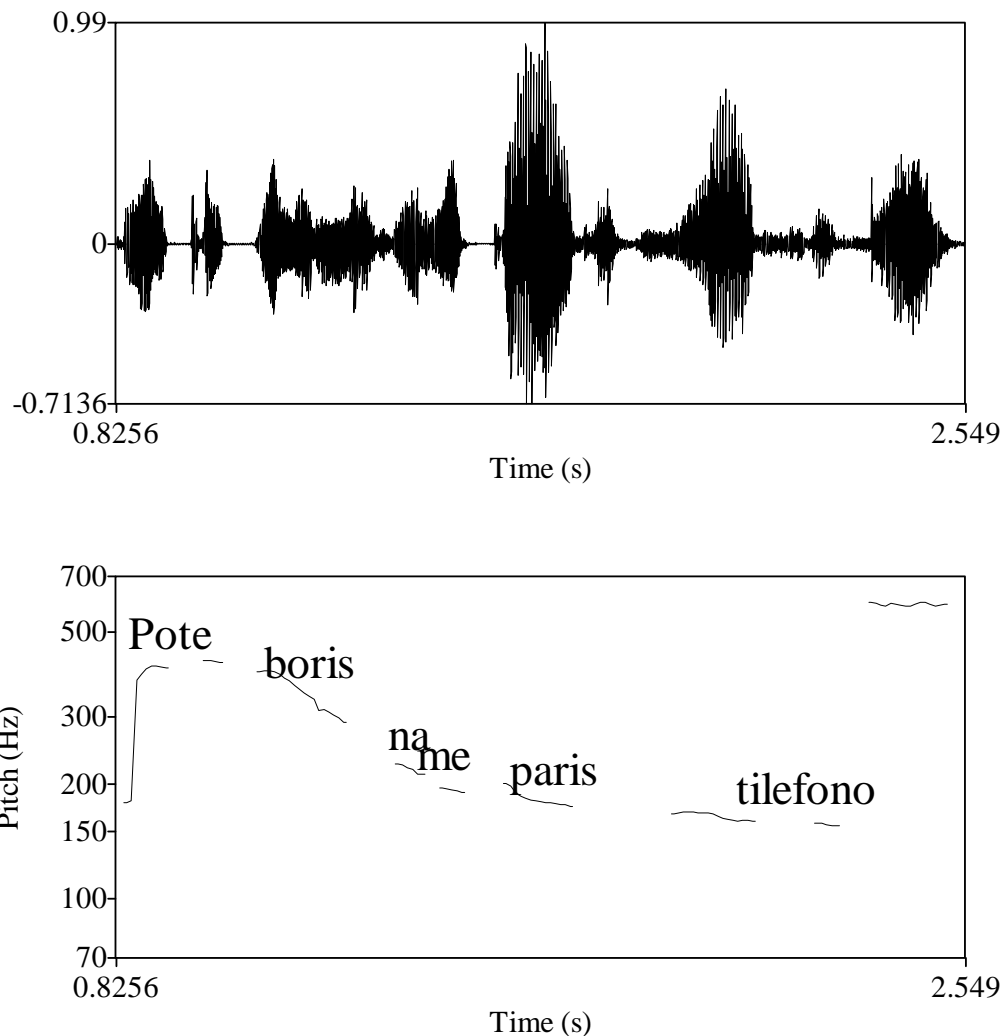
Figure 31: Praat illustration of a content interrogative utterance using INT3.

Figure 31 shows an anomaly at the end of the utterance, with a sharp rise at the end of the word 'tilefono'. This created some questions as such rise was not

obvious to the human ear, based on the recording. Figure 32 below, where octave jumps have been reduced by half an octave, gives as a clearer picture of the actual pattern INT3.
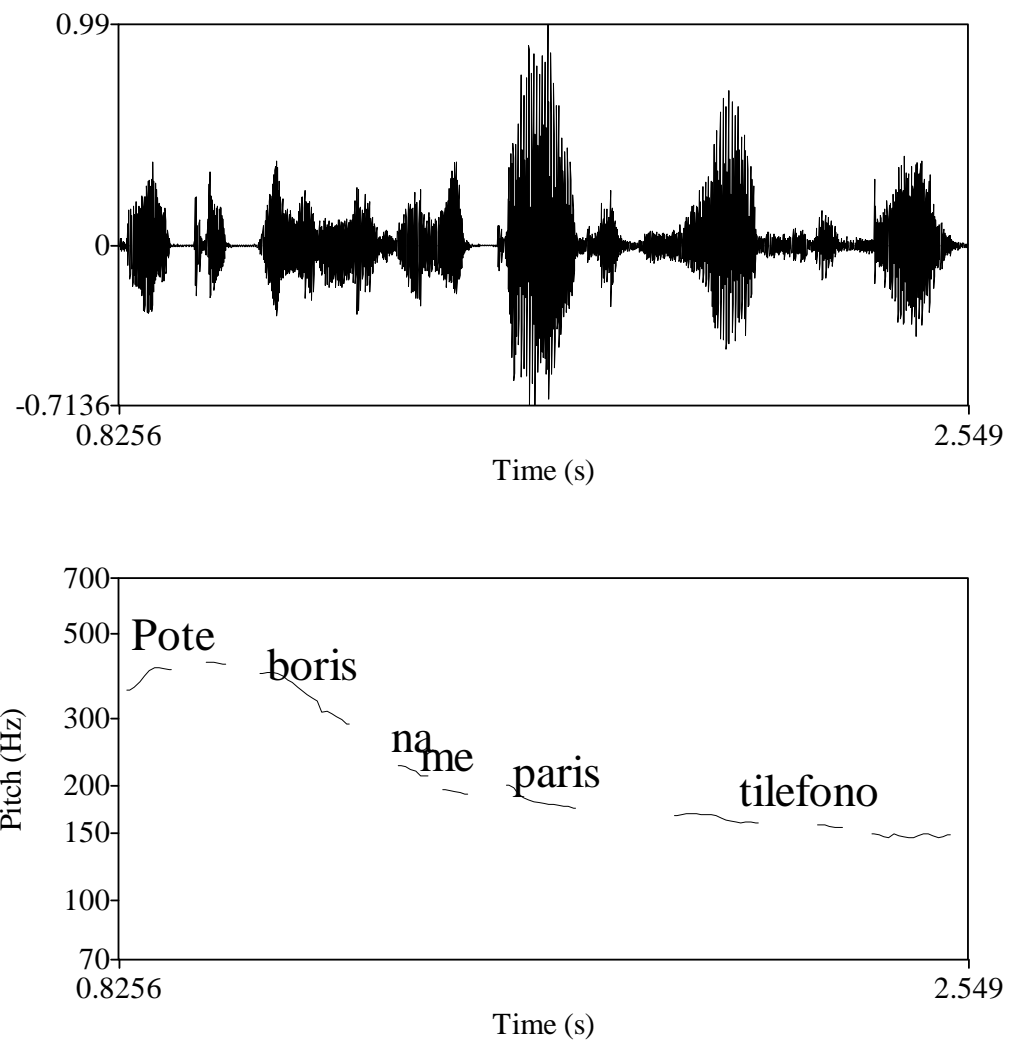
Figure 32: Praat illustration of a content interrogative with octave jumps removed.

4.4 Behavioural uses of Indicative: exhortations

The interpretation of the indicative use in examples (29) and (30) below is rather controversial, in that the only feature that differentiates it from a polar interrogative is the potential consent response *εντάξει* ('entaksi', OK) that the addressee might provide to the speaker's request. Although a 'yes' or 'no' answer might be potentially acceptable, usually the addressee will reply with and expression of consent to such an utterance, including *εντάξει*, showing their consent. The speaker, through a question-like utterance, effectively asks the addressee to change their behavior, rather than seeking to acquire a confirmation of the truth value of the utterance. The speaker expresses effectively an exhortation, the fulfillability of which depends on both the speaker and the addressee. Such utterances occur in the first person plural only. These, in our view, are distinct behavioral uses of polar interrogatives because the speaker is seeking consent for joint action from the addressee, rather than the confirmation of the propositional content of the question. Behavioral uses of Indicative further strengthen the argument that there is no one-to-one relationship between Indicative Mood and Declarative sentence type. The first person plural use is consistent with expressions of exhortation, as we will see later. The verb might be in the past or in the present tense.

    (29) Φύγαμε;

           Fiyame?

           Leave-1PL.PS.PRF

           Let's go.

Verbs in the past are only acceptable in the perfective form, as in example (29) above. The use of past tense adds immediacy to the exhortation (i.e. the Speaker indicates that the suggested action is something we should have already done). Below we see an example of an exchange that illustrates exhortations in Indicative, as well as an illustration of the prosodic contour of exhortations in Indicative. The intonation pattern (INT4) is consistent with polar interrogative like-intonation.

(30) A: Φεύγουμε;

Fevyoume?

Leave-1PL.PR.IPF

Let's go.

B: Εντάξει

Entaksi.

OK
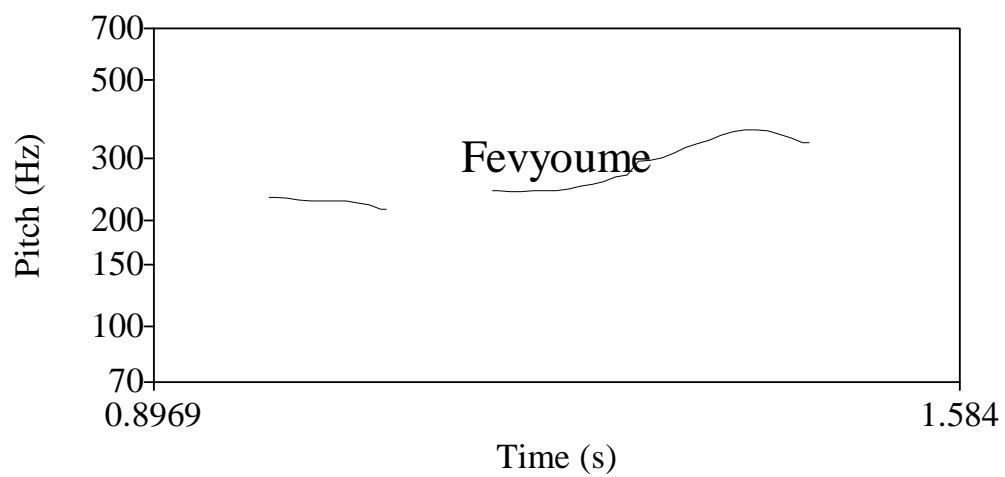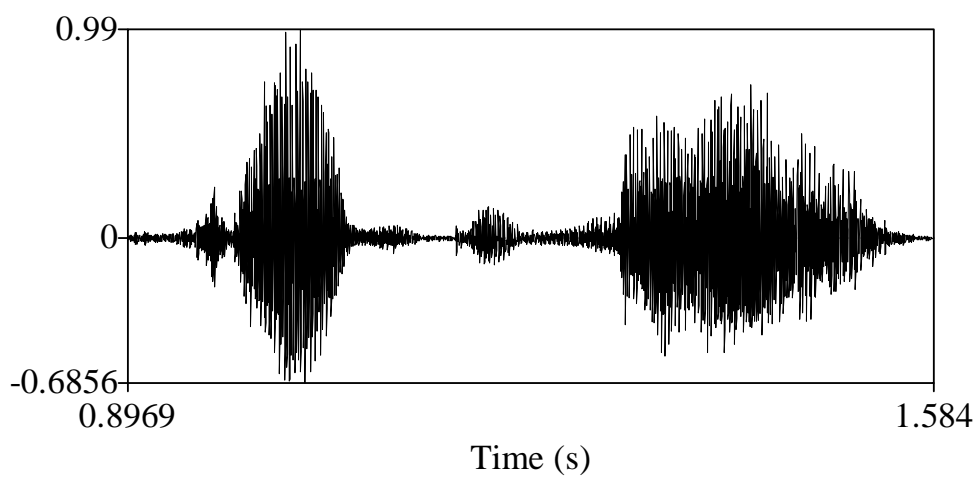
Figure 33: Praat illustration of exhortations in Indicative, using INT4.

4.5 Additional segmental marking

Below we can see other uses of Indicative which demonstrate that it does not always coincide with the Declarative sentence type. These involve requests for confirmation, wondering and expression of uncertainty (propositional uses) as well as proffer, where a change of behaviour rather than a verbal response is expected from the addressee.

4.5.1 Request for confirmation

As we mentioned in chapter 3, speakers have additional strategies at their disposal in order to best achieve their intention. One such strategy involves the use of a tag question, which denotes to the addressee that the speaker seeks to confirm the propositional content of the matrix. In example (31) below, the Speaker expresses an assertion in indicative, and adds the tag *έτσι δεν είναι* ('etsi den ine', isn't it like that); it is interesting to note that in Modern Greek the formulaic tag *έτσι δεν είναι* might be used by a Speaker, irrespectively of the particular verb used in the matrix, unlike English, for example, where the verb in the tag matches the verb in the matrix. The negative δεν ('den') is used here for emphasis, rather than as a negation of the matrix (unlike the French 'n'est-ce pas').

(31) Θα έρθεις αύριο, έτσι δεν είναι;
     Tha erthis avrio, etsi den ine?
     FUT come-2SG.PRF tomorrow, like that NEG be-3SG.PR?
     You will come tomorrow, isn't it the case?

Less often, the matrix might be followed by a tag *δεν είναι* ('den ine', isn't it), as in example (32). The verb in the matrix can be in any tense (past, present or future). If the tag involve the verb 'to be' equivalent, then this is always in the third person and always in present. If the tag involves a negation of the main verb, as in example (33), then tense, number and person are in agreement in the matrix and in the tag. The use of tags reinforces the assertive element. In these examples, the speaker believes that their assertion is correct, but they attempt a

'double checking' of the assertion in order for example to avoid an erroneous presupposition later on in the conversation.

(32) Θα έρθεις αύριο, δεν είναι;

Tha erthis avrio, den ine?

FUT come-2SG.PRF tomorrow, NEG be-3SG.PR?

You will come tomorrow, won't you?

(33) Θα έρθεις αύριο, δεν θα έρθεις;

Tha erthis avrio, den tha erthis?

FUT come-2SG.PRF tomorrow, NEG FUT come-2SG.PRF?

You will come tomorrow, won't you?

In example (34) the matrix is negative, hence the tag is positive. It is useful to note the possible answers the Addressee can offer to such as utterance (which are rather inconsistent with similar answers in English). A positive reply confirms the propositional content of the matrix (confirming or negating its validity whilst ignoring the content of the tag); hence if the addressee answers positively in the particular example they mean that they will not come the following day. In English, the Addressee would have considered the tag ('Yes, I will come'). By contrast, the opposite applies to (35).

(34) Δεν θα έρθεις αύριο, θα έρθεις;

Den tha erthis avrio, tha erthis?

NEG FUT come-2SG.PRF tomorrow, FUT come-2SG.PRF?

You won't come tomorrow, will you?

a.Ναι, δεν θα έρθω.

Ne, den tha ertho.

Yes, I will not come.

b. Όχι, θα έρθω.

Ohi, tha ertho.

No, FUT come-1SG.PRF

No, I will come

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(35) Θα πας στο γιατρό αύριο, δε θα πας;

Tha pas sto yatro avrio, de tha pas?.

FUT go-3SG.PRF to-the doctor tomorrow, NEG FUT go-3SG.PRF

You will go to the doctor tomorrow, won't you?

a. Ναι, θα πάω.

Ne, tha pao.

Yes, FUT go-1SG.PRF

Yes, I will go.

b. Όχι, δεν θα πάω.

Ohi, den tha pao.

No, NEG FUT go-1SG.PRF

No, I will not go.

In the following page we see the prosodic contour of example (31), which is repeated for ease of reading.

Θα έρθεις αύριο, έτσι δεν είναι;

Tha erthis avrio, etsi den ine?

PRT come-2SG.PRF tomorrow, like that NEG be-3SG.PR?

You will come tomorrow, won't you?

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, and it demonstrates an INT2 intonation; the tag always reflects a polar interrogative intonation INT4.
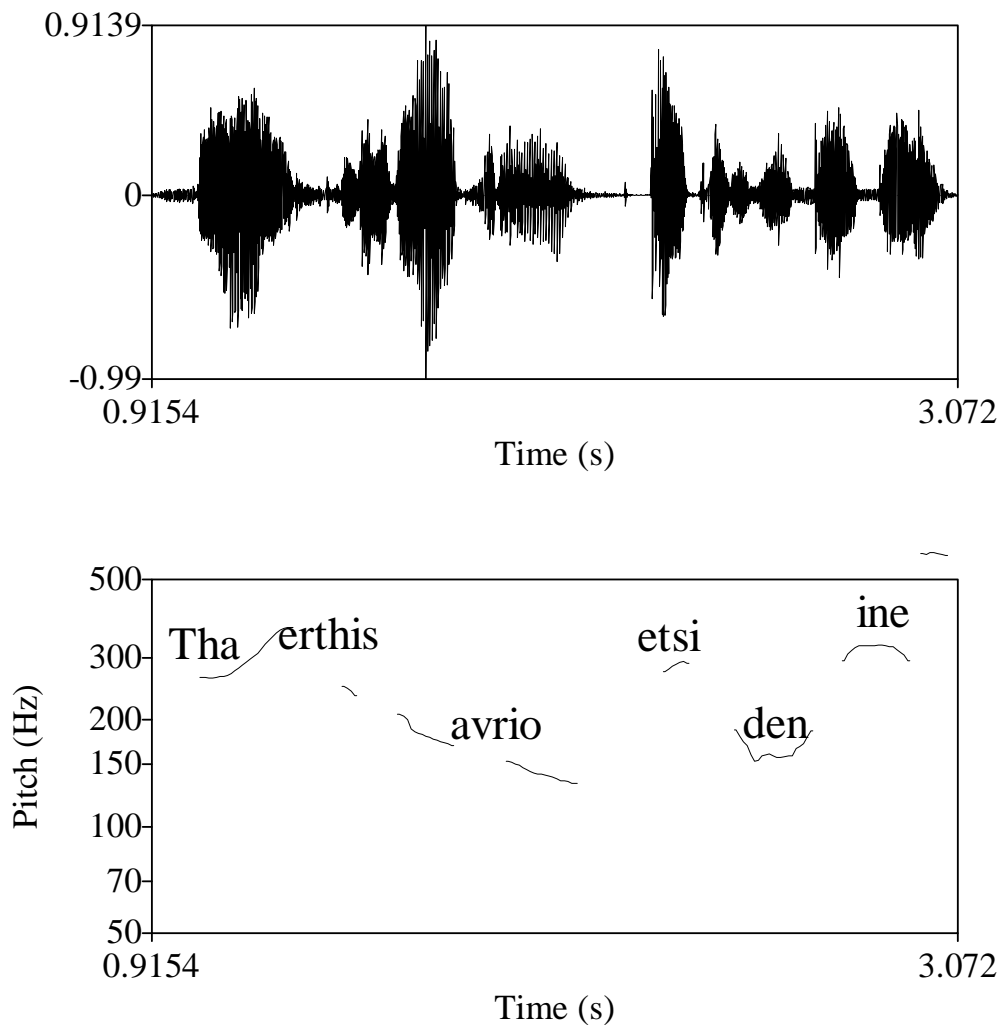
Figure 34: Praat illustration of a request for confirmation, with INT2 (matrix) and INT4 (tag).

4.5.2 Proffer

In section 4.2.5 we introduced the particle *μήπως* ('mipos', perhaps), used with indicative constructions either as a mitigator of the illocutionary force, or as a discourse marker. *Μήπως* is considered by some scholars as a subjunctive marker (Tzartzanos 1946), while others are stating that it can act both as a subjunctive as well as an indicative marker (e.g. Babibiotis and Clairis1999). Following an exploration of its uses, we note that *μήπως* cannot combine with the negation *μη(v)*, not with the subjunctive particle *να*; it is negated with negation *δεν* and can combine with the future particle *θα*. We suggest that *μήπως* can only be considered an indicative marker. Tsangalidis (1999a) is also of this view.

In example (36) below, introduced by *μήπως*, 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. The speaker might in fact suggest that the addressee needs their help, and there in no harm in the addressee admitting so. Example (36) gives, therefore, when uttered, the opportunity to the speaker to provide the addressee with a piece of advice, in the form of a mitigated question, intending to change the addressee's behaviour, and get their consent for an altered behaviour. In such cases, the verb will be in the 2nd person singular or plural. *Μήπως*, therefore, acts also as a behavioural illocution marker.

(36) Μήπως θέλετε βοήθεια;

Mipos thelete voithia?

PROF need-2PL.PR.IPF help?

Perhaps you need some help?
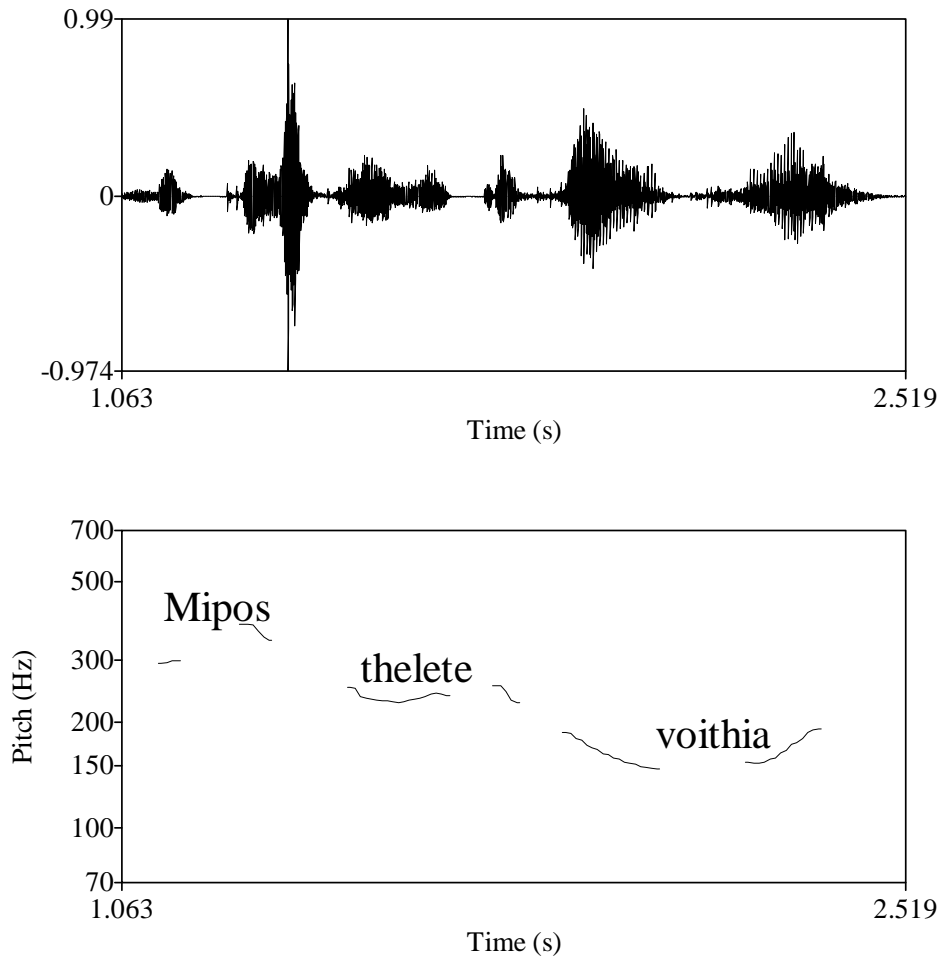
Figure 35: Praat illustration of Proffer in INT4.

The utterance follows an INT4 intonation; it can be observed, though, that mipos presents a minor focal point, not as distinct however as in an INT3 pattern.

4.5.3 Mitigated Polar Interrogatives

Polar interrogatives might also be introduced by *μήπως* as in (37), a variant of polar interrogatives which does not present a separate illocutionary category; the use of *μήπως* mitigates the force of the interrogative for these utterances. *Μήπως* acts as a mitigator of polar interrogatives or disjunctive content interrogatives, usually in the 3rd person singular or plural (although 1st person utterances are also possible).

(37) Μήπως έρθει ο Πέτρος;
      Mipos erthi o Petros?
      MIT come-3SG.PR.PRF the Petros
      Perhaps Petros might come?

Notice the verb in the perfective form, although an imperfective would also be acceptable. Given that the Modern Greek indicative Present tense does not differentiate for aspect, some researchers suggested that such examples provide evidence that *μήπως* is a subjunctive marker. We argue that Present Indicative dependent forms are allowed when introduced by *μήπως* (as well as *άραγε* for wondering and *ίσως* for uncertainty below; see also discussion in 4.5.2).A negation test of (37) in example (38) demonstrates that we are dealing with an indicative rather than with a subjunctive form because the indicative negation applies; the dependent form here probably relates to time (future); for this reason Tsangalidis (1999b) prefers a realis/irrealis distinction for this particular form.

(38) Μήπως δεν έρθει ο Πέτρος;
      Mipos den erthi o Petros?
      MIT NEG come-3SG.PR.PRF. the Petros
      Perhaps Petros might not come?

4.5.4 Wondering: self directed questions

Another category of question-like utterances, where the speaker does not really expect an answer from an addressee, are utterances expressing wondering.

(39) Ἄραγε βρέχει;

Araye vrehi?

WOND rain-3SG.PR.

Is it raining, I wonder?
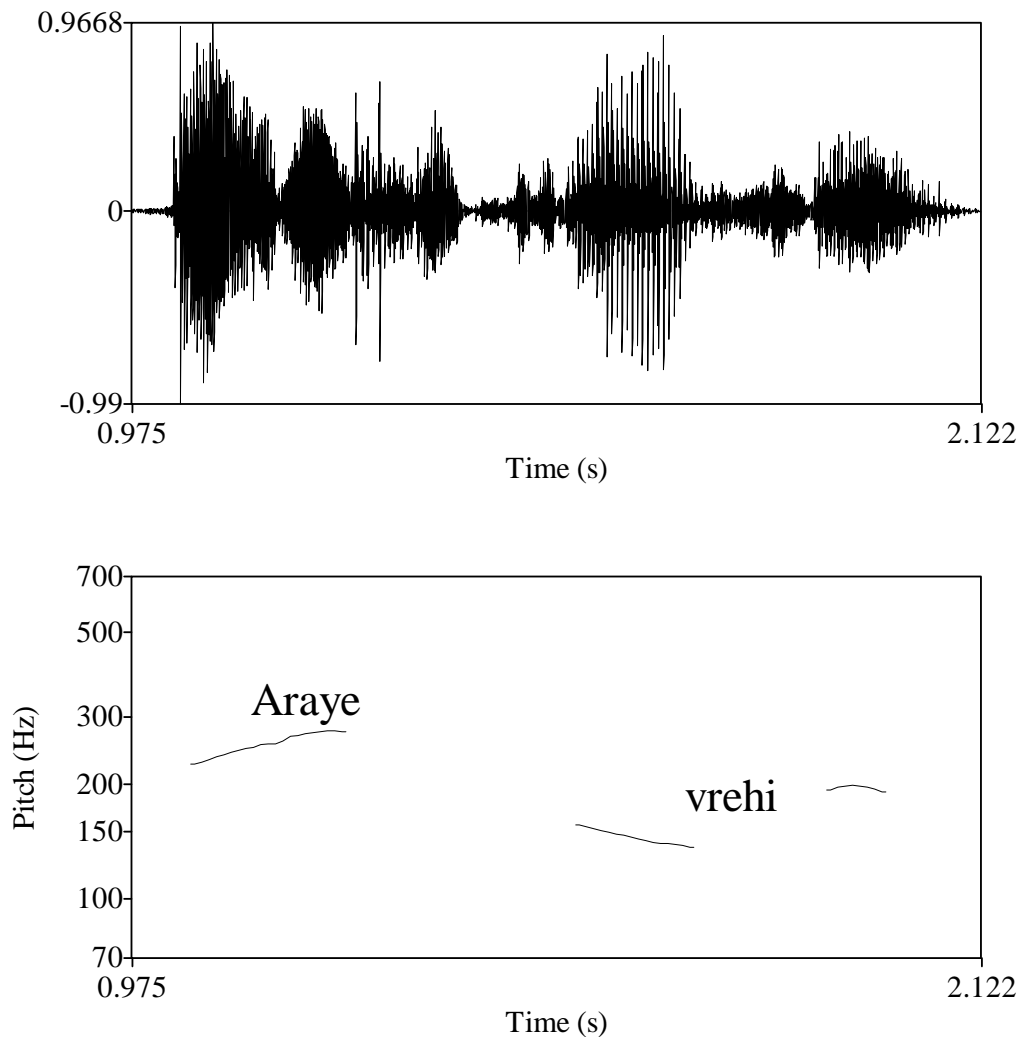
Figure 36: Praat illustration of wondering in indicative (INT4).

