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What's in a dialogic construction?
A constructional approach to polysemy and the grammar of challenge

Abstract: In this paper we address lexical polysemy in a constructional perspective, arguing that each of the conversational meanings we identify for Modern Greek *ela* (2nd person singular imperative of the verb *erxome* 'come') is appropriately modeled as a conceptual gestalt of formal (including prosodic) and semantic-pragmatic properties. In turn-initial position, *ela* is used to challenge a preceding utterance; we show that the variations in the kind of challenge expressed are systematically tied to the word that follows *ela*, the speech act force and the sentence type of the preceding utterance, and finally prosodic and textual cues. To the extent that these varieties of conversational challenge are conditioned by particular contextual features, we treat them as a family of related constructions whose common features can be captured in the form of a generalized *ela* construction abstracted from the different sub-patterns. Our analysis thus demonstrates the appropriateness of a constructional framework for dealing with the different kinds of parameters involved in dialogic meaning and strongly suggests that at least some of the variation inherent in discourse is amenable to a grammatical description, so that sentence-level and supra-clause patterns can be analyzed in a uniform way.

Keywords: (dialogic) constructions, construction grammar, polysemy, (speech act of) challenge, exclamations, particles, Modern Greek, discourse

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1 Introduction

The conventional aspects of naturally occurring dialogue have been the object of several studies that seek to integrate conversational regularities with grammatical theory. Constructionally-oriented work, in particular, has recently veered in the direction of identifying formal and semantic-pragmatic features of patterns pertaining to supra-clause conversational language, extending constructional methodology to the analysis of dialogic grammatical constructions (Fried and Östman 2005; Lindström and Londen 2008; Linell 2009; Wide 2009; Ariel 2010; Fischer 2010; Antonopoulou and Nikiforidou 2011). While such an extension seems warranted in that it has yielded principled descriptions of conversational patterns in the form of dialogic constructions, it has also brought forward the problems associated with approaching dialogic interaction in a constructional methodology. Prominent among these are a) the variation inherent in naturally-occurring conversation and pertaining to all formal, semantic and pragmatic levels, and b) the identification of the appropriate values (features) that would cover conventional aspects of dialogic patterns.

In this paper, we investigate uses of Modern Greek *ela* (2nd person singular imperative of the verb *erxome* 'come'), in turn-initial position, to challenge a preceding utterance. In this sense, *ela* heads a "reactive" (or, more generally, "responsive") construction (Linell 2009: 100) in that "the speaker reacts to (or against) the use of a word or expression occurring in a prior utterance" and involves "sequential dependencies". The general conversational exclamative function of challenge is also found in combinations of *ela* with other lexical or grammatical elements such as *pu* ('that' complementizer), *tora* ('now'), or *de* (hortative, intensifying particle), which, however, are further characterized by additional pragmatic functions and constraints. Given the semantic-pragmatic overlap, we treat these as a family of related constructions, which share both formal and pragmatic features. Some of the semantic-pragmatic properties of all *ela*-based conversational patterns naturally derive from features of the deictic verb and the imperative form (cf. parallel uses of English *come* as reflected in many of the glosses) and the properties of the combining contexts (*pu, tora, de*). Keeping track of the semantic motivation allows us to trace the development of the conversational functions from the literal motion-verb use through intermediate patterns, and delineate precisely those features that are truly part of the dialogic constructions.

A big challenge in working with authentic conversational data is, as said, the great amount of variation involved and the general resistance to identifying regu-

larities amenable to a *grammatical* description.[1] Our aim here is to show that at least some of the variation in the components of these patterns can be captured naturally, in terms of the variation allowed by the constructional model within a specific slot, whether substantive (lexical) or formal (schematic). To the extent that the different realizations can be described in general terms (rather than as lists of words or arbitrary features – cf. Fillmore 1997), they can be considered constraints associated with the particular pattern(s), thus enhancing constructional status. Crucially, in the case of the *ela* family of constructions such generalizations relate not only to the turn introduced by *ela* and the following clause but also to the preceding utterance ("antecedent" segment), showing that this is indeed a dialogic construction. Greek *ela* emerges as a highly multi-functional category; the possibility arises, therefore, that *ela* itself is lexically polysemous. We argue that the particular meanings we identify here are best analyzed as a network of related constructions occupying a functional space; this amounts to a claim that any one of the meanings of *ela* is really a function of a particular constructional setting, i.e., a conceptual gestalt of formal and semantic-pragmatic properties. Given the conversational nature of the meanings involved, the former crucially include prosody. Lexical polysemy and constructional analyses are not of course contradictory or mutually exclusive given that a dominant trend in lexical semantics currently is the shift of focus "from words as building blocks to usage events, in all their contextual detail" (cf. Cuyckens et al. 2003: 21). Any polysemy account, therefore, may well be compatible (and mutually informative) with a constructional approach. The point is that context (including prosody, morpho-syntax, semantic and discourse-pragmatic properties, *and* lexical preferences) plays such an important role that any account focusing exclusively on de-contextualized semantic nodes or niches seems simplistic (see also Bergs and Diewald 2009; Boogaart 2009).

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1 This is not of course an argument against attempting principled descriptions of discourse (dialogic or other) patterns. Constructionally-oriented work more and more recognizes explicitly that sentence-level constructions are also characterized by variation, and that constructional descriptions really correspond to an abstraction over possible manifestations, which may or may not be all directly represented in the constructional description (see for example, Grondelaers, Speelman and Geeraerts 2002; Colleman 2009; Bybee 2006, 2010; Torres Cacoullos and Walker 2009; Nikiforidou and Torres Cacoullos 2010). Most often, such abstracted descriptions are extracted on the basis of the most frequent, and in this sense dominant, formal and/or semantic features, while less frequent characteristics are left out. In addition, variation may be also due to dialectal, or in general, context-related parameters (Geerarerts 2005; Geeraerts, Kristiansen and Peirsman 2010; Hoffmann and Trousdale 2011; Heine 2011), in which case it can be accommodated in the form of dialect (or context) sensitive constructions.

The functional space shared by the various sub-constructions can be captured in the form of a generalized *ela* construction abstracted from the different sub-patterns. Such general patterns are postulated in constructional analyses (e.g., Kay and Fillmore 1999; Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996) as a principled way of accounting for shared properties inherited by the more specific constructions. We argue for the plausibility of such a generalized pattern for conversational *ela* on the basis of a) conceptual content common to all sub-constructions (cf. Marmaridou 2012), b) overarching lexical and structural specifications, and c) productive extensions of both discourse-pragmatic and formal features of the generalized construction to other, more peripheral, patterns.

The paper is organized as follows. In 2.1 and 2.2 we briefly address other functions of *ela* in Modern Greek, embedding our family of constructions in the other uses of the word. In 2.3, we present the basics of what we term challenging *ela*, we outline possible connections with the other uses, and argue for the particle-status of *ela* in its challenging functions. In 3, we analyze the five *ela*-based challenging patterns, arguing for the necessity for a constructional analysis. In 4, we present evidence from intonation analysis that shows that challenging *ela* correlates with distinct intonational properties, further supporting the existence of distinct dialogic constructions. In 5, we relate the present work to the larger picture of dialogic grammar.

2 From motional, hortative, and telephone-call *ela* to the challenging uses: motivation and links

2.1 Deictic motion and the imperative

All the expressions we investigate contain the 2nd person singular imperative form of the verb *erxome*, *ela*. As an imperative, *ela* evokes the cognitive model of ordering (and related functions) and further incorporates the schematic speech event activating the roles of speaker and addressee (Langacker 1991: 505; Marmaridou 2000: 93). In this respect, the imperative combines illocutionary force and grounding. In particular, the participants evoked by the ordering model are equated with the speaker and the addressee and the utterance is equated with the actual speech event. In its literal motion sense, the imperative *ela* thus predictably performs a directive speech act while at the same time evoking a speaker "in authority" or "in a position to ask" and an addressee who is expected to carry out

the mandated event; the latter is typically left unexpressed "since the cognitive model of ordering specifically identifies the trajector of the mandated process with the addressee" (Langacker 1991: 504)[2]:

(1) **ela**   sto   yrafio   mu   molis   teliosis   ti
    come-2nd sg. Imp.   to-the   office   my   as-soon-as   finish-you   the
    δulia   *su*[3]
    work   your
    '**Come** to my office as soon as you finish your work.'

                                                             (GkWaC 7299)

Like its English counterpart *come* (see Fillmore 1982; Goddard 1997, among others), the central condition licensing the use of *erxome* is that either the speaker or the addressee is at the goal of motion at utterance or arrival time. *Erxome*, however, extends to contexts where English could use *go* in addition to *come* (cf. Antonopoulou and Nikiforidou 2002); in Greek, if the addressee is making the same journey, then the speaker must "acknowledge" this by using *erxome*, thus extending obligatory conditions of this verb, e.g. (2):

(2) *boro*   *na*   *??**pao**/**erθo***   *mazi*   *su*   *(ke*   *na*   *m*   *afisis*
    can-I   to   **go-I/come-I**   with   you   (and   to   me   drop-off-you
    spiti)?
    home)?
    'Can I **go/come** with you (and be dropped off at home)?'

