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BASIC ILLOCUTIONS OF THE MODERN GREEK INDICATIVE

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we propose a pragmatic analysis of the Modern Greek Indicative, following a systematic hierarchical classification of propositional and behavioural basic illocutions (Hengeveld et al. 2007). Morphosyntax, Pragmatics and Phonology allow us to establish each basic illocution in terms of its prosodic contour; the use of segmental markers; grammatical tense restrictions, including number and person restrictions; aspectual restrictions; and the potential answer provided by an addressee to a question, or to a question-like utterance. To that end, we outline prosodic contours in 5 defined intonation patterns and we demonstrate how they apply to Indicative's uses with distinct encoding.

Keywords: Pragmatics, Phonology, intonation patterns, indicative, basic illocutions, grammar

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the basic illocutions of Modern Greek (MG) Indicative, which form part of the MG grammatical system. As basic illocutions are expressed by the speaker in various forms, using syntactic, morphological and phonological means, the interface between Pragmatics, Phonology and Morphosyntax is crucial for this work.

Our view is inspired by the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008), a typology based structural functional discourse grammar. Its grammatical component consists of the interpersonal level (Pragmatics), the Representational level (Semantics), the Morphosyntactic level (Morphosyntax) and the Phonological level (Phonology).

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.

Thus, the aim of our research is to provide a systematic *description* of the basic illocutions (with Modern Greek as the natural language of application), as expressed in main clauses, based on their formal characteristics i.e. based on distinct markers that have an illocutionary impact. Markers we consider include the verb mood; the indicative associated negation $\delta\varepsilon(v)$; the prosodic contour utterances are expressed in (i.e. the intonation patterns at the level of utterance); number, person and tense where applicable; the addressee's response, where applicable; and any additional segmental markers that apply.

Our primary objective is to identify the relationship between form (i.e. verb mood, prosodic contour) and function (basic illocution); in other words, to present the basic illocutions which form part of a grammatical system and to provide a comprehensive classification of their uses. Moreover, we wanted to apply in MG the basic illocution hierarchy as proposed by Hengeveld et al. (2007).

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). 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.

Hengeveld et al. (2007) distinguish basic illocutions into propositional and behavioural uses. 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).

Below we will describe the methodological considerations that underpin this research; the intonation patterns we established and used as a tool to identify the prosodic contour at utterance level; and the characteristics of the MG indicative and its propositional and behavioural basic illocutions.

1.1 Methodological considerations

As part of the first phase of this work, which involved the identification of morphosyntactic tools speakers have at their disposal to express their intention, the MG Indicative mood was established through a series of tests involving morphology; use of particles; negation; clitic placement; and participation to subordination. Following this, the phonological tools speakers have at their disposal to express their intentions were identified: a hypothesis on 5 intonation patterns used was established, which was recursively confirmed using of Praat. Data were collected introspectively; they were, however, verified by an informal group of informers and by mini internet searches. This was followed by a production experiment in studio conditions, which allowed to establish the intonation patterns, as described in section 2 below, which contributed to the identification and analysis of the indicative's propositional and behavioural basic illocutions. The results were classified based on their function and characteristics.

2. Intonation patterns in MG (utterance level)

Levinson (2003) highlights the need for a systematic study of prosody, intonation and stress and emphasises the importance of prosodic features in the study of Pragmatics, an area "hugely understudied".

We considered Arvaniti and Baltazani (2005), as well as their GRTToBI relevant website, who, in describing GRTToBI's Tone Tier state, define three types of tonal events: the *pitch accent*, the *phrase accent*, and the *boundary tones*. In addition, they identify two levels of phrasing: the *intermediate phrase* and the *intonational phrase*. The pitch accent effectively coincides with the stressed syllable of a word in MG (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). An utterance's intonation pattern is also influenced by a speaker's topicality and focality choices. Such choices, however, when they are made at the discretion of a speaker, for example affected by their psychology, (and, therefore, are not imposed by grammar) cannot be considered as part of the grammatical component; they belong to the Output Level as defined by Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).

