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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ICGL12
ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ ΤΟΥ ICGL12

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

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και την αγάπη τους για την ελληνική γλώσσα

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ ΕΚΔΟΤΩΝ

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

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

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

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

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THE PRAGMATICS OF THE MODERN GREEK SEGMENTAL MARKERS

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Περίληψη

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

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

1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

1.1 Phonological tools: our proposed 5 intonation patterns

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

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

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

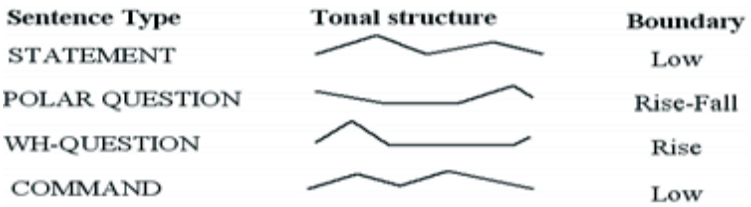

Figure 1 | *Tonal structures proposed by Chaida 2008*

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

casions. Her proposed statement-related tonal structure coincides with our intonation pattern INT1, outlined in section1.1.1 below; the polar question-related tonal structure coincides with our INT4 intonation, outlined in 1.1.4 below; and the wh-question tonal structure coincides with INT3 intonation, outlined in 1.1.3. We take different views as far as our INT5 is concerned. Furthermore, we adopt a separate prosodic contour (INT2) when narrow focus applies, as an alternative to INT1.

1.1.1 Intonation Pattern 1(INT1)

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

Figure 2 | *Intonation Pattern 1 (INT1)*

1.1.2 Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)

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

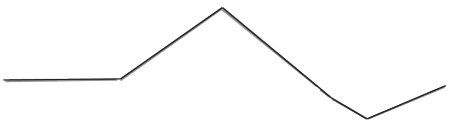

Figure 3 | *Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)*

1.1.3 Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3)

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

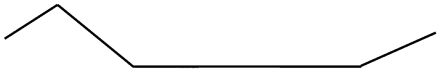

Figure 4 | Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3).