When in indicative, they are introduced by the particle *ἄραγε* ('araye'). *Ἄραγε* might preced or follow the verb. The difference from assertions in disguise (rhetorical questions) is that the speaker genuinely states, through the use of *ἄραγε*, that they do not know the answer to their self directed question. Polar questions-like intonation applies (INT4).

Example (40) indicates that the wondering particle might follow the indicative verb (rather than solely precede it, as in the previous example). The Praat illustration shows a slight rise for the wondering particle, presenting a minor focal element, representing an INT4 variation.

(40) Βρέχει άραγε;

      Vrehi araye?

      Rain-3SG.PR. WOND

      Is it raining, I wonder?
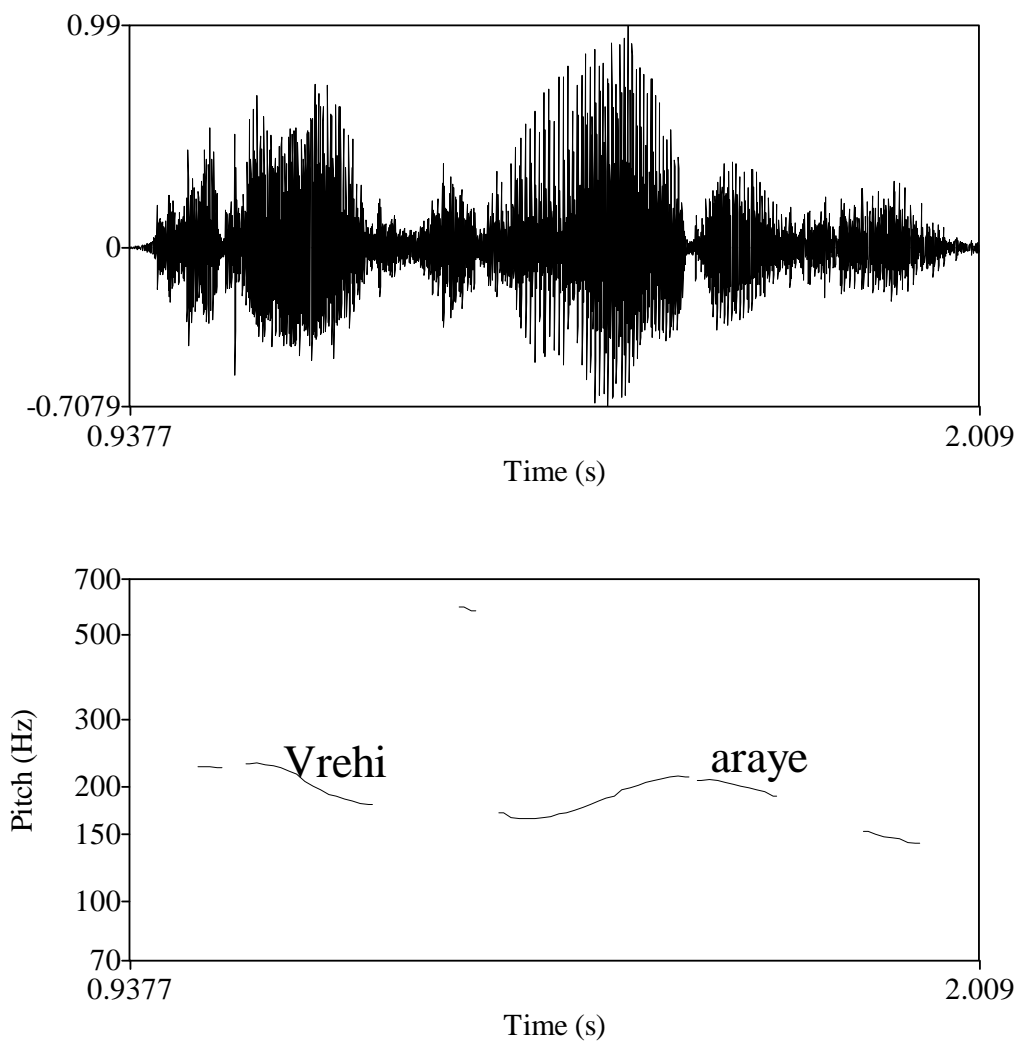
Figure 37: Praat illustration of wondering, with the wondering particle following the verb (INT4).

The wondering particle can be followed (or be preceded by) by a past, present or future tense. The example below is in the future.

(41) Ἄραγε θα βρέξει;

Araye tha vreksi?

WOND FUT rain-3SG.PRF

I wonder, will it rain?
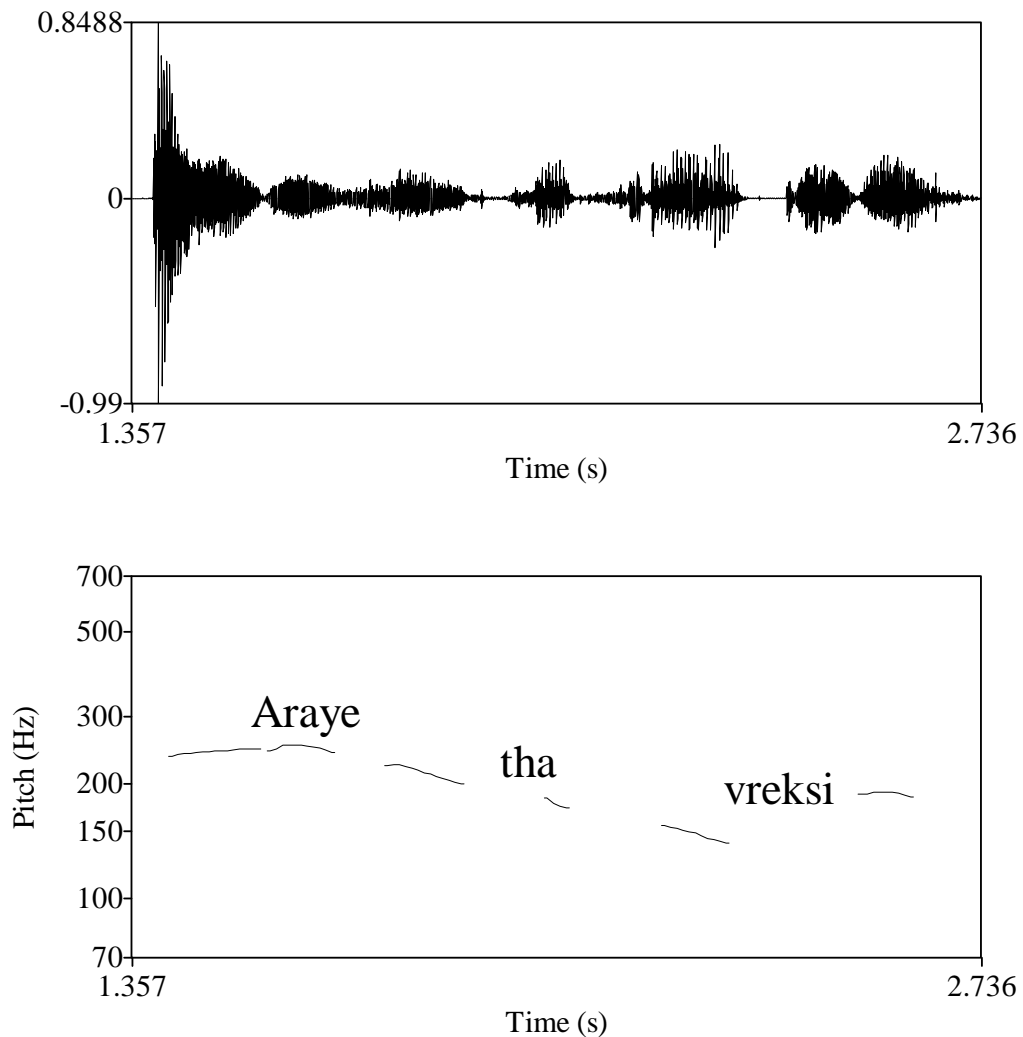
Figure 38: Praat illustration of a future wondering utterance (INT4).

4.5.5 Expression of uncertainty in Indicative

Another segmental marker available to the speaker of Modern Greek, when they want to express their uncertainty about the propositional content of a clause, is the particle ἴσως ('isos', maybe) followed by Indicative, as in example (42).

(42) Ἴσως ἔφυγε.

Isos efiye.

UNC leave-3SG. PS.PRF

Maybe he left.
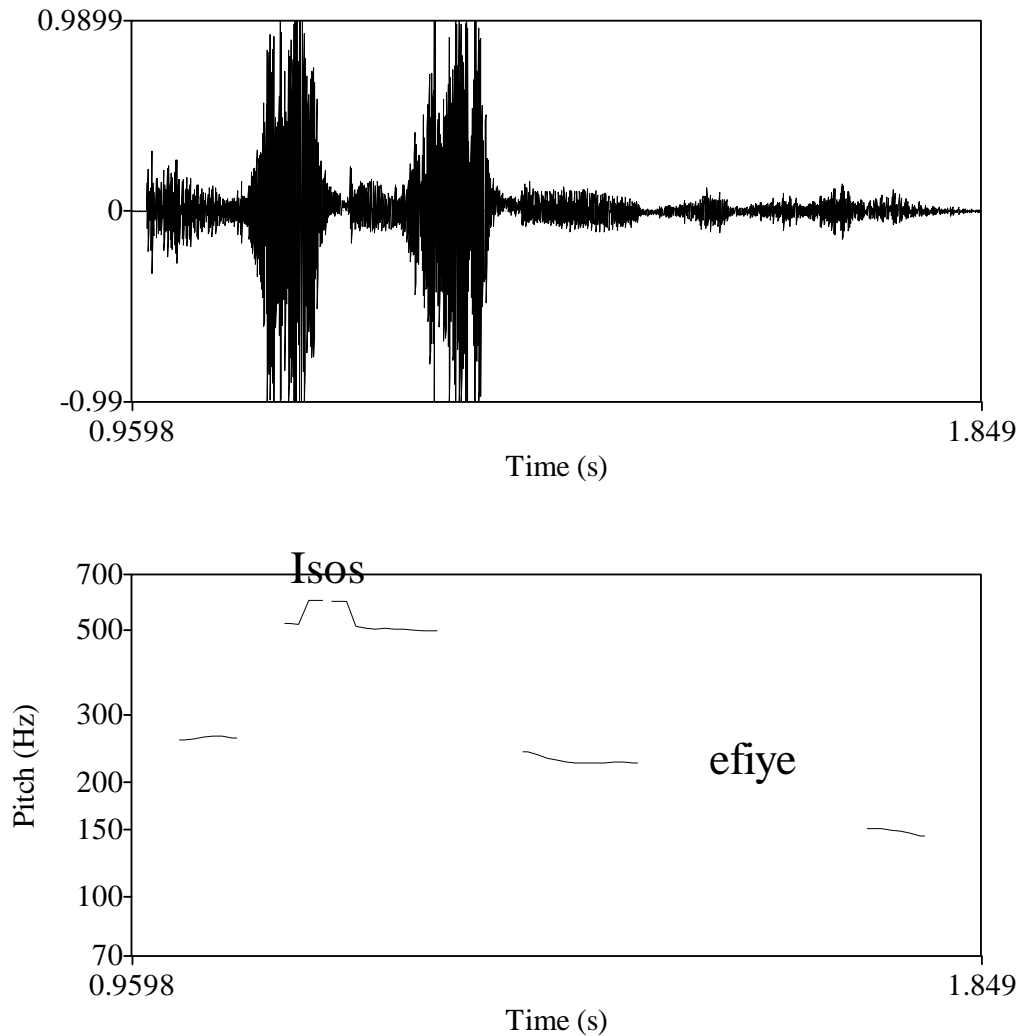
Figure 39: Praat illustration of uncertainty in Indicative (INT2).

The uncertainty particle provides a focal point for the utterance, as we can see from the Praat illustrations. The addressee needs to provide an early illocutionary hint to the addressee that this utterance should not be confused with an assertion; hence they narrowly focus on the segmental marker to attract the addressee's attention. INT2 applies here.

Ἴσως is most likely to be placed ahead of the indicative verb, although it is not uncommon for it to follow the verb, as in example (43).

(43) Ἔφυγε ίσως.

Efiye isos.

Leave-3SG. PS.PRF UNC

Perhaps he left.
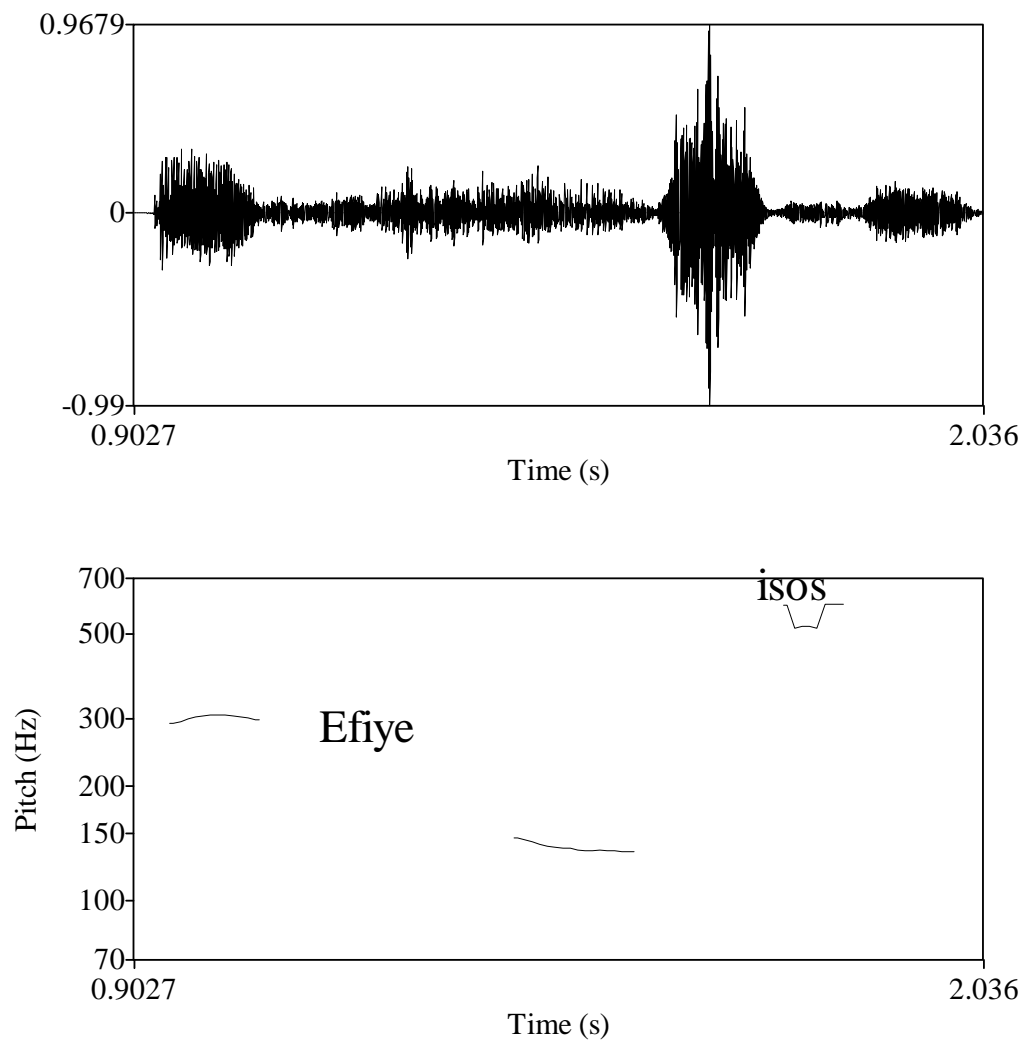
Figure 40: Praat illustration of uncertainty in Indicative, with the uncertainty particle following the verb (INT2).

In this illustration we see the same recording, as in Fig. 40, with manipulation of octave difference (octave jump kill) for the uncertainty particle. The illustration below is closer to what we would have expected the pattern to look like.
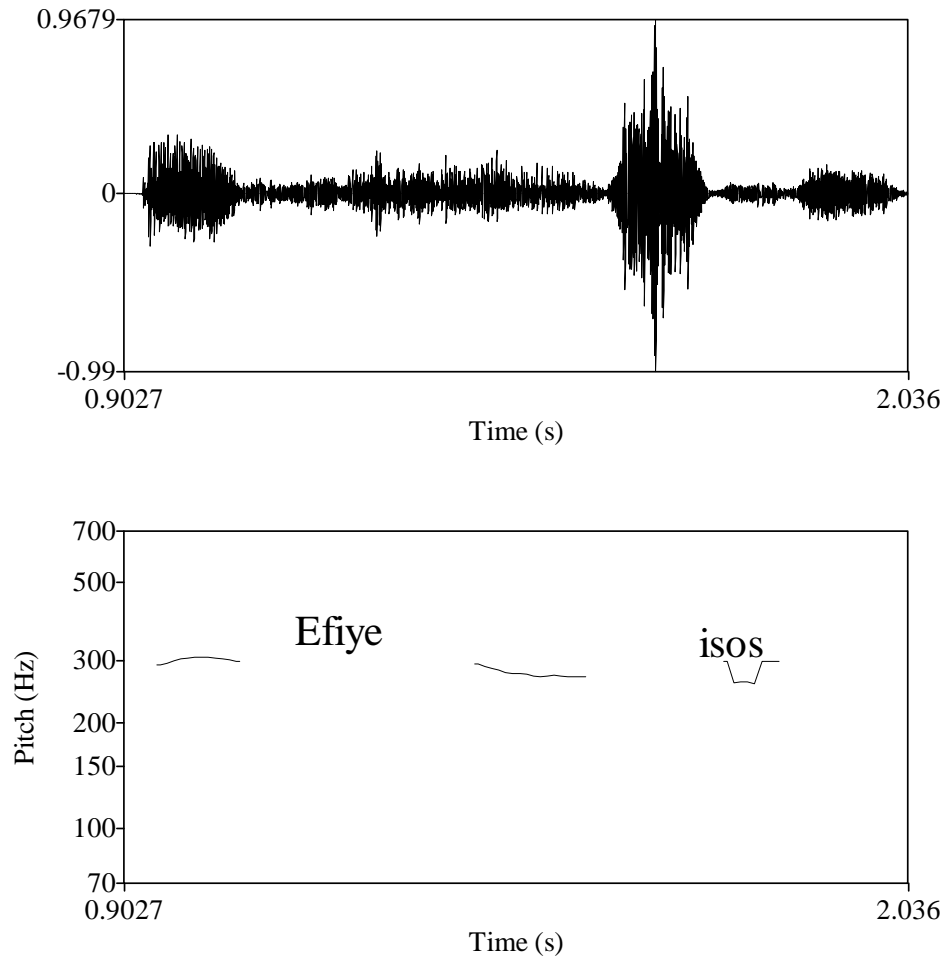
Figure 41: Praat illustration of uncertainty in Indicative, with the uncertainty particle following the verb (reduced octave jumps).

4.6 Summary

We demonstrated above that Indicative in Modern Greek is used in three main sentence types:

- Declarative uses, including Assertions, Miratives (of approval), and Assertions in disguise.
- Interrogative uses, including Polar and Content Interrogatives.
- Exhortations (first person plural only).

Moreover a discussion has been conducted of secondary sentence types, (additional segmental marking) such as Requests for Confirmation, Wondering, Expression of Uncertainty and Proffer.

In the following chapter we discuss the uses of the Subjunctive mood.

Our findings on the Indicative are summarised in Table 6, below. The prosodic contour for Indicative is summarised in the Table 7 Summary below. Markers in brackets are optional; markers introduced by '+' are necessarily present; and markers introduced by '-'are necessarily absent. Table 8 shows values with combined intonation patterns.

Table 6: Summary of Indicative's functions

Mood	Segmental Marker	INT Pattern	Value	Separate Illocution
IND	-	INT1, INT2	Assertion	Yes
IND	'De(n)'	INT2	Negative assertion	No
IND	-	INT3	Mirative (of approval)	Yes
IND	-	INT4	Assertion in disguise	Yes
IND	Tag or 'mipos'	INT1+INT4	Assertion in disguise-contrastive statement	Yes
IND	Focality	INT2	Emphatic assertion	No
IND	-	INT4	Polar Interrogative	Yes
IND	Question word	INT3	Content Interrogative	Yes
IND	Focality	INT3/INT4	Emphatic. Question	No
IND	Addressee's reply ('entaksi')	INT4	Exhortation	Yes
IND	Tag question	INT2+INT4	Request for Confirmation	Yes
IND	'Mipos'	INT4 (disjunctive polar, INT3)	Mitigated Question	No
IND	'Mipos'	INT4	Proffer	Yes
IND	'Mipos'	INT4	Mitigated Polar Interrogative	No
IND	'Araye'	INT4	Wondering	Yes
IND	'Isos'	INT2	Uncertainty	Yes

Table 7: Summary of Intonation Patterns involved in Indicative uses

Intonation pattern	Intonation Pattern Description	Illocution markers	Value
INT1	Broad focus; high level of the accented syllable	+ Indicative	Assertion
INT2	Narrow focus; plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear followed by a fall from the post-nuclear syllable onwards	+ Indicative	Assertion
		+ Indicative + 'isos'	Uncertainty
INT3	Starts high, with the first accented syllable and it starts dropping immediately after, with a potential slight rise at the end.	+ Indicative + Qword - Response to Qword	Mirative
		+ Indicative + Qword + Response to Qword	Content Interrogative
INT4	Peak is on the last stressed syllable of the final word.. Following a gradual fall, a low plateau followed by a rise. Rise-fall boundary.	+ Indicative (+Qword) - Response	Assertions in disguise
		+ Indicative + Response (Yes/No) -Consent -Response to Qword	Polar Interrogative
		+ Indicative + 'mipos' + Response (Yes/No) +Consent	Proffer

		Response + 2nd person	
		+ Indicative + 1st person + Plural +Consent Response	Exhortation
		+ Indicative + araye - Response + 3nd person	Wondering
INT5	Small fall, followed by a rise (and possibly high plateau), followed by a fall (and a potential small rise at the end). Low-high boundary.	-	-

Table 8: Indicative Uses involving combination of two Intonation Patterns

Combined Intonation Patterns	Illocution Markers	Value
INT2 + INT4	+ Indicative + tag + response	Request for confirmation
INT1 + INT4	+ Indicative + tag or + mipos - response	Assertion in disguise-contrastive statement

5. The Subjunctive

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we investigate the illocutionary values of the Modern Greek Subjunctive mood. In chapter 3 we showed that we are dealing with a distinctive morphosyntactic category, characterized by the use of the distinct subjunctive particle να. Subjunctive, like Indicative, exhibits a richness of uses; hence a one-to-one relationship between form and function cannot be established.

Following our discussion in chapter 3, we are focusing on the Pragmatics of Subjunctive main clauses. Tzartzanos (1946) claims that the Subjunctive in main clauses denotes the speaker's attitude to the cognitive content of the utterance. Tzartzanos, based on semantic (interpretative) criteria, states that the subjunctive expresses volition or will, doubt, consent or indifference, exhortation or prohibition, wish or its opposite, surprise or displeasure, approval or disapproval.

In addition, subjunctive might also be used in question-like clauses. Tzartzanos (1946) refers to 'subjunctive independent interrogative clauses', which he classifies as surprise queries, polemic/repulsive queries, echo questions, rhetorical questions, indirect requests and indirect commitment queries. Pavlidou (1987) discusses subjunctive questions in the first person. The view we take is that despite their question-like intonation, such utterances cannot be constituted as questions, as the Speaker's intention in these cases is neither to elicit information nor to confirm the propositional content of a clause. Furthermore, we show that we cannot discuss these question-like utterances in Subjunctive as a unified category from a Pragmatics point of view, since they are used for different purposes.

We focus on Subjunctive's main clauses' propositional uses, such as wishes, wondering and expressions of disapproval; as well as behavioral uses, which represent the majority of subjunctive's functions, such as mitigated orders, mitigated prohibitions and mitigated requests (including supplicatives and requests for permission). Also we refer to additional segmental marking

involving wishes, curses and expressions of wondering as well as enhanced uncertainty. In our discussion we explore particles associated with clauses in subjunctive in Modern Greek, as well as the prosodic contour, as a formal feature of distinguishing sentence types.

As mentioned above, characteristic uses of Subjunctive are mostly related to behavioral basic illocutions, i.e. illocutions aiming to influence the behavior of the addressee (see also Hengeveld et al. 2007).

5.2 Propositional uses in Subjunctive

5.2.1 Introduction

In this section we discuss propositional subjunctive uses, including wishes and curses, wondering and expressions of disapproval.

5.2.2 Wishes

Wishes in subjunctive denote uses which are not meant to influence the addressee's behaviour. They express the Speaker's desire for a particular state of affairs (which might or might not already be the case) for which the Speaker wishes to happen or to be extended in the future. In that sense, wishes might be possible to be fulfilled, or are currently unfulfillable. In addition, wishes might involve fixed expressions, i.e. wishes that are usually expressed in a formulaic way at ceremonial events including weddings, christenings, anniversaries, funerals etc. In some such cases the verb might be omitted; if it is included in the utterance, though, it is always in subjunctive. Furthermore, under this heading we include negative wishes/curses.

Wishes are marked by the use of Subjunctive accompanied by INT1/INT2. Wishes in subjunctive, as in examples (1) and (2), are very common (wishes are also expressed in Hortative; see chapter 6).

  (1) Να ήμουν πλούσιος!

Na imoun plousios!

SUBJ-was-1SG.PS.IPF.

If only I were rich!

Example (1) expresses self-exhortation. Such utterances are usually uttered in the 1st person singular, in a past imperfective tense. The utterance in (1) might also be used as a condition if followed by a subordinate including a result, where 'να' would have a conditional function (in interchangeable use with *αν* ('an', if), which commonly introduces conditionals in MG). Conditionals do not form part of this research as they do not have an illocutionary value. Illocutions can be assigned to main clauses, but not to subordinate clauses. Example (2), in the first person plural, expresses a wish for something that is currently not the case (irrealis), with a past imperfect subjunctive used. A Praat illustration of its prosodic contour is presented below.

(2) Να τον βλέπαμε συχνότερα! .

    Na ton vlepame sihnotera.

    SUBJ him see-1PL.PS.IPF.more often.

    If only we could see him more often!
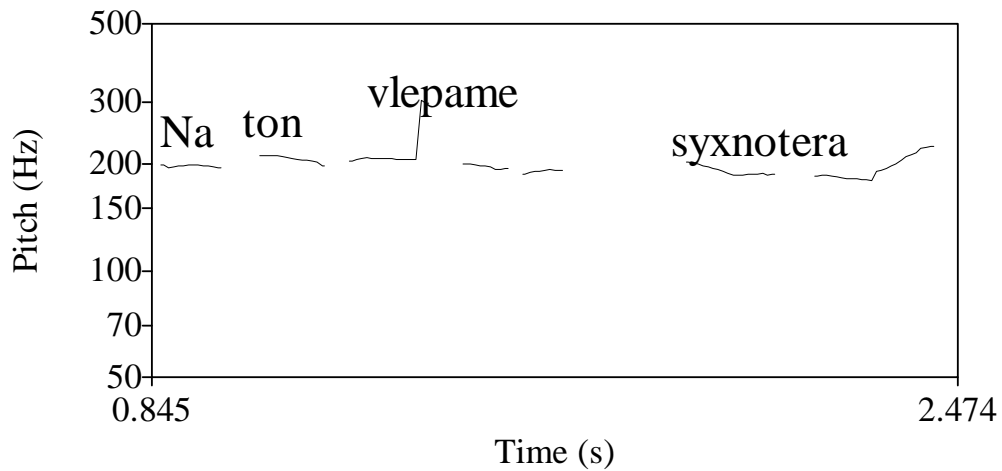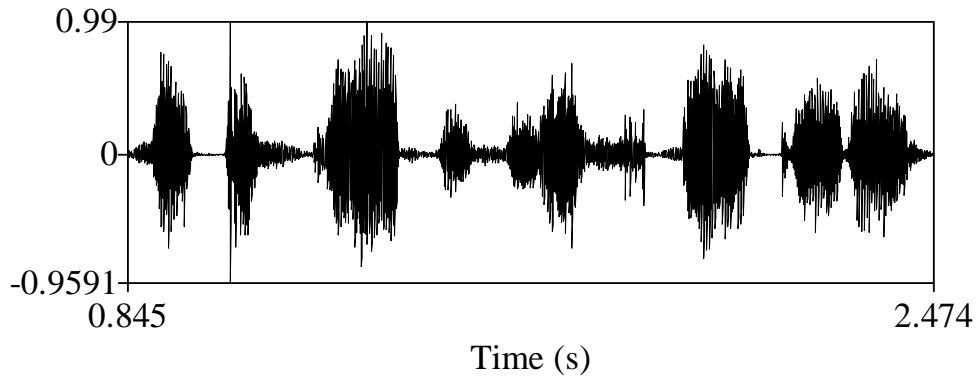
Figure 42: Praat illustration of a wish in Subjunctive (INT1).