Whereas the English translation with 'go' is appropriate in a context where the speaker merely wishes to leave a party (with the addressee) and be dropped off at her home, in the same context the Greek example requires the use of *erxome*, the relevant condition being that if the speaker is involved in the motion event then her presence should be made explicit. In this respect, *erxome* appears to code a

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2 Crucially however, and in contrast to the uses we'll examine here, in regular directive contexts the addressee/subject *can* be expressed for emphasis or for getting the addressee's attention unmistakably (*You leave them alone!*).

3 We follow a broad phonetic transcription for the Greek utterances in italics, followed by a word-for-word translation with grammatical features marked only when relevant to the discussion. Imp. stands for 'imperative', part. for 'particle', sg. for 'singular', pl. for 'plural', subj. for 'subjunctive', voc. for 'vocative'. A dash is used to signal a turn when more than one turn appears in the example. Bold is used to facilitate the identification of the expressions discussed in the text.

higher degree of speaker involvement already in its literal motion sense and is therefore a likely candidate for developing dialogic functions.

2.2 Hortative and acknowledging functions

In accordance with well-attested cross-linguistic tendencies (cf. English *come on*, French *venir*, etc.), *ela* further develops hortative meanings where literal motion is no longer involved. The speech act performed by such utterances is still directive, the speaker making a suggestion, issuing an invitation, giving advice, expressing wish etc., but deictic motion is obviously not part of the meaning of the utterance, e.g. (3)–(4):[4]

(3) *ti   sta   leo   tora   afta,   **ela***
    what   to-you-them   tell-I   now   these,   **come**-2nd sg. Imp.
    pjes   to   frappe   su   mi   xasume   ke   to   leoforio
    drink-2nd s. Imp. the   coffee   your not miss-we and   the   bus
    jia   Braxami
    for   Brahami
    'What am I telling you all this for, ***come on drink*** your coffee; we don't want to miss the bus to Brahami.'
    (GkWaC 42686)

(4) *neos   δromos,   anekserevnitos,   **ela**   na   δume*
    new   road,   unexplored,   **come**-2nd sg. Imp. to   see-we-subj.
    pu   vyazi,   ime eδo   ke   mono   esi   δipla   mu,   ke
    where takes-it, am   here and only   you   by-side my,   and
    to   siban   stamatise
    the   universe   stopped-it
    'This is a new road, unexplored, **come** see where it takes us, I'm here, only you by my side, the universe has stopped.'
    (GkWaC 12129)

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4 In some of these examples (e.g. (3), (5), (6)) we seem to have a type of serial verb construction (Aikhenvald 2006), where there is no marker of syntactic subordination (or coordination) between *ela/elate* and the following verb, the two expressing a single event. As pointed out by a reviewer, this could be taken as evidence of grammaticalization of the *ela* word; although a serial verb analysis of these cases is at least plausible, it should be noted that the pattern is not fully productive. For example, *pame* (5) is the only 1st person form that can follow *ela* without an overt subordinator (cf. (4)), whereas 2nd person forms are always possible. While this certainly merits systematic investigation, it is beyond our present scope.

As evident from the included context, speaker and addressee are already at the same place and literal motion is not therefore involved. Instead, *ela* is rather interpreted as a hortative marker, intensifying the directive expressed also by the following imperative (3) or subjunctive form (4). We may plausibly speculate that such contexts, where the presence of *ela* in its literal sense is rendered superfluous or incongruous, are in fact one type of transitional context for the rising of the hortative meaning *and* the development to particle status. While the hortative interpretations are lexicalized enough to occur with motion verbs without the speaker issuing conflicting instructions, e.g. (5), *ela* in such examples still has verbal status as evidenced by the occurrence of the 2nd person plural form (*elate*) in contexts with multiple addressees (e.g. (6)) and its position in the utterance, which is not yet fixed. The syntax associated with the hortative interpretation involves an imperative verbal form (*ela* or *elate*) typically followed by another imperative (3, 6) or subjunctive (4, 5):

(5) *hazi ... nomizis oti eyo troo afta pu ftiaxni i*
silly ... think-you that I eat-I these that makes the
mama? ***ela*** *pame na katsume sto*
mum? **come**-2nd sg. Imp. go-1st pl. subj. to sit-we in-the
saloni.
living-room.
'Silly ... do you really think I would eat whatever mum makes? **Come (let's)** sit in the living-room.'

(GkWaC 11917)

(6) *alios, me tin iparxusa katastasi pu espevzmena,*
otherwise, with the existing situation that urgently
enayonios ke alojista proxorame se δieθni klisi
anxiously and senselessly proceed-we to international call
elate *parte oles tis stratijikis simasias*
come-2nd pl. Imp. take-2nd pl. Imp. all the strategic importance
eteries mas, ...
companies our, ...
'Otherwise, in the current situation where we urgently, anxiously and senselessly proceed to an international call "**come** take all our strategically important companies,...

(GkWaC 34)

As suggested by Traugott and Dasher (2002: 176–78) in relation to the development of hortative *let's* from the imperative *"(you) let us X"*, the development

of hortative functions by *ela* may well be described as an instance of subjectifica-tion of an already inter-subjective (i.e. addressee-oriented) meaning, encoded morphologically (the imperative coding a typically unexpressed addressee) and lexically (by virtue of the addressee-deferring semantics). In other words, an in-herently inter-subjective expression "is recruited by the speaker to encode and regulate attitudes and beliefs" (Traugott 2010: 4), that is to express meanings which include the speaker's viewpoint and may (also) involve the speaker. Evi-dence for the shift of *ela* toward a subjective particle comes also from negation; in its hortative functions *ela/elate* cannot be in the scope of negation (apparently the speaker cannot negate her own wish), whereas the verb following *ela/elate* naturally can (e.g. (7)):

(7) **ela**   *min* *arxisis*   *tis* *grinies*   *pali*   *mu*
   come-2nd sg. Imp. not begin-you the grumbling again, me
   lei   *ekinos*
   says-he   he
   '**Come on**, don't start grumbling again, he says.'

(GkWaC 7444)

While the development of hortative functions may entail subjectification (and loss of inter-subjectivity), the acknowledging functions of *ela* are clearly inter-subjective though no longer directive. The acknowledging functions include the use of *ela* as the standard informal telephone-call opener both for the caller and the called (e.g. the use of *ela* by the caller in (8)) and in general as an acknowledgement/greeting in (typically) non face-to-face interactions like chat-rooms, blog postings, radio communication (generally, first- or second-turn com-munication with no visual contact, e.g. (9)):

(8) – *pare*   *mu* *sto*   *tilefono*   *ti*   *jineka* *mu*
      call-2nd sg. Imp. me to-the telephone the wife   my
      'Call my wife for me.'

   – **ela**   *Natasa!* ... *θa* *petaxto* *mexri* *tin*   *trapeza* ...
      come-part. Natassa! ... will stop-by-I to   the   bank   ...
      θα *sikoso* *ta*   *xrimata* *jia* *to* *kolejio* *ton* *peδjion."*
      will get-I   the   money   for   the college the   boys."
      '**Hi** (*ela*), Natassa! I'll stop by the bank to get the money for the boys'
      college.'

(GkWaC 1335a)

(9) *i   apostoli   itan efkoli   ke   me   pilotus   san   aftus δen*
    the   expedition was   easy   and with   pilots   like   them not
    xriazosun   pola   loja   jia   na   sinenoiθis –   ena   aplo
    needed-you many words for to   communicate-you a   simple
    liknizma ton   fteron arkuse.   Alla   δen   eftanan   pote
    swaying   the   wings   was-enough. But   not   reached-they   ever
    *mexri   to   stoxo   ...   "**ela**,   Pier,   δio   aeroskafi   ora   11".*
    to   the   target   ...   **come**-part., Pier,   two   aircrafts   hour   11".
    Itan   i   foni   tu   Jimmy
    Was   the   voice   the   Jimmy.
    'The expedition was easy and with such pilots you didn't need to say much to
    communicate – a slight swaying of the wings was enough. But they would
    never reach the target ... "**Hi** (*ela*) Pierre, two aircrafts at 11 hours". It was
    Jimmy's voice.'