1.1.4 Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

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

Figure 5 | Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

1.1.5 Intonation Pattern 5 (INT5)

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

Figure 6 | *Intonation Pattern 5 (INT5).*

2. Segmental markers in indicative

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

2.1 Assertions in disguise- contrastive statements

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

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

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

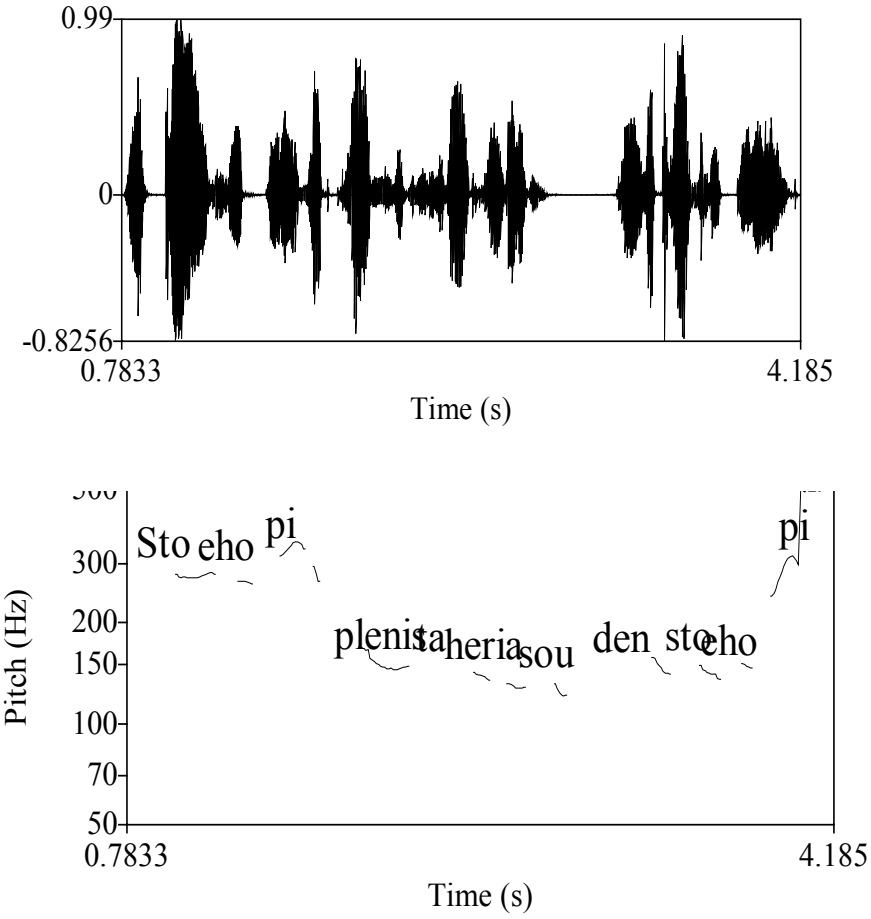

Figure 7 | PRAAT illustration of assertions-in-disguise/contrastive statements

2.2 Assertions in disguise-requests for confirmation

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

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

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

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

The matrix reflects an assertive intonation; it is usually affected by topicality/focality elements, as it is the case here with the nucleus on the verb (INT2 intonation); the tag always reflects a polar interrogative intonation INT4 as shown in Figure 8.
Table 1 below summarises the formal characteristics of requests for confirmation.

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

Table 1 | From function to form-Requests for confirmation

2.3 Segmental markers in indicative: behavioural uses-proffer

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

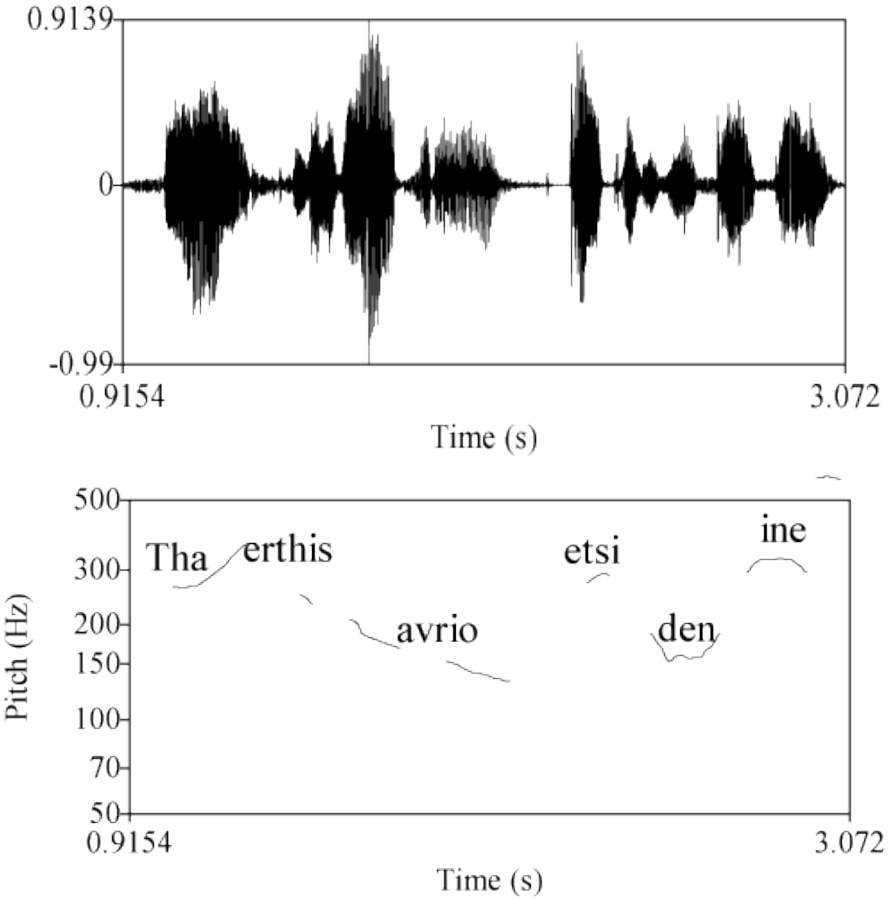

Figure 8 | PRAAT illustration of assertions in disguise-requests for confirmation