In example (3) below we are dealing with a fixed expression of a wish, usually addressed to the parents of a child at a christening (or at a birthday celebration). Fixed expressions of a wish are often expressed in the 3rd person singular or plural, always in subjunctive.

(3) Να σας ζήσει!

    Na sas zisi!

    SUBJ to you live-3SG.PR.PRF.

    May (your child) live long.
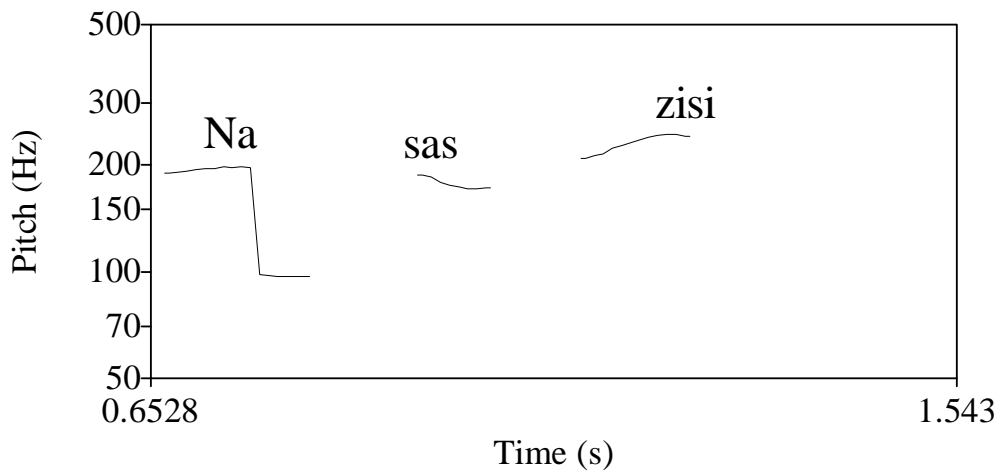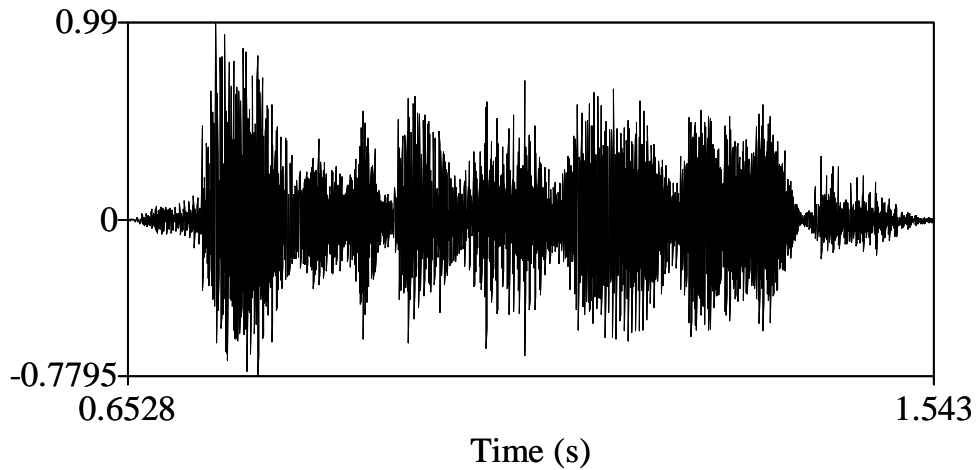
Figure 43: Praat illustration of another wish in Subjunctive (INT1).

The Praat illustration above shows a variation of INT1, with a drop in the subjunctive particle.

Below we include some further examples of stereotyped wishes. On some occasions the verb of the clause through which a wish is expressed might be omitted, as in examples (4), uttered to a best man or woman, or a god mother or god father, and (6), which might be addressed to newly-weds. If the verb were

not to be omitted, then the wishes in (4) and (6) would be expressed in present Subjunctive, as in examples (5) and (7).

(4) Πάντα άξιος!
Panta aksios!
Always valued.
May you be always valued.

(5) Να είστε πάντα άξιος!
Na iste panta aksios!
SUBJ be-2PL.PR. always valued.
May you be always valued.

(6) Βίον ανθόσπαρτο!
Vion anthosparto.
Life planted with flowers.
May you always have a life planted with flowers.

(7) Να έχετε βίον ανθόσπαρτο.
Na exete vion anthosparto.
SUBJ have-2PL.PR. life planted with flowers.
May you always have a life planted with flowers.

In example (8), uttered in a religious setting as a good-will wish e.g. expressed to a benefactor's family, we cannot omit the verb. Note that such examples vary in degree of formality: (6) uses quite old-fashioned, formal language (e.g. use of word *βίος* , 'vios', life), while (8) hints a more humble origin (use of word *πεθαμένα* to describe the dead relatives). 1st or 2nd person uses are also possible, as in (5) and (7), whilst the perfective form is most common.

(8) Να συγχωρεθούν τα πεθαμένα σας!
Na sigxorethoun ta pethamena sas!
SUBJ forgive-3PL.PR.PRF.PASS the dead your.
May the dead members of your family be forgiven.

In (9) we have an example of a concessive use introduced by *να*. The speaker has not seen (for a while) the person in question, but they wish for this to happen in the (immediate) future, irrespective of the consequences.

(9) Να τον δω κι ας πεθάνω.
     Na ton do ki as pethano.
     SUBJ him see-1SG.PR.PRF. and HORT die-1SG.PR.PRF.
     (I wish) To see him and then I can die.

Example (10) below describes a wish for the children's future happiness, which is an example of a fulfillable wish (realis).

(10) Να είναι τα παιδιά μου ευτυχισμένα!
     Na ine ta pedia mou eftihismena.
     SUBJ be-3PL.PR. the children my happy!
     May my children be happy.

When comparing examples (1) and (2), expressed in past imperfective, to example (9), in present perfective, and example (10) in present, we observe the following: examples (1) and (2) reflect a wish which is unfulfillable in the present. The speaker expresses a wish on how the world should be (deontic modality). Example (9) describes a wish, which relates to a State of Affairs which might have been the case in the past, is not the case in the present, but is a desirable state in the immediate future (irrealis). In example (9) the wish might reflect a current State of Affairs (that the Speaker's children are currently happy) which the Speaker wishes to remain the case in the future (realis). Alternatively, the wish in present might just be describing a desired State of Affairs which is again currently not the case.

(11) Νά 'σαι καλά.
     Na se kala.
     SUBJ be.2.SG.PR well.
     May you be well.

(12) Να έχεις την ευχή μου.

    Na ehis tin efhi mou.

    SUBJ have.2.SG.PR wish my.

    May you have my good wish.

Examples (11) and (12), uttered in the second person, are often provided as a 'thank you' good wish to the addressee, or are uttered by an elderly person wishing a good future/fortune to the addressee. Second person wishes are always fulfillable.

5.2.2.1 Curses

Curses are a form of negative wishes and hence can be considered together with wishes as a unified category. Curses often follow a fixed structure, as part of a subordinate clause, introduced by *να πας* ('na pas', you may go) with the actual curse in an embedded clause, as in (13). Curses in main clauses are expressed in singular, as in examples (14) and (16), or plural as in example (15). They are expressed in the 2nd person as in examples (13) and (14), or the 3rd person, as in examples (15) and (16), and usually with the verb in subjunctive present perfect form. If a curse was to be expressed in the 1st person, then it would represent an 'oath', i.e. the consequences the speaker would have to face if they were not true to their word, as in (17). The use of passive voice is quite common, as in examples (14) and (16), since the misfortune wished for the cursed person is not to be caused by the speaker; it comes as a punishment of 'fate', a consequence of an unfair action or position by the person to suffer the curse.

(13) Να πας να πνιγείς.

    Na pas na pniyis.

    SUBJ go-2SG.PR.PRF drown-2SG.PR.PRF

    May you go and get drowned.

(14) Να μην ξημερωθείς.

    Na min ksimerothis.

    SUBJ NEG 'see the day downed'-2SG.PR.PRF.PASS

    May you not see another day.

Curses are expressed with a unique intonation pattern, INT5. Here we see a variation of INT5, with a focus on the negation at the beginning (rise/fall) followed by a small fall, then a rise on 'aspri', followed by a fall on 'mera'.

(15) Να μη δει ξανά άσπρη μέρα.
      Na mi di ksana aspri mera.
      SUBJ NEG see-2SG.PR.PRF again white day.
      May he not experience again a happy day.
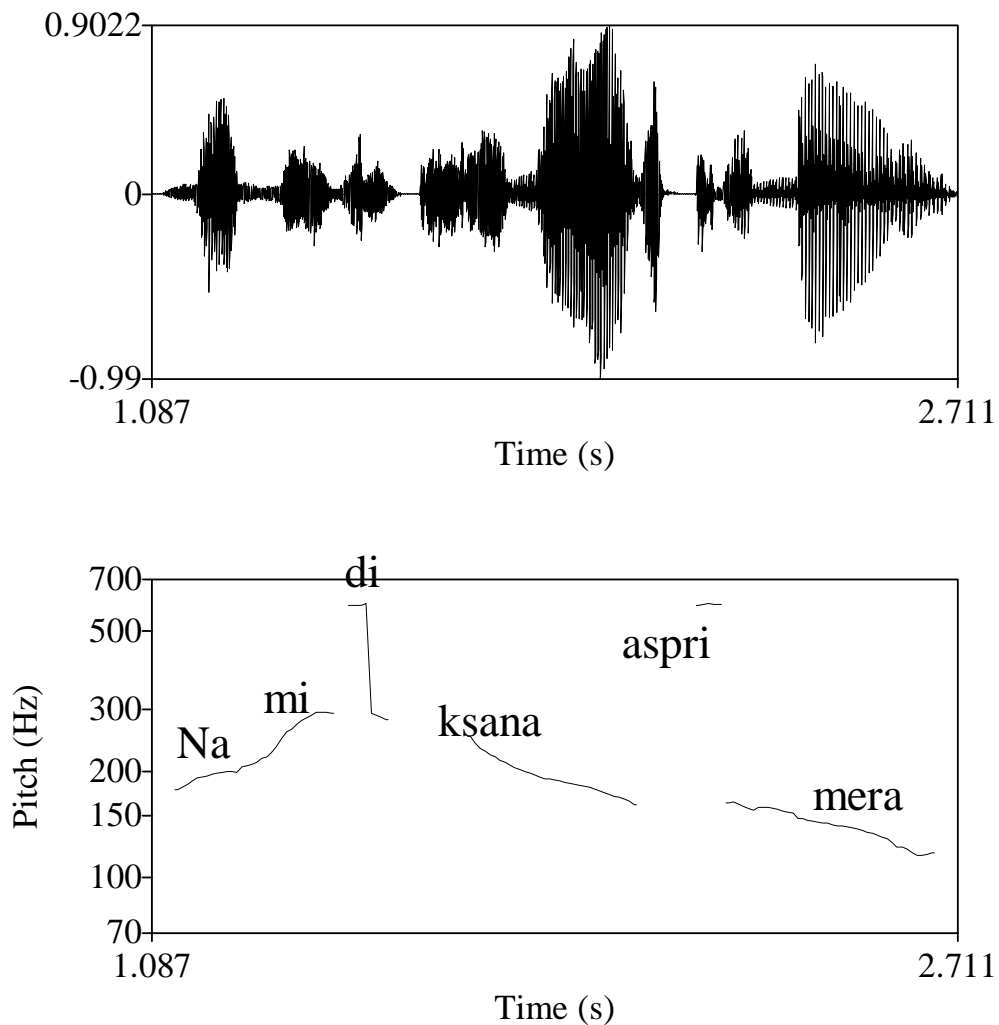
Figure 44: Praat illustration of a curse using INT5.

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(16) Να καούν στην κόλαση.

Na kaoun stin kolasi.

SUBJ burn- 3PL. PR.PFV.PASS

May they burn in hell.

Curses in the 1st person might just include the misfortune the speaker puts upon themselves, as in example (17) or might provide a condition that would activate the misfortune, as in (18).

(17) Να μην ξημερωθώ.

Na min ximerotho.

SUBJ NEG 'see the day rise'-1SG.PR.PRF.PASS

May I not wake up another day.

(18) Να μη(ν) ξημερωθώ, Ελένη μου αν ξαναμιλήσω ποτέ σ' αυτόν το βλάκα.

Na min ksimerotho, Eleni mou, an ksanamiliso pote s' afton to vlaka.

SUBJ NEG 'see the day rise'-1SG.PR.PRF.PASS, Eleni my if I ever speak-1SG.PR.PRF to this the stupid.

May I not see daylight again, my Eleni, if I ever talk to this silly man again.

Note that the 'curse' or 'oath' is realized in the matrix; the subordinate is provided as a means of context. The Praat illustration of the prosodic contour is provided below.
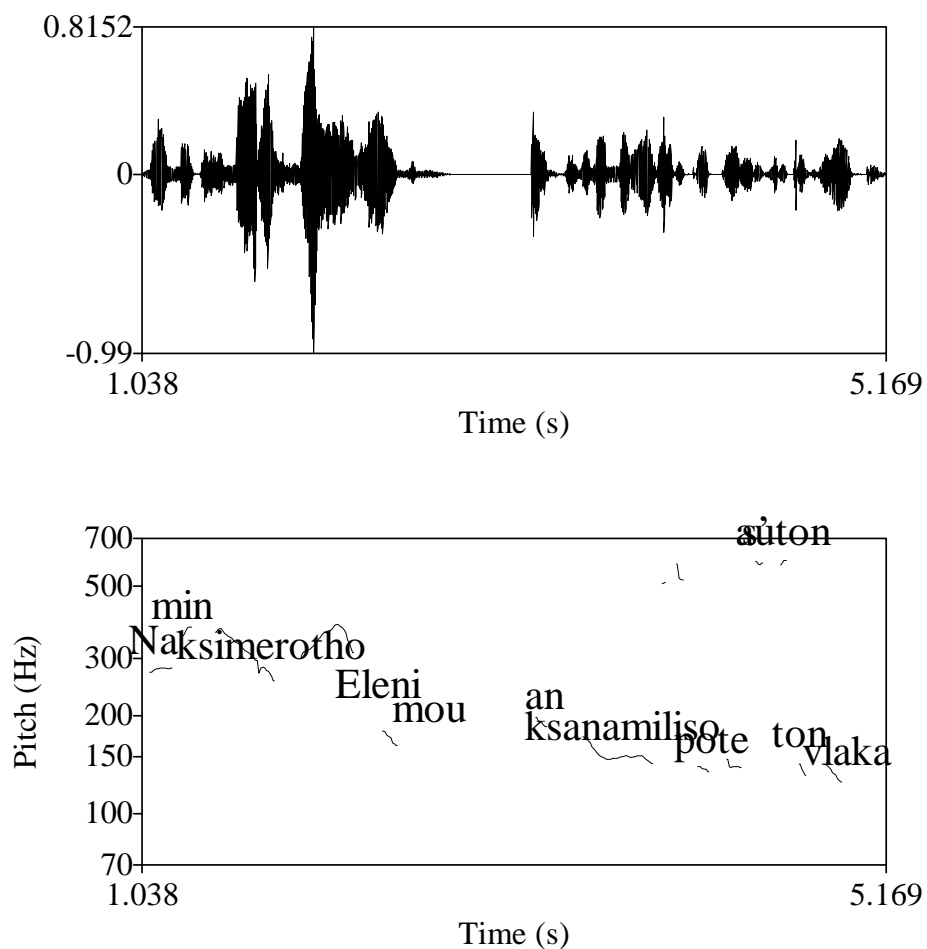
Figure 45: Praat illustration of a curse in the 1st person (INT5)

God's intervention, as in (19), might be mentioned in active constructions.

(19) Να ρίξει ο Θεός φωτιά να σε κάψει.

Na riksi o Theos fotia na se kapsi.

SUBJ throw-3SG.PR.PRF the God fire SUBJ you burn-3SG.PR.PRF.

May God throw fire to burn you.

As pointed in section 5.4 below on additional segmental marking, the particle *που* might introduce a curse (or an unfulfillable negative wish).

5.2.3 Wondering

In chapter 4 we encountered wondering expressed in indicative. Wondering can also be expressed in Subjunctive. In most languages, Subjunctive has a 'built-in' element of uncertainty/doubt. In Indicative we needed a specific particle marking a seemingly question-like utterance into a wondering expression, which signals to the addressee the speaker's doubt, uncertainty or speculation, often coupled with surprise, curiosity and amazement. Expressions in Subjunctives have a 'built-in' element of wondering, where in a self directed question the Speaker genuinely does not know the answer, as in examples (20), (21), (22) and (23). This built-in Subjunctive uncertainty of a wondering expression can be further enhanced by the use of a segmental marker, as we see in section 5.4.6 below. Wondering in Subjunctive can also apply to actions that were meant to have been completed in the past, as in examples (20) and (23).The imperfective use, as in (21), refers to a current event. The use of a perfective verb in example (22) affects the temporal reference of the utterance, placing the object of wondering in the future. Polar interrogative-like wondering utterances in subjunctive follow an INT4 prosodic contour.

(20) Να έφτασε ο Γιάννης στην ώρα του;
      Na eftase o Yannis stin ora tou?
      SUBJ arrive-3SG.PS.IPF the Yannis to the hour his?
      Did Yannis arrive on time (I wonder)?

Wondering is marked by the use of Subjunctive, 3rd person singular or plural and INT 4 prosodic contour, which is illustrated below.

(21) Να βρέχει;

Na vrehi?

SUBJ vrehi-3SG.PR.IPF.

Is it raining (I wonder)?
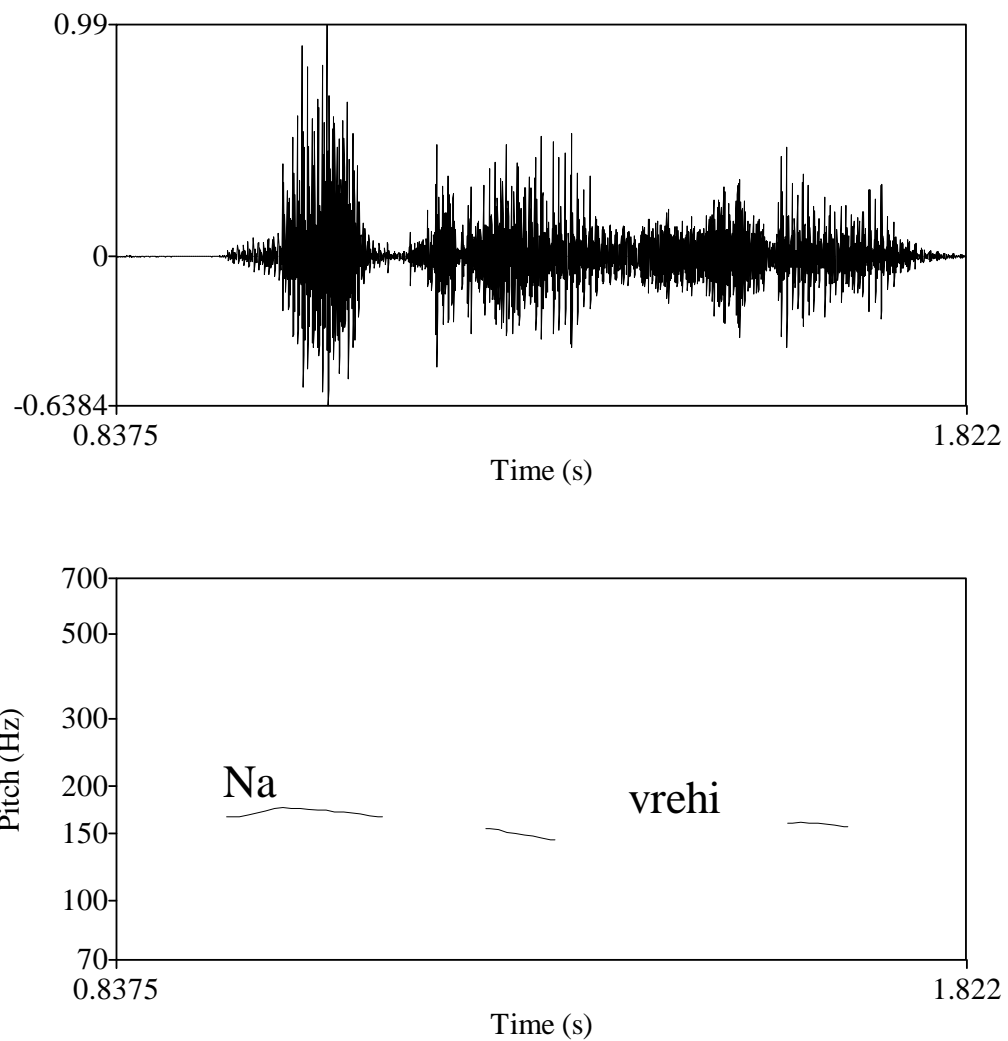
Figure 46: Praat Illustration of a wondering in Subjunctive (INT4).

(22) Να βρέξει;

   Na vreksi?

   SUBJ vreksi-3SG.PR.PRF.

   Will it rain (I wonder)?

Example (22) involves a wondering in Present perfect (as opposed to the imperfect aspect of example (21)), while example (23) below shows a wondering in Past imperfect.

(23) Να αγόρασε ο Σάιμον γάλα;

   Na ayorase o Saimon yala?

   SUBJ buy-3SG.PS.PRF the Simon milk?

   Did Simon buy milk (I wonder)?

Examples (20)–(23) are polar interrogative-like. Wondering in subjunctive might also be content interrogative-like (as we saw in chapter 3). The speaker does not expect an answer from an addressee when wondering, although a response would have been welcome if provided.

Wondering can also be expressed through deliberative questions, as in examples (24) and (25) below. Such examples are content interrogative-like- in both cases here they are introduced by the question word *τι* ('ti', what). INT3 applies.

(24) Τι να κάνουμε;

   Ti na kanoume?

   What SUBJ do-1PL.PR.

   What shall we/can we do?

(25) Τι να έγινε ο Γιάννης;

   Ti na eyine o Yannis?

   What SUBJ become-3SG.PR.PRF. the Yannis?

   What might have happened to Yannis?

5.2.4 Miratives: Expressions of disapproval

Examples such as (26) and (27) usually express the speaker's disapproval or negative surprise to the addressee's views, taste etc. (negative surprise). From this we can derive that approval (positive surprise) is usually expressed in the Indicative, whilst disapproval (or negative surprise) in the Subjunctive; disapproval in the indicative would be denoted through lexical means e.g. 'What an *ugly* dress is this!'. The Subjunctive verb might be in the second person, commenting on the addressee's choice (something that the addressee did or is about to do), or in the third.

> (26) Να βγαίνετε έξω κάθε βράδυ!
> Na vyenete ekso kathe vrathi!
> SUBJ go-2PL.PR.IPF out every evening!
> To go out every evening! (this is unheard of)

Intonation is crucial for establishing the function of example (26). If it was to be uttered with INT1/INT2, we would be dealing with a mitigated directive, as shown in section 5.3.2. As we can see in the following page, INT3 applies to Subjunctive miratives of disapproval (mirroring the indicative miratives of approval intonation).

The Praat illustration below indicates INT3 as the intonation pattern this utterance is expressed in. The second clause provides context for the utterance.

(27) Να φορέσεις σορτς στο γάμο ! Πού ακούστηκε!

Na foresis sorts sto gamo! Pou akoustike!

SUBJ wear-2SG.PR.PRF. shorts to the wedding! Where was heard!

To wear shorts at the wedding! This is unheard of!
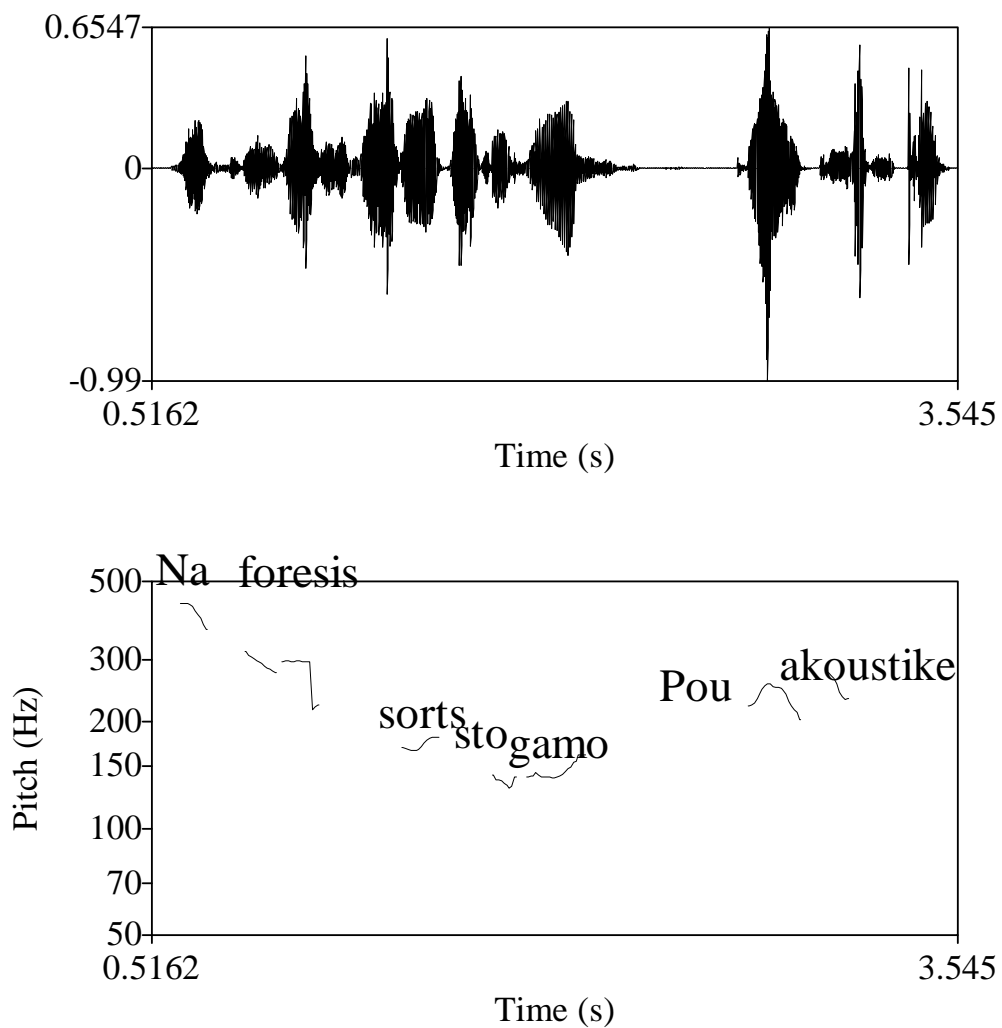
Figure 47: Praat illustration of a Subjunctive Mirative (of disapproval) using INT3.

5.3 Behavioural uses of the Subjunctive

5.3.1 Introduction

In addition to subjunctive's propositional uses presented above, subjunctive involves an attempt by the speaker to change the addressee's behavior (behavioral uses). These represent the most typical uses of Subjunctive. We are presenting below some characteristic examples of uses including mitigated directives, encouragement, mitigated prohibitions and supplicatives (requests for permission). We are showing that subjunctive behavioral uses aim to lessen (mitigate) the impact of the utterance's illocutionary force; this indicates the ability of the subjunctive particle *να* to act as a mitigator of a particular use.

5.3.2 Mitigated Directives

Directive uses (mitigated orders) are typical uses of Modern Greek Subjunctive, both in its imperfective as in (31) below, an example of general advice, as well as in its perfective form, as in example (28) where the action needs to be fulfilled in the immediate future. Mitigated orders appear in the 2nd person singular or plural. Depending on focus, INT1 or INT2 is used here.

(28) Να σιδερώσεις τα ρούχα σου.

     Na siderosis ta rouha sou.

     SUBJ iron-2SG.PR.PRF the clothes your.

     You should iron your clothes.

Examples (29), uttered with an INT1 prosodic contour (or INT2 when narrow focus applies), is used by the Speaker advising the addressee on matters the Speaker believes are important. Narrow focus on the word *όσο* ('oso', as much) and *κάθε* ('cathe', every) applies to examples (29) and (30). Notice that we came across example (30) with a different intonation fulfilling a function of disapproval in section 5.2.4.

(29) Να δουλεύεις όσο θέλεις.

Na doulevis oso thelis.

SUBJ work-2SG.PR.IPF as much as you want.

You may/should work as much as you want.

(30) Να βγαίνετε έξω κάθε βράδυ.

Na vyenete ekso kathe vradi.

SUBJ go-2PL.PR.IPF out every evening!

You may go out every evening.

Below we see an example of the prosodic contour for mitigated directives. The focus of the utterance (which designates the INT2 pattern) is on the action the Speaker advises the addressee to undertake.

(31) Να σιδερώνεις τα ρούχα σου.

Na sideronis ta rouha sou.