Our approach is focused on five generic, schematic intonation patterns as one of the criteria for identifying specific illocutions. Intonation Patterns 1, 2, 3 and 4, presented below, are relevant to indicative, while intonation pattern 5 is applicable to subjunctive (curses).

2.1 Intonation Pattern 1 (INT1)

The characteristic of this pattern is its broad focus and a high level of the accented syllable. Its Fundamental Frequency (FO) characteristics include a heightening of the pitch (starting at the first accented syllable) with a pick at the first post-accented syllable, followed by a small dip and a fall. Its boundary (i.e. the final phrase on the utterance) is low. The nucleus might create variations on this pattern. Moreover, in some cases it can be used interchangeably with INT2 below, when the speaker's focality choices affect the way an utterance is expressed. Figures 1 and 2 below illustrate this pattern.

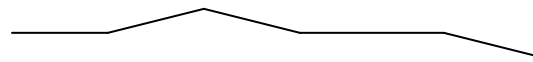


Figure 1 Schematic representation of INT1

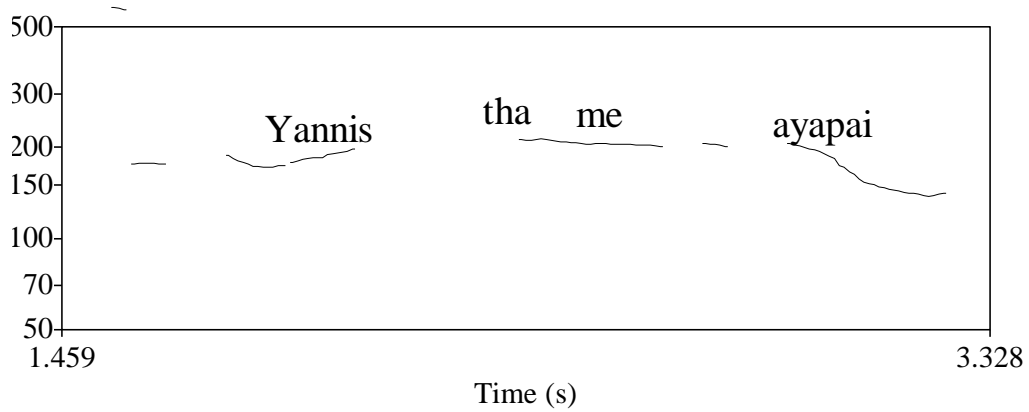
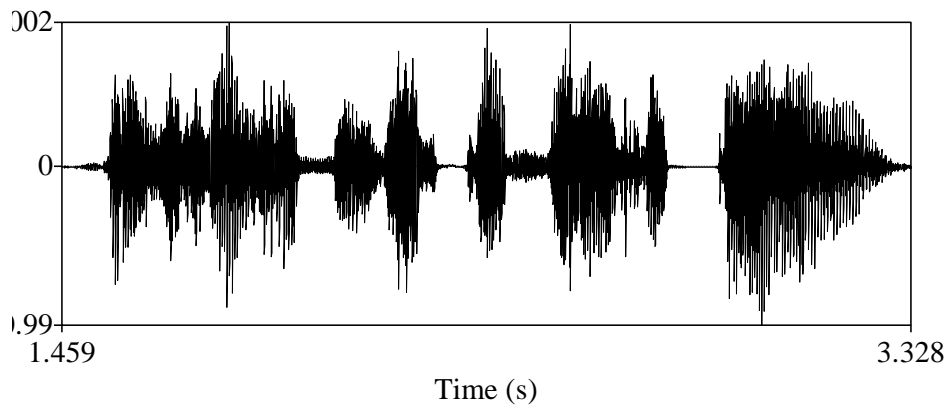


Figure 2 Praat illustration of INT1

2.2 Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)

Intonation pattern 2 (INT2) is characterised by narrow focus and a rise from low to the accented syllable. Usually it starts with a plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear, and then a fall from the post nuclear syllable onwards. Its boundary is also low. Figures 3 and 4 below illustrate this pattern.