                                                                      (GkWaC 6632)

According to Pavlidou's (1995) study of telephone-calls (see also Antonopoulou
and Sifianou 2003), second turn *ela* primarily serves the purpose of recognition
of the caller by the called and in all occurrences presupposes great familiarity
between the interlocutors. In telephone calls and other acknowledging/greeting
contexts, therefore, second turn *ela* evokes an addressee in the preceding context
and presupposes an antecedent segment, even if only to conventionally acknowl-
edge a preceding opening. Unlike the hortative uses, the 2nd person plural form is
not possible in the telephone-call or more general acknowledging contexts, and
since *ela* is marked as familiar/informal, the 2nd person plural polite form is also
not possible. Although not conclusively, this indicates that the acknowledging
function is derivative of the telephone-call one, since the latter imposes a "one-
addressee" requirement on such interactions. Finally, unlike the hortative, in the
acknowledging functions *ela* is restricted to turn-initial/sentence-initial position,
which along with the impossibility of other inflected forms, points to a discourse-
particle status with a specialized function.[5]

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5 Unlike the hortative function, which is present in medieval Greek, we do not have any evi-
dence that telephone-call and acknowledging *ela* precede the exclamative/challenging func-
tions we examine in the following sections. So, these dialogic uses are only cited as analogous
instances in terms of conversational structure, simply showing that exclamative *ela* (to which we
turn next) is not an isolated, totally arbitrary function.

2.3 Challenging *ela* and the features shared with the hortative and acknowledging functions

In the constructions we focus on here, *ela* is typically dialogic in evoking a preceding utterance to which it "reacts" (as in Linell 2009). In particular, it is characterized by a special reactive function we term "challenge". This function is certainly motivated by the functions of *ela* discussed previously and related to some of them in specific ways. Reactive challenge is also associated with imperative 'come' in languages such as English and German (though apparently not French), which further points to motivational links with the motional and hortative uses. While we claim that the challenging function as such arises in a constellation of features which crucially include properties of the surrounding context – and is therefore best described as a construction (see section 3), any meaningful claims about the polysemy of *ela* and pattern-specific properties require that we place challenging *ela* in the larger *ela* category; so in this section we focus on the motivation and intermediate patterns.

Reactive challenge entails that the scope of the *ela* segment of the utterance, like telephone-call *ela*, is backwards, necessarily referring to a previous utterance. In this respect, *ela* constructions involve what Linell (2009) calls "sequential dependencies", e.g. (10) where *ela* serves to reject the speech act force of the previous speaker's utterance:

(10) – *nomizo   oti   ta   isopeδonis   ola   tora.*
　　　think-I   that   them   level-out-you   everything   now
　　　'I think you level everything out now.'

　　– ***ela!***　　　*Ke   o   telefteos   anθropos   s   afti   ti   ji*
　　　come-part.!   And   the   last   man   on   this   the   earth
　　　kseri   ti   jinete   sta   ipurjia.
　　　knows   what   happens   in-the   ministries.
　　　'**Come on** (*ela*)! Even the last person on earth knows what is happening in the Ministries.'

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(HNC 848851)

In all exclamative/challenging constructions, *ela* is not only sentence initial, but also utterance initial, introducing a new turn in a dialogue. This structural feature, which also characterizes telephone-call and acknowledging *ela*, is a feature uniformly shared by all relevant constructions. In the few cases where challenging *ela* appears in a narrative (monologic) text, it is still interpreted as imposing dialogic structure, evoking a preceding utterance (cf. (11) below). While the inte-

gration of *ela* with the following segment may vary, ranging from independent, clearly exclamative status (as in (10)) to more integrated syntax and intonation, in no case does it maintain its verbal status, being more consistent with the category "particle". This is supported by the fact that an explicit *esi* 'you' subject is never possible in the challenging dialogic uses (see footnote 3) and, like in telephone-call openings, the 2nd person plural inflected form does not occur (but cf. 3.3) with exclamative/challenging function. It is further supported by the possibility of substituting *ela* in many such contexts (see the discussion in the following sections) with clearly exclamative non-verbal (non-conjugated) forms such as *ande* and *siya*[6]. As overarching features, common to all sub-patterns, the structural and morphological fixedness argue for a grammaticalized status of the *ela* word, the shift to leftward peripheral position being consistent with the target position of discourse markers in VO languages (like Greek)[7] (Bybee 1985; Traugott 2010).

In characterizing challenging *ela* as a particle introducing an exclamative clause, we are in agreement with all major grammars of Greek and related articles (Tzartzanos 1963; Triantafillidis 1979; also Setatos 1993) and the major dictionaries.[8] The description of *ela* as a particle or exclamation (rather than a verbal imperative form) in reference works implicitly reflects the arguments outlined above regarding its morpho-syntax. In accordance, an *ela* clause appears to satisfy at least some of the criteria defining exclamative clauses: it is deictically anchored in person (speaker) and time (present), which is a feature characteristic of exclamatives in general (Wilkins 1992; Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996)[9] and it emphasizes the speaker's strong emotional reaction (as opposed to intellectual appraisal characteristic of declaratives) to what she takes to be a fact (Sadock and Zwicky 1985: 162); in the case of *ela*, what the speaker takes as fact is the *occurrence* of the addressee's preceding utterance, which she acknowledges and at the same time challenges or rejects.

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6 *Ande*, also glossed as 'come on', derives etymologically from a verbal form, the ancient Greek 2nd person plural imperative *ἄγετε*, but it has never functioned as a verb in the modern language nor is it etymologically transparent (Tzartzanos 1963: 130). *Siya* is an adverb with the literal meanings "slowly, gradually, in a low voice", which in conversational contexts serves to reject a preceding utterance.

7 For word order issues in Greek see Lascaratou 1998 and the references therein.

8 Triantafillidis (*Leksiko kinis neoellinikis*), Babiniotis (*Leksiko neas ellinikis glossas*).

9 Michaelis and Lambrecht definitionally restrict the class of exclamatives in English to those which additionally express contravention of an expectation with respect to a scalar property (e.g. It's *amazing* the amount I spent …, It's incredible how much I spent, etc.). Although such sentences do seem to make up a natural class, the elements which are cross-linguistically identified as exclamations and exclamative sentence types are not necessarily restricted to scalar interpretations.

Also relevant to its characterization as an exclamative particle is whether *ela* itself has propositional content, since this is a feature assumed to differentiate exclamations (claimed to have propositional content) from interjections (Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996). The difference between exclamations and interjections is not so clear-cut. In reference works the consensus seems to be that interjections are emotive words like *oh*, *wow*, *ouch*, *uh-huh*, etc. (Quirk et al. 1972; Huddleston and Pullum 2002) which lack referential content, even though they are conventionally associated with particular instances of emotion (e.g. surprise, affirmation, pain, etc.). On the other hand, exclamation is a term typically reserved for types of expressions ranging from words to different types of sentences and it generally refers to the use of these expressions in discourse to signal the speaker's emotional attitude towards the proposition expressed. It might be plausibly suggested that in an example like (10), isolated to the left of the clause and separated from the following text with an exclamation mark, *ela* approximates an interjection, expressing disagreement or discontent, without any obviously recoverable propositional content. There are many such examples in the corpus with (graphically and presumably intonationally) separated *ela* expressing surprise or disbelief (see 3.1). However, the lexically transparent form of this word seems to discourage its categorization as an interjection. Moreover, there are many examples where *ela* serves precisely to signal the reconstruction of a missing antecedent clause and therefore determine, so to speak, the object of the challenge, e.g. (11):

(11) *ixa   sovares   asxolies,   sovares   jia   tin   psixiki   mu*
     had-I   serious   business,   serious   for   the   psychological   my
     *ijia,   **ela**   δe   θelo   kakies,   kati   exi   mini*
     health,   **come**-part.   not   want-I   meanness,   something   has   left
     apo   enoo   ...   psixiki   ijia.
     from   mean-I   ...   psychological   health.
     'I had serious business, serious for my psychological health I mean ... **Come on** (*ela*), don't be mean, there is still something left of psychological health.'
     (GkWaC 11779)

The text in (11) is monologic, the same speaker producing the whole utterance. Yet, the clause starting with *ela* evokes someone else's prior turn, setting up an imaginary addressee, whose utterance the speaker anticipates and reacts to (cf. the gloss). The clause following *ela* provides the assumed content of the missing turn by implication: "You are not psychologically healthy". The speaker of (11) rejects the truth of this proposition by making the weaker claim of the existence of at least some degree of psychological health. In such examples, *ela* imposes dialogic structure to otherwise monologic texts in accordance with its conven-

tional dialogic function. In these cases, *ela* appears to function as a marker of procedural meaning serving to express "the speaker's attitude to the text under production" (Traugott 2010: 30), with a plausible claim to propositional content, a conclusion consistent with its still transparent lexical source. In addition, in several occurrences the speaker's reaction as expressed by the *ela* utterance is associated with judgement or belief, rather than emotion, the latter being the domain associated with interjections par excellence. For all these reasons, we consider *ela* to be an exclamation particle and the utterances it introduces to be exclamative.