SUBJ iron-2SG.PR.IPF the clothes your.

You should be ironing your clothes
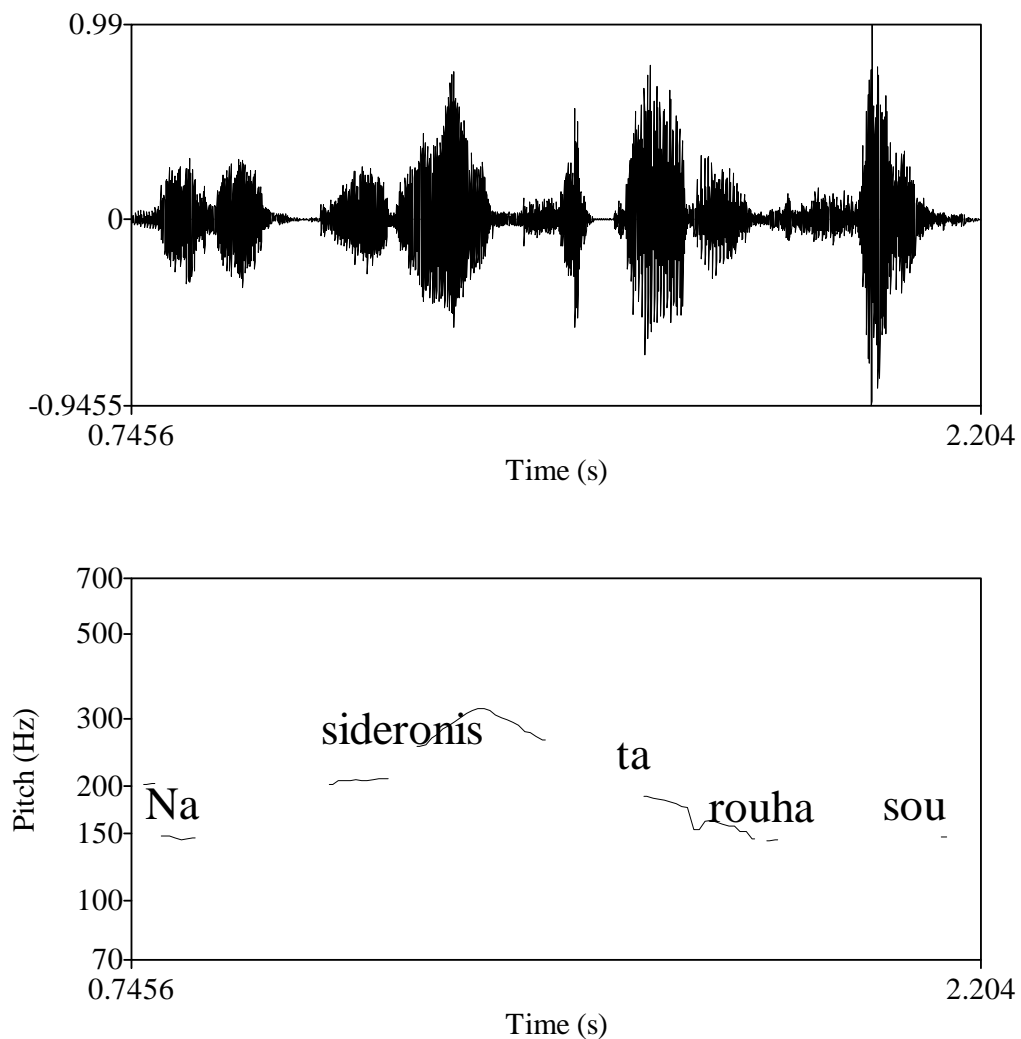
Figure 48: Praat illustration of a mitigated directive (INT2).

5.3.3 Mitigated directives/encouragement

In example (32) below we see a directive uttered using INT4 for a mitigated impact, an offer of encouragement. In fact, we are dealing with an order (indirect request); its question-like intonation, though, allows the addressee to 'save face', giving them the impression that they can accept or reject the suggestion.

(32) Να βγάλεις το παλτό σου ?
      Na vyalis to palto sou?
      SUBJ remove-2SG.PR.PRF the coat your?
      Should you take your coat off?

Unpleasant suggestions in particular trigger the speaker to encourage the addressee to perform an action through a subjunctive question-like utterance in the 2nd person singular or plural. Such utterances are expressed in INT4.

5.3.4 Negative subjunctives: Mitigated Prohibitions[28]

The typical marker of the subjunctive *να*, in behavioral uses, acts as a mitigator of the illocution, thus lessening the impact of the utterance. This is the case of negative subjunctives, expressing mitigated prohibitions, as in examples (33). The presence of *να* is absolutely necessary for a prohibition to be mitigated (as well as for the Subjunctive mood to be identified).[29]

Mitigated prohibitions are expressed using INT2 prosodic contour. They are used in the second person singular or plural, in present only, using perfective or imperfective aspect.

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[28]Mitigated prohibition might involve a secondary illocution, which does not formally suggest a separate illocutionary value, of a hortatory (encouraging)/ monitory use, as in the example below.

Να τον προσέχεις αυτόν, είναι επικίνδυνος.
Na ton prosehis afton, ine epikindinos.
SUBJ him be_careful-2SG.PR.IPF him, be-3SG.PR dangerous
You may be careful of him, he is dangerous.

[29] As discussed in chapter 3 as well as in chapter 6, μη(ν) is the Modern Greek prohibitive marker which introduces prohibitions independent without being preceded by the particle *να*.

(33) Να μην μιλάτε στον οδηγό.

Na mi milate ston odiyo.

SUBJ NEG talk-2PL.PR.IPF to the driver.

You may not talk to the driver.
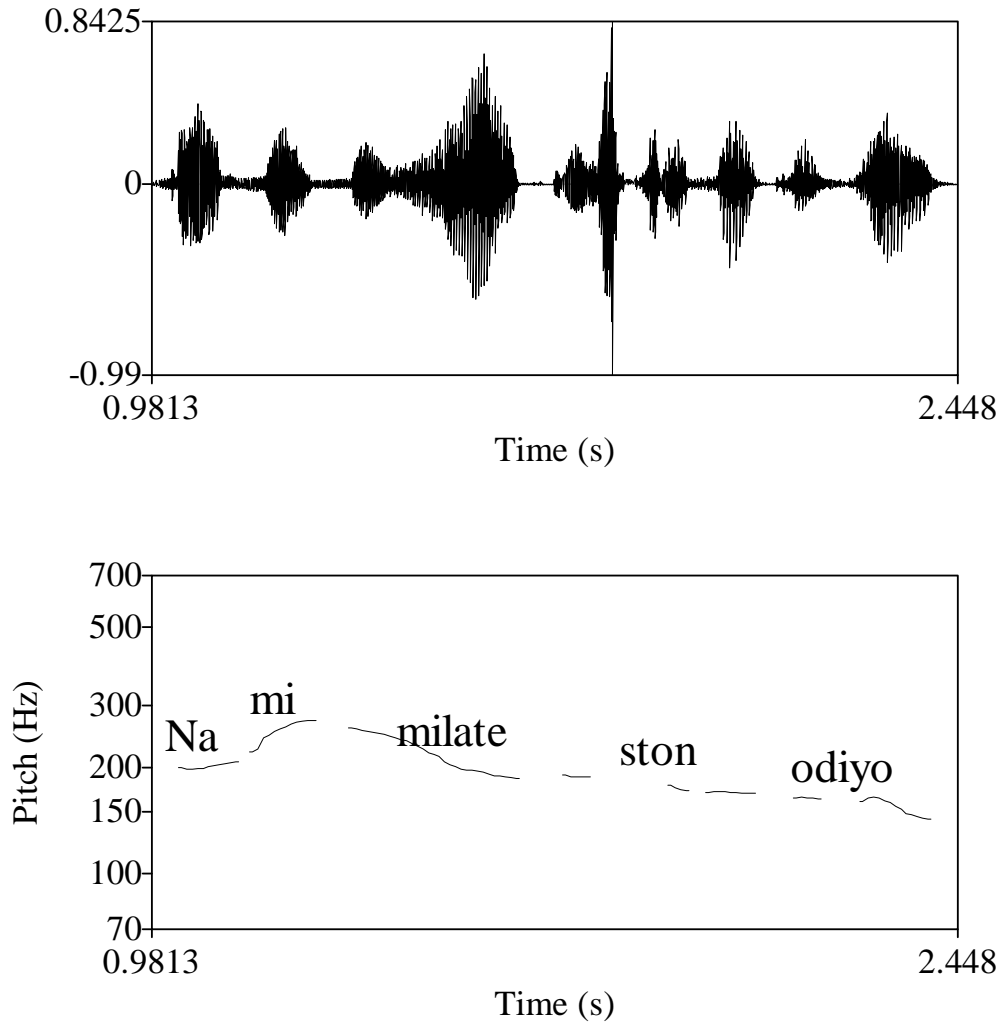
Figure 49: Praat illustration of a mitigated prohibition (INT2).

Mitigated prohibitions might be emphasised through the use of *ποτέ* ('pote', never) which we also saw used in emphatic assertions. *Ποτέ* might precede the verb, as in example (34).

(34) Ποτέ να μην μιλάτε στον οδηγό.

Pote na mi milate ston odiyo.

EMPH SUBJ NEG talk-2PL.PR.IPF to the driver.

You must never talk to the driver.
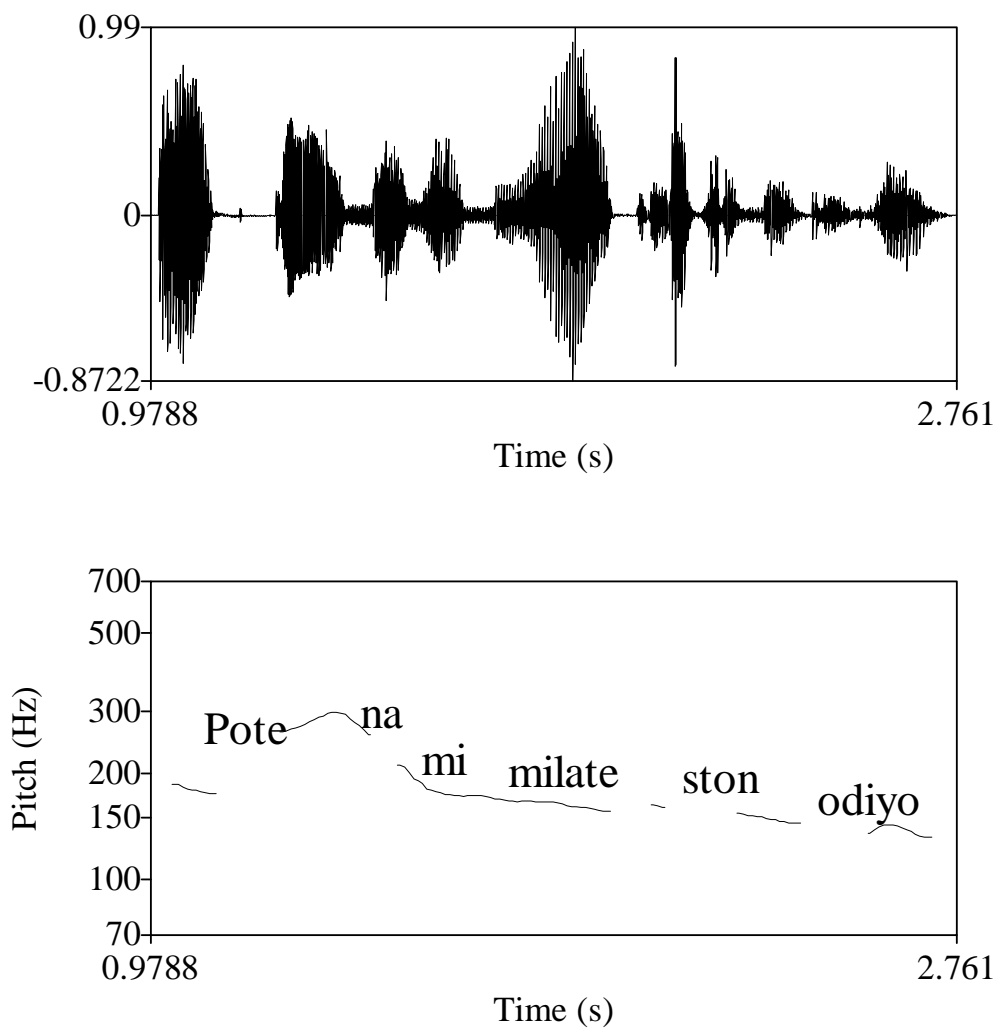
Figure 50: Praat illustration of an emphatic prohibition (INT2).

The emphatic *ποτέ* might follow the verb, as in example (35).

(35) Να μην μιλάτε στον οδηγό ποτέ.

Na mi milate ston odiyo pote.

SUBJ NEG talk-2PL.PR.IPF to the driver EMPH.

You must not talk to the driver ever.
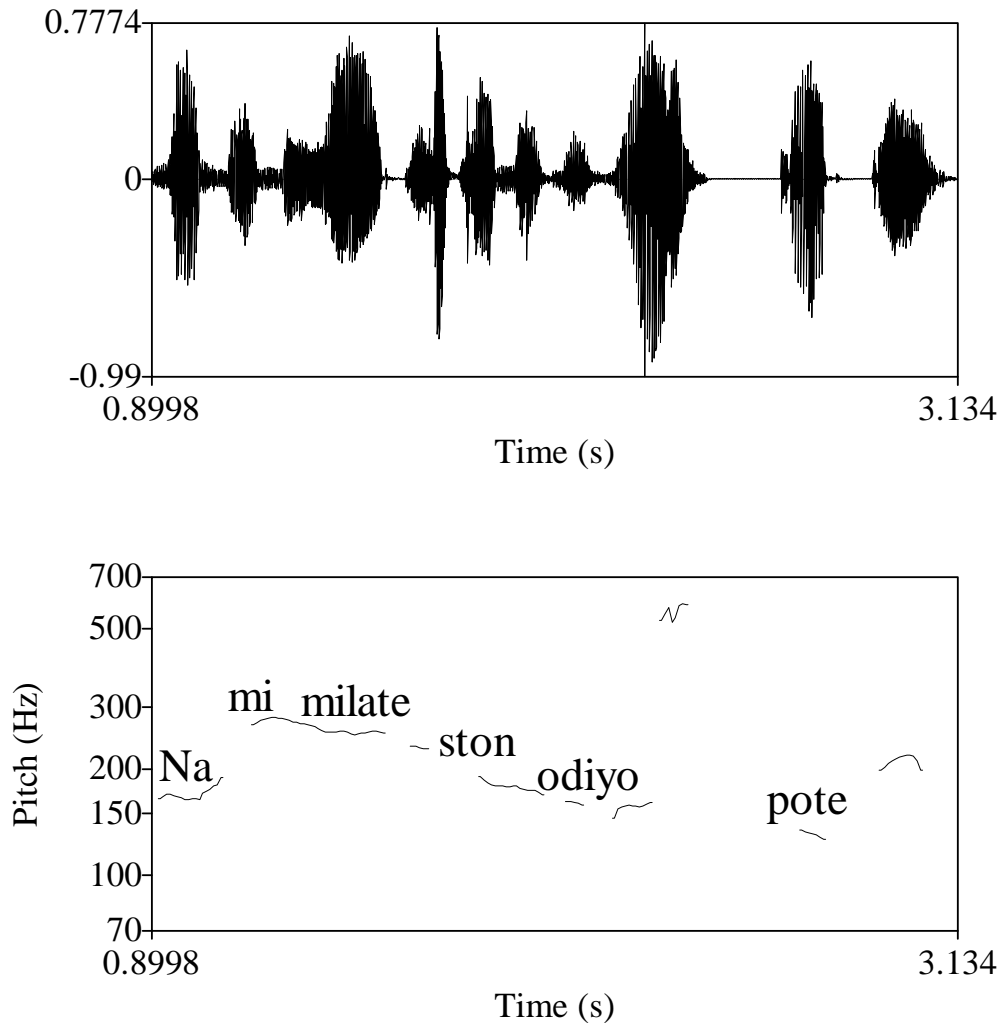
Figure 51: Praat illustration of an emphatic prohibition- emphatic follows the verb (INT2).

5.3.5 Supplicatives: requests for permission

Requests for permission in Modern Greek subjunctive have an interrogative like intonation, but not an interrogative function. It is clear here that the speaker does

not ask for the propositional content of the question to be assigned a value true or false. In a way, the process of a question is reversed. Examples (36) and (37) remind us of the use of modal 'may' in English. Such utterances are expressed in the 1st person singular or plural, using a perfective verb form. INT4 applies.

(36)   Να πλύνω τα πιάτα;
         Na plino ta piata?
         SUBJ wash-1SG.PR.PRF. the dishes?
         May I wash the dishes?

It might be useful to compare the English uses of shall and let's with the supplicative uses of Modern Greek subjunctive. De Clerck (2003) suggests that the uses of 'let's' in English can be classified into proposals for joint action, speaker and hearer oriented uses, and conversational imperatives, where 'let's' is acting as a 'conversational manager'. We can see similarities applying to Greek, as in (37), with a question like intonation ('shall we…' equivalent). Example (38) is an example of adhortation. It is not unusual in languages for requests for permission and adhortations to take a similar form.

(37)   Να φύγουμε;
         Na fiyoume?
         SUBJ leave-1PL.PR.PPF
         May we go?

(38)   Να μιλήσουμε και για τον καιρό;
         Na milisoume ke yia ton kero.
         SUBJ speak-1PL.PR.PRF and for the weather.
         Shall we also talk about the weather?

The supplicatives's prosodic contour (INT4) is illustrated below.

(39) Να ρωτήσω κάτι;

   Na rotiso kati?

   SUBJ ask-1SG.PR.PRF. something?

   May I ask something?
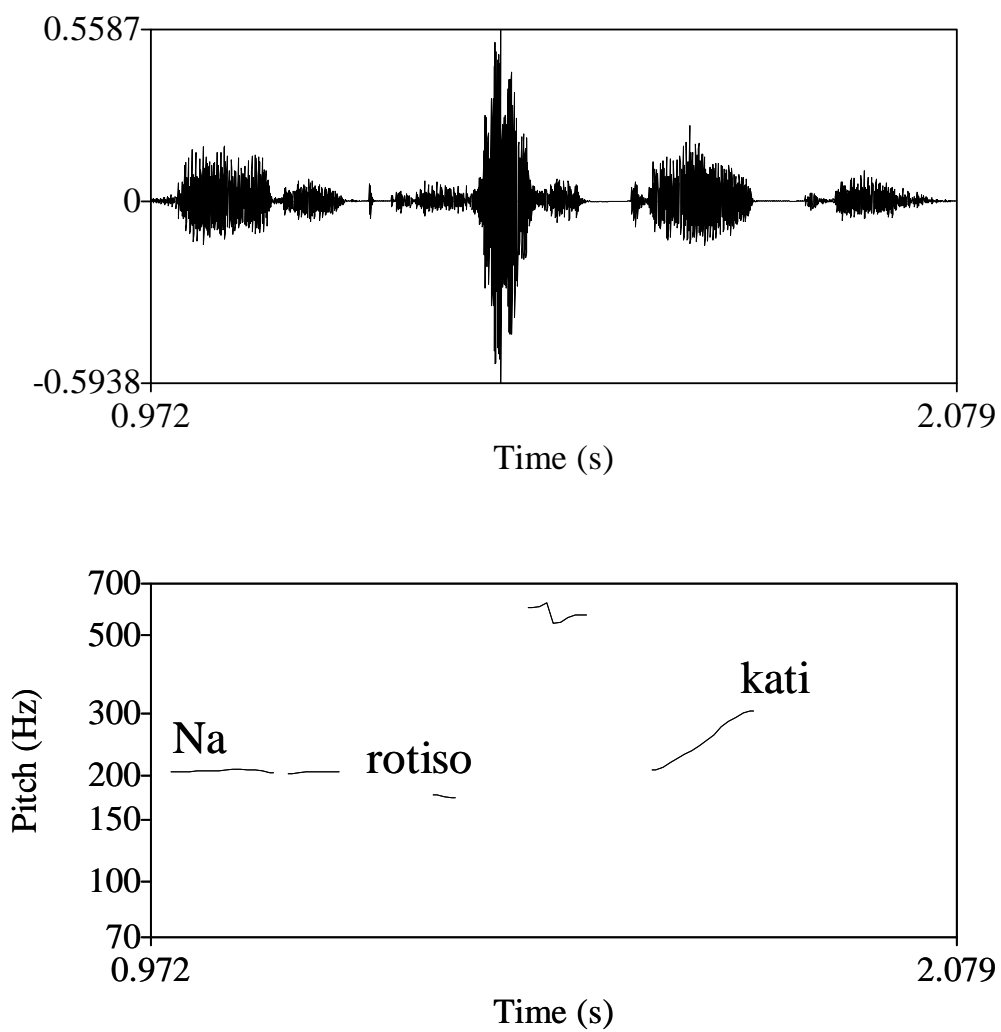
Figure 52: Praat illustration of a supllicative (request for permission) in Subjunctive (INT4).

5.4 Additional segmental marking

5.4.1 Introduction

In this section we present particles which introduce particular uses in subjunctive marked by segmental markers, namely *μακάρι* ('makari') introducing wishes; *που* ('pou') introducing curses or negative wishes; *ίσως* ('isos') introducing uncertain statements and *άραγε* ('araye') introducing wondering.

5.4.2 Wishes and the use of *μακάρι*

Wishes might be marked by special particles such as *μακάρι* ('makari'), as in examples (40), (41), (42) and (43). Wishes introduced by *μακάρι* might be fulfillable (now or in the future) or unfulfillable (in the present or in the past). Elliptical uses of the segmental marker (e.g. responses to somebody else's assertion or wish with the single word 'Μακάρι!') are also common. In example (41) we show a wish introduced by *μακάρι*, which is unfulfillable in present. Its unfulfillability is determined by the use of the verb in the past.

(40) Μακάρι να γινόταν καλά.
      Makari na yinotan kala.
      WISH SUBJ become-3.SG.PST.IPF well
      I wish he would get better.

Example (41), an example of a negative wish, involves the use of a Pluperfect, denoting the unfulfillability of the utterance in the past. A positive unfulfillable wish is presented in example (43).

(41) Μακάρι να μη σε είχα συναντήσει ποτέ.
      Makari na mi se iha synantisi pote.
      WISH SUBJ NEG you had met never.
      I wish I had never met you.

Wishes introduced by makari are expressed using INT2, with the focal point on the segmental marker.

(42) Μακάρι να γίνει καλά.

Makari na yini kala.

WISH SUBJ become-3SG.PR.PRF well.

I wish he/she gets better.
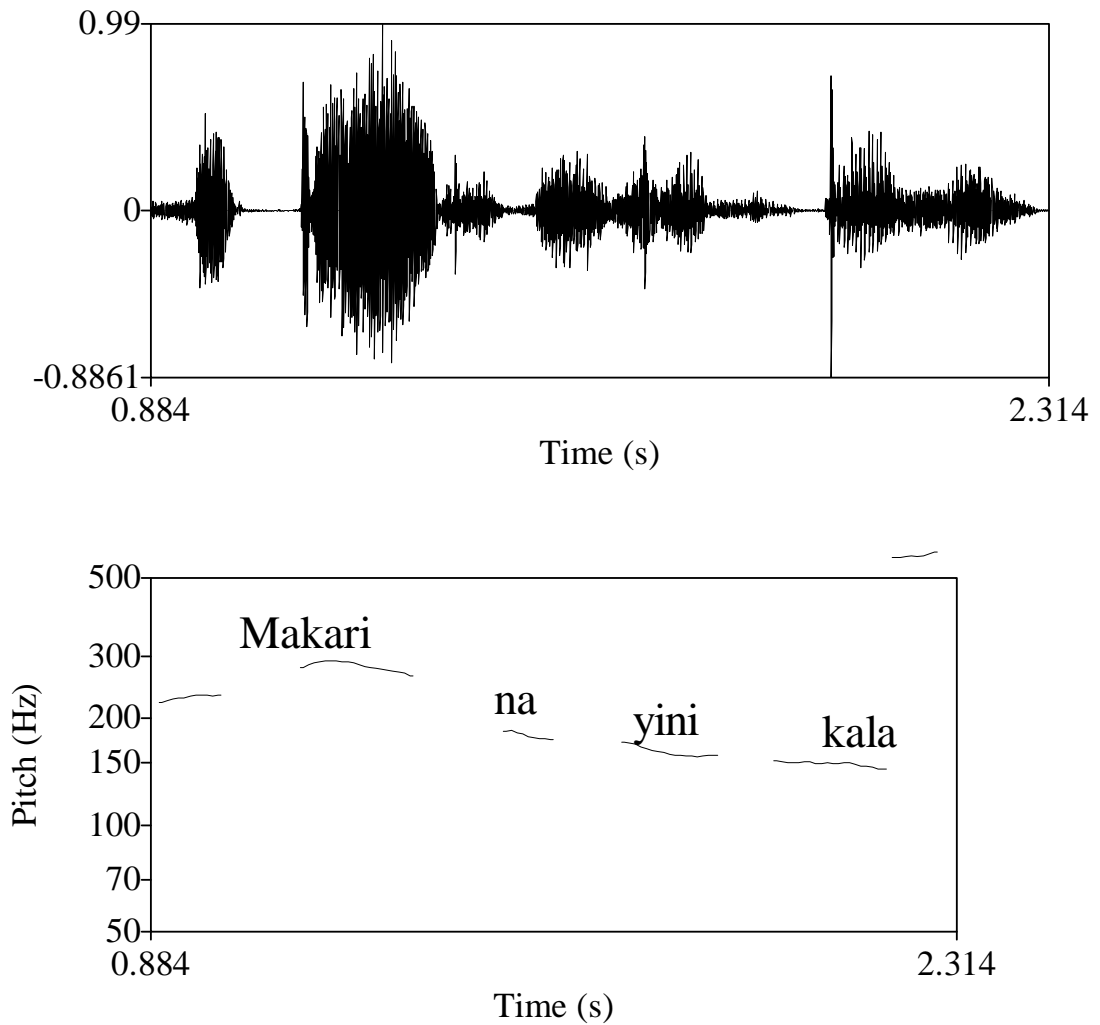
Figure 53: Praat illustration of a fulfillable wish introduced by *makari* (INT2).

Below we see the Praat illustration, in INT2, of an unfulfillable wish.

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(43)   Μακάρι να είχε γίνει καλά.

                Makari na ihe yini kala.

                WISH SUBJ had become-PP well

                I wish he would have got better.
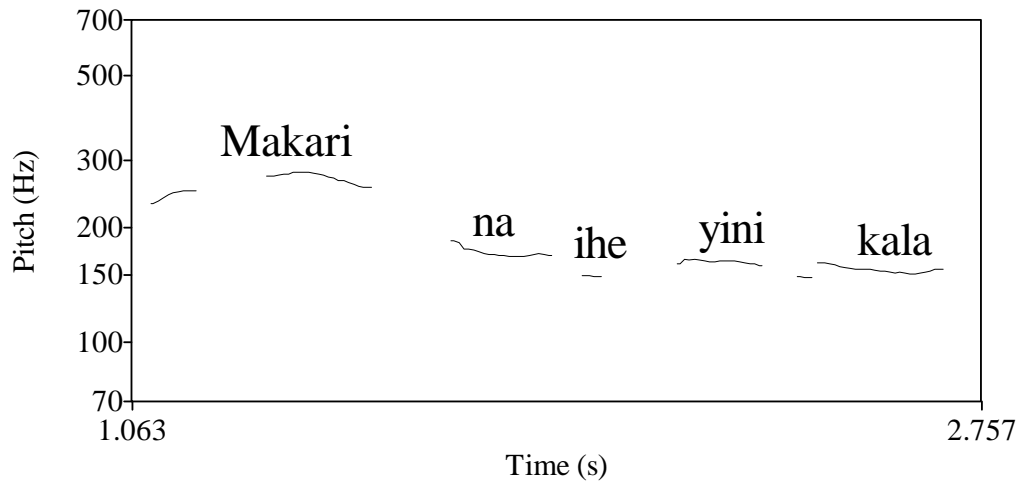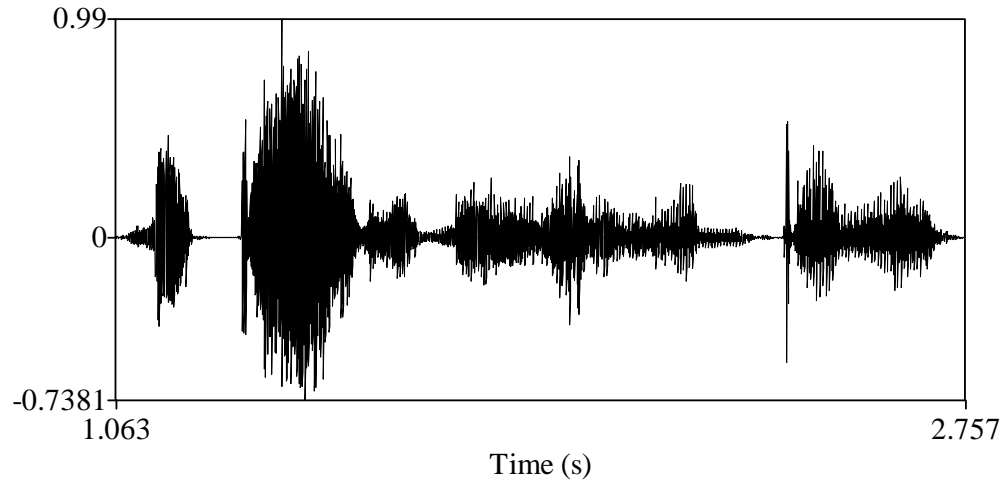
Figure 54: Praat illustration of an unfulfillable wish introduced by *makari*
(INT2).