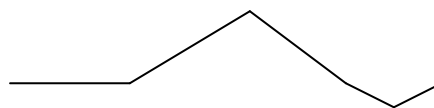


Figure 3 Schematic representation of INT2

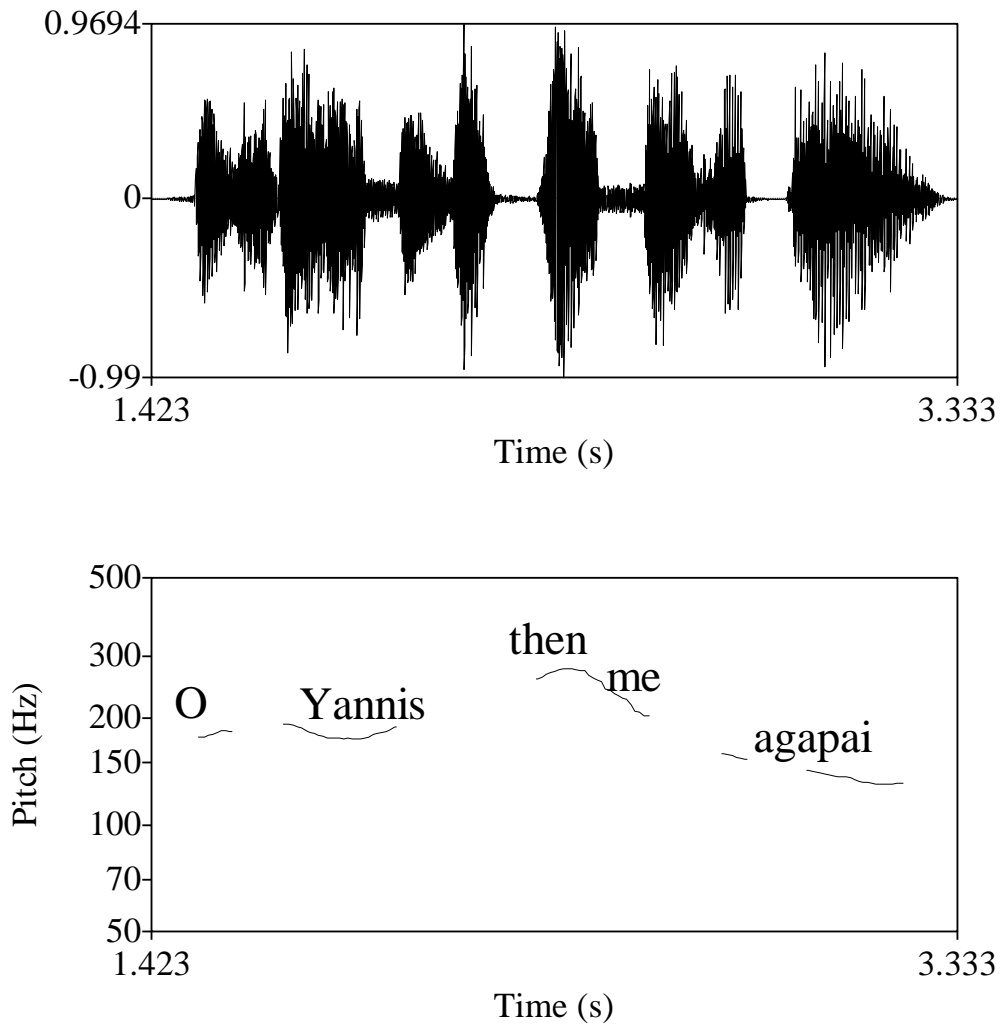


Figure 4 Praat illustration of INT2

2.3 Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3)

This is the typical pattern for content interrogatives (although it use extends to other basic illocutions). It starts high with the first accented syllable, and it starts dropping immediately after, with a potential rise at the end. The boundary is high. Questions are typically expected to finish with a rising intonation. However, the question word itself provides a key to the addressee on how the utterance is to be interpreted, hence a variation with a slightly rising, level, or slightly falling intonation is not unexpected. Figures 5 and 6 below illustrate this pattern.