In addition to *ela* having particle status, the challenging and the telephone-call/acknowledging functions of *ela* share the features of new turn marking and initial position and presumably a general acknowledging pragmatic purpose. Challenging *ela* may be also linked to the hortative functions through examples like (12) where *ela* happens to be turn-initial and reacting to the previous speaker's wondering while at the same time maintaining the speech act force of a directive (by virtue of the following imperative). Similarly in (13), the speaker of the *ela* sentence clearly performs a directive but the coherence of the text dictates that the directive is interpreted as reacting to the plausibility of the preceding statement.

(12) – *sto* *milito* *tis* *ekanan* *tis* *prosklisis?* *Jiati*
to-the speaking them issued-they the invitations? Because
se mena tin ekanan *me* *mail.*
to me it issued-they by mail.
'Were the invitations issued by word of mouth? Because mine came by e-mail.'

– **ela** *min* *ise* *axaristos,* *se* *mena* δ*en* *tin*
come-part. not be-2nd s. Imp. ungrateful, to me not it
ekanan *ute* *me* *e-mail.*
issued-they nor by e-mail.
'**Come on** (*ela*), don't be ungrateful, to me they didn't even send an e-mail.'

(GkWaC 1236)

(13) – *ine* *toso* *aliotiki* *afti* *i* *politia* – θ*a* *i*θ*ela* *na*
is so different this the country – will wanted-I to
ziso *tin* *ipolipi* *zoi* *mu* *eki.*
live-I the rest life my there.
'This country is so different – I would love to spend the rest of my life there.'

– ***ela*** 　　　　　*epitelus*　*sinelθe*　　　　　*ipa.*
　come-part.　at-last　get-real-2nd s. Imp.　said-I.
　'"Oh, **come on** (*ela*), get real" I said.'

<div align="right">(GkWaC 15613)</div>

In terms of metaphorical motivation and the tendencies predicted by cross-linguistic mappings, the challenging uses may be plausibly characterized as instances of an originally spatial meaning (i.e., deictic motion) extending, possibly through the hortative contexts, to the speech act domain (a tendency attested in many languages and for different kinds of words – cf. Sweetser 1990). Indeed, we may suggest that one aspect of meaning in challenging *ela* is to issue a metaphorical invitation to the addressee to the effect that he should abandon his position and move toward the position of the speaker, hence the challenge (see also section 3.4)[10]. This extension is motivated by the widely documented CHANGE IS MOTION conceptual metaphor (e.g. *he went crazy*, *economy seems to spiral downwards*) and is compatible with the directive semantics of the imperative and the deictic motion meaning of *ela* (= "move to where I am"). Relating the challenging meaning to the conceptual motivation of the metaphorical mapping goes some way into accounting for its existence in different languages although, as noted above, not all languages with motional or hortative 'come' extend it to the expression of challenge.

Although it is important to recognize the strong motivational tendencies and embed the multi-functionality of *ela* in well-documented paths of semantic change and grammaticalization, it is equally important to recognize that specialized discourse-pragmatic functions and individual morpho-syntactic and prosodic properties of each of the *ela*-based patterns we discuss are not predictable from properties of related constructions or from any general diachronic trends. In the following sections, we analyse five such patterns including that introduced by simple *ela* (as in (10)–(11)). The other patterns are *ela tora, ela more, ela de*, and *ela pu* each featuring *ela* in combination with other lexical (*tora* 'now'), particle-like (*more, de* 'intensifying particles'), or grammatical (*pu* 'that') elements. Drawing on corpus-based research, we sought to confirm the initial intuition that the combinations above function as collocations, characterized by meaning that is not derivable from their components and creating specific expectations regarding the preceding and following context. We attempt a principled

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10 Pavlidou (1994) also assumes a metaphorical motivation for telephone-call *ela* (from the literal motion sense). It should be noted however that contrary to the exclamative/challenging use, the use of deictic motion verbs as conventional call openings is not common cross-linguistically.

description, keeping track of the compositional part of the meaning in each case while identifying pattern-idiosyncratic properties.

3 The *ela*-based challenging constructions: data, methodology, hypothesis

Data (in the following as well as preceding sections) were extracted from the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC) available on Sketch Engine (www.sketchengine. co.uk), which is comprised of Internet texts – mostly blogs, but also business, organization, and government websites – downloaded in 2007. Additional data from newspapers (printed in the 1990s and early 2000s), literary works and parliamentary records were extracted from the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC) (http://hnc.ilsp.gr/en/). Both were searched in 2012–2013 using the corresponding concordance program. Given the informal/familiar register of the expressions at hand most data expectedly came from the GkWaC and in particular blogs, which clearly exhibit oral register. This is the closest we could get to naturally occurring speech, given that at the moment there are no oral corpora available with associated concordance programs for Greek.

In particular, fifty randomly-selected examples of each pattern were annotated systematically for the following factors: the sentence type and speech-act force of the utterance preceding the *ela*-based expression, the sentence type and speech-act force of the turn introduced by the *ela*-based expression, the text type (monologic or dialogic) each of the patterns may appear in, typical lexical choices before and after the *ela* expression, and finally morpho-syntactic and intonational features (cf. Footnote 13 and section 4, which discusses the experimental intonational evidence) compatible or uniquely associated with each pattern. Although results remain to be statistically verified, we detected a clear quantitative relation between various pragmatic, textual, and prosodic factors and the occurrence of specific *ela* patterns, amounting to robust trends worth of further statistical analysis.

Our analysis, therefore, does not simply assume meaning differences based on unverifiable intuitions, nor does it ascribe speaker motivations based on example-by-example interpretations, since speaker intent cannot be directly ascertained in a replicable manner. Rather, we test hypotheses about meaning or function indirectly, by relying on clues in the linguistic context (Sankoff 1988: 154); contrary to their treatment in reference grammars, which suggests that these *ela*-based expressions are in free variation expressing some sort of speaker attitude (Tzartzanos 1963: 25–27), we show that these patterns do not in fact vary

freely. On the one hand, they share a general pragmatic function and morpho-syntax that justify their treatment as a family of related constructions. Indeed, the "challenging" function appears to be overarching pragmatics for all the sub-constructions we look at in the following sections. On the other hand, they are each conditioned by particular contextual features strongly favoring the occurrence of one or the other.

3.1 The (simple) *ela* construction

The utterance introduced by simple *ela* is typically in the form of an independent, self-standing clause, e.g., (14)–(15):

(14) – oli   i   xroni   ine   tropi   veltiosis   tu   NTU   ke   tis
       all   the   times   are   ways   improvement   the   NTU   and   the
       sxolis   Ilektroloyon
       school   electrical.engineer
       'All times are ways of improving the National Technical University and the
       School of Electrical Engineering in particular.'

   – **ela**   sinaδelfe   afta   mas   ta   'pan   ki   ali
     come-part.   colleague-voc   these   us   them   say-they   and   others
     '**Come on** (*ela*), colleague, people have said so in the past to no avail.'
                                                                                   (GkWaC 10934)

(15) – jia   na   leme   ke   tu   stravu   to   δikjo   pandos   i
       for   to   say-we   and   the   blind   the   right   though   the
       Charlize   ine   talentara
       Charlize   is   talent-great
       'To be fair, though, Charlize is a great talent.'

   – **ela**   re   peδja   ...   pu   iδate   to   talendo   tis
     come-part.   re   folks-voc   ...   where   see-you   the   talent   the
     Theron   sti   sigekrimeni   tenia?
     Theron   in-the   particular   film?
     '**Come on** (*ela*) folks, where exactly did you see Theron's talent in the
     particular film?'
                                                                                   (GkWaC 18598)

Both examples illustrate clearly the particular function associated with simple *ela*, namely the challenging of the *speech act force* of the preceding utterance. This is explicitly done in (14) through the following clause ("these were *said*

by others as well"), and is also a possible reading in (15) where the speaker of the *ela*-turn directly questions the assertion of the previous speaker regarding Theron's talent by using a rhetorical question. The vocative forms which follow *ela*, representing typical contexts in this use, further testify to its deverbal status: Vocatives do not form a syntactic part of a clause, but, inflected for number, they nevertheless provide information about the addressee(s) respectively. In example (15), the addressees are clearly more than one, yet *ela* occurs in its fixed ("singular") form.[11]

That *ela* targets the speech act force of the preceding utterance, rather than its propositional content, is not immediately obvious in all examples; in particular, in cases where the preceding utterance is a statement or assertion and the text following *ela* does not disambiguate toward one or the other interpretation, as for example in (15), it may not always be possible to tease apart the difference between a speech act reading (I challenge your stating/saying/claiming so) and a propositional one (I challenge the truth of what you said). Aside from the validity of the distinction as demonstrated in a wide array of data (Sweetser 1990; Dancygier and Sweetser 2005), our argument draws on the existence of examples that are unambiguously speech act (along with the ambiguous ones), e.g., (14) above, also (16), whereas there are no examples which support only a propositional reading. In (16), the speaker of the *ela*-turn comments clearly on the banality of the claim urging the hearer to *say* something else by means of the following imperative.