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2 | From function to form-proffer

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

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

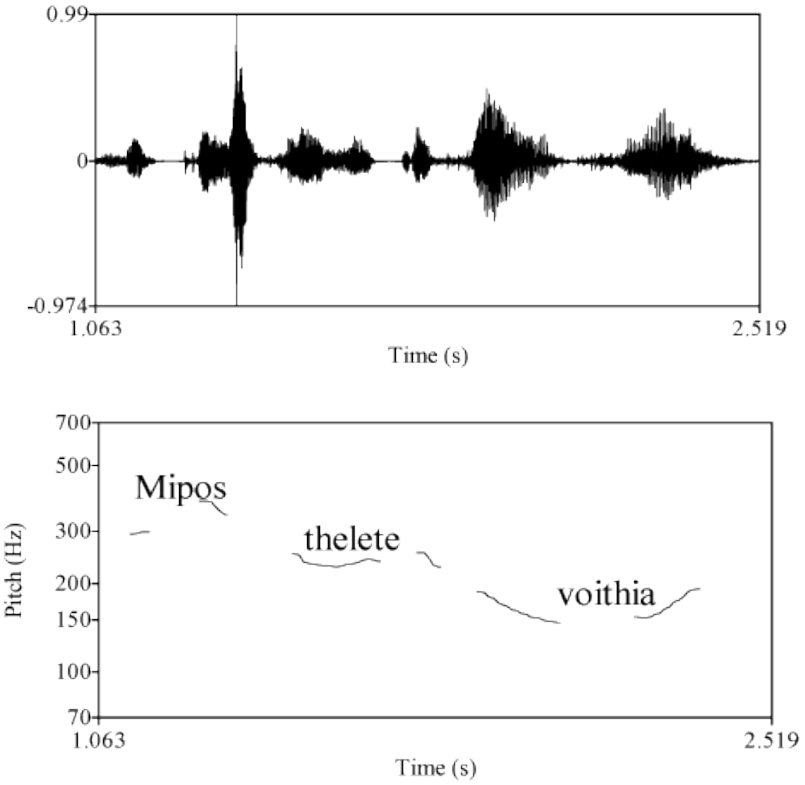

Figure 9 | *PRAAT illustration of Proffer*

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

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

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

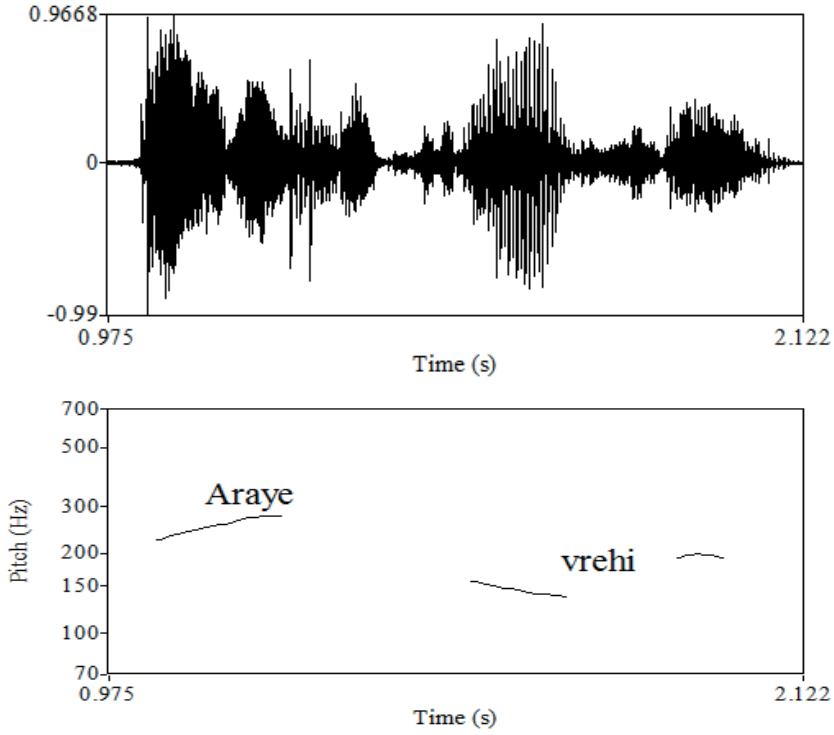

Figure 10 | PRAAT illustration of wondering in indicative

2.5 Segmental markers in Indicative: expression of uncertainty- ίσως

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

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

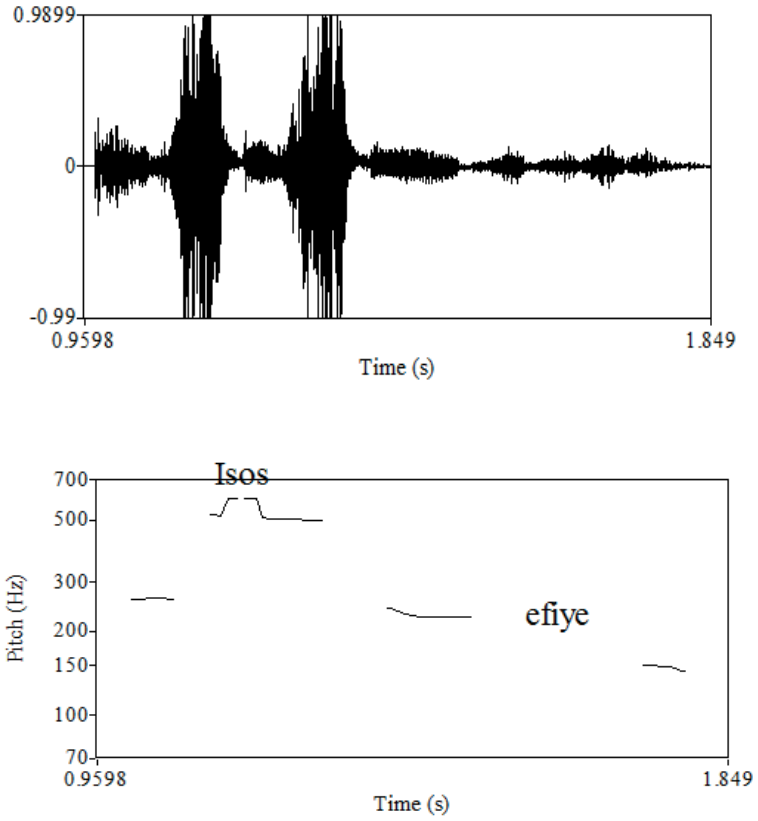

Figure 11 | PRAAT illustration of expression of uncertainty- in indicative

3. Segmental markers in Subjunctive

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

3.1 Wondering in Subjunctive

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

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

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

Function	Wondering
Grammatical Mood	• Indicative (segmental marker άραγε, optional particle θα, optional negation δεν) • Subjunctive (particle να, or combination of segmental marker άραγε and να, optional negation μην)
Scope	Propositional
Tense	Present/Past
Aspect	Perfective/Imperfective
Person	3rd (1st for deliberative questions) 2nd person acceptable for indicative uses only
Number	Singular or Plural
Intonation Pattern	INT4

Table 3 | From function to form-the Wondering function

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

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

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

(9) Ίσως να έφυγε.
UNC SUBJ leave-3SG.PR.PRF.
Perhaps he left.