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5.4.3 Curses and the use of *που*

The use of the segmental marker *που* ('pou') followed by a subjunctive adds a temporary value of immediacy to a negative wish or a curse; this is the case of examples (44) and (45) below. Curses might also be preceded by a vocative 'α', as we can see in example (46), potentially a reminiscent of a main clause. INT5 applies here.

(44) Που να μη σε είχα συναντήσει ποτέ.
      Pou na mi se iha sinadisi pote.
      UNWISH SUBJ NEG you have-1SG.PS met never.
      I wish I had never met you.

(45) Α να χαθείς!
      A na hathis.
      A SUBJ lose-.2SG.PR.PRF.PASS
      Get lost!

The dedicated INT5 intonation pattern is illustrated below.

(46) Που να σπάσεις το πόδι σου!

Pou na spasis to podi sou!

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

Break your leg!
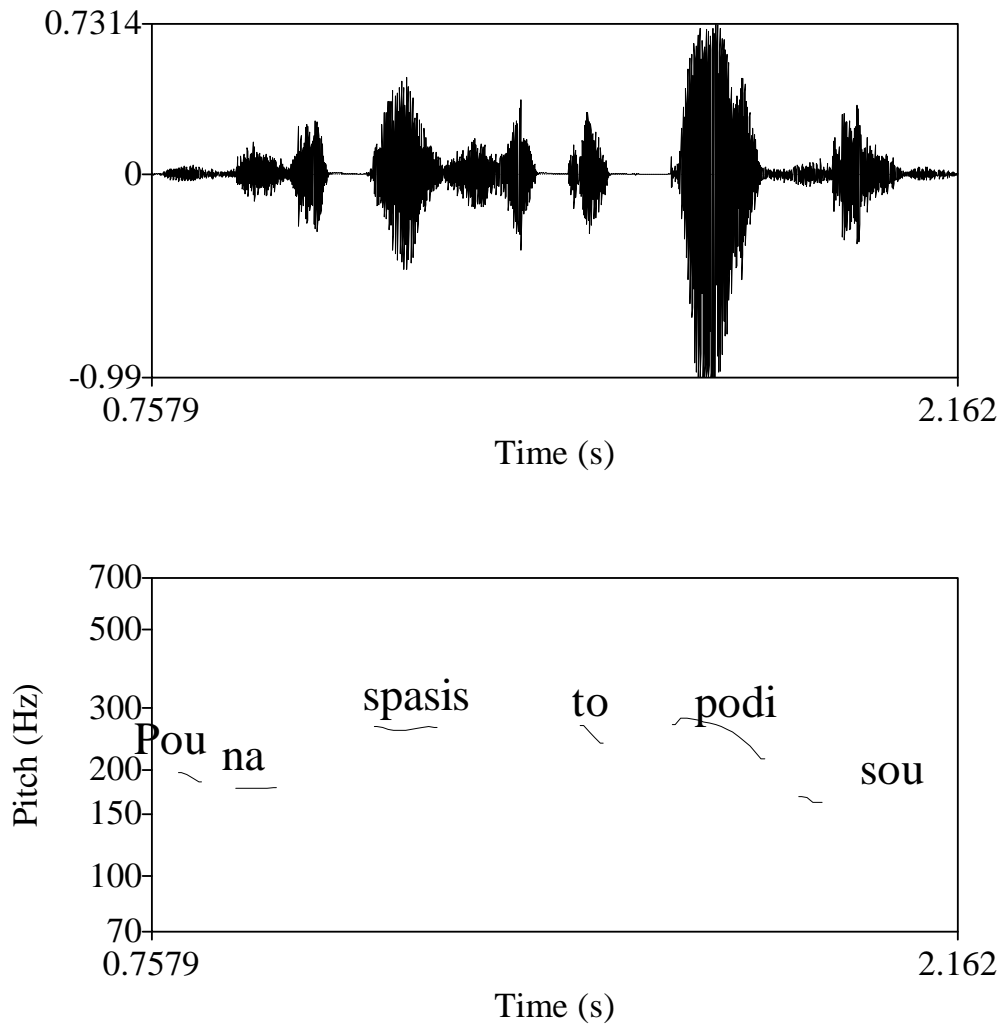
Figure 55: Praat illustration of a curse introduced by *που* (INT5).

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5.4.4 Mitigated Supplicatives

Mitigated supplicatives share the same characteristics as the non-mitigated uses: they are expressed in the first person singular or plural, usually with perfective aspect, expecting a response expressing consent from the addressee. INT4 is used here as well. The force of a supplicative is mitigated through the use of *ίσως*[30] ('isos'), the marker of uncertainty (see section 4.5.4 and 5.4.5 below). *Ίσως* is placed at the end of the utterance. INT4 applies here as well.

(47) Να ρωτήσω κάτι ίσως;

Na rotiso kati isos?

SUBJ ask-1SG.PR.PRF. something MIT?

Perhaps, may I ask something?

---

[30] One of our informers suggested supplicative utterances mitigated by *μήπως*, as in the three examples below. The rest of the informants did not regard them as acceptable, therefore we considered them forming part of the single informant's idiolect.

Μήπως να ρωτήσω κάτι;
Mipos na rotiso kati?
MIT SUBJ ask-1SG.PR.PRF. something?
By any chance, may I ask something?

Μήπως να πλύνω τα πιάτα;
Mipos na plino ta piata?
MIT SUBJ wash-1SG.PR.PRF. the dishes?
By any chance, may I wash the dishes?

Μήπως να φύγουμε;
Mipos na fiyoume?
MIT SUBJ leave-1PL.PR.PRF
By any chance, may we go?

The appropriate use of *μήπως* and *ίσως* often troubles learners of MG as L2, and, occasionally, L1 young speakers. *Μήπως* tends to be translated as 'by any chance', or 'whether', while *ίσως* as 'maybe' or 'perhaps'. Μήπως can mitigate *ίσως* (e.g. http://www.inews.gr/116/verolino-kai-foitites-mipos-isos-oi-neoi-ierolochites.htm) but the opposite is not acceptable. *Ίσως* can be used as a single word utterance, but the same is not the case for *μήπως*.

It appears that there is a consensus that *μήπως* is used in MG interrogatives while *ίσως* is used in affirmatives and negatives. However, as we show in this thesis, their uses, in particular regarding *μήπως,* are far more complex than that. A synchronic spoken-corpus-based comparative research should reveal more about their similarities (if any) and differences, while a comparative synchronic/diachronic spoken-corpus-based analysis should reveal whether there is a tendency for interchangeable use.

(48) Να πλύνω τα πιάτα ίσως;

Na plino ta piata isos?

SUBJ wash-1SG.PRS.PRF. the dishes MIT?

Could I perhaps wash the dishes?

(49) Να φύγουμε ίσως;

Na fiyoume isos?

SUBJ leave-1PL.PR.PRF MIT

Could we perhaps go?

5.4.5 Expression of strong sense of uncertainty

A Speaker might opt to strengthen the built-in uncertainty element of an utterance in Subjunctive by using the segmental marker *ίσως* ('isos', perhaps). We note that *ίσως* might also be followed by Indicative, as discussed in section 4.5.4. The combination of *ίσως* with subjunctive indicates a stronger uncertainty element, when compared with indicative uses.

INT1 applies here, as the Praat illustration of example (50) shows; unlike *ίσως* + indicative constructions, it is not necessary for the speaker to narrowly focus on the segmental marker in order for the uncertainty illocution to be identified by the addressee, as the combination of *ίσως* with subjunctive leaves no possibility for a misunderstanding of the uncertainty intention.

(50) Ίσως να έφυγε.

Isos na efiye.

UNC SUBJ leave-3SG.PR.PRF

Perhaps he may have left.
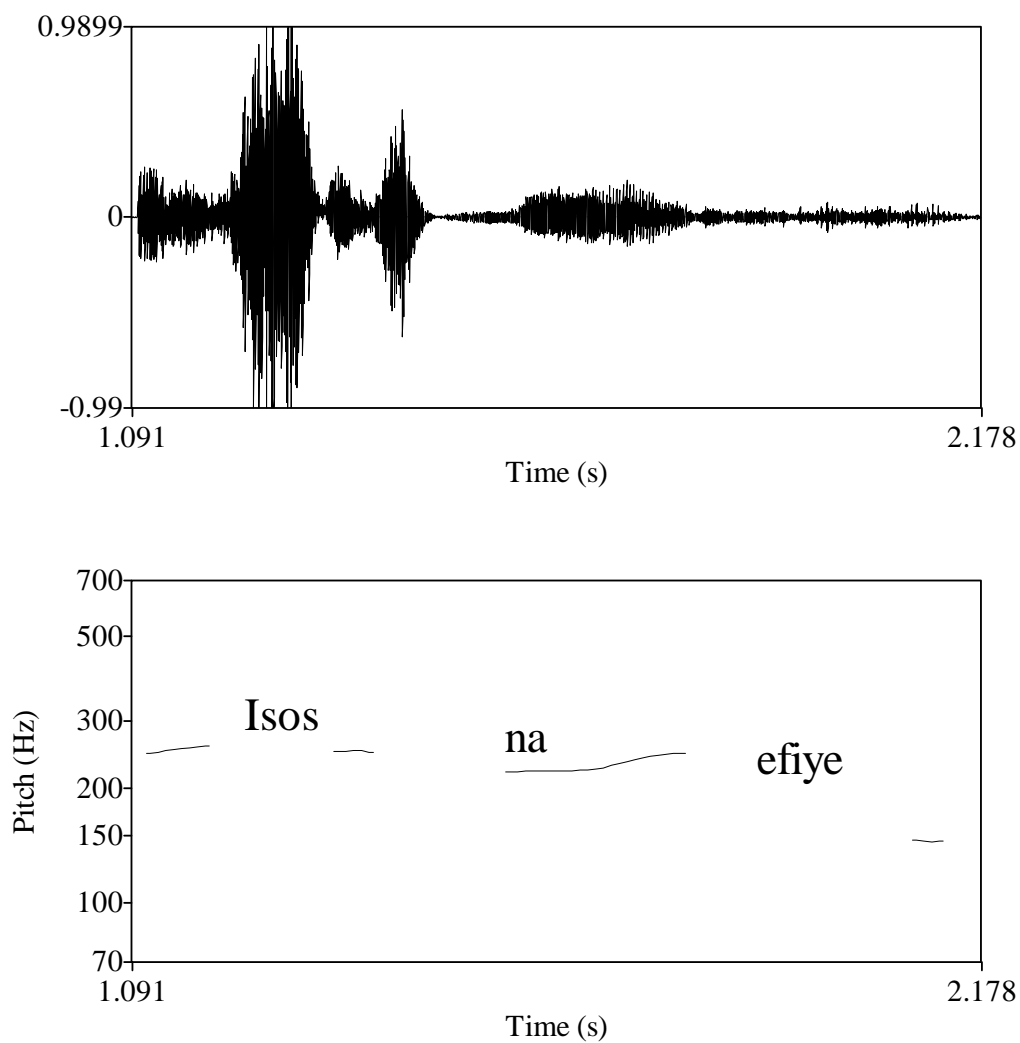
Figure 56: Praat illustration of re-enforced uncertainty in Subjunctive introduced by *ίσως* **(INT1).**

Below we see an example of a negative uncertain utterance, where the negation *μη(ν)* is used.

(51) Ίσως να μην έφυγε.

Isos na min efiye.

UNC SUBJ NEG leave-3SG.PS.PRF

Perhaps he may not have left.

Unlike indicative uses, where *ίσως* can be placed either at the very beginning or at the very end of the utterance, the position of *ίσως* in Subjunctive uncertainty constructions is fixed at the beginning of the clause, as we can see from the ungrammatical and unacceptable example (52). Its position also differs from mitigated supplicatives in Subjunctive, where it has a fixed position at the end of the utterance.

(52) *Να έφυγε ίσως.

Na efiye isos.

SUBJ leave-3SG.PS.PRF.UNC

He may (have) left perhaps.

5.4.6 Wondering

A Speaker has also the opportunity to strengthen a wondering illocution through the use of *άραγε* ('araye', 'I wonder'). Similarly to the uncertainty marker *ίσως*, *άραγε* can be followed by either Indicative or Subjunctive. 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).

Intonation INT4 is used for subjunctive wondering expressions. The particular illustration below is rather unusual, as it indicates a fall-rise-fall in the verb 'vrehi' at the end of the utterance.

(53) Άραγε να βρέχει;

Araye na vrehi?

WOND SUBJ rain-3SG.PR.IPF

Could it be raining, I wonder?
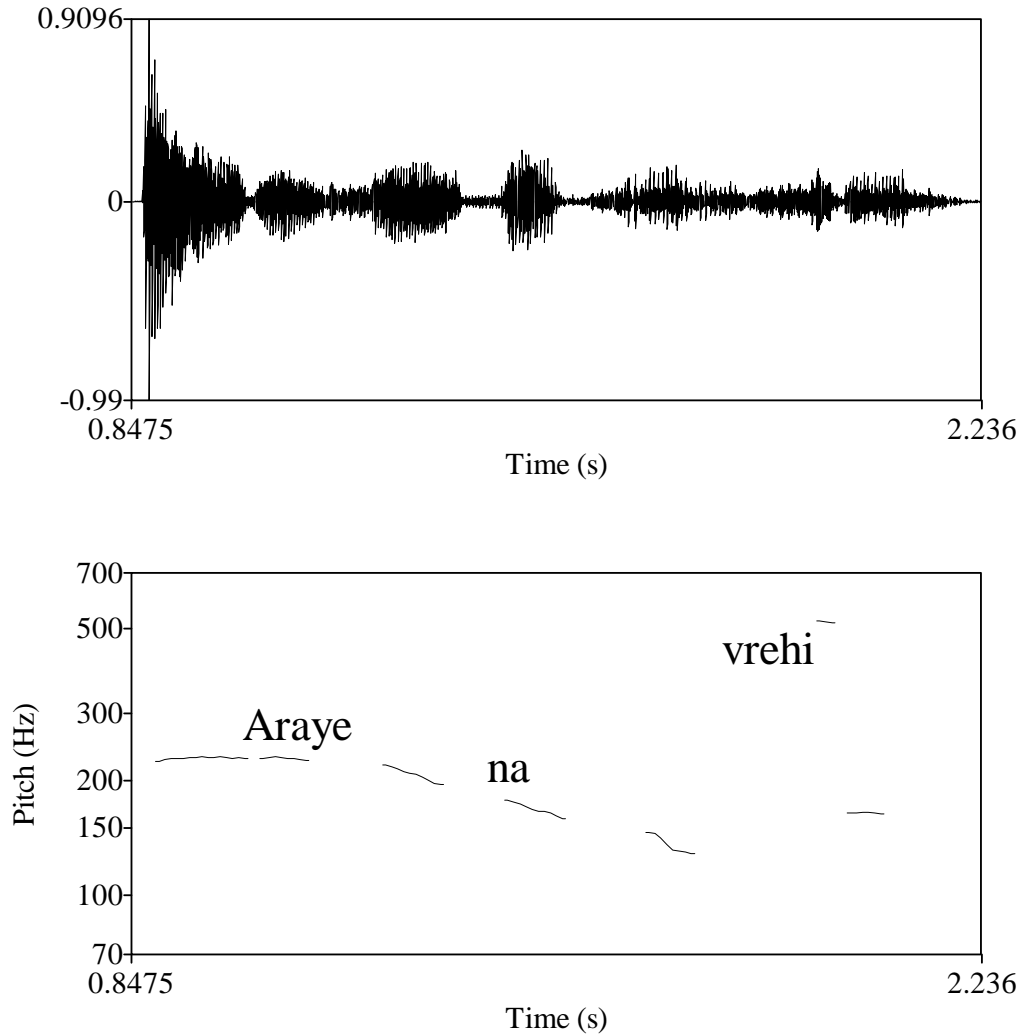
Figure 57: Praat illustration of wondering in Subjunctive, introduced by *άραγε* (INT4).

Άραγε might be placed at the beginning of the utterance, as we show in example (53) above, or the end, as in example (54). The wondering prosodic contour (INT4) is illustrated with the example below, also consistent with examples in indicative.

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(54) Να βρέχει άραγε;

Na vrehi araye?

SUBJ vrehi-3SG.PR.IPF WOND

Could it be raining, I wonder?
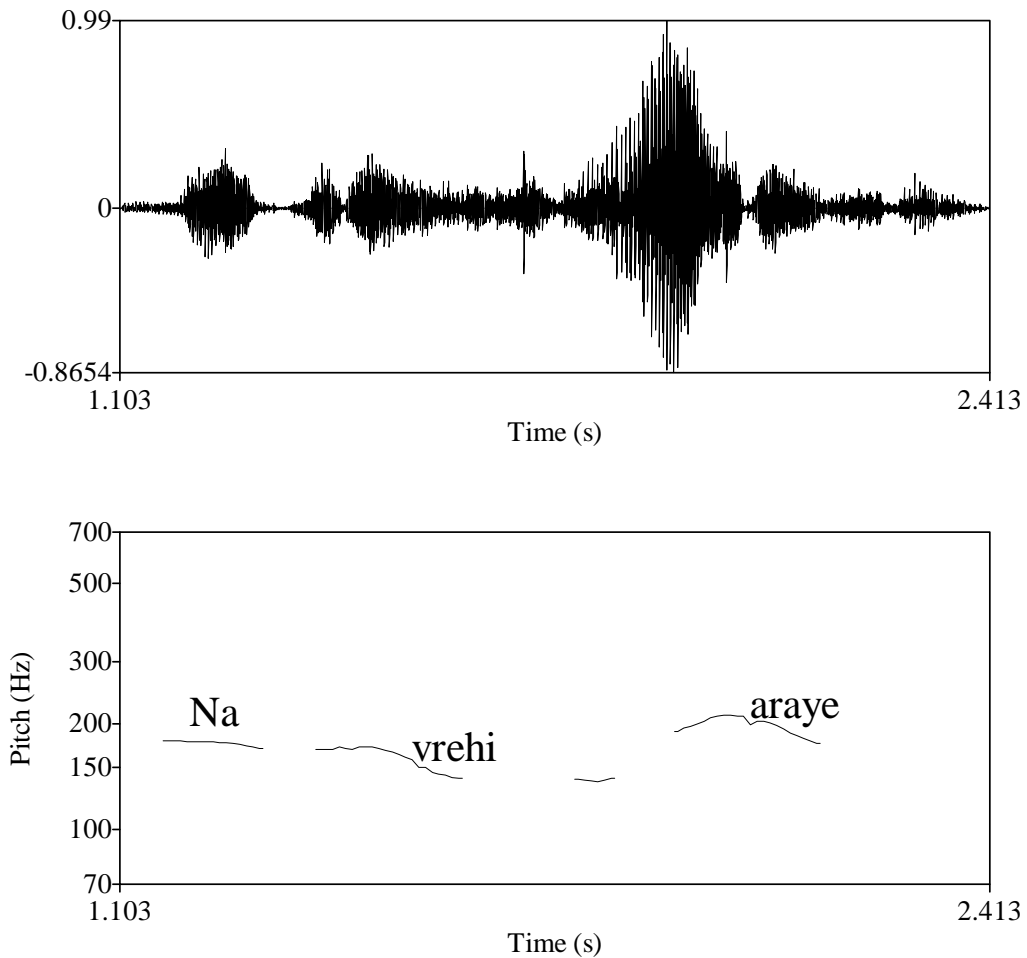
Figure 58: Praat illustration of wondering in Subjunctive with *άραγε* at the end of the utterance (INT4).

Aspectual differences are not affecting the illocution; both the imperfective aspect, as in example (54), and the perfective aspect (example (55)) can be used. The perfective aspect places the utterance in the future.

(55) Άραγε να βρέξει;

Araye na vreksi?

WOND SUBJ rain-3SG.PR.PRF

I wonder, is it going to rain?

5.5 Summary

In this chapter we discuss the propositional and behavioral uses of Subjunctive in main clauses. We show that Propositional uses include wishes, uttered with INT1/INT2 intonation which might fulfillable or unfullfilable; curses, usually in the 2nd person with INT5, but also in the 1st or 3rd person; wondering, usually in the 3rd person with INT4 intonation, but also in the form of deliberative questions in 1st person; and mirative uses (of disapproval) with INT3.

Behavioural uses in Subjunctive include mitigated directives, expressed in the 2nd person using intonation INT1/INT2; mitigated directives-encouragement, expressed using intonation INT4, in the 2nd person, with the expectation of a consent response; mitigated prohibitions, expressed in intonation INT2, using the 2nd person singular or plural and the negation *μη(ν)* preceded by the subjunctive particle *να*; and supplicative uses (requests for permission), expressed in the 1st person singular or plural, using intonation INT4.

Additional segmental marking includes *μακάρι* as a segmental marker of wishes expressed in intonation INT2; *που* as a segmental marker of curses (as well as negative wishes) using intonation INT5; *ίσως* as a mitigator of supplicatives; *ίσως* as a marker of uncertainty, expressed in INT1; and *άραγε* as a marker of wondering, expressed in intonation INT4.

Our findings on Subjunctive are summarised in Table 9, below. The prosodic contour for uses in Subjunctive is summarised in Table 10 below. Markers in brackets are optional; markers introduced with '+' are necessarily present; and markers introduced with '-' are necessarily absent.

In chapter 6 we discuss the Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative uses.

Table 9: Summary of Subjunctive uses

Mood	Segmental Marker	INT Pattern	Value	Separate Illocution
SUBJ	'na' ('makari')	INT1 INT2	Wishes	Yes
SUBJ	'na'	INT5	Curses	Yes
SUBJ	'na' ('araye')	INT4	Wondering	Yes
SUBJ	'na'	INT3	Mirative (disapproval)	Yes
SUBJ	'na'	INT2	Mitigated Directives	Yes
SUBJ	'na' + 'mi(n)'	INT2	Mitigated prohibition	Yes
SUBJ	'na' + 'mi(n)' + 'pote'	INT2	Emphatic Mitigated Prohibition	No
SUBJ	'na'	INT4	Supplicatives- Requests for Permission	Yes
SUBJ	'na'+ 'isos'	INT4	Mitigated Supplicatives- Requests for Permission	No
SUBJ	'na'	INT4	Mitigated directives/ Encouragement	No
SUBJ	'na' + 'isos'	INT1	Uncertainty (re-enforced)	No

Table 10: Summary of Intonation Patterns involved in Subjunctive uses

Intonation pattern	Intonation Pattern Description	Illocution markers	Value
INT1	Broad focus; high level of the accented syllable	+ Subjunctive	Wish
		+ Subjunctive + *ίσως*	Uncertainty (reinforced)
INT2	Narrow focus; plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear followed by a fall from the post-nuclear syllable onwards	+ Subjunctive + *μακάρι*	Wish
		+ Subjunctive + 2nd person + negation	Mitigated Prohibitive
		+ Subjunctive + 2nd person	Mitigated Directives
INT3	Starts high, with the first accented syllable and it starts dropping immediately after, with a potential slight rise at the end.	+ Subjunctive	Mirative (disapproval)
		+ Subjunctive + Qword +1st (or 3rd) person	Wondering
INT4	Peak is on the last stressed syllable of the final word;. following a gradual fall, we notice a low plateau followed by a rise. Rise-fall boundary.	+ Subjunctive + 3rd person (+ *άραγε*)	Wondering
		+ Subjunctive +1st person +Consent Response (+ *ίσως* mitigator)	Supplicatives (requests for permission)
		+ Subjunctive +2nd person +Consent	Mitigated Directives-Encouragement

		Response (+ *ίσως* mitigator)	
INT5	Small fall, followed by a rise (and possibly a high plateau), followed by a fall (and a potential small rise at the end). The boundary is low-high.	+ Subjunctive (+ *που*)	Curses

6. The Imperative, the Prohibitive and the Hortative

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter we discuss grammatical moods which have a very close relationship with the illocution they serve. In particular we discuss the Imperative, the Prohibitive and the Hortative. Wilson and Sperber (1988) stated the importance of 'understanding a mood' through 'simply knowing the range of speech acts it is conventionally used to perform'. To some extent, this reflects our endeavour throughout this thesis: to identify intentions the Speaker is forming which are part of the grammar system. The three moods described in this chapter share a common characteristic: they either reflect a single illocution, or a limited number of alternative illocutions; the close relationship between form and function is also reflected by the fact that none of the three moods participate in complement clauses.

6.2 The Imperative

6.2.1 Introduction

In this section we examine the pragmatic functions of the Imperative mood. Imperative is the mood par excellence where there is a very close relationship between its grammatical form and the sentence type it conveys. By using an Imperative, the speaker indicates that they intend to give the addresses an order- provided of course that the addressee has the ability to understand and recognise the speaker's intention (Recanati 1987). Its Pragmatic meaning is directly related with the act the Speaker is performing (directive/order). Searle (1979) describes Imperative as the prototypical mood of directives. We recognise that the 'force of imperative utterances is determined by manifest contextual assumptions' as Wilson and Sperber (1988) mention. We would like to highlight, though, that we are not considering semantic assumption of functions that might be deduced by the addressee based on their knowledge of the world and of language, or indirect illocutions; we are only considering uses which form part of the system. We assume that imperative reflects a situation where a potential change to the State of Affairs, according to the speaker, depends on the addressee. We argue that Imperative, as a grammatical mood, coincides with its equivalent sentence type.

6.2.2 Imperative mood and Imperative sentence type

As discussed in chapter 3, the Modern Greek Imperative Mood is used in the second person singular or plural, in perfective or imperfective form. Imperative is considered the most direct of strategies (Blum-Kulka and Olshtain 1986, Givon 1989). Brown and Levinson (1987) highlight that the use of Imperative might threaten the face of the addressee, as it does not provide them with any freedom to chose whether to comply with the action dictated by the speaker. They believe that the lack of explicit imperative subject in languages such as French comes to respond to this problem, as if to hide that the utterance is addressed to the particular addressee. There are two points to mention here, related to Modern Greek: first, unlike other languages, Imperative in Modern Greek does not differ from other verb forms because of its lack of explicit subject. We saw in previous chapters that the Modern Greek verb morphology allows the speaker to opt for an explicit subject omission for all verb forms, as the verb morphology (inflection) allows for a clear identification of the person even when the subject is overtly omitted. Second, unlike languages such as English, where indirect directives' strategies might be preferred, the use of Imperative in Modern Greek, despite its direct nature, is very common. Pavlidou (1991) and Economidou-Kogetsidi (2002) also demonstrate this tendency for directness in various contexts (telephone conversations for the former and airline related exchanges for the latter).

Imperative can only be related to behavioural uses, as the speaker, through uttering an imperative, attempts to change the addressee's behaviour. If the person in control of the desired future State of Affairs is the addressee, the speaker will opt for an Imperative sentence type/directive use, which, if not mitigated (through $\gamma\iota\alpha$ or through the use of a Subjunctive), is expressed through an Imperative mood. When imperative mood is used, paralinguistic features (gestures, facial expressions) might mitigate its strength, and the use of plural (polite form) might be chosen by the Speaker as a means to express or reiterate their respect for their Addressee.

Despite the fact that we retain the term 'directive uses' when we describe the function served by an imperative, we share Givon (1989)'s view that Imperative's prototypical aim is to elicit some action from the Addressee. It is not of interest to us whether such action is to the benefit of the addressee or the speaker, whether its aim is to advise (A: 'What shall I do now?', B: Read a book.') or to inform (A: 'Which bus goes to Harrow?' B: Take bus no 14') among others.

6.2.3 Orders in Imperative–Directive uses

We present below some examples which show some typical uses of the Modern Greek Imperative. Example (1) is an example of a true imperative, in other words an imperative in the second person singular with distinct morphology; here it becomes apparent that an action is elicited form the addressee.

(1) Διάβαζε τα μαθήματά σου κάθε μέρα για να παίρνεις πάντα καλούς βαθμούς.

Diavaze ta mathimata sou kathe mera yia na pernis kalous vathmous

Read.2SG.IPF.IMP the lessons your every day to SUBJ take-PR. good marks

Study every day to get good marks.