Figure 5 Schematic representation of INT3

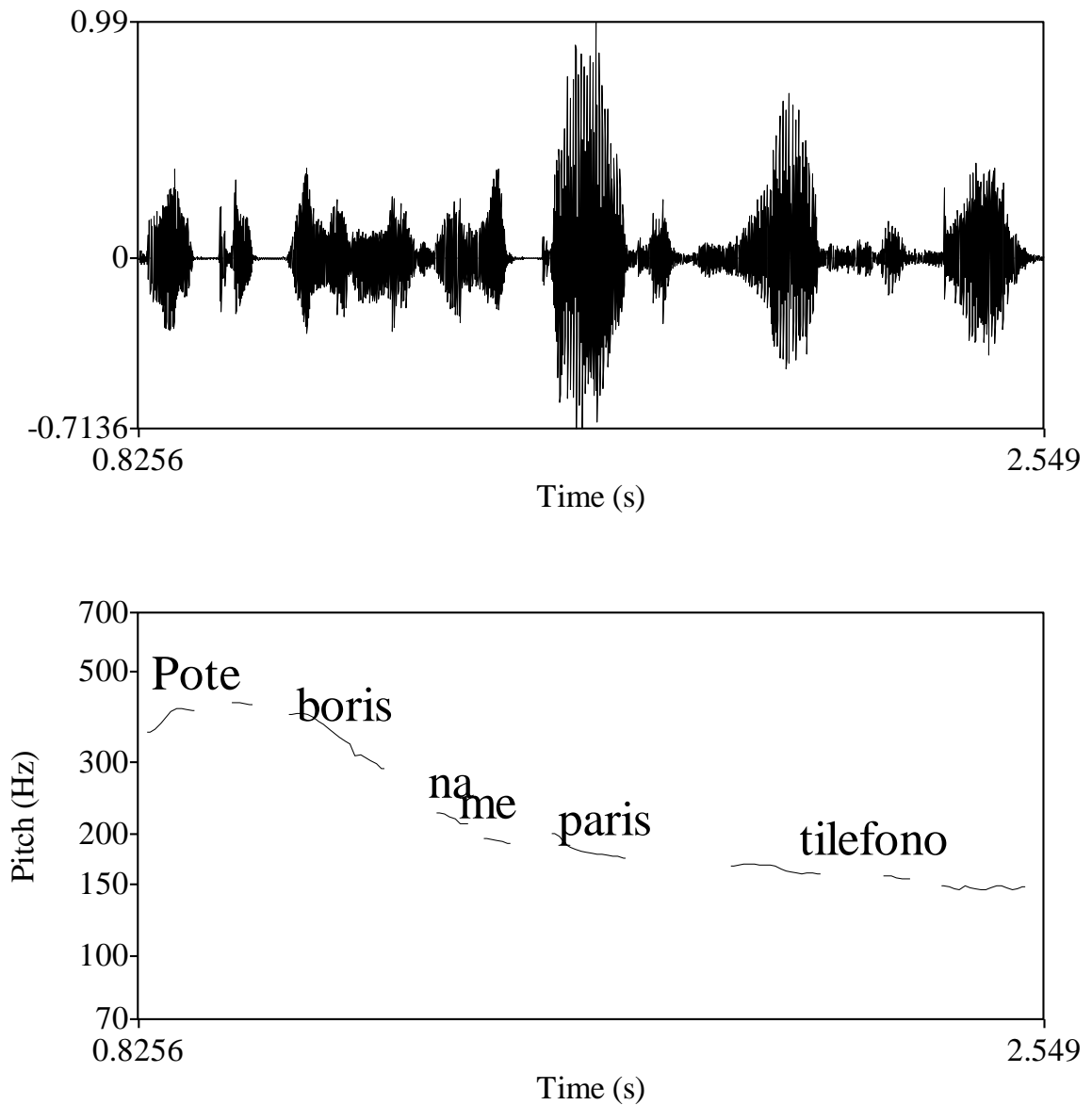


Figure 6 Praat illustration of INT3

2.4 Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

This is the typical (but not exclusive) pattern for Polar Interrogatives. The pick is on the last stressed syllable of the final word. Following a gradual fall, we have a low plateau followed by a rise. The boundary is high-low. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate this pattern.