(16) – *ti   vlepis?*
        what   see-you?
        'What do you see?'

  – *vlepo   ...   vlepo   ...   vlepo   esena   pantu*
     see-I   ...   see-I   ...   see-I   you   everywhere
     'I see ... I see ... I see you everywhere!'

  – **ela**   *aiδies,   tetrimeno   banal,   pes*   *oti*
     come-part. bullshit, unimaginative banal,   say-2nd s. Imp.   that
     vlepis   kati   alo   ...
     see-you   something   else   ...
     '**Oh come on** (*ela*), this is bullshit, unimaginative, banal; say you see something else ...'

                                                                        (GkWaC 323)

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11 The use of *elate* (2nd person plural) in this context would not be inconceivable or uninterpretable, but its absence from the corpora signals that the *ela* form is the generalized one as the expression of exclamative challenge.

The procedural function of *ela* to the effect that it issues instructions as to the interpretation of the surrounding context is clearly evidenced in the few monologic examples in our sample where it imposes a dialogic interpretation by evoking an imaginary addressee, e.g., (11) above and (17):

(17) *ayapito   mu   imerolojio,   xtes   to   vraδi   imun   sto*
     dear   my   diary,   yesterday   the   evening   was-I   at-the
     *ynosto   mayazi   tis   Eolu   (**ela**   sixenome   ti*
     known   shop   the   Aeolou   (**come**-part.   hate-I   the
     δiafimisi).   Piya   ja   ena   poto.
     advertisement).   Went-I   for   a   drink.
     'Dear diary, last night I was at the usual place at Aeolou (**come on** (*ela*),
     I hate advertising). I only went for a drink.'

     (GkWaC 2281)

The statement following *ela*, relating to the speaker's attitude to advertising, appears to be irrelevant to the topic discussed, which is the speaker's outing the previous evening. Nevertheless, on the assumption of the Cooperative Principle, it must be relevant. The speaker's attitude towards advertising here can only make sense if some material is added. *Ela* evokes precisely this utterance. More specifically, it creates the assumption that an imaginary addressee has asked for the name of the place the speaker visited. By giving the reason why she does not grant the favour, the speaker metonymically implies her refusal to comply with the request. In other words, *ela* evokes an utterance that constitutes a missing premise ("my interlocutor has asked for the name of the place") in generating the implicature "I will not give you the name of the place". In short, *ela* in this context introduces the reason why the presumed request will not be granted. Clearly then, as outlined in the relevant syllogism, *ela* distinctly evokes propositional content to which it "reacts":

P1: Interlocutor 1 has made reference to a place she's been (utterance-based).
P2: When people refer to places they know, they typically provide their names (culture-based).
P3: Interlocutor 1 has not provided the name of the place (utterance-based).
P4: Interlocutor 2 has asked for the name of the place (*ela*-based).
P5: Providing names of places, especially on the internet, is typically taken to constitute advertising (culture-based).
P6: Interlocutor 1 explicitly says that she loathes advertising (utterance-based).
Implicated conclusion: Interlocutor 1 will not provide the name of the place.

In one variety, the *ela*-introduced utterance consists of *ela* and possibly a vocative form, but nothing else, i.e. there is no independent clause following *ela* and thus no additional context which supports the challenge interpretation. We give an example in (18):

(18) – *ðen   ksero   ti   θesis   exi   ala   vareθika   tus   knites   me*
     not   know-I   what   views   has   but   be-sick-I   the   knites   with
     ti   mizerja   tus   ke   ta   entexna   tus.   ðen   ksero   an
     the   misery   their   and   the   arty   their.   not   know   if
     i   ali   ine   kaliteri   pantos   ine   pjo-liji
     the   others   are   better   but   are   fewer.
     'I don't know his views exactly but I'm sick of the communist (party) youth, their misery and their arty music. I don't know if the others are better, but they are fewer.'

  – *bravo   peði   mu.   ke   is   anotera*
    congratulations   child   my.   and   to   higher!
    'Congratulations, my son! I'm so proud of you!'

  – **ela**   *re   mana   ...*
    come-part.   re   mother   ...
    '**Come on** (*ela*) re mum!'

  – *pos   milas   etsi?   pu   ise?   se   poria   pali?*
    how   talk-you   so?   where   are-you?   at   march   again?
    'How dare you talk to me like that? Where are you? In a demonstration again?'

                                                             (GkWaC 1067)

The monolexemic exclamative challenge (by the youngster) is directed toward his mother's ironic exclamative that precedes. Crucially, the existence of such examples seems to suggest that the meaning of challenge is lexicalized in *ela*, since the interpretation here is unambiguously the challenging of the preceding speech act (as opposed, for example, simple acknowledgment of the addressee's utterance along the lines of "Got you" or "I heard you"). In turn, this raises the possibility that *ela* is *lexically* polysemous (we take this point up in section 5).

Table 1 summarizes the *ela* features we discussed in this section.

Two slots in Table 1 should be clarified further; first, the term "polite" is used here (and in all Tables in the following sections) to refer to second-order politeness, or Politeness2, as a "theoretical construct, a term within a theory of social behaviour and language usage" (Watts et al. 2005: 3), which encompasses "the

Table 1: The simple *ela* construction

	Text type	Dialogic
Pragmatics	Conversational Structure Interactional Style Register Speech act force of turn₂ (*ela* turn)	Re-active, turn-initial Polite Informal/familiar Challenging of preceding speech act
Morpho-syntax	turn₂ (*ela* turn)	a. Particle + (vocative) + independent clause b. Particle + vocative c. Particle + ☞
Intonation		Fall
Lexis		/*ela*/

entire range of behaviours and linguistic forms reflecting and/or affecting people's standing in relation to one another" (Terkourafi 2012: 619). In this respect, Politeness2 covers the use of all forms that are somehow marked for or related to interpersonal relations, as opposed to being neutral, and its inclusion in the constructional specifications is meant to reflect the fact that the use of the *ela*-based challenging patterns is necessarily tied to the social substratum of the conversation. Therefore, it also covers an example like (18), which is not about saving face, but reflects a strictly speaking "impolite" behavior, as evidenced by the mother's reply to the *ela* turn. Secondly, falling tone as the value of the intonation attribute was ascertained on the basis of the pronunciation of the two informants we used for the intonation study described in section 4, and it refers to the fall between the starting f_0 value of the *ela* word and the ending f_0 value of the word that immediately follows *ela* (i.e. *tora*, *more*, *pu*, or any word in the case of simple *ela*). Four of the five patterns we discuss are in fact associated with a falling tone, consistent with the "exclamatory fall" usually linked with the exclamative function in European languages (Wells 2006: 59–61). The necessity of having prosodic specifications for conversational constructions such as those we analyze here is further discussed in section 4.

3.2 The *ela tora* construction

In the *ela tora* combination, *ela* departs from the cross-pattern valid generalization to the effect that as an expression of exclamative challenge it behaves

morpho-syntactically like a particle rather than a verb. When followed by the word *tora* 'now', *ela* may appear in the second person plural form, either in true plural contexts (19) or as the plural of politeness (20)[12]:

(19) – *oxi δen ixe kunjes sto δasos, ala I dikja sas δen*
      no not had swings in-the wood, but the own your not
      δiamartiriθike (δen exete δi pjo kalovolo
      complained-she (not have-you seen more obliging
      kakomaθimeno!)
      spoilt!)
      'No, there were no swings in the wood, but your friend did not complain (you have never met such an obliging brat!)'

   – ***elate tora, min griniazete, I epomeni***
      come-2nd pl.Imp. **now**, not complain-2nd pl. Imp., the next
      eksormisi stin peδiki-xara ine konta!
      outing to-the playground is near!
      '**Come now** (*elate tora*), don't complain, our next outing to the playground is approaching!'

                                               (GkWaC 95647)

(20) – *θa prepi na ine kanis tiflos jia na min vlepi oti*
      will must to be one blind for to not see-he that
      jia sas paratisa oti ixa ke δen ixa, oti θa
      for you left-I whatever had-I and not had-I, that will
      eδina ti zoi mu jia xari sas.
      gave-I the life my for sake your
      'One must be blind not to see that I left everything behind just for you, that I would give my life for you.'

---

12 As pointed out by a reviewer, this may raise questions as to the particle status of *ela* that we have claimed for all the challenging-exclamative uses. However, it is clear that the 2nd person plural form is restricted to the combination with *tora* and it is also very rare in the corpus, pointing to a vestige of verbal use. Without denying that in this context *ela* may still retain (morphologically) verb status, it should be also clear that function- and syntax-wise it is fully analogous to all other *ela* (non-conjugated) challenging-exclamative uses. It should be also noted that even in the plural politeness form, the use of *ela tora* evokes an informal context and serves to diminish the social distance between speaker and addressee.