Example (2) is an example of an imperative in the second person plural; again, there is no confusion for the addressee between an imperative and an indicative form, as the dependent (perfective) form is not used with the Present Indicative (unless preceded by a wondering, uncertainty or proffer marker, as discussed earlier).

(2) Ακούστε τι ωραία μουσική παίζει το ραδιόφωνο!

Akouste ti orea mousiki pezi to radiofono!

Listen-2PL. PR.PRF.IMP what beautiful music play-3SG.PR. the radio.

Listen to that lovely music at the radio.

Morphology alone, however, is not very helpful in assisting us to decide whether example (3) represents an Imperative or an Indicative, in the sense that the verb form in the second person plural imperfective can be either perceived as an imperative or as an indicative mood (independent form).

(3) Ακούτε τι ωραία μουσική παίζει το ραδιόφωνο!
    Akoute ti orea mousiki pezi to radiofono!
    Listen-2PL. PR.IPF what beautiful music play-3SG.PR. the radio.
    Keep listening/pay attention to that lovely music at the radio.

We believe that the second person plural construction alerts the addressee that an action is suggested; this does not exclude the fact that the Speaker expresses an opinion at the same time. Moreover, as Indicative's and Imperative's clitic placement differs, the use of clitics allows for disambiguation of the grammatical mood.

Imperatives are uttered using intonation INT1, as we can see from example (4)'s Praat illustration.

(4) Διάβασε.

    Diavase

    Read-2SG.PPF.IMP

    Read
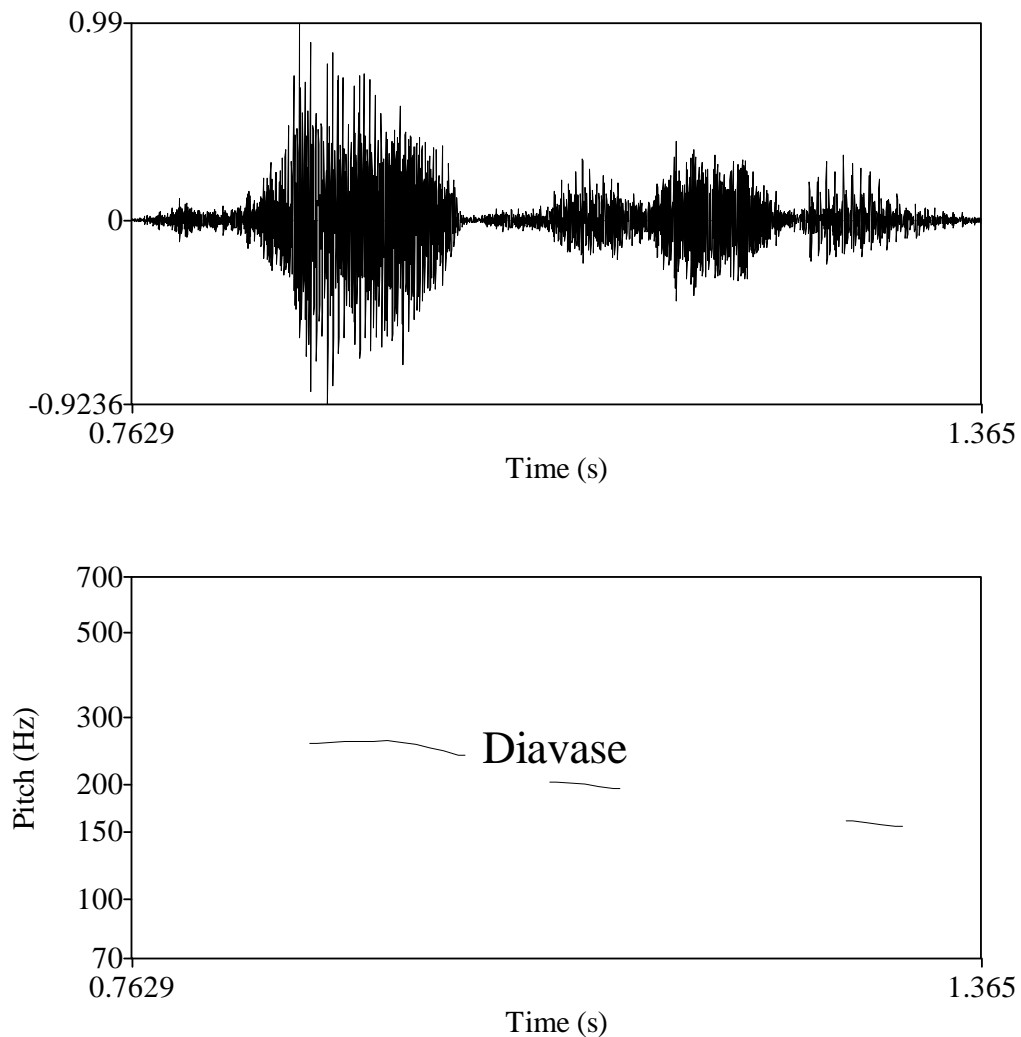
Figure 59: Praat illustration of an imperative directive (INT1).

Utterances in imperative might be elaborated by lexical means such as *παρακαλώ* ('parakalo', please) which acts as a mitigator of their force as in example (5); *αμέσως* ('amesos', immediately), as in example (6); *τώρα* ('tora', now) as in example (7) which reinforces the immediacy of the necessary action; or *τάχα* ('taha', like) suggesting that the addressee pretends that they will perform the act,

which cancels the sincerity condition of the utterance (Pavlidou 1987 and Ifantidou 2000).

(5) Περάστε παρακαλώ.

Peraste parakalo.

Pass-2PL.PRF.IMP please.

Come in, please.

(6) Πήγαινε στο κρεβάτι σου αμέσως.

Piyene sto krevati sou amesos.

Go-2SG.IMP to the bed your immediately.

Go to your bed immediately.

(7) Πατήστε το κόκκινο κουμπί στην οθόνη σας τώρα.

Patiste to kokino koubi stin othoni sas tora.

Press-2PL..PRF.IMP the red button to the screen your now.

Press the red button on your screen now.

(8) Κοιμήσου τάχα[31].

Kimisou taha.

Sleep-2SG.PRF.IMP like.

Pretend you are sleeping.

6.2.4 Additional Considerations

Babiniotis and Clairis (1999) suggest that the following uses, in examples (9) and (10), denote assertive uses of the Imperative. We believe that, despite the fact that the addressee might deduce that through such utterances the speaker indirectly expresses their negative opinion about a situation (e.g. somebody's words in (9)) an assertive function of the Imperative does not form part of the Modern Greek grammatical system.

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[31] Example from Ifantidou (2000)

(9) Άκου λόγια!

Akou loyia.

Listen.2SG.PRF. IMP. words

Listen to what s/he is saying!

(10) Κοίτα θράσος!

Kita thrasos.

Look.2SG.PRF.IMP audacity.

How dare s/he behave like that!!

In addition, we noted wishes and curses introduced with variations of the verb *πηγαίνω* ('piyeno', I go) in Imperative, as in (11).

(11) Πήγαινε στην ευχή του Θεού.

Piyene sthn efhi tou Theou.

Go-2SG.IMP to the wish of God.

Go to God's wish.

We are of the view that as an action is elicited from the Addressee here[32], as well, such utterances do not present a separate illocution.

6.2.5 Additional segmental marking

To mitigate the force of an Imperative utterance, the particle για might be used, as in example (12).

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[32] Examples like example (i) below might also be interpreted as a curse in Imperative, introduced by άντε ('ade', go/get), effectively an order, always in the second person. The provenance of 'ade' is questionable; although some treat is as a verb form, we accept its Turkish exclamative origine from 'haydi' and consider it an exclamative. However, there is no particular feature that differentiates such uses from directives.

> (i) Αντε χάσου.
> Ade hasou.
> EXCL loose_yourself-2SG.IMP.PASS
> Get lost.

(12) Για έλα εδώ , Δάφνη, να μας πεις τα νέα σου!

Yia ela edo, Dafni, na mas pis ta nea sou.

MIT come-2SG. PRF.IMP here, Daphne, to us tell the news your.

Come here, Daphne, to tell us your news.

6.3 The Prohibitive

6.3.1 Introduction

In this section we discuss prohibitive uses in Modern Greek. We explore the illocutions related to main clauses introduced by the prohibitive particle *μη(ν)* which mirrors, in a negative context, the functions of Imperative: through an Imperative the Speaker intends to elicit a positive action from their addressee; through a Prohibitive they are telling them in a very direct way what they cannot do. We discuss preventives, negative warnings and emphatic prohibitions.

6.3.2 Preliminary considerations

Imperatives and Hortatives are often considered under the wider umbrella of Optatives. From a Semantics point of view, Imperatives and Hortatives both relate to the speaker's expression of a wish about a future State of Affairs. If this State of Affairs does not depend on the Addressee alone, then we are dealing with a Hortative. If it does depend on the Addressee, then we are dealing with a Prohibitive (Auwera et al. 2005). In chapter 3 we suggested that Prohibitive in Modern Greek is a distinct grammatical mood, as the absence of the characteristic Subjunctive particle *να* cannot justify a Subjunctive for utterances introduced solely by *μη(ν)*. We believe that utterances introduced solely by *μη(ν)* (independent of the subjunctive marker *να*) indicate that *μη(ν)* and *να* are of the same status i.e. particles differentiating grammatical moods. This suggestion is also consistent with Auwera (2006)'s view that languages prefer distinct prohibitive markers.

The Modern Greek Prohibitive fills in the gap created by the lack of a Modern Greek negative Imperative- as it is often the case in languages that negative

imperatives function as expressions of prohibition. Auwera (2006) reminds us that negative Imperatives and prohibitions should not be seen as one and the same: the prohibitives' function suggests an imperative where something should not be the case, rather than the negation of an imperative itself, where the Addressee is asked to not intentionally perform a specific act.

In chapter 3 we established that, in our view, examples (13) and (14) below neither express a variation of the same form, nor of the same function: example (13) is clearly a Subjunctive (because of the presence of the particle *να*), which can be uttered in any person and which expresses a mitigated prohibition, while example (14) is an example of a us of the Prohibitive mood (of a negative warning), which can be uttered in the second person only. Moreover, we highlighted that suggestions of a surrogate negative imperative form, or of a negation borrowing, are against the spirit of the functional paradigm. Such suggestions are not justified by the real choice offered to the speaker to use a Subjunctive or a Prohibitive mood.

(13) Να μην πατάτε το πράσινο.
      Na min patate to prasino.
      SUBJ NEG walk-2PL.PR.IPF the green
      You may not walk on the grass.

(14) Μην πατάτε το πράσινο.
      Min patate to prasino.
      PRH walk-2PL.IPF the green
      Don't walk on the grass.

6.3.3 Prohibitive uses

Mirroring Imperative, verb forms in Prohibitive are only used in the Present tense, and in second person singular or plural. Prohibitives function as preventives and negative warnings. Preventives involve a verb in perfective verb

form, as in example (15). They are expressed using INT2, as the Praat illustration below suggests.

(15) Μην έρθεις αύριο.

Min erthis avrio.

PRH come-2SG.PRF tomorrow.

Don't come tomorrow.
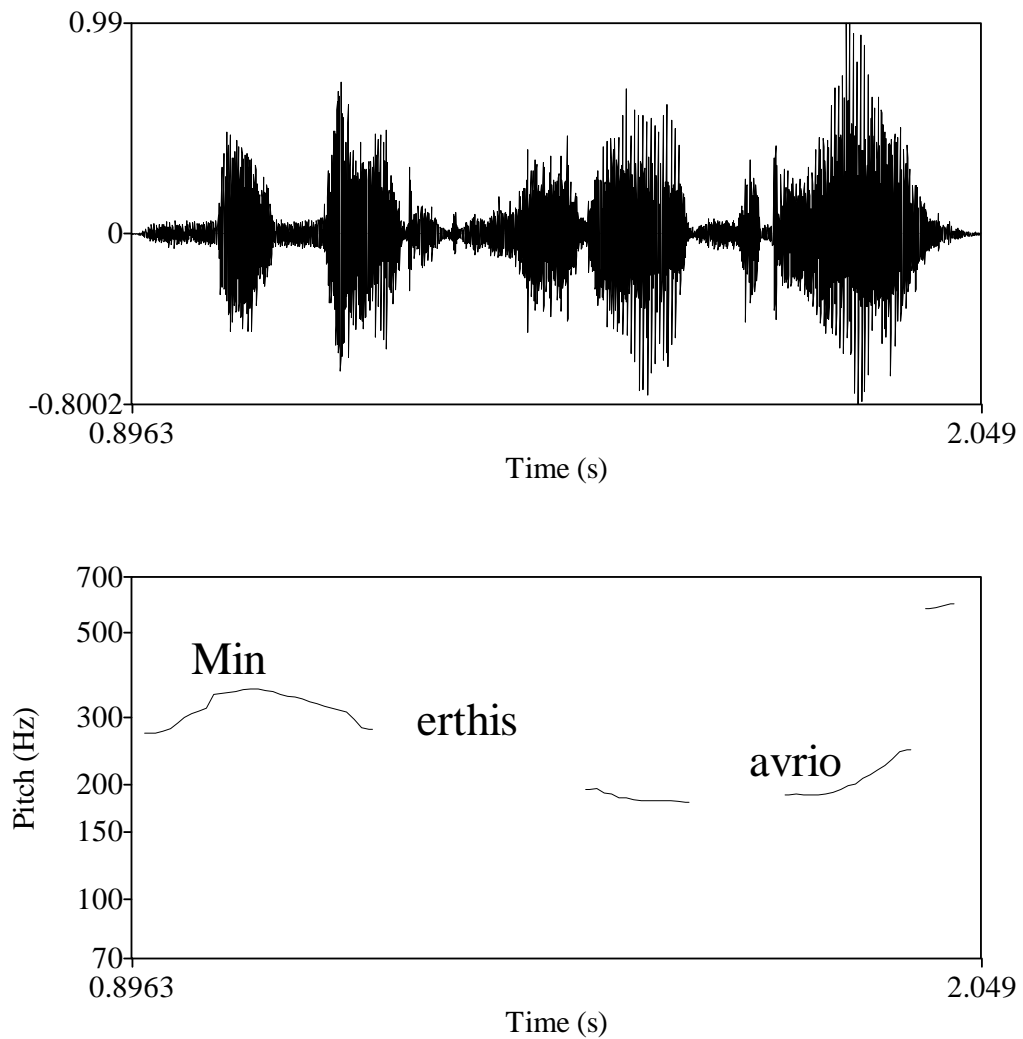
Figure 60: Praat illustration of a prohibition- the case of preventives (INT2).

Negative Warnings, as in example (16), involve prohibitives in imperfective. A positive warning would have been an imperative.

(16) Μην αναβαθμίζετε στην έκδοση 1.0.6.

Min anavathmizete stin ekdosi 1.0.6.

PRH upgrade-2PL.IPF to the version 1.0.6

Don't upgrade to version 1.0.6.
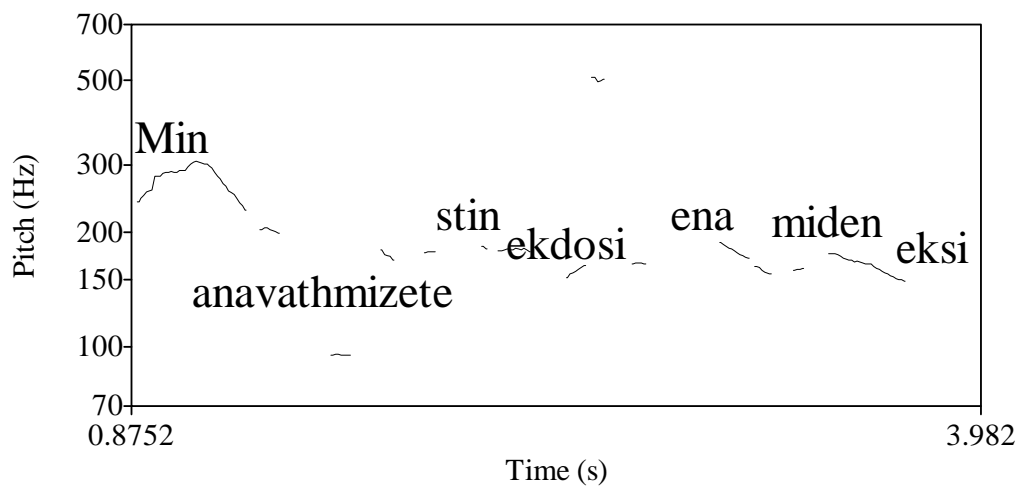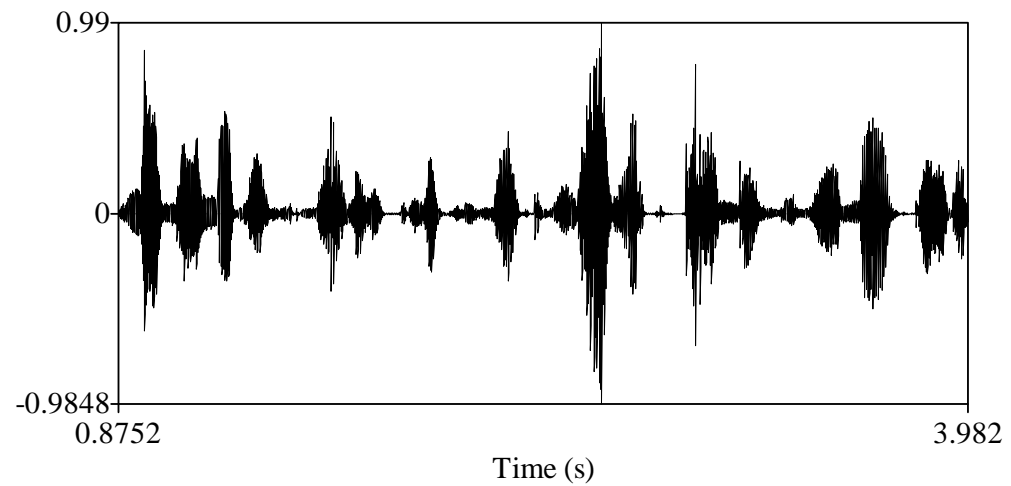
Figure 61: Praat illustration of a prohibition- warning (INT2).

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Emphatic prohibitions might be introduced by *ποτέ* ('pote', never), as in example (17).

(17) Ποτέ μη μιλάς σε αγνώστους.

Pote mi milas se aynostous.

Never PRH talk-2SG.IPF to unknown.

Never talk to strangers.
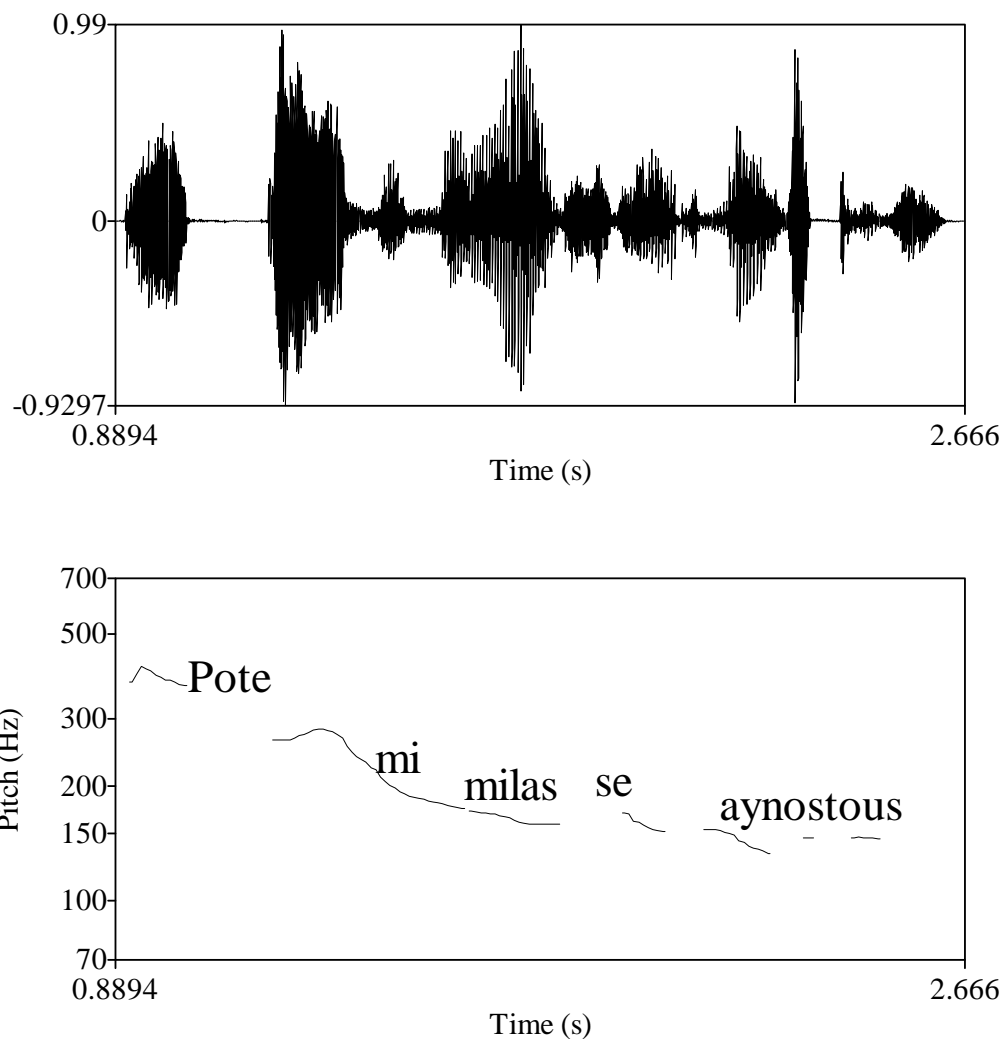
Figure 62: Praat illustration of an emphatic prohibition (INT2).

We also considered the possibility of a reminders category, but no formal characteristic (apart from the use of lexical means, such as 'don't forget') indicated that we could formally distinguish a separate function.

6.4 The Hortative

6.4.1 Introduction

In section 3.3.7.1 we discussed the Modern Greek Hortative mood, introduced by the particle *ας*, which can be associated with main clauses only; this demonstrates the strong link between the grammatical mood and the related illocution, as was also the case with Imperative and Prohibitive. Hannay and Hengeveld (2009) define the Hortative illocution as the function where the speaker encourages their addressee to jointly accomplish the action outlined in the utterance. In chapter 3 we made the case for a distinct Modern Greek Hortative Mood, as the way the particles *να* and *ας* participate in different constructions is quite distinct: unlike *ας*, *να* can introduce both main as well as a variety of complement clauses; as distinct moods, Subjunctive and Hortative are related to different kinds of illocutions. Below we present the propositional and behavioural hortative uses, namely wishes and expressions of exhortation.

6.4.2 Propositional uses of Hortative: wishes

Wishes introduced by *ας* involve realis and irrealis constructions; tense and aspect determine whether a wish is fulfillable or unfulfillable. Fulfillable wishes, as in examples (18), (19) and (20) are expressed in the present tense with a perfective aspect.

(18) Ας είναι η Παναγία εγγυήτρια καλύτερων ημερών.
      As ine i Panayia egiitria kaliteron imeron.
      HORT be-3SG.PR the Virgin Mary guarantor better-GEN days-GEN
      May the blessed Virgin Mary grant you better days.

(19) Ας μου εξηγήσει κάποιος τι συμβαίνει.
      As mou eksiyisi kapios ti simveni.
      HORT me explain-3SG.PR.PRF somebody what happen-3SG.PR.IPF
      May someone explain to me what is happening.

(20) Ας είσαι καλά όπου και νά'σαι.

As ise kala opou ke na'se.

HORT be-2SG.PR well wherever and be-2SG.PR

May you be well wherever you are.

Unfulfillable wishes introduced by *ας* involve verbs in past imperfective, as in (21). Their unfulfillability does not form part of the illocution.

(21) Ας ερχόταν μαζί μου στο πάρτι.

As erhotan mazi mou sto parti.

HORT come-3SG.PS.IPF with me to the party.

I wish he could have come with me to the party.

INT1/INT2 applies to all hortative uses introduced by *ας*. Negative wishes involve the use of negation *μη(ν)*, as in example (22). The use of *μη(ν)* should not encourage the view that *ας* is related to subjunctive forms, since the choice of negation is a matter related to the nature of modality, rather than the mood itself (as Tsangalidis 1999b for example points out).

(22) Ας μην ξημέρωνε αυτή η μέρα.

As min ksimerone afti i mera.

HORT NEG rise- 3SG.PS.IPF. - this the day.

I wish this day have n't come.

6.4.3 Behavioural uses of Hortative: Expressions of Exhortation

In example (23) the speaker invites the addressee to a joint action in order for the desired State of Affairs to be achieved. The fulfillability of this utterance depends both on the speaker's as well as on the addressee's reaction/behaviour. Exhortations reflect the prototypical expression of the Hortative illocution, and are the most typical uses of the Modern Greek Hortative mood. They involve the compulsory use of the hortative particle *ας*, and the optional use of the negation *μη(ν)*, in 1st person plural present perfective; imperfective is also acceptable.

(23) Ας γνωριστούμε λίγο καλύτερα.

As ynoristoume liyo kalitera.

HORT know-1PL.PR.PRF.PASS. a little better.

Let's get to know each other a little more.

Negative uses are illustrated through examples (24) and (25), where the Speaker encourages the addressee to together not do something. We do not treat such uses as separate illocutions.

(24) Ας μη φάμε άλλο.

As mi fame allo.

HORT NEG eat-1PL.PR. PRF. anymore.

Let's not eat any more

(25) Ας μην πάμε στο πάρτι.

As min pame sto parti.

HORT NEG go- 1PL.PR.PRF. to the party.

Let's not go to the party.

Intonation patterns INT1 and INT2 apply to Hortative uses, including expressions of exhortation, as we can see below.

(26) Aς κερδίσουμε.

As kerdisoume.

HORT win-PL1.PR.PRF.

Let's win this.
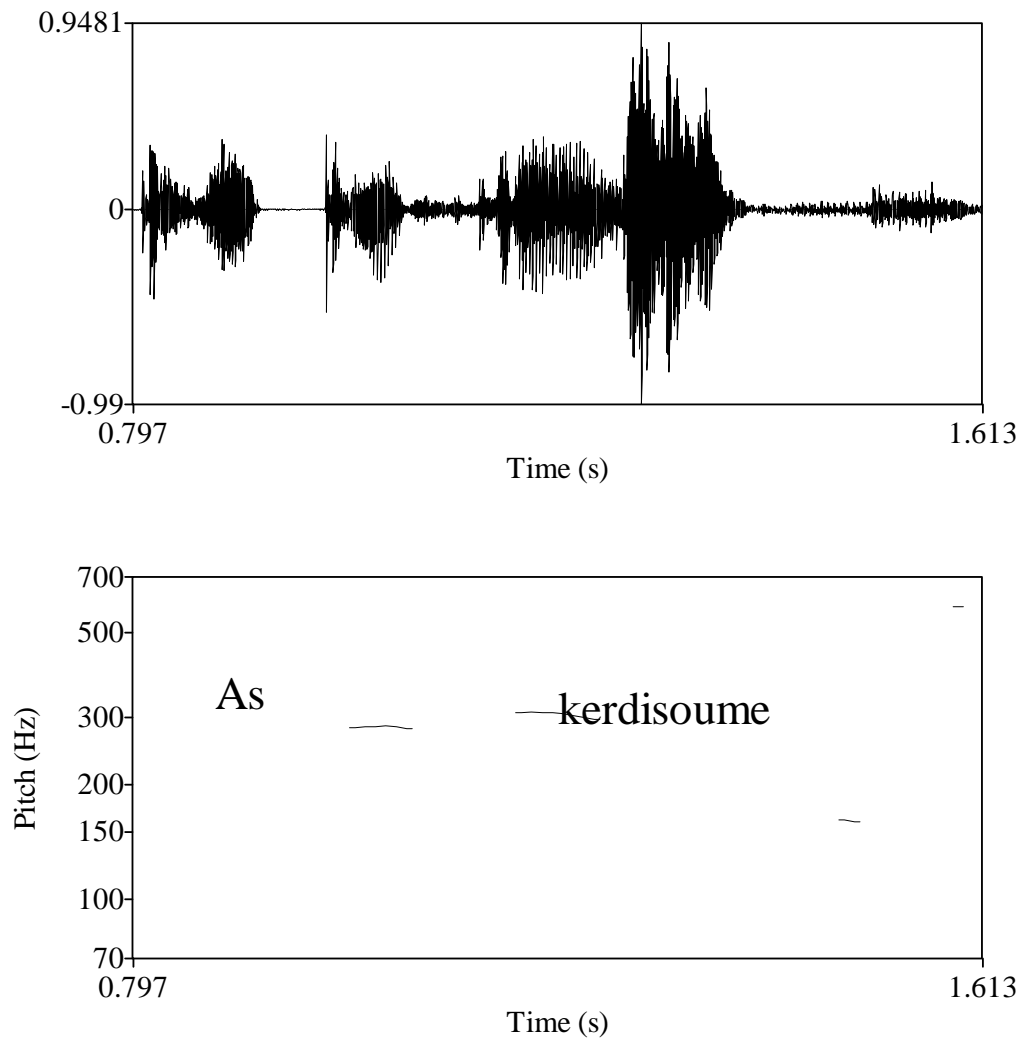
Figure 63: Praat illustration of a Hortative use (exhortation) in INT1.