Figure 7 Schematic representation of INT4

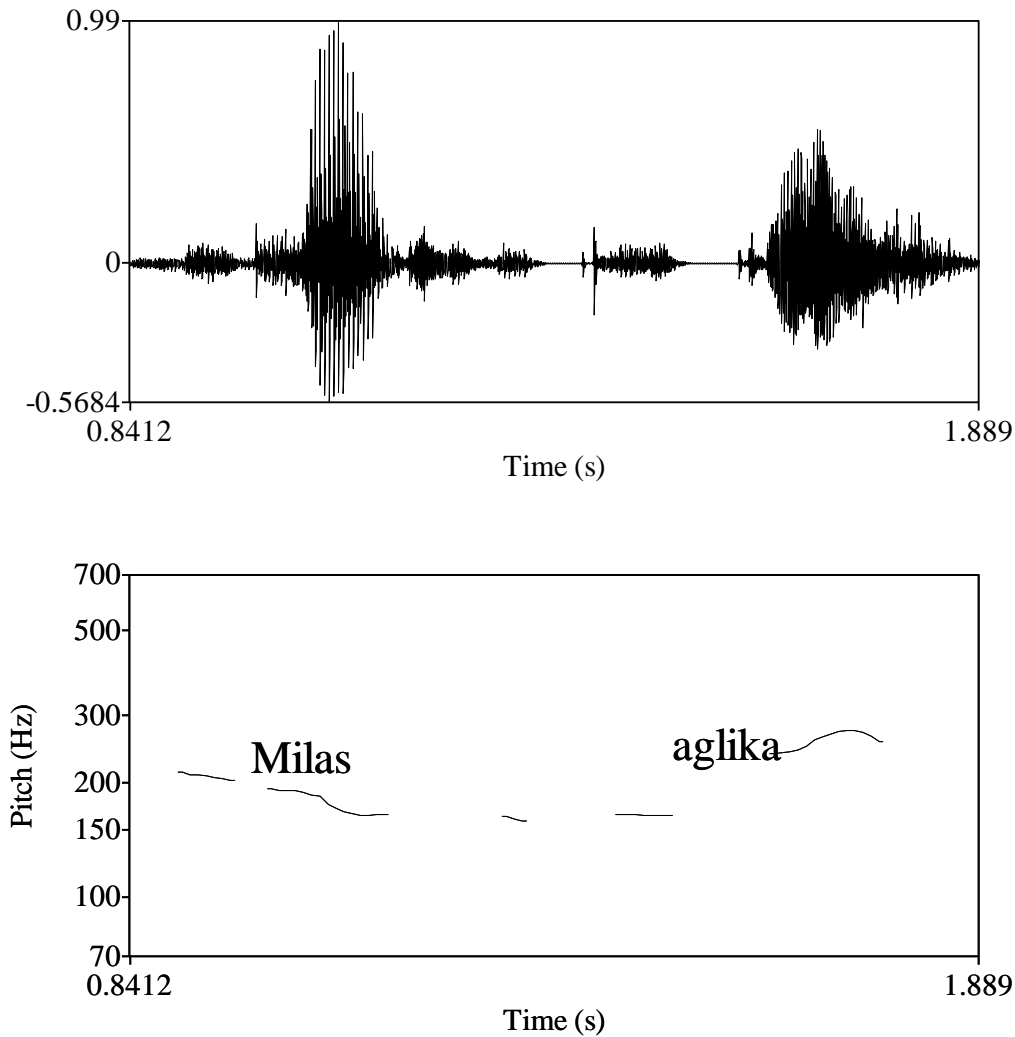


Figure 8 Praat illustration of INT4

3. The Modern Greek Indicative

Indicative in MG is identified by morphology, as a non-imperative form which lacks a typical particle (we note the optional use of the future particle $\theta\alpha$). All indicative negative uses are introduced by the negation $\delta\epsilon\nu$. Although indicative is considered aspect-neutral (Holton et al. 1987), we accept non-independent forms introduced by the negation $\delta\epsilon\nu$ as forming part of the indicative.