> – ***elate*** 　　　　***tora***. *ynorizete* 　*poli* 　*kala* 　*oti* 　*ime*
> 　**come**-pl.part. 　**now**. 　know-you-p. 　very 　well 　that 　am
> 　*anθropos* 　*sas* 　　*mexri* 　*to* 　　*meδuli.*
> 　man 　　　Your 　　to 　　the 　　marrow.
> 　'**Oh, come now** (*elate tora*). You know only too well that I'm yours to the
> 　very bone.'

> – *papse* 　　　　　*epitelus* 　　*na* 　*mu* 　*milas* 　　*se* 　*afto* 　*ton*
> 　Stop-2nd s. Imp. 　at-long-last 　to 　me 　talk-you 　in 　this 　the
> 　*emetiko* 　*pliθintiko!*
> 　hateful 　　plural!
> 　'At long last! Stop addressing me in this hateful plural.'

<div align="right">(GkWaC 93954)</div>

Formally, therefore, an *ela/elate tora* exclamative is distinguished from an *ela/elate tora* (motion or hortative) imperative only by intonation (see section 4). In terms of pragmatic force, however, the former challenges a preceding utterance (as in the examples above) while the latter is clearly directive and (possibly) motional. The existence of a distinct *ela tora* pattern in the family of exclamatives is supported by further specialized pragmatics associated with this particular combination; in particular, the occurrence of *ela tora* appears to correlate strongly with the speech act force of the preceding utterance, which in the majority of examples is typically a complaint or accusation, or anything that can in context be construed as such. This is true of examples (19)–(20) above, and from the corpus search it emerges as a robust priming factor; out of 50 *ela tora* sample examples, 42 were unambiguously of this type, the speaker of the *ela tora* utterance challenging or rejecting the "right" of complaining by the addressee. In example (19), this is explicitly stated in the segment following *elate tora* (cf. *min griniazete* 'do not complain'), and this is the interpretation in all other examples as well. As all exclamative *ela*'s, *ela tora* conventionally evokes a preceding utterance; additionally, however, it sets up a conventional expectation to the effect that the preceding utterance be a complaint. In support, consider also example (21) which provides straightforward evidence for the conventionalized pragmatics at hand:

(21) 　– *tosa* 　　*xronja* 　*meyalosan* 　*me* 　　*ti* 　　*mana* 　*tus,* 　*enas*
　　　　so-many 　years 　grew-up-they 　with 　the 　mother 　their, 　a
　　　　θeos 　*kseri* 　*ti* 　　*tus* 　*exi* 　*pi* 　*ji* 　*afton.* 　*Θa*
　　　　god 　knows 　what 　them 　has 　said 　for 　him. 　will
　　　　pistevun 　　*oti* 　*o* 　　*aryiris* 　*ine* 　*kanena* 　*teras* 　　*me* 　　*kerata*
　　　　believe-they 　that 　the 　Aryiris 　is 　some 　　monster 　with 　horns.

'They've been with their mother for such a long time, God knows what she's told them about him. They probably believe that Argyris is a monster with horns.'

– *kerata?*
horns?
'Horns?'

– **ela**   ***tora***   *ki*   *esi*   ...   *mu*   *ksefije*   ...
 come-part.   **now**   and   you   ...   me   slipped-it   ...
 '**Oh, come now** (*ela tora*), it slipped my tongue ...'

<div align="right">(GkWaC 92855)</div>

Here, the one-word utterance preceding the *ela tora* turn (*kerata?* 'horns?') is in principle amenable to several interpretations (e.g., the interlocutor may not have heard the word and repeats it for confirmation, or questions its meaning or appropriateness). Yet, the speaker of the *ela tora* turn unambiguously interprets it as a complaint to which he apologizes.

    Given the conventional association of *ela tora* with a preceding complaint and the resulting interpretation of "stop it/cut it", *tora* 'now' may be argued to make a predictable semantic contribution, meaning "immediately, right now". This analysis clearly presupposes the existence of an individual constructional pattern, with conventional semantic-pragmatic import, *in which* the lexical item *tora* may be seen as carrying one of its standard meanings; that this is constructionally-restricted compositionality is evidenced by the impossibility of replacing *tora* by any of its synonyms or paraphrases (*amesos* 'immediately', *afti ti stiymi* 'this minute') while maintaining the challenging/rejecting interpretation. *Tora* can thus be said to retain its basic deictic semantics but the constructional context requires that this semantics now modifies a constructionally-derived interpretation.

    Table 2 summarizes the basic features of *ela tora*.

3.3 The *ela more* construction

The particle *more* is defined by Babiniotis (2002) as an exclamation typically preceding a vocative, adding emphasis (e.g. *afiste me **more** ρeδja na kano ti δulia mu* 'You guys, just let me do my job'), or as generally expressing protest, complaint, wondering (***more** ti mas les!* 'You don't say!'). It might seem reasonable then to suggest that in combination with dialogic *ela* it predictably adds emphasis, enhancing the expression of challenge. Corpus research, however, clearly supports

Table 2: The *ela tora* construction

	Text type	Dialogic
Pragmatics	Conversational Structure	Re-active, turn-initial
	Interactional Style	Polite
	Register	Informal/familiar
	Speech act force of turn$_1$	Complaint/accusation
	Speech act force of turn$_2$ (*ela* turn)	Challenging of preceding speech act
Syntax	turn$_2$ (*ela* turn)	a. Particle + (vocative) + independent clause
		b. Particle + vocative
		c. Particle + ∅
Morphology		2nd person singular/plural
Intonation		Fall
Lexis		/*ela* tora/

a specialized pragmatic function for *ela more*, that we may label "dismissive" pragmatics; *ela more* construes the preceding utterance by the addressee (content or speech act-wise) as insignificant or unimportant.

(22) – *tis   leo   to   sima   δen   ine   efkoli   ipoθesi   θeli*
        her   tell-I   the   trade-mark   not   is   easy   task   needs
        liji   δulja.
        little   work
        'I tell her the trade-mark is not an easy task, it needs work.'

   – ***ela   more**   avrio   θa   to   exis   etimo.*
      ela-part. **more**   tomorrow   will   it   have-you   ready.
      'Oh, come on/don't fuss (*ela more*), you'll have it ready by tomorrow.'
                                                                  (GkWaC 55052)

Since the preceding utterance can perform a variety of speech acts (statement, complaint, accusation, etc.) a generalization in terms of the preceding context is not readily available. However, evidence for the *ela more* specialization comes from at least two other features of the linguistic context: the first is the semantics of words in the preceding or following context, which conventionally express the "no big deal/not important/downplay" concept as part of their lexical meaning, e.g. (23)–(24), hence priming the occurrence of *ela more*. The second is the possibility to nominalize *ela more* (by means of a preceding article) and

use it as an expression that can be glossed as "who cares/gives a damn", as in
(25)–(26):

(23) *min to pernis elafra tu stil* **"ela more,**
not it take-you lightly the style **"come**-part. **more,**
peδiko ine". Θa katalavis poli perisotero jiati i
for-children is". will understand-you much more why the
xaraktires feronte opos feronte o enas ston alon.
characters behave-they as behave-they the one to-the other.
'Don't take it lightly, like **"come on**, it's only for children". You will under-
stand much better why the characters treat each other the way they do.'

(GkWaC 29529)

(24) *na apaksiononte oli ke kirios na enisxiete i*
to be-scorned everyone and mainly to be-supported the
apopsi tu **"ela more,** *stin elaδa δen jinete*
view the **"come**-part. more, in-the Greece not happens
pote tipota ...".!
ever anything ..."!
'to scorn everybody and support the view **"oh come on**, nothing can ever be
done in Greece ..."!'

(HNC 3053)

(25) *vevea, pantu ke panta, poso malon se katastasis*
of-course, everywhere and always, much more in situations
krisis to **"ela more"** *iperisxii. ke δistixos*
crisis the **"come**-part. **more"** wins-over. and unfortunately
plironete.
is-paid-for.
'Of course it's always the case, everywhere, much more so in times of crisis,
that the **"it's no big deal"** can be heard all too often. Unfortunately, we
regret it.'

(GkWaC 61417)

(26) *to kinima tu* **"ela more"**
the movement the **"come**-part. **more"**
'The **"no big deal"** movement.' (title of an article posted by a well-known
Greek journalist on May 14, 2013)

In (23) and (24) words or expressions denoting synonymous concepts (*to pernis
elafra* 'take this lightly' and *apaksiononde* 'are devalued/degraded') appear in the

preceding context. The correlation between *ela more* and such contexts, amounting to a clear semantic prosody, is extremely high (45 out of 50 random examples are of this type), which points to a high degree of conventionalization for the dismissive challenge and accounts for the use of the expression as a noun in examples like (25)–(26), where the "who cares/gives a damn" interpretation is the only possible one even without supporting context.