In this version of the Praat illustration a removal of octave difference by half an octave has been applied, in order to examine whether the small rise at the end was an integral part of the pattern.
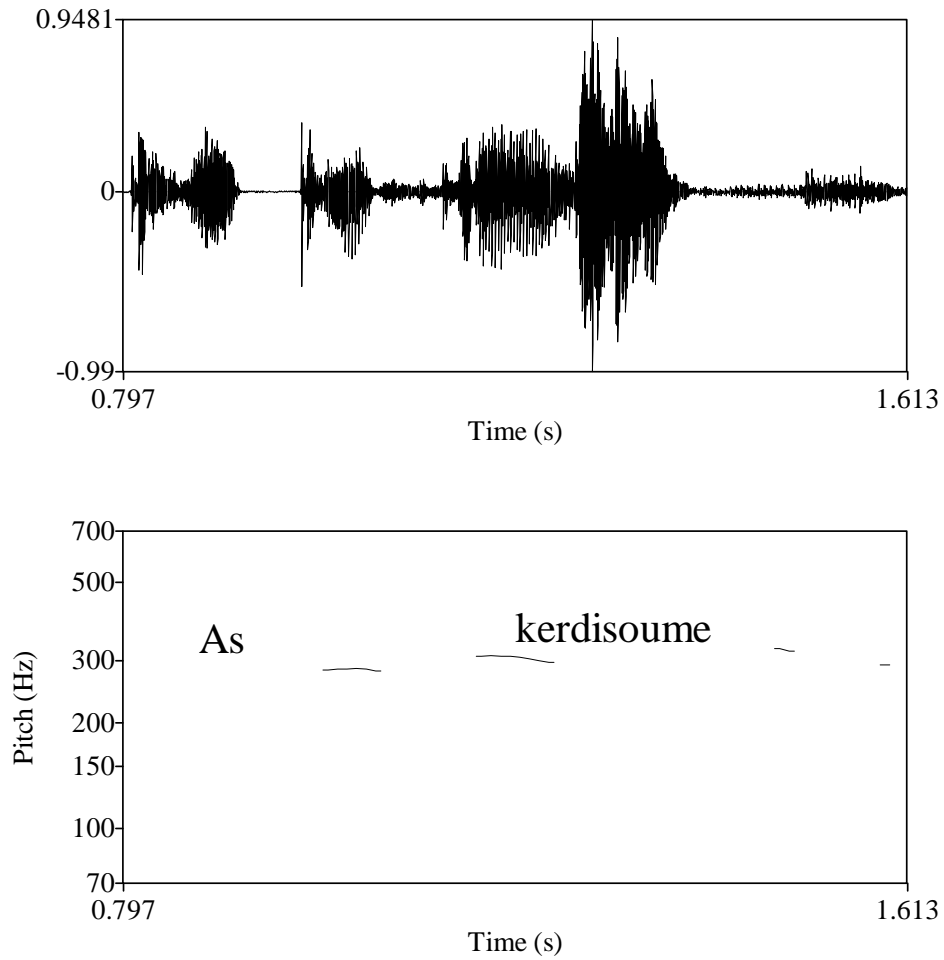
Figure 64: Praat illustration of a Hortative (exhortation) with octave jumps removed.

Below we see an example of an exhortation followed by a concessive complement clause, which allows us to examine the INT1 pattern (hortative matrix) in a more complex setting.

(27) Ας κερδίσουμε κι ας σκοράρει ο Galeti.

As kerdisoume ki as skorari o Galeti.

HORT score-1PL.PR.PRF CONC score-3SG.PR the Galeti.

I wish we can still win this, even if Galeti scores.
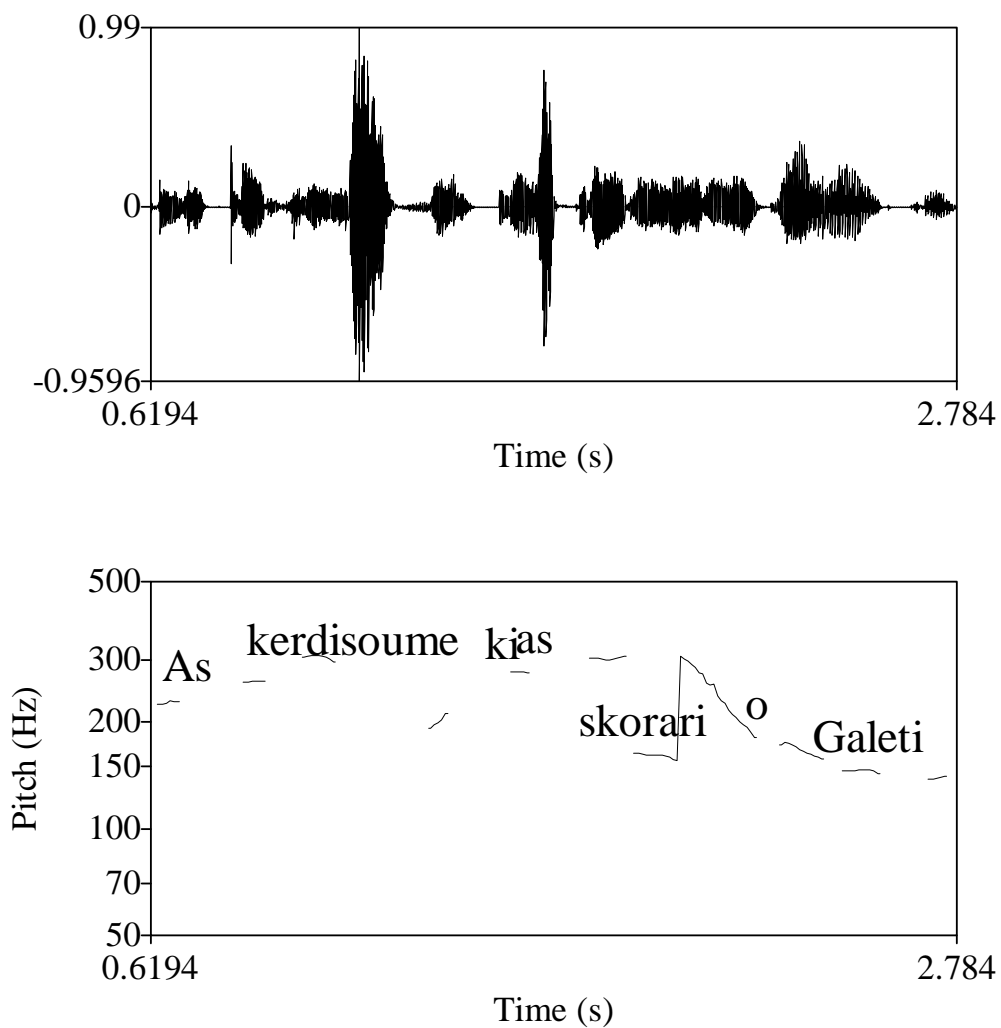
Figure 65: Praat illustration of an exhortation followed by a concessive (INT1).

Unfulfillable exhortations (like unfullfilable wishes) are expressed with a past tense and imperfective aspect, as in example (28).

(28) Ας κερδίζαμε κι ας σκόραρε ο Galeti.
      As kerdizame ki as skorare o Galeti.
      HORT score-1PL.PS.IPF CONC score-3SG.PS Galeti.
      I wish we had won, even with Galeti;s scoring.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter we discussed Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative uses in Modern Greek. The common characteristic among these three grammatical moods is their strong relationship with their relevant illocutions. With the exception of hortative wishes, all other functions expressed through these moods are behavioural.

We showed that the Imperative grammatical mood and the imperative sentence type have a one-to-one relationship, where through a directive a speaker elicits some action from the addressee. Directives are expressed in the second person singular and plural, using intonation INT1/INT2. Such utterances might be mitigated through the segmental marker *για*.

Moreover, having established that *μη(ν)* is a distinct prohibitive marker, we discussed the Prohibitive mood and its uses. Prohibitions have being identified expressing the secondary illocutions of preventives and negative warnings, based on aspectual differentiations. They are expressed in the second person singular and plural, expressed in intonation pattern INT2. Prohibitions might be emphasized through the use of *ποτέ*.

Furthermore, we discussed the Hortative mood, introduced by the distinct Hortative particle *ας*. We showed that Hortative is used to express wishes and exhortations, the latter being the most typical expression of the Hortative illocution. Aspectual and tense differences determine whether wishes are fulfillable or unfulfillable; their fulfillability, however, does not form part of the

illocution. Exhortations involve first person plural uses. INT1/INT2 applies to all Hortative uses.

Table 11 below summarises Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative functions, while table 12 shows the prosodic contour Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative uses are expressed in.

Table 11: Summary of Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative functions

Mood	Segmental Marker	INT Pattern	Value	Separate Illocution
IMP	-	INT1	Directive (order)	Yes
IMP	Yia	INT1	Mitigated directive	No
PROH	Mi(n)	INT2	Preventives	Yes
PROH	Mi(n)	INT2	Negative warnings	Yes
PROH	Pote	INT2	Emphatic prohibition	No
HORT	As	INT1/INT2	Wish	Yes
HORT	As mi(n)	INT2	Negative Hortative	No
HORT	As	INT1	Exhortation	Yes

Table 12: Summary of Intonation Patterns used in Imperative, Prohibitive, and Hortative.

Intonation pattern	Intonation Pattern Description	Illocution markers	Value
INT1	Broad focus; high level of the accented syllable	+ Imperative	Directives
		+ Hortative +1st sing, 2$^{nd/}$3rd sing or plural	Wishes
		+ Hortative + 1st person plural	Exhortations
INT2	Narrow focus; plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear followed by a fall from the post-nuclear syllable onwards	+ Prohibitive +perfective aspect	Prohibitives-Preventives
		+ Prohibitive + imperfective aspect	Prohibitives-Negative warnings
INT3	Starts high, with the first accented syllable and it starts dropping immediately after, with a potential slight rise at the end.	-	-
INT4	Peak is on the last stressed syllable of the final word. Following a gradual fall, a low plateau followed by a rise. Rise-fall boundary.	-	-
INT5	Small fall, followed by a rise (and possibly high plateau), followed by a fall (and a potential small rise at the end). Low-high boundary.	-	-

7. From function to form: Basic Illocutions in Modern Greek

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter we are presenting the basic illocutions which form part of the Modern Greek grammatical system. We present the data from chapters 4, 5, and 6 from the opposite perspective, putting functions (rather than form) in the spot light, which allows us to summarise the different options a Speaker has in order to best achieve their intention. We share a similar perspective with Steuten 2000, who undertook a linguistic analysis of business conversations. We share her fundamental view that a conversation consists of a series of communicative acts (Habermas 1981), expressed through basic illocutions, and connected with each other, 'with the purpose of defining a goal and reaching that goal'. We are interested in the basic illocutions, which are already part of the system (grammar) that a Speaker (and their Addressee) have at their disposal, which will allow them to reach their goal.

We show below how illocutions can be described in terms of grammatical encoding, i.e. in terms of morphosyntax and phonology. This discussion should be considered within the context of the relationship between the FDG[33] (non-grammatical) conceptual component and the processes of formulation and encoding. The formulation converts a communicative intention (and its corresponding mental representation) from a pre-linguistic conceptual level into a pragmatic (interpersonal) and/or a semantic (representational) interpretation (i.e. at the interpersonal level, the communicative intention is converted to an illocution).The conceptual component, in other words, prompts the grammar to operate through the process of formulation, to convert intentions into interpersonal (pragmatic) and/or representational (semantic) interpretations. The outcome of this operation is encoded at the morphosyntactic and phonological level. The interpersonal choices as well as the morphosyntactic and phonological configurations will determine the phonetic properties of the utterance (Anstey 2002). Information moves to lower levels in a dynamic depth-first manner (i.e.

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[33] See also Figure 1, section 2.3.3, p.15.

from the interpersonal level down through to phonological level), while the Maximal Depth principle also applies (i.e. only levels which are relevant to aspects of an utterance will participate in encoding) (Garcia Velasco, Hengeveld and Mackenzie fc). To adapt an example by Garcia Velasco, Hengeveld and Mackenzie (fc) for MG, starting from the conception of a communicative intention, when an intention is conceived at the conceptual level, it triggers an IMP illocution (an order) in the formulation process. As soon as the imperative illocution is selected for the Discourse Act (at the Interpersonal level) and relevant operations apply at the Representational level, the Imperative mood will be assigned at the Morphosyntactic level, with its mood-specific clitic placement, inflection and person restrictions. At the phonological level, INT1 will apply. This process demonstrates that the selection of a particular illocution triggers a series of particular specifications at lower levels. Our description of each basic illocution below allows us to depict their particular morphosyntactic and phonological characteristics.

7.2. Basic illocutions of Modern Greek

Each illocutionary function included below is described in terms of:

- the grammatical mood used; in propositional uses, we encounter the Indicative, optionally introduced by the future marker *θα*; the Subjunctive, introduced by the subjunctive particle *να*; and the Hortative, introduced by the hortative particle *as*; in behavioural uses we encounter the Indicative, the Subjunctive, the Imperative, marked by inflection (and clitic placement), the Hortative, and the Prohibitive mood, introduced by the prohibitive particle *μη(ν)* (when *μη(ν)* is not preceded by the subjunctive *να).*

- the prosodic contour it is expressed with; the five intonation patterns, as described in chapter 3, are used as part of each illocution's characteristics.

- The associated negation, i.e. *δε(ν)* for Indicative and *μη(ν)* for Subjunctive and Hortative.

- potential segmental markers which provide cues on how a certain utterance is to be interpreted such as *ίσως* for uncertainty and *άραγε* for wondering.

- grammatical tense restrictions, for example the choice of tense in wishes, which characterises the fufillability of a wish.

- aspectual restrictions (where appropriate); for example, the sole possibility of imperfective aspect with past in wishes.

- the potential answer provided by an addressee to a question, or a question-like utterance; for example, appropriate answers to questions include 'yes', 'no', 'maybe' or 'possibly' MG equivalents, but they exclude answers such as 'OK', i.e. consent equivalents which correspond to utterances intended to change the addressee's behaviour.

In addition, where appropriate, we refer to number and person restrictions and to frequent lexical additions. All basic illocutions are associated with their relevant intonation patterns, as distinguished in chapter 3. The features of each basic illocution are illustrated in a summary table in each subsection below.

7.3 Propositional uses in Modern Greek

7.3.1. Introduction

Following the Hengeveld et al (2007) approach, as described in chapter 2, we are first presenting propositional illocutions in Modern Greek, consisting of assertive uses, mirative uses, wishes and curses, expressions of wondering, and uncertainty. The verb forms used for propositional uses include the Indicative (optionally introduced, when a future reference applies, by the particle *θα*), Subjunctive (introduced by the particle *να*), and Hortative (introduced by the particle *ας*) moods.

7.3.2 Assertions

Assertions are signaled by the use of Indicative mood. Although, in our discussion on indicative in chapter 4, we demonstrated that there is no one-to-one

relationship between the Indicative mood and the Declarative sentence type, since Indicative presents a rich variety of uses, we can now maintain that the reverse presents an one-to-one relationship: the Declarative sentence type can only be expressed in Indicative[34]. Intonation Patterns INT1 and INT2 apply (depending on the broadness or narrowness of focus).

Type	Propositional
Function	Assertion
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(v)*)
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	Any
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT1/INT2
Addressee's response	N/A

The features that characterize an assertion are the Indicative verb mood, combined with the intonation pattern INT1/INT2. No other basic illocution exhibits these characteristics. The optional particle *θα* might be used. Aspectual differences do not form part of the grammar system as far as present is concerned; although they do apply to the past and future, different types of aspect (as well as, for that matter, number and person) do not affect this particular basic illocution. Lexical elements added, providing further information for example about the time, the location or manner do not affect the basic illocution. The Negative assertions are differentiated by the use of *δε(v)*, the typical Indicative negation. Otherwise, their properties are identical to assertions, as described above.

Emphatic assertions are a **variant** of assertive uses. They are differentiated by the narrow intonation on a particular structural element (the predicate, the agent, the temporal indicator etc) and they often include frequent lexical additions such

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[34] Dubitative assertions are expressed in Subjunctive. We consider them as part of Uncertainty uses. See also section 5.2.3.

as *οπωσδήποτε* ('oposdipote', definitely), either at the initial or at the final slot of the utterance. INT2 applies here.

7.3.3 Assertions in disguise-rhetorical questions

Assertions in disguise seemingly give the impression of questions, because of their intonation pattern INT3 (when content interrogative like) or INT4 (when polar interrogative like). However, as discussed in chapter 4, a Speaker might choose to present an assertion in the form of a disguised question, for discourse effect reasons.

Type	Propositional
Function	Assertion in disguise
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*)
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	Any
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT3/ INT4
Addressee's response	[absence of response]

The Speaker knows very well the potential 'response', i.e. whether the propositional content is true or false, and they do not need nor expect the Addressee to confirm or deny it; all they want is for the Addressee to implicitly admit that they know the answer as well as that they know the Speaker knows 'the answer'. Such utterances are expressed in the Indicative, with an optional θα marker and an optional negation δε(ν), where appropriate. Any tense can be used; aspect differences might apply in the Past or Future without affecting the nature of the basic illocution; 1st or 3rd person are most common while no frequent lexical additions need to be identified.

7.3.4 Assertions in disguise-contrastive statements

The unique character of this basic illocution is based on the use of the 1st person as well as the fact that a tag question is used as a compulsory element of the utterance's structure; alternatively this illocution is marked by the compulsory use of the segmental marker *μήπως* ('mipos', perhaps), usually followed by the Indicative negation *δε(ν)*.

Type	Propositional
Function	Assertions in disguise- contrastive statements
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*)
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	1st
Number	Singular or Plural
Segmental Marker	Tag or μήπως (usually followed by negation)
Intonation Pattern	INT2 + INT4 with tag INT4 with μήπως
Addressee's response	None required or expected

Such utterances reflect the Speaker's reaction to something the addressee has said or done. Despite the question-like intonation of the tag, or the polar interrogative-like intonation of the μήπως utterance, the Speaker again does not need a positive or negative response from the Addressee. We are also dealing, therefore, with assertions disguised as questions. When introduced by μήπως, the verb is commonly used in the past (present is not that common but not unacceptable).

7.3.5 Request for Confirmation (use of tags)

Requests for confirmation also involve the compulsory use of a tag; through such utterances the Speaker seeks to confirm the truth of the State of Affairs described. Requests for confirmation are expressed in indicative, with the

optional use of particle *θα* and negation *δε(ν)*, usually in the 2nd person (3rd person uses are also possible), using INT2 for the assertion and INT4 for the tag.

Type	Propositional
Function	Request for Confirmation
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*, use of tag question)
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	Usually 2nd, 3rd possible
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT2 + INT4
Addressee's response	Yes , No, Maybe or similar

7.3.6 Mirative uses

Mirative uses are a very interesting category of basic illocution, in that the Speaker expresses a qualitative view on a State of Affairs, and the positivity or negativity of their stance is formally expressed through the use of a particular grammatical element (verb mood). Mirative uses of approval are expressed in Indicative, whilst those of disapproval are expressed in Subjunctive.

Type	Propositional
Function	Mirative uses
Grammatical Mood	-Indicative (approval, optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*) -Subjunctive (disapproval, particle *να*, optional negation *μη(ν)*)
Tense	Present (also Past is possible but unusual; Future is common in the Indicative)
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective

Person	2nd /3rd (1st possible)
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT3
Addressee's response	N/A

7.3.6.1 Mirative uses of approval

Mirative uses of approval are expressed in indicative, with the optional use of an exclamative, combined with intonation pattern 3. Optionally the particle *θα* might be used to place the utterance in time (future). An optional (rare) negation *δε(ν)* might apply when the Speaker expresses irony or sarcasm (as in 'what a lovely X my love will not get!'). Other characteristics (such as aspect, number and person) do not affect its nature.

7.3.6.2 Mirative uses of disapproval

Disapproval is expressed in Subjunctive, and preceded by the typical subjunctive particle *να*. All its other characteristics are similar to the ones of mirative expressions of approval , including the application of intonation pattern 3 which characterises this illocution.

7.3.7 Wishes

Wishes in Modern Greek are expressed either in Subjunctive or in Hortative. A Subjunctive use is introduced by the particle *να*, while a Hortative one by the particle *ας*. In Subjunctive wishes are potentially preceded by the segmental marker *μακάρι*; the negation *μη(ν)* might optionally apply to either uses. Any person and number might be used, while aspectual and tense (Present or Past) differences affect a wish's fulfillability or unfulfillability. Intonation pattern INT1 and INT2 apply.

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

Fulfillable wishes are characterized by a present tense use (although the use of Present might have a placement in the future connotation) and most commonly a perfective aspect, using Subjunctive, or *μακάρι* followed by subjunctive or Hortative. Note that μακάρι cannot be followed by hortative. Wishes can be expressed in the first, second and third person. Wishes represent formulaic utterances, uttered in specific occasions (for example, here, for a child's christening, wedding or birthday). Note that first person plural Hortatives present a separate illocution as expressions of exhortation (see also 7.4.7).

Unfulfillable wishes are characterized by imperfective aspect, and use of past tense, also in Subjunctive, μακάρι followed by Subjunctive or Hortative. The Speaker is aware that the desired State of Affairs cannot be realised in the present.

7.3.8 Curses

Curses are expressed in the Subjunctive. They are introduced by the Subjunctive particle *να*; the optional Subjunctive negation *μη(ν)* might be used, while a Speaker might opt to use the segmental marker *που* at the beginning of a curse. Present tense with Perfect Aspect characterise their most common uses, as well as 2nd or 3rd person. In the 1st person, they are similar to an oath. They are expressed using a dedicated intonation pattern, INT5.

Type	Propositional
Function	Curses (Negative Wishes)
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive(particle *να*,optional negation *μη(v)*, optional segmental marker *που*).
Tense	Present (fulfillable)
Aspect	Perfective (imperfective not excluded, but uncommon)
Person	2nd /3rd (1st not excluded)
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT5
Addressee's response	N/A

When used in the 1st person, a complement sentence might be provided as a means of context.

7.3.9 Wondering

Wondering in Modern Greek is expressed in the Indicative or in the Subjunctive. In the Indicative the use of the wondering particle *άραγε* is compulsory. The wondering particle's placement in the clause is not fixed, i.e. it might precede or it might follow the verb.

Wondering in Subjunctive can be expressed without the use of a specific segmental marker (other than the subjunctive marker *να*); or by the combination

of *άραγε* + *να* (which strengthens the wondering illocution). Here again *άραγε* might precede the subjunctive marker, or it might follow the verb.

Type	Propositional
Function	Wondering
Grammatical Mood	-Indicative (segmental marker *άραγε*, optional negation *δε(v),* optional particle *θα*) -Subjunctive (particle *να*, or combination of *άραγε* and *να*, optional negation *μη(v), question word with INT3*)
Tense	Present/Past (also Future in Indicative)
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	3rd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4 (also INT3 in Subjunctive)
Addressee's response	N/A

When wondering is expressed in Indicative, the particle *θα* might be optionally used, as well as the indicative negation *δε(v).* When in Subjunctive, the subjunctive negation *μη(v)* might be used. 3rd person utterances are more common, whilst 1st person (deliberative) wonderings are not unusual. Aspect, tense, and number do not affect the illocution; intonation INT4 applies to Indicative and Subjunctive, while INT 3 applies to Subjunctive utterances introduced by a question word. Wondering is usually self-directed; a speaker, though, might express a wondering in the hope that others might respond.

7.3.10 Expressions of Uncertainty

Uncertainty is a built-in characteristic of Subjunctive, in Modern Greek as well as in many other languages. In many ways, wondering in Subjunctive as described in the section above expresses the Speaker's uncertainty about the validity of the described State of Affairs; such an uncertainty forms the impetus behind the Speaker's wondering. In addition to pragmatically relatively

ambiguous uses (i.e. implying wondering as well as uncertainty), uncertainty is expressed in Modern Greek through the use of particle ίσως ('isos', perhaps), which might be followed by Indicative or by Subjunctive (the latter use expresses reinforced uncertainty). Ίσως is most likely to be placed ahead of the indicative verb, although it is not uncommon for it to follow the verb. Its position in a Subjunctive utterance is fixed, always preceding the subjunctive marker.

Type	Propositional
Function	Expression of uncertainty
Grammatical Mood	-Indicative (uncertainty particle *ίσως*, optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*, usually precedes the verb but position after the verb acceptable) -Subjunctive (particle *να*, uncertainty particle *ίσως*, optional negation *μη(ν)*)
Tense	Present/Past (Future in indicative acceptable by some speakers)
Aspect	Perfective/ Imperfective
Person	Any
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT1 (Subjunctive) INT2 (Indicative)
Addressee's response	N/A

The uncertainty particle acts as a focal point in an utterance in Indicative, irrespective of its position, expressed through intonation INT2, in order to draw the Addressee's attention. In Subjunctive, its fixed initial position and the subjunctive particle allow for a broad focus and an INT1 prosodic contour.

No other feature differentiates this illocution; 3rd person is more common but not exclusive; present or past tense might be used.

7.3.11 Interrogative uses: Polar Interrogatives

Questions in Modern Greek are expressed in Indicative. Polar interrogatives are differentiated by assertions because of the combination of the Indicative mood with intonation pattern INT4 and the expectation that the addressee will confirm or reject the validity of the proposition through a positive or a negative response. A response denoting consent to a polar interrogative would be inappropriate.

Type	Propositional
Function	Polar Interrogatives
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (optional particle $\theta\alpha$, optional negation $\delta\varepsilon(v)$)
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	Any
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4
Addressee's response	Yes, No or equivalent

7.3.12 Interrogative uses: Content Interrogatives

In content interrogatives a question word is involved (such as who, when, where among others) to identify the particular information the speaker is seeking. The question word might be introducing the content interrogative, or might be placed in different positions in the utterance depending on focality, which affects their intonation pattern; more than one element of the utterance can be questioned. INT3 applies to content interrogatives. The Speaker's expectation is that the Addressee will provide information on the slot denoted by the question word.

Type	Propositional
Function	Content Interrogatives
Grammatical Mood	Indicative
	(optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*)
	Question word(s)
Tense	Present/Past/Future
Aspect	Perfective and Imperfective
Person	Any
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT3
Addressee's response	Information relevant to question word

7.4 Behavioural uses in Modern Greek

7.4.1 Introduction

Behavioural uses, according to Hengeveld et al. 2007, involve speech acts that intend to influence or affect the behaviour of the Addressee and/or others. Behavioural (positive and negative) uses include imperative subtypes (orders), hortative subtypes (exhortations), admonitive subtypes (warnings) and supplicative subtypes (requests for permission). We present below a series of Modern Greek behavioural uses, namely orders; proffer; prohibitives, including preventives, negative warnings and emphatic prohibitions; mitigated uses including mitigated directives, mitigated directives of encouragement, exhortations and supplicatives (requests for permission). Potentially all behavioural subtypes might elicit a reaction of consent by the addressee.

7.4.2 Imperative sentence type (directives/orders)

Directives (orders) are the behavioural category par excellence: the speaker is eliciting an action from the addressee; in other words, they are asking the addressee to change their behaviour by doing something for the speaker's (or possibly the addressee's or a third party's) benefit. The addressee is not given a choice to accept or reject the order. Here we also encounter a one-to-one

relationship between an illocution and a grammatical mood: when the speaker makes no attempt to mitigate the impact of an order, then it is uttered in Imperative. Imperative uses imply a second person singular or plural, with a perfective or imperfective aspect.

Type	Behavioural
Function	Orders
Grammatical Mood	Imperative (optional mitigator για)
Tense	Present
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	2nd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT1
Addressee's response	N/A

Directives are expressed in INT1. They might be mitigated through the use of the segmental marker για.

7.4.3. Proffer

In sections 4.2.5 and 4.5.2 we discussed *μήπως* 'mipos' as a discourse marker, as well as an illocutionary marker, and discussed its function as a proffer i.e. a behavioural illocution marker, mitigating the illocutionary strength of an utterance in an attempt to change the addressee's behaviour. In such cases, the verb is in the 2nd person singular or plural, in Present and Past forms. The future marker θα is usually accompanied by past forms (irrealis). The use of intonation INT4 allows the addressee to save face and invites them to utter their consent, through a response such as *εντάξει* ('entaksi', OK).