Indicative mood is often associated with the Declarative sentence type; however, they are not one and the same. Although Declaratives can only be expressed in indicative, the indicative is deployed for a variety of propositional and behavioural uses. The Declarative sentence type in the indicative is mostly associated with propositional uses.

Below we present propositional and behavioural uses in indicative, as well as uses related to additional segmental marking.

3.1 Assertive uses of the Indicative

The default interpretation of a declarative sentence type across languages is an assertion (Hengeveld et al. 2007). This type of propositional basic illocution, which seems to be universal, aims to provide the addressee with intonation. It is marked by the use of indicative and the intonation INT1 (as defined in

section 2.1 above), in interchangeable use with INT2 (when the speaker opts to focus on a particular element of the utterance. No tense, aspect, person, or number restrictions apply. Example (1) shows an example of an assertion.

(1) Ο Γιάννης με αγαπάει.

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

Yannis loves me.

Negative assertions do not form part of a separate illocution. They are commonly expressed in INT2, with focus been placed on the negation.

(2) Ο Γιάννης δεν με αγαπάει.

The Yannis NEG me love-3SG.PR.

Yannis does not love me.

Assertions might be emphasised; we then notice a complex interaction between the overall prosodic contour and the emphasis (focus) a speaker might place to a specific constituent in an assertion. There is a lack of specific grammatical strategy in such cases; speakers might emphasize an assertion through lexical means (e.g. using words such as *οπωσδήποτε* ‘definitely’) or through narrow focus on specific clause constituents. Such focal points might be verbal as in (3), nominal, or adverbial.

(3) **Θα πας** στο γιατρό αύριο.

FUT go-2SG.PRF to-the doctor tomorrow.

You will go to the doctor tomorrow.

Speakers might also express assertions disguised as questions. In these disguised uses of the indicative a question-like intonation is used to achieve a special effect. The fundamental difference between rhetorical questions and interrogatives is that speaker here does not intend to elicit information. Both the speaker and the addressee are aware that no particular response is expected. Often formulaic in nature, assertions in disguise are commonly used to criticise the addressee’s behaviour. (rhetorical questions and contrastive statements). Examples (4) illustrates the potential formulaic nature of an assertion in disguise, while in (5) the speaker criticises the addressee for non-complying with their request. Assertions in disguise are usually expressed in past or future in INT4.

(4) Πόσες φορές θα σου πω...;

Poses fores tha sou po...

How many times FUT you tell-1SG.PRF

How many times will I tell you...

(5) Πόσες φορές θα σου πω να κάνεις ησυχία;

Poses fores tha sou po na kanis isihia?

How many times FUT you tell-1SG.PRF SUBJ do-3SG quietness?

How many times will I have to ask you to be quiet?

Assertions might also be disguised as contrastive statements, marked by the use of a tag question, an additional strategy speakers have at their disposal in order to best achieve their intention. The unique character of this basic illocution is based on the use of the 1st person, as well as the fact that the tag-question is used as a compulsory element of the utterance’s structure, as in example(6). INT2 applies to the matrix, and INT4 applies to the tag. Such utterances reflect the speaker’s reaction to something the addressee has said or done. Despite the question-like intonation of the tag, the speaker does not need a positive or negative response from the addressee. If expressed in the 2nd or 3rd person, such utterances express the speaker’s request for the addressee to confirm the propositional content of the matrix (requests for confirmation), as in example (7), where the Speaker expresses an assertion in indicative, and adds the tag *έτσι δεν είναι* (isn’t it). It is interesting to note that in Modern Greek this formulaic tag might be used irrespective 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. The tag might take various forms.

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

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

I have already told you to wash you hands, haven’t I?

(7) Θα έρθεις αύριο, έτσι δεν είναι;

FUT come-2SG.PF tomorrow, like that NEG is?

You will come tomorrow, isn’t it (won’t you)?

3.2 Mirative uses of the indicative

When speakers utter an assertion, they intend to share some information with their addressee. When they express admiration, surprise or delight through an utterance, effectively they also share some

information with their addressee. 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. (Hengeveld et al. 2007).