The "lexicalization" of *ela more* as a collocation associated with a distinct pragmatic function is further supported by the scarcity of hortative (non-challenging) examples, where *more* would be simply construed as emphasizing or strengthening hortative *ela*. Out of 210 (total) *ela more* hits in the GkWaC, only 2 were of the non-challenging variety. Further, the high entrenchment of *ela more* is evidenced by cases where the expression occurs with other *ela*-based turn openers, such as *ela pu* (3.5) or *ela tora* (3.2). Although such examples are very few, they are characterized by fixed word-order (*ela more tora* but not *ela tora more[13], *ela more pu* but not *ela pu more), and the resulting interpretation is always that of dismissive challenge associated with *ela more*, e.g., (27). We interpret this as evidence to the effect that the *ela more* construction superimposes its requirements on the other sub-patterns cancelling out or back-grounding their associated meanings.

(27) *otan   persi   pirame   to   kipelo, i   yavri leyane*
    when   last-year won-we   the   cup,   the   yavri said-they
    *"**ela**   **more tora** to   kipelaki?"*   to   iðjio kipelo*
    "**come**-part. **more now** the   cup-dimin.?" the   same   cup
    panijirizan   fetos   san   treli
    celebrated-they this-year like   crazy.
    'When we won the cup last year, our opponents said "**come on/no big deal (ela more) now**, this little cup?". It is the same cup they celebrated like crazy this year,...'
                                                  (GkWaC 22285)

Table 3 summarizes the features of the *ela more* pattern.

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13 There is only one example in the GkWaC featuring *ela tora more*. Here as well the interpretation is that associated with *ela more* (not *ela tora*).

Table 3: The *ela more* construction

	Text type	Dialogic
Pragmatics	Conversational Structure Interactional Style Register Speech act force of turn₂ (*ela*-introduced turn)	Re-active, turn-initial Polite Informal/familiar Dismissive challenge of preceding utterance
Semantics		Semantic prosody (diminutives, lexical "dismissiveness")
Morpho-syntax	turn₂ (*ela* turn)	a. Particle + (vocative) + independent clause b. Particle + vocative c. Particle + ⌀
Intonation		Fall
Lexis		/*ela more*/

3.4 The *ela (mu) de* construction

This construction features *ela* in combination with the particle *de*. In Babiniotis (2002) *de* is defined as a particle of informal register with hortative meaning and several "emotive overtones", which intensifies the meaning of the preceding word, typically an imperative. As an exclamative dialogic turn-opener, *ela de* forms a prosodic unit, clearly separated from the following segment (this is reflected consistently in the corpus by punctuation marks, in particular exclamation marks, periods and points of omission). To the extent that the corpus texts are for the most part highly informal chat-rooms and blogs reflecting oral use, it stands to reason that the systematic occurrence of punctuation reflects speakers' mental production of a prosodically independent exclamation.

In some of the examples, the genitive singular form of the first person personal pronoun ("weak"/clitic form) *mu* appears between *ela* and *de*, e.g., (28):

(28) – *kapjos   prepi   na   apoδiksi   pos   an   δen   valis   ton   iljo,*
      someone has   to   prove-he   that   if   not   put-you   the   sun,
     ton   aera,   to   nero   ke   ti   ji   isotimus   sineterus,   θa
     the   air,   the   water   and   the   earth   equal   partners,   will
     spasume   ta   mutra   mas.   Pjos   θa   to   apoδiksi   afto
     break-we   the   face   our.   Who   will   it   prove-he   this
     maθimatika?
     mathematically?

'Someone's got to prove that if the Sun, the Air, the Water and the Earth are not equal partners, we're going to have a hard time. Who can prove that mathematically?'

– **ela**   mu **de** pjos? i   amerikaniki ikonomia
   ela-part. me de who? The American   economy
   exi-paθi-plaka me   ti   nea   *katastasi*.
   is-helpless   with the new   state-of-affairs.
   '**Who indeed** (*ela de*)? The American economy is helpless in the current state of affairs.'

(GkWaC 93212)

The occurrence of this *mu* form of the pronoun is interesting in two respects. First, it reflects a common pattern in the use of literal, motional *ela*, e.g., (29), where *mu*, explicitly and redundantly, denotes the goal of motion, i.e., the speaker:

(29) **ela**   **mu** δο   na ksaploθis   ke   mi   mu
     come-2nd sg.Imp. **me** here to lie-down-you and   not   me
     fernis   ala.
     bring-you   other-things.
     '**Come to me** here and lie down, and don't bring me anything more.'

(GkWaC 75247)

In this sense, it may be said to provide evidence for the semantic motivation (as outlined in section 2.3) for the development of challenging dialogic *ela* as urging the interlocutor to "come" to the "location" (view) of the speaker. It is also the only case among the patterns discussed where the anchoring to the speaker, characteristic of exclamations (cf. Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996), becomes explicit through the use of the pronoun (**ela mu*, **ela mu pu*, **ela mu tora*, **ela mu more* do not occur with the meaning of challenge). This in turn may not be unrelated to the fact that *ela de* is a pattern which does not express challenge directly and in which the speaker essentially agrees with the interlocutor (see the discussion below).

This special semantic-pragmatic function of *ela (mu) de* – we may dub it "challenge by proxy" – qualifies it as a separate construction, since the hortative/intensifying function of *de* as a particle does not predict the distribution and use of *ela (mu) de*. As in the case of the previous patterns, there emerge from the corpus strong correlations between *ela de* and very specific conditions in the preceding context supporting a special pragmatic function. In 38 (of 50) examples, the preceding utterance is a question, which the speaker of the *ela (mu) de* turn

echoes, implying "good question!" or "well put" (the echoing, at least in our rendering of the examples, is also prosodic since the *ela (mu) de* utterance is characterized by the contour of the preceding question and varies according to the type of question and its associated prosody). The challenge in this case (hence the link with the overarching function in the *ela* family of exclamatives) is thus performed by the interlocutor, i.e. the speaker of the preceding question, who typically uses it to challenge an established or contextually-available "truth", idea or suggestion. This accounts for the fact that many of these questions, echoed by the speaker of the *ela de* turn, are rhetorical. Consider (28) above, also (30) here:

(30) – *klisto   trietes   simvoleo   tu   ekane   o   panmejistos*
          Closed   3-year   contract   him   made-he   the   gran
          psaras   ton   vorion   θalason.   Pu   θa   vri   o
          fisherman   the   north   seas.   Where   will   find-he   the
          yalos   kalitera   apo   ton   olimpiako???
          French   better   than   the   Olympiakos???
          'He was offered a full-proof three year contract by the grand fisherman of the North Seas. What could be better for the Frenchman than Olympiakos?'

      – **ela   de**   ...   *mia   xara   tin   pernane   meriki   ston*
          come-part.   **de**   ...   a   fun   it   have-they   some   in-the
          olimpiako   ...   kafenio   kanoniko   ...
          Olympiakos   ...   coffee-house   regular   ...
          '**What indeed** (*ela de*)? They are having great fun in Olympiakos, a regular coffee house it is.'

                                                                                                (GkWaC 85414)

Examples (28) and (30) are typical in containing rhetorical questions which the speaker of the *ela de* turns echoes. In (30) in particular, the question has the conventional form of a rhetorical, the only possible answer (should one be given) would be a negative one (The Frenchman won't find anywhere better than Olimbiakos [Greek football team]). The echoing of the question is also explicit in (28) in which the speaker of the *ela mu de* turn repeats the *wh-* word and in which the previous speaker, through his questions, challenges the wisdom of unrestrained development.

    In conclusion, it should be noted that, as is also the case for *ela more* (3.3), *ela (mu) de* can only have challenging/dialogic functions; motional and hortative meanings are not found in the corpus, again pointing to a collocational, unit-like status for *ela (mu) de*.

    Table 4 summarizes the features of the *ela (mu) de* pattern discussed above.

Table 4: The *ela (mu) de* construction

	Text type	Dialogic
Pragmatics	Conversational Structure	Re-active, turn-initial
	Interactional Style	Polite
	Register	Informal/familiar
	Speech act force of turn$_1$	Incredulous question, rhetorical question, request for information
	Speech act force of turn$_2$ (*ela* turn)	Echoing of speech act force of turn$_1$
Morpho-Syntax	Sentence type of turn$_1$	Interrogative
	turn$_2$ (*ela* turn)	a. Particle + independent clause b. Particle + ∅
Intonation		Question intonation (rising)
Lexis		/*ela (mu) de*/

3.5 The *ela pu* construction: Stretching the blueprint

The *ela pu* pattern departs from all other patterns in two ways, hence we may think of it as stretching the blueprint (in the sense of Fried and Östman 2004) of the *ela*-based constructions. It is the only pattern that occurs in monologic (narrative) texts (rather than introducing dialogue turns) and the only pattern in which *ela* and the following word (*pu*) cannot stand on their own as an independent exclamation[14], e.g., (31):

(31)　*θa　borusa　tote　na　jino　　plusios　ke　　na　exo*
　　　will　could-I　then　to　become-I　rich　　and　to　have-I
　　　*teliosi　jia　panda. **Ela**　　　**pu**　δen　ine　afto　pu　　me*
　　　finished　for　ever.　**come**-part.　**that**　not　is　　this　that　me
　　　apasxoli. Ime　　ksetrelamenos　me　　afto　pu　kano　ke　　δen
　　　bothers.　Am-I　crazy　　　　　with　this　that　do-I　and　not
　　　skopevo　na　alakso.
　　　plan-I　　to　change-I.