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

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

Table 4 | From function to form-Expression of uncertainty

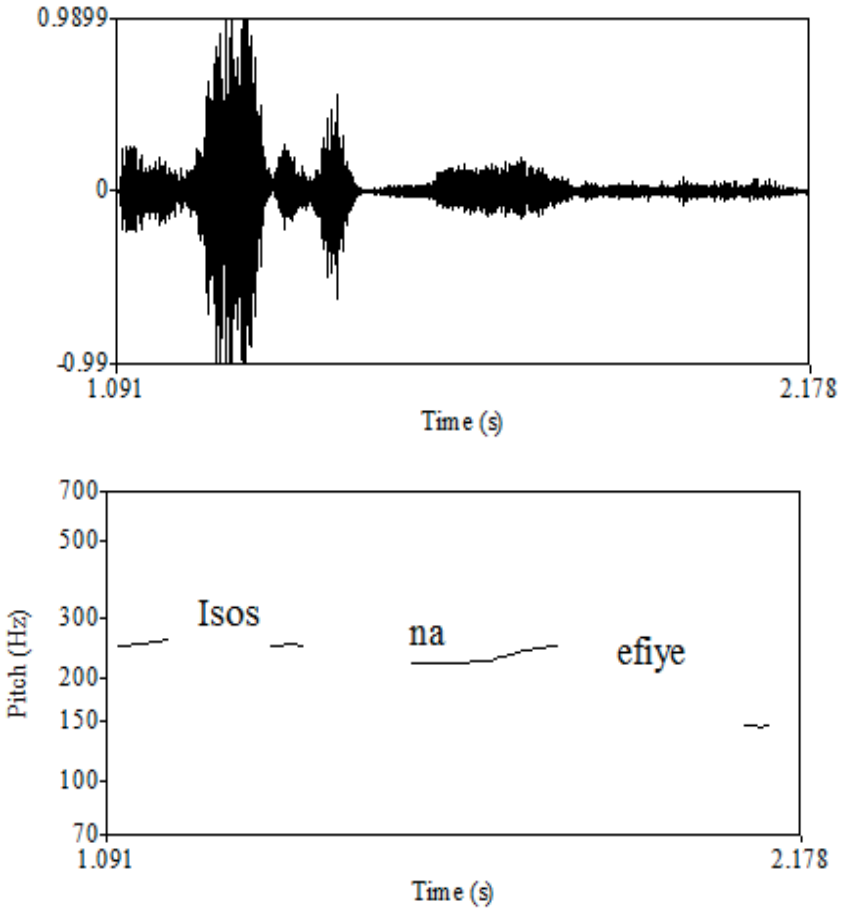

Figure 12 | PRAAT illustration of uncertainty in Subjunctive

3.3. Segmental markers in Subjunctive: wishes marked by μακάρι

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

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

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

Table 5 below summarises the formal properties of wishes.