Utterances in this category demonstrate a mixture of declarative properties (sharing of information, i.e. positive reaction) and interrogative properties (content interrogative intonation characteristics). 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 which clarifies a particular question-word (apart from a potential reaction of gratitude). An example of a mirative we see in (8).

- (8) Τι ωραίο φόρεμα είναι αυτό!
 What beautiful dress be-3SG this!
 What a beautiful dress is this!

3.3 Interrogative uses

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* (‘yati’, 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, MG 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.

3.3.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar questions in MG are differentiated from declarative uses by their distinct intonation. The clausal word order is determined by topicality/focality relations. A ‘yes’ (ναι), ‘no’ (όχι), maybe (ίσως) or ‘possibly’ (πιθανόν) answer is expected from the addressee. We believe that answers denoting consent, such as *εντάξει* (OK) refer to behavioural uses, rather than to the confirmation of the propositional content of the utterance, and would be unacceptable to a polar interrogative such as (9). Polar interrogatives are marked by intonation INT4. No other tense, aspect, person, or number restrictions apply. An example of a polar interrogative can be seen in (9). The Praat illustration of this example can be seen in figure 8, section 2.4 above.

- (9) Μιλάς αγγλικά;
 Speak-2SG.PR. English?
 Do you speak English?

3.3.2 Content interrogatives

Content interrogatives involve the use of question words. The speaker intends to elicit information specifically related to the slot in the sentence currently filled by the question word, questioning the agent, the goal, the time, or the manner, among others. Content interrogatives are marked by the use of a question word, in combination with intonation INT3. No other features’ restrictions apply. In example (10) the speaker seeks additional information regarding the time of the action described. A Praat illustration of this example can be seen in figure 6, section 2.3 above.

- (10) Πότε μπορείς να με πάρεις τηλέφωνο;
 When can-2S.PR.IPF.PRT me call-2S.PR.PF phone?
 When can you call me on the phone?

3.4 Other propositional uses of the indicative

The secondary basic illocutions described below involve the use of segmental markers, i.e. additional means which offer clues to an addressee on how a particular utterance is to be interpreted. We identify the segmental markers *άραγε*, marking a wondering use, and *ίσως*, denoting uncertainty.

3.4.1 Wondering in indicative

This category involves question-like utterances where the speaker does not necessarily expect an answer from an addressee. Wondering in indicative is marked by the segmental marker *άραγε* (which can also precede a subjunctive, in a fixed position in 1st or 3rd person only) combined with intonation INT4. In indicative its sentence position it is not fixed. An example of its use we see in (11).

- (11) *Άραγε βρέχει;*
WND rain-3SG
I wonder, is it raining?

3.4.2 Uncertainty in indicative

Another segmental marker available to the MG speaker when they want to express uncertainty towards the propositional content of a clause involves the use of the particle *ίσως* combined with intonation INT2, with the segmental marker acting as the focal point of the utterance. In indicative it can precede or follow the verb, and can combine with the past, the present (in both its independent and dependent form) and the future (particle *θα*). Its combination with the negation *δε(v)* indicates that even the dependent use falls within the scope of indicative. *Ίσως* can also combine with subjunctive (for a reinforced expression of uncertainty); in that case, though, its position is fixed at the beginning of the sentence. In (12) we can see an example of its use (negative past).

- (12) *Ίσως δεν έφηνε.*
UNC NEG leave-3SG. PS.PRF
Perhaps he left.

3.5 Behavioural uses of the Indicative

The utterances shown below involve uses where the addressee, through a question-like utterance, intends to affect the addressee's behaviour. Behavioural uses of Indicative further strengthen the argument that there is no one-to-one relationship between Indicative Mood and Declarative sentence type. We describe two such distinct uses, namely exhortations in indicative and proffer.

3.5.1 Exhortations in indicative

Examples (13) and (14) below might look like content interrogatives. We ought to take into account, though, that the speaker effectively asks the addressee to change their behaviour, rather than intending 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 behavioural uses of polar interrogatives because the speaker is seeking consent for joint action from the addressee. Their intonation INT4 is consistent with other polar interrogative-like uses.