Type	Behavioural
Function	Proffer
Grammatical Mood	Indicative (segmental marker *μήπως*, optional particle *θα*, optional negation *δε(ν)*)
Tense	Present/Past (including *θα* + past forms)
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	2nd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4
Addressee's response	Consent

7.4.4 Prohibitive uses: Preventives and Warnings

In section 6.3 we focused on Modern Greek prohibitive uses. In section 3.2.6 we demonstrated that the particle *μη(ν)* ('mi(n)'), when not preceded by the subjunctive particle *να* (or the hortative particle *ας)* is of the same status as *να* (and *ας)* and acts as the Modern Greek Prohibitive marker.

Aspectual differences allow for differentiating prohibitives into preventives (through the use of perfective aspect), and into negative warnings (through imperfective aspect). A positive warning would have been in Imperative.

Type	Behavioural
Function	Prohibitions
Grammatical Mood	Prohibitive (independent use of particle *μη(ν)*, use of *ποτέ* in emphatic prohibitions)
Tense	Present
Aspect	Perfective (preventives) Imperfective (negative warnings)

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Person	2nd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT2
Addressee's response	N/A

Prohibitives are expressed using intonation pattern INT2. A variant of Prohibitive uses are Emphatic prohibitions, characterised by the use of the lexical addition of *ποτέ* ('pote', never), which usually precedes the verb. INT2 applies to all prohibitive uses.

7.4.5 Mitigated Behavioural Functions

It can be said that the Subjunctive particle has an inherent mitigating property. As we can see below, a speaker opts to use the Subjunctive mood in order to express a series of illocutions which will allow the addressee a sense of 'saving face', as is the case with mitigated directives and mitigated prohibitions. In some cases, subjunctive uses are coupled with a seemingly question-like intonation, as is the case with mitigated directives/encouragement, mitigated directives in indicative, and supplicatives, to further allow the addressee the impression of a choice. A characteristic of these functions is the potential reply of consent the addressee might offer - a response which is not acceptable for an interrogative.

7.4.5.1 Mitigated Directives

Mitigated Directives are expressed in Subjunctive, in the 2nd person singular or plural, in the present tense. INT1 and INT2 apply. When INT2 is used, emphasis is placed on a particular lexical element of the utterance. Mitigated Directives do not allow the use of negation.

Type	Behavioural
Function	Mitigated Directives
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive (particle *να, excludes negative uses*)
Tense	Present
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	2nd or 3rd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT2
Addressee's response	N/A

7.4.5.2 Mitigated directives/encouragement

A speaker might opt to utter a directive using INT4, seemingly giving the impression to the addressee that they have a choice whether to comply with the request or not. The speaker here attempts to encourage the addressee and convince them that the suggested action will be to their benefit. The potential use of 1st person plural, instead of 2nd (as expected) makes the addressee feel that the speaker is a 'partner-in-crime', therefore the suggested activity to be undertaken can be seen in a more positive light. However, the 1st person plural use has a primary supplicative illocution, based on its characteristics.

Type	Behavioural
Function	Mitigated Directives-Encouragement
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive (particle *να*, optional negation *μη(ν)*)
Tense	Present
Aspect	Perfective
Person	2nd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4
Addressee's response	Consent

7.4.5.4 Mitigated Prohibitions

Mitigated prohibitives are expressed in Subjunctive, introduced by the subjunctive particle *να* followed by the negation *μη(v)*. Present tense, 2nd person and INT2 prosodic contour mark this illocution. Emphasis might be given through the use of the emphatic marker πoτέ ('pote', never), which might precede or follow the verb.

Type	Behavioural
Function	Mitigated Prohibitions
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive (particle *να*, compulsory negation *μη(v)*, optional use of *πoτέ*, preceding or following the verb, in emphatic mitigated prohibitions)
Tense	Present
Aspect	Imperfective (perfective possible)
Person	2nd or 3rd
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT2

Imperfective aspect is more common, while INT2 applies.

7.4.6 Supplicatives: requests for permission

Requests for permission are expressed in Subjunctive, in the 1st person singular or plural, in present or past, using INT4, occasionally mitigated through the use of *ίσως* (isos), placed at the end of the utterance. Note that these utterances are not interrogatives, despite their seemingly question like nature: the speaker does not seek to confirm the truth value of a state of affairs, they seek the addressee's approval (permission) for an act they are about to perform. Hence the function of a request seems reversed in this category. In some occasions the speaker might proceed to perform the act (e.g. to ask a question) without waiting for the addressee's consent.

Type	Behavioural
Function	Supplicative-Request for Permission
Grammatical Mood	Subjunctive (particle *να*, optional negation *μη(ν)*, optional mitigator *ίσως*)
Tense	Present/Past
Aspect	Perfective in Present Imperfective in the Past
Person	1st
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4
Addressee's response	Consent

7.4.7 Expressions of Exhortation

Exhortations involve the expression of an utterance, the fulfillability of which depends on the addressee's and the speaker's joint reaction/behaviour. Exhortations are expressed in Hortative, with the compulsory use of the hortative particle *ας*, and the optional use of the negation *μη(ν)* in 1st person plural present perfective (with imperfective possible); unusually, they can also be expressed in Present Indicative, with the optional negation *δε(ν)*. In indicative, the past might also be used in Perfective aspect only. When in Indicative, a response expressing consent (or lack of) is expected from the addressee. Intonation INT1/INT2 is used in Hortative and INT4 in Indicative.

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Type	Behavioural
Function	Exhortation
Grammatical Mood	-Indicative (optional negation *δε(v) in Present only*) -Hortative (particle *ας, optional negation μη(v))*
Tense	Present (also Past in Indicative)
Aspect	Perfective (Imperfective possible) (Perfective only in Indicative Past)
Person	1st
Number	Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT1 (Hortative) INT4 (Indicative)
Addressee's Response	Consent (Indicative)

7.5 Summary

We described above an original classification of the basic illocutions of Modern Greek, based on the functions' formal characteristics, which form part of the grammatical system. Following Hengeveld et al. 2007 approach, we distinguished a series of propositional and behavioural functions, and placed the focus on function, rather than form. This chapter provided a summary of our findings, offering an overview of the Basic Illocutions of Modern Greek.

Table 13 below presents the overall classification of Modern Greek illocutions, associated to each particular verb mood. It summarises the formal differences that apply across uses and demonstrates that separate illocutions have been identified based on formal criteria. The verb mood, the prosodic contour, as well as the aspect, the tense, the person, the number and distinct segmental markers, have allowed us to identify the uses below. Table 14 presents an overview of the propositional and behavioural uses in a more detailed form.

Table 13 demonstrates how each illocution differs in encoding. Below we highlight each illocution's characteristics.

All indicative uses are marked by the optional particle θα and the optional negation δε(ν). Assertions are distinguished by the use of the Indicative and the use of intonation patterns INT1/INT2 (based on whether a broad or narrow focus applies). Mirative uses of approval are distinguished by the use of the Indicative, the use of intonation pattern INT3, and the lack of a question word related response from the addressee (when compared with the content interrogatives, also uttered in INT3). Content interrogatives are distinguished by the use of Indicative mood, a question word (such as who, what, when where, how), the use of intonation pattern INT3 and the expectation that the addressee's response will provide information on the questioned element of the utterance. Polar interrogatives are distinguished by the use of Indicative mood, the intonation pattern INT4, and the expectation that a positive or negative response (or a response expressing a degree of certainty or uncertainty) will be provided by the addressee. Mitigated questions/proffer are expressed in Indicative, introduced by the segmental marker *μήπως,* expressed in INT4, in the 2nd person. Wondering uses are distinguished by the use of Indicative, the segmental marker *άραγε,* and the most common use of 3rd person (also the use of 1st person in deliberative questions). Assertions in disguise- contrastive statements are expressed in Indicative; they include either a compulsory tag (when their intonation involves intonation patterns INT2 for the assertive part and INT4 for the tag) or are introduced by *μήπως,* in the 1st person. When in the second or third person (excluding *μήπως* uses), the use expresses a request for confirmation.

There are two uses in Indicative that are differentiated from the Polar Interrogatives use because of the Addressee's response, namely the Exhortations in Indicative, expressed in the first person plural only, where a response of consent (or lack of) is expect; and the assertions in disguise/rhetorical questions, where no response is expected by the addressee.

Subjunctive uses are marked by the Subjunctive particle να and the optional negation μη(ν) (with the exception of mitigated directives, where uses with

negation are excluded). Wishes are marked by the use of Subjunctive, the optional use of the segmental marker *μακάρι* and the intonation pattern INT1. Curses are marked by the distinct intonation pattern INT5 and the optional use of the segmental marker *που*. Uncertainty in Subjunctive is marked by the segmental marker *ίσως* and the intonation pattern INT1. Wondering uses in Subjunctive are optionally introduced by the segmental marker *άραγε*, marked by intonation INT4 and the use of 3rd person; 1st person deliberative uses require the compulsory presence of *άραγε*. Mirative uses (of disapproval) are marked by intonation. Mitigated directives-encouragement are marked by intonation INT4 and the use of second person; a 1st person Subjunctive use in INT4 denotes a supplicative use (request for permission); both might be followed by a consent response, and might be mitigated by the use of *ίσως*. Mitigated Directives are marked by the use of Subjunctive, the intonation pattern INT2 and the use of second person; negation is excluded for these uses. When negation is present, they involve Mitigated Prohibitions.

Directives are marked by the use of Imperative. Prohibitions are encoded through the use of Prohibitive; perfective aspect distinguishes a preventive prohibitive use, whilst imperfective aspect identifies a warning. Both Directives and Prohibitions involve second person uses only. Hortative wishes are marked by the Hortative particle *ας* and intonation INT1/INT2; they exclude 1st person plural uses. Hortative and 1st person plural are the characteristics of expressions of exhortation.

Table 13: Basic illocutions in Modern Greek organized by grammatical mood.

Uses	Verb Mood	Intonation Pattern	Segmental Marker	Possible Answer	Person	Aspect
Assertions	Ind	INT1/INT2	-	N/A	Any	Any
Mirative Uses –Approval	Ind	INT3	(exclamative)	N/A	Any	Any
Interrogative uses: Content Interrogatives	Ind	INT3	Question word	Element Questioned	Any	Any
Assertions in disguise-rhetorical questions	Ind	INT3 or INT4	-	None expected	Any	Any
Interrogative uses: Polar Interrogatives	Ind	INT4	-	Yes/ No	Any	Any
Exhortations	Ind	INT4	-	Consent	1st	Perf for Past
Mitigated questions/ Proffer	Ind	INT4	μήπως	Consent	2nd	Imp
Wondering	Ind	INT4	άραγε	N/A	3rd (1st for deliberative)	Any
Assertions in disguise-contrastive statements	Ind	INT2 + INT4 (with tag) INT4 (with μήπως)	Tag question or μήπως	N/A	1s	Any
Requests for confirmation	Ind	INT2+ INT4	Tag question	Yes/ No	2/3	Any
Uncertainty	Ind	INT1	ίσως	N/A	Any	Any
Wishes	Subj	INT1 (INT2 with μακάρι)	(μακάρι)	(gratitude)	Any	-Perf most common for Pres -Imp only in Past
Mitigated Directives	Subj	INT1/INT2	excluding negation	N/A	2nd	Any
Uncertainty	Subj	INT2	Ίσως	N/A	Any	Any
Mirative Uses-Disapproval	Subj	INT3	-	N/A	Any	Any
Mitigated Prohibitions	Subj	INT3	Negation μη(ν)	N/A	2nd	Imp (Perf. possible)
Supplicatives/ Requests for Permission	Subj	INT4	(mitigator ίσως)	Consent	1st	Perf
Mitigated Directives-Encouragement	Subj	INT4	(mitigator ίσως)	Consent	2nd	Perf
Wondering	Subj	INT4	(άραγε)	N/A	3rd (1st for deliberative with άραγε)	Any
Curses	Subj	INT5	(που)	N/A	2nd (1st for 'oath', 3rd possible)	Perf most Common
Directives/ Orders	Imp	INT1/INT2	(mitigator για)	N/A	2nd	Any
Prohibitions: Preventives	Proh	INT2	-	N/A	2nd	Perf
Prohibitions: Warnings	Proh	INT2		N/A	2nd	Imp
Exhortation	Hort	INT1	-	N/A (consent)	1st plural	Perf (Imp also possible)
Wishes	Hort	INT1/INT2	-	(gratitude)	Any (excludes 1st plural)	-Perf most common for Pres -Imp only in Past

Table 14: Overview of Pragmatic functions and their expression in Modern Greek

A. Propositional Uses

Uses	Verb Mood	Prt	Neg.	Segmental Marker	Tense	Aspect	Person	Num.	Possible Answer	Frequent Lexical Additions	Intonation Pattern
Assertions	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	-	Any	Any	Any	Any	N/A	N/A	INT1/INT2
Assertions in disguise- rhetorical questions	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	-	Any	Any	Any	Any	N/A	(question word)	INT3/INT4
Assertions in disguise- contrastive statements	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	tag question or μήπως	Any	Any	1ˢ	Any	N/A	N/A	INT2 + INT4 (with tag) INT4 (with μήπως)
Mirative Uses–Approval	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	(exclamative)	Any	Any	Any	Any	(gratitude)	N/A	INT3
Mirative Uses-Disapproval	Subj	να	(μη/ν)	-	Pres	Any	Any	Any	N/A	N/A	INT3
Wishes	Subj	να	(μη/ν)	(μακάρι)	Pres/ Past	-Perf most common for Pres	Any	Any	(gratitude)	(fixed expressions)	INT1
	Hort	ας	(μη/ν)	-	Pres/ Past	-Imp only in Past for both moods	Any (excludes 1stˢᵗ person plural)				
Curses	Subj	να	(μη/ν)	(που)	Pres	Perf most common	2nd (1st for 'oath', 3ʳᵈ possible)	Any	N/A	N/A	INT5
Interrogative uses- Polar Interrogatives	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	-	Any	Any	Any	Any	Yes/ No		INT4
Interrogative uses- Content Interrogatives	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	Question word	Any	Any	Any	Any	element questioned	-	INT3
Uncertainty	Ind Subj	(θα) να	(δε/ν) (μη/ν)	ίσως ίσως	Any Pres/ Past	Any Any	Any	Any	N/A	N/A	INT2 INT1
Wondering	Ind Subj	(θα) να	(δε/ν) (μη/ν)	άραγε άραγε	Any Past/ Pres	Any	3ʳᵈ 3rd (1st for deliberate questions introduced only by άραγε)	Any	N/A	N/A	INT4
Requests for confirmation	Ind	(θα)	(δε/ν)	tag question	Any	Any	2/3	Any	Yes/ No	N/A	INT2+ INT4

B. Behavioural Uses

Uses	Verb Mood	Prt	Neg	Segmental Marker	Tense	Aspect	Person	Num	Possible Answer	Frequent Lexical Addition	Intonation Pattern
Directives/ Orders	Imp	*N/A*	N/A	(mitigator για)	Pres	Any	2nd	Any	N/A	-	INT1/INT2
Mitigated Directives	Subj	*να*	N/A	-	Pres	Any	2nd		N/A	-	INT1/INT2
Mitigated Directives-Encouragement	Subj	*να*	*(μη/ν)*	(mitigator ίσως)		Perf	2nd	Any	Consent		INT4
Prohibitions: Preventives	Proh	*μη/ν*	N/A	-	Pres	Perf	2nd	Any	N/A	(ποτέ for emphatic prohibitions)	INT2
Prohibitions: Warnings	Proh	*μη/ν*	N/A		Pres	Imp	2nd	Any	N/A	(ποτέ for emphatic prohibitions)	INT2
Mitigated Prohibitions	Subj	*να*	μη/ν	-	Pres	Imp (Perf. possible)	2nd	Any	N/A	-	INT3
Supplicatives-Requests for Permission	Subj	*να*	*(μη/ν)*	(mitigator ίσως)	Pres (unusually Past to reinforce mitigation)	Perf	1st		Consent	-	INT4
Exhortations	Ind	-	*(δε/ν)*	-	Pres or Past	Perf for Past	1st	Plural	Consent	-	INT4
	Hort	*ας*	*(μη/ν)*		Pres	Perf	1st	Plural	N/A		INT1/INT2
Mitigated questions/ Proffer	Ind	*(θα)*	*(δε/ν)*	*μήπως*	Pres (also θα + Past)	Imp	2nd	Any	Consent	-	INT4

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8. Concluding remarks

The problem we have identified and attempted to resolve throughout this thesis is the relationship between formal grammatical elements and Pragmatics/illocution, aiming to provide a systematic representation of the basic illocutions of Modern Greek. In particular, we sought to identify intentions which have become part of the language's grammar. The language of application, Modern Greek, offers a rich morphosyntax and proved an ideal vehicle for such an approach. As we show below, the aims and objective we set to achieve in chapter 1 have all been met.

As stated in section 1.2, our research involved exploring the relationship between basic illocution and sentence type. A sentence type, also as mentioned in section 1.2, is viewed as the combination of an illocutionary force with the formal properties of a particular system. On that respect, we consider a sentence type being equivalent to a basic illocution, i.e. to the coded illocution (though not necessarily to the intended illocution). Across this work, we used the term illocution (or use), rather than the term sentence type.

Levelt (1989) asserts that 'a theory of the speaker should explain how language users map intentions onto linguistic form' (Levelt 1989: p.62).He considers crucial to identify whether there is a systematic relation between types of speech acts (with speech acts being the messages as specified for intended illocutions) and types of sentences, and suggests that 'certain sentence types seem to relate to particular types of speech act but not all are in a one-to-one relationship'(ibid).

As we established in chapters 4, 5 and 6 of this thesis, the relationship between mood and illocution is quite multi-faceted: it can vary from a direct one-to-one relationship, as is the case of imperative illocution (IMP, directive/order) and Imperative mood and the case of prohibitions (differentiated formally though into warnings and preventions) and the Prohibitive mood; to ones of varying degrees of complexity, as is the case of Hortative mood, associated to two illocutions (one propositional and one behavioural); the case of the Indicative mood, associated to

seven propositional and two behavioural illocutions (which include the DECL and INT sentence types); and the case of the Subjunctive mood associated with eight behavioural and one propositional uses.

The grammaticalised illocutions we have observed in Modern Greek are:

i.   Propositional uses: Assertions; Assertions in disguise (rhetorical questions and contrastive statements); Mirative uses (of approval and disapproval); Wishes; Curses; Wondering; Interrogative uses (including polar and content interrogatives); Requests for confirmation; Expression of uncertainty and Wondering.

ii.   Behavioural uses: Directives (and Mitigated directives); Directives of Encouragement; Prohibitions (including Preventives, Warnings and Emphatic Prohibitions and Mitigated Prohibitions; Supplicatives (requests for permission, as well mitigated requests for permission); Proffer; and Exhortations.

8.1 Summary and assessment

In chapter 3 we discussed grammatical tools available to a speaker and contributed our own position to the way the Modern Greek verb mood system is organised, based on formal criteria. We described the Modern Greek verb mood system, accepting that Modern Greek moods are marked by modal particles. Notably we examined closely the particle *ας* when compared to the Subjunctive particle *να* and suggested that Hortative, introduced by *ας* is a Modern Greek verb mood on its own merit. Similarly, we highlighted the use of *μη(ν)* independently of the subjunctive *να* and proposed that the independent use of *μη(ν)* indicates its use as a distinct Prohibitive marker.

We followed Hengeveld's (2004) definition of a mood; we are aware that we omitted from this discussion disagreements among Greek grammarians on the definition of mood (as summarised by Tsangalidis 2000), because such conflicting views confuse both diachronic as well as synchronic approaches. We clearly

disagree with approaches such as, the need to try to impose a distinct spelling to Subjunctive in order to ensure a morphological distinction from Indicative, or to bring up the classical Greek aspectual difference of perfect, imperfect and aorist distinction, or even to suggest that forms such as 'αν δεν βρέξει' are instances of subjunctive and attempt, like others, to justify the possibility of the negation *δε(v)* preceding a subjunctive form. Features of the language system ought to be taken at face value in order to capture the pragmatic functions which have been grammaticalised.

We established five distinct Modern Greek verb moods, namely the Indicative, which lacks a particular distinct particle apart from the optional future particle *θα* and the indicative negation *δε(v)*; the Subjunctive, marked by the dedicated subjunctive particle *να* with negation *μη(v)* (preceded by *να*); the Imperative (with a morphologically distinct second person singular and a unique clitic placement); the Prohibitive, distinguished by the independent use of *μη(v)* in second person singular and plural; and the Hortative marked by the particle *ας* and the negation *μη(v)* (preceded by *ας*). This is a significant contribution, in that it changes previous beliefs about the organisation of the Modern Greek system. We showed that the particles *ας* and *μη(v)* are of equal status to the particle *να*, and argued that they mark the presence of Prohibitive and Hortative as grammatical moods on their own merit.

For each verb mood we discussed its negation, Tense, Aspect and Clitic placement characteristics. In addition, we presented additional segmental strategies Speakers have at their disposal in order to provide information to their addressee on how particular utterances are to be interpreted through lexical units of little or no referential value (Gonzalez 2004).

Furthermore, we provided an original framework of the prosodic contour at utterance level, by distinguishing 5 intonation patterns which provide the Speaker with an additional tool which identifies illocutions. As Risselada (1990) points out, sentence types are one of the factors that determine the expression of illocution, together with lexical, semantic and/or intonational properties. As mentioned in

chapter 2, the interaction between the interpersonal level (as well as the representational level), the morphosyntactic level and the phonological level-all forming part of the Functional Discourse Grammar grammatical component-is paramount for the formulation of a linguistic expression, hence intonation played an important role in our analysis.

In chapter 4 we established that the Indicative mood and the declarative sentence type are not 'one and the same' as Hengeveld (2004) points out. We identified propositional uses of the Indicative, including assertions and assertions in disguise; negative assertions and emphatic assertions do not represent separate illocutionary values, in our view. We also showed that propositional indicative uses also include mirative uses (of approval), assertions in disguise-contrastive statements, interrogative sentence types, including polar and content interrogatives, and suggested a behavioural use of exhortations. Additional segmental markers, which provide cues to the addressee about the function of an utterance, followed by an Indicative include the compulsory use of tags for requests for confirmation,; the use of μήπως signalling a proffer function; the use of άραγε for wondering utterances; and the use of ίσως for uncertainty.

In chapter 5 we showed that Subjunctive is used in propositional uses including wishes, curses, wondering and estimating. Its behavioural uses reflect the mitigating nature of the particle να in a series of mitigating uses i.e. mitigated directives, mitigated directives/encouragement and mitigated prohibitions as well as supplicative uses (requests for permission). Its additional segmental marking includes μακάρι which signals the expression of a wish, που that introduces a curse, μήπως/ίσως which mitigate the force of a supplicative, άραγε that provides a cue for a wondering utterance and ίσως which denotes a strong uncertainty from the part of the speaker.

In chapter 6 our analysis continued with three grammatical moods which are very close to their relevant illocutions, namely Imperative, Prohibitive and Hortative. The strong relationship between form and function is also denoted by the fact that none

of these three moods participate in subordination or complement clauses, as mentioned in chapter 3. We showed that Imperative, marked by a distinct second person singular inflection, relates in an one-to-one relationship with directive uses (which might be mitigated through the use of the segmental marker *για*), Prohibitive is related to prohibitive uses including negative warnings, preventives and emphatic prohibitions, while Hortative is used for exhortations (marked by 1st person plural), and wishes.

In chapter 7, we presented a comprehensive classification of Modern Greek uses; the focus is on the Speaker's intention as part of the Modern Greek language's grammatical component. For example, examining the function of wish, we observed that we are dealing with a propositional illocution, which can be expressed in Subjunctive or Hortative, marked by intonation pattern INT3 and potentially introduced by the segmental marker *μακάρι* followed by Subjunctive.

Our findings suggest a possible reworking of the hierarchy of basic illocutions as presented by Hengeveld et al. 2007 (Figure 6): the lack of a Modern Greek Admonitive basic illocution, despite the presence of a Supplicative (subset) might indicate an optional Admonitive subtype for the hierarchy to apply to a larger number of languages.

Our findings have direct applications in areas outside Linguistics and language learning: our illocution classification based on formal criteria directly supports the area of intention-based dialogue modelling. As applications that employ human-machine dialogue have become widely available in recent years, involving a series of every-day communicative situations, the need to identify formal criteria to describe a user's intentions is apparent. Such applications include education and tutoring systems, e-commerce systems, entertainment and gaming applications, telephone directories, in-car applications, voice activated systems, among others. The language currently used by such systems is very rigid, while the users' needs are often not served. Our research allows for a formal mapping of illocutions which can support both parsing and generation purposes.

8.2 Further work

The interaction between Pragmatics and Phonology is a fascinating area, both within a theoretical and within a computer applications' framework. Our comprehensive approach focused at the level of Utterance, as per the Functional Discourse Grammar layered approach of the Phonological level. It would be useful to extend this research in order to examine in detail the layers of Syllable and Foot; for example, at the level of Syllable, an area that would be useful to consider is related to the length of syllables related to particular illocutions, and how such features can contribute to particular uses. Particularly, we would like to further explore here the distinction between Indicative assertions in the second person plural, compared to 2nd person plural Imperatives.

Moreover, a prosodic contour analysis of the functions we propose at the levels of Phonological Word, Phonological Phrase and Intonational Phrase would offer further understanding of the relationship between intention and articulation, also in connection with the placing of the Nuclear Phrase Accent in utterances expressing specific illocutions. Arvaniti and Baltazani have undertaken extensive research at the level of Phonological Word, Phonological Phrase and Intonational Phrase, also as part of GRToBI related publications (e.g. Arvaniti and Baltazani 2005, Baltazani 2006); their work, however, from the point of view of Phonology, is only partly linked to specific illocutions (e.g. Aravaniti et al. 2006 on contrastive statements, Arvaniti 2009 on wh-questions, Baltazani 2007 on intonation of polar questions and the location of nuclear stress).

Further research on the interface between Pragmatics and Phonology from a Cognitive Science point of view can also offer in insight on the way language is acquired. Tomasello (2001) states five fundamental facts of language acquisition, as part of a usage-based theory: 'i.The primary psycholinguistic unit of child language acquisition is the utterance, which has at its foundation the expression and understanding of communicative intention. ii. Early in their language development, children are attempting to reproduce not adult words, but whole adult utterances.

iii. Children's earlier utterances are almost totally concrete in the sense that they are instantiations of item-based schemas or constructions. iv. Abstractions result from children generalising across the type variations they observe at particular "slots" in otherwise recurrent tokens of the same utterance. v. Children create novel utterances for themselves via usage-based syntactic[35] operations in which they begin with an utterance level schema and then modify that schema for the exigencies of the particular communicative situation (usage event) at hand.' (Tomasello 2000, p. 61)

Our utterance-based approach to illocutions, if further researched, can explore at greater depth the morphosyntactic and phonological properties of utterances children tend to imitate, which form part of a discourse act, as well as the way children interpret communicative intentions or formulate such intentions into utterances. Children appear able to understand communicative intentions from the age of 1 (Tomasello 2003) when they are able to handle symbolic communication. However, pre-linguistic infants are able to recognise patterns as part of auditory sequences, which prepare them for acquiring grammatical constructions (ibid). Further research on the way communicative intentions are formulated into grammatical constructions in early childhood, spanning across the FDG grammatical component, will allow us to better understand the processes that apply between the conceptual and the grammatical component.

In addition, our findings can be applied to a computational model of the FDG grammatical component and explore the feasibility of such an approach in order to improve human-computer interaction. Previous Functional Grammar computer implementation attempts (such as Profglot[36]) allowed for useful lessons to be learned and provided a toy model of the natural language user.

Our findings can also be used to improve the performance of computer tools involving language manipulation, such as language editors which commonly offer

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[35] We understand the term *syntactic* here as meaning *grammatical* (i.e. morphosyntactic and phonological).

[36] The author has created a Modern Greek version of Profglot, in Chondrogianni, M. (1997b) A computer implementation of Functional Grammar: Observations on the Greek version, in Rally, A., Grigoriadou, M., Philokyprou, G., Christodoulakis, G. & Galiotou, E. (eds.) Working papers in NLP, Athens: Diavlos, pp. 45-55.

users help in generating text, as well as automatic machine translation applications. A Modern Greek language editor, which commonly offers help as users generate text, might include our Pragmatics based findings, as identified in this thesis, in its Knowledge Base, in order to support Modern Greek learners in generating accurate texts. Furthermore, automatic machine translation applications could achieve improved results from formal identification of illocution equivalencies across languages.

Moreover, the proposed utterance-based intonation patterns can support Speech Therapists in helping speakers suffering from *dysprosody*, a speech disorder affecting the ability to assign the relevant prosodic contour in speakers who are otherwise fluent in using their language, either because of innate neurological disorders or because of injury or trauma.

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