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

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

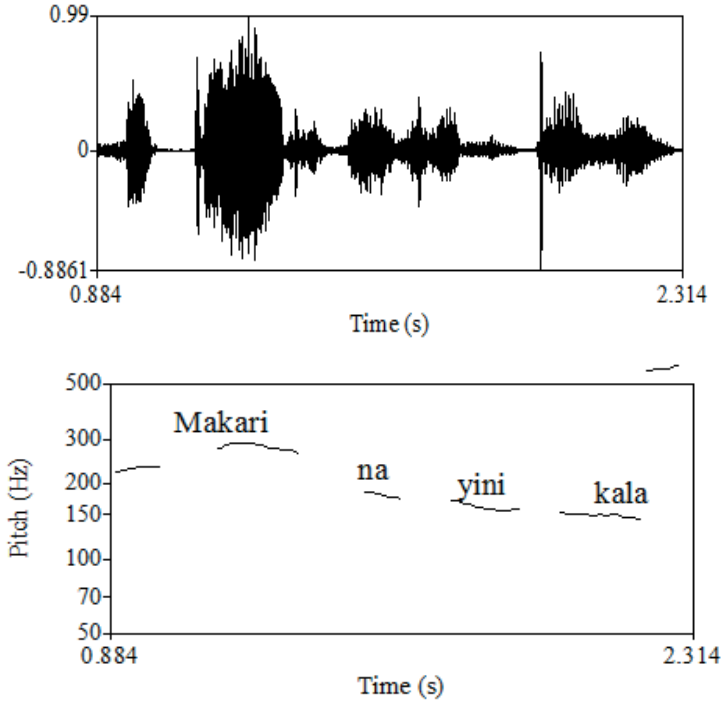

Figure 13 | *PRAAT illustration of a wish*

3.4 Segmental markers in Subjunctive: curses introduced by που

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

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

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

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

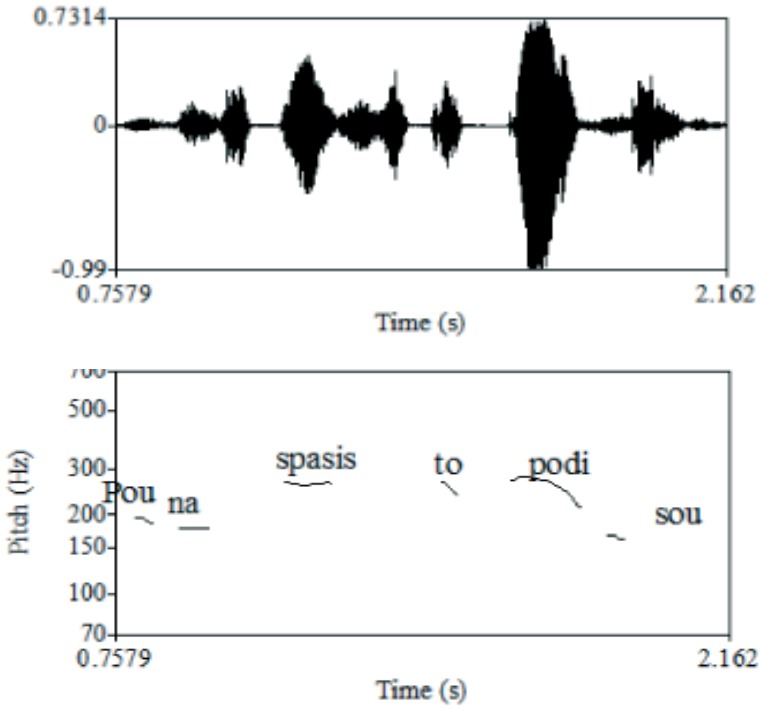

Figure 14 | Curses with INT5

(14) Που να σπάσεις το πόδι σου!
UNWISH SUBJ break.2SG.PR.PRF the leg your.
You may brake your leg.

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

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

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

(15) Για έλα εδώ Δάφνη να μας πεις τα νέα σου!
MIT come-2SG. PRF.IMP here, Daphne, to us tell the news your.
Let you come here, Daphne, to tell us your news.

(16) … πρώτη κάνω ερώτηση στον Μπαμπινιώτη, για πες μου δάσκαλε, αν θα μπορέσεις εσύ που πάλεψες …
…first do.1SG.PR question to Babiniotis, MIT tell.2SG.IMP me teacher, HYP FUT can.2SG.PRF you who fight,2SG.PAST.PRF
…I ask a question first to Babiniotis, let you tell me teacher, if you can, you who fought …

5. Conclusion

In this paper we discussed:

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

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

V. *Μακάρι* ('makari', 'I wish'): an optional wish marker, which is always followed by subjunctive.

VI. *Που* ('pou', negative wish): in utterances where subjunctive is used, when introduced by *που*, the latter acts as a dedicated marker for negative wishes/curses. *Που* is an optional marker for curses, which are identified through a dedicated intonation.

VII. *Για* ('yia', mitigator): it introduces an order (marked by imperative, a dedicated grammatical mood) and is used to lessen the impact of an imperative.

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