The interpretation of the indicative use in examples (13) and (14) below can be seen as rather controversial, in that the only feature that differentiates it from a polar interrogative is the potential consent response, such as *εντάξει* ('entaksi', OK) that the addressee might provide to the speaker's request, which would not usually follow a non-behavioural use.

- (13) A: *Φεύγουμε;*
Leave-1PL.PR.IPF
Let's go.
B: *Εντάξει.*

- OK
 (14) Πάμε πλατεία;
 Go-PL.PR square?
 Shall we go to the square?

The first person plural use is consistent with expressions of exhortation, (for example uses introduced by *ας* combined with intonation INT1). The verb might be in the past or in the present tense.

3.4.1 Proffer and the use of μήπως

The particle *μήπως* has a series of uses in MG. It can act as a mitigator of the illocutionary force or as a discourse marker (see also Chondrogianni 2011). *Μήπως* is considered by some scholars a subjunctive marker, while others are stating that it can be used as both a subjunctive and an indicative marker (e.g. Babiniotis and Clairis 1999). We note, however, that it cannot combine with the subjunctive - associated negation *μη(ν)*, nor with the subjunctive particle *να*. It is negated with the indicative-associated negation *δε(ν)* and can combine with the future particle *θα*. We suggest, therefore, that *μήπως* can only be considered an indicative marker.

In example (15) below, introduced by *μήπως*, the speaker offers the addressee their help in a non-offensive way; they are attempting a change of heart from the addressee, i.e. to get them to accept the help on offer (as there is nothing wrong in doing so), by mitigating the strength of the proposition in the question. This question-like utterance, always in the second person, offers the speaker the opportunity to provide a form of advice, expressed as a mitigated question, in order to change the addressee's behaviour and get their consent for an altered behaviour. The utterance is expressed in intonation INT4.

- (15) Μήπως θέλετε βοήθεια;
 PROF need-2PL.IPF help?
 Perhaps you want some help?

4. Conclusion

In this paper we described the propositional and behavioural uses of the MG indicative. All indicative uses are marked by the optional particle *θα* and the optional negation *δε(ν)*. Propositional uses include: assertions, distinguished by the use of indicative and the use of intonation patterns Int1 or INT2; and assertions in disguise- contrastive statements which include either a compulsory tag (when their intonation involves intonation patterns INT2 for the assertive part and INT4 for the tag). When in the second or third person (excluding *μήπως* uses), the use expresses a request for confirmation.

In addition, propositional uses include miratives of approval, distinguished by the use of the indicative, the use of intonation pattern INT3 and, when compared to content interrogatives, the lack of question word related response from the addressee. Propositional uses also include content interrogatives, distinguished by the use of the indicative, the presence of a question word (such as who, what, when where, how equivalents), the use of intonation pattern INT3 and the expectation that the addressee's response will provide information on the questioned element of the utterance; and polar interrogatives, which 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. Secondary basic illocutions include wondering uses, 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).

Behavioural uses include proffer (mitigated questions), expressed in Indicative, introduced by the segmental marker *μήπως*, expressed in INT4, in the 2nd person.

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 (behavioural use), expressed in the first person plural only, where a response of consent (or lack of) is expected; and the assertions in disguise/rhetorical questions (propositional use), where no response is expected by the addressee.

Table 1 below summarises the basic illocutions in indicative which form part of the grammatical system.

We hope that this work will further support a different approach in the way grammar is taught in a first or second language acquisition setting, extending the focus from morphosyntax to also include pragmatics and phonology.

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	1 st	Perf for Past
Mitigated questions/ Proffer	Ind	INT4	<i>μήπως</i>	Consent	2 nd	Imp
Wondering	Ind	INT4	<i>άραγε</i>	N/A	3 rd (1 st for deliberative)	Any
Assertions in disguise-contrastive statements	Ind	INT2 + INT4 (with tag) INT4 (with <i>μήπως</i>)	Tag question	N/A	1 ^s	Any
Requests for confirmation	Ind	INT2+ INT4	Tag question	Yes/ No	2/3	Any
Uncertainty	Ind	INT1	<i>ίσως</i>	N/A	Any	Any

Table 1 Summary of the characteristics of grammaticalised basic illocutions in indicative

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