---

14 This is because *pu* is a grammatical morpheme that introduces different kinds of clauses (see discussion that follows) and can only appear with a following clause.

'I could have become rich and stop worrying about everything. **Despite of what you may think** (*ela pu*) this is not what's bothering me. I'm crazy about what I do and have no intention of changing it.'

(GkWaC 40889)

The primary function of *pu* in Modern Greek is to introduce dependent clauses, in particular complement clauses (complements of restricted classes of predicates), relative clauses, and adverbial clauses of various types (temporal, causal, contrastive/concessive) (cf. Tzartzanos 1963; Christidis 1981). For instance, after (literal) motional *ela*, *pu* can introduce an adverbial clause expressing cause, as in (32):

(32) *ela   kamari mu, mexri to   konaki tis arxontisas.*
     Come-2nd s. Imp. joy   my,   to   the   house   the lady's.
     *Jia **ela**   **pu**   se   θelume!*
     Just **come**-2nd sg. Imp. **because** you want-we!
     'Come, my joy, to the lady's house. **Come** here **because** (*pu*) we want you.'

(GkWaC 12982)

So, a motional and a challenging *ela pu* utterance are distinguished formally only by intonation (see section 4). However, in the challenging use *pu* cannot be plausibly said to introduce an adverbial clause of cause modifying *ela*; rather, the *ela pu* combination as a whole introduces an independent clause expressing some sort of contrast with the preceding context (see below). It should be noted however that this more peripheral use of *pu* is not unique and appears to be related to other uses which are motivated by the factive semantics generally recognized for all the different types of *pu* clauses (Christidis 1986; Nicholas 1999; Nikiforidou 2006). In such contexts, where *pu* appears after particles or verbs that do not normally take a sentential complement, the *pu* clause functions pretty much as an independent clause with given content (e.g. *ande* (= hortative particle) *pu su leo* 'go, I'm telling you', *trexa pu viazese* 'run, you're in a hurry', *mila pu su leo* 'talk, I'm telling you', etc.).[15] In this respect, the segment following *ela*, although syntactically marked as a dependent clause, functions as an independent one, thus approximating the typical syntactic context in all other *ela* exclamatives.

In examples like (31), *pu* introduces an expected conclusion or inference from the preceding context, which is disputed or cancelled by the speaker.

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15 As noted early on by Christidis (1982), even in clear complementation contexts, *pu* clauses retain a semi-independent status that renders them akin to nominal objects.

The challenging of the 'normal course of events' or the default expectations by the *ela pu* construction correlates with the frequent co-occurrence of contrastive conjunctions such as *omos* 'but, however', as in (33), or *ala* 'but', *em*, *am*, etc., which conventionally mark the counter to expectation development of events.

(33) *me   polus filus   apo   ton xoro   ton blogs simfonume*
      with   many friends from the space the blogs agree-we
      pos   i   apoxi   ke   to   lefko   ine katastrofika.
      that the abstaining and the white is   catastrophic.
      Ela   omos pu   *oso   plisiazi   i   mera,*
      come-part. **but**   **that** as-much-as approaches the day
      toso   pjo poli δen θelo   na pao na psifiso
      so-much more   not want-I to go-I to   vote-I
      'With several friends from blogs we agree that abstaining or casting a white vote is catastrophic. **And yet** (*ela omos pu*), the closer the day comes, the more I don't want to vote.'

                                                                (GkWaC 7804)

But what really sets the *ela pu* pattern apart from the others is that the challenge does not appear in a dialogic turn (by another speaker) but in a narrative sequence (by the same speaker); this in turn explains the total absence of vocatives, typical in other *ela*-based patterns. Yet, the predominant dialogic function of the *ela* exclamative constructions is imposed on the *ela pu* pattern as well; indeed, the special pragmatic force of an *ela pu* utterance is to frame the challenge in anticipation of an addressee in the larger context; in the case of blogs, webpages, and in general public interactional contexts, this is of course factually true, and although the addressee is generally not available in the immediately preceding turn, the speaker evokes his/her expected statement, only to challenge or reject it. But even in narratives embedded in non-interactional contexts (e.g. articles, book monologues, etc.) the "dialogic" pragmatics is conventionally evoked. This is independently supported by the attested switch to 2nd person discourse and quotes attributed to the character after the *ela pu* clause (in otherwise third person narratives) as in (34), or the occurrence of direct questions (to the evoked addressee) following the *ela pu* clause, as in (35):

(34) *i   ipoθesi an   I   Sultana Gatsiuδi akoluθuse   to*
      the   case   whether the Sultana Gatsiuδi followed-she the
      siziyo   tis, to   mikro jo,   tus sigenis ke   tus filus
      husband her, the young son, the relatives and the friends

sto	*staδio,*	*pezotan*		*mexri*	*tin*	*teleftea*	*stiymi.*	
to-the	stadium	was-undecided-it		until	the	last	minute.	
Ela		***omos***	***pu***	*δen*	*antexe*	*ke*	*moni*	*sto spiti.*
come-part.		**but**	**that**	not	stand-she	and	alone	at home.
Ase		*pu*	*I*	*tileorasi*	*ine*	*spasimo*		
let-2nd sg.Imp.		that	the	television	is	irritating.		

'Whether Sultana Gatsiudi was going to follow her husband, the young son, relatives and friends to the football stadium was undecided till the last minute. **Yet** *(ela omos pu)*, she could not stand being alone at home. Leave aside (the fact) that television is irritating.'

(HNC 1483794)

(35)
ine	*i*	*monaδiki*	*iδiotita*	*pu*	*bori*	*na*	*epikratisi*	*vasikon*
is	the	only	quality	that	can	to	control	basic
enstikton	*pu*	*iparxun*	*se*	*oles*	*tis*	*morfes*	*zois.*	***Ela***
instincts	that	exist-they	in	all	the	forms	life.	**come**-part.
omos	***pu***	*i*	*noimosini*	*exi*	*ke*	*merikes*	*θanatifores*	
but	**that**	the	intelligence	has	and	some	lethal	
parenerjies.	*Erxete*	*se*	*antiθesi*	*me*	*vasika*	*enstikta.*	*ti*	
side-effects.	comes-it	to	contrast	with	basic	instincts.	what	
piθanotita	*epiviosis*	*exi*	*ena*	*noimon*	*zoo*	*otan*	*ftasi*	
chances	survival	has	an	intelligent	animal	when	reaches	
na	*katalavi*	*oti*	*stin*	*praymatikotita*	*ine*	*stiymieo*	*ke*	
to	understand	that	in-the	reality	is	momentary	and	
simiako?								
semiotic?								

'It is the only quality that can control basic instincts that exist in all forms of life. **And yet** *(ela omos pu)*, intelligence has some lethal side-effects. What are an intelligent animal's chances of survival when it reaches the understanding that in reality it is momentary and semiotic?'

(GkWaC 27804)

Table 5 summarizes the features of the *ela pu* challenging pattern.

4 Evidence from intonation

Prominent in the formal makeup of a dialogic construction is prosody. Pitch range variation has been found to express categorical differences in meaning cross-linguistically (Ladd 1994, 2008; Chen 2003; Vanrell 2006; Borràs-Comes et al.

Table 5: The *ela pu* construction

	Text type	Monologic
Pragmatics	Rhetorical effect	Addressee evoking
	Interactional Style	Polite
	Register	Informal/familiar
	Speech act force of *ela pu* utterance	Challenge normal course of events/introduce content counter-to expectation
Morpho-Syntax	*ela pu* utterance	a. Particle + *pu* clause
Intonation		Fall
Lexis		/*ela pu*/

2014). Both the height of the initial f_0 and the f_0 range have been found to convey distinct intonational contrast in Italian (Savino and Grice 2011), Spanish (Face 2011) and Catalan (Borràs-Comes et al. 2014). On the basis of such results in other languages, we have thus investigated various parameters of f_0 range variation as they relate to prosodic features of the *ela* patterns.

In this section in particular, we seek to confirm the intuition that the challenging uses differ from the literal, hortative, and telephone-call ones also prosodically in terms of f_0 variation. To this effect we aimed to identify systematic differences in the pronunciation of *ela* (3.1), *ela tora* (3.2) and *ela pu* (3.5), which are the three patterns that exhibit both challenging and non-challenging uses. *Ela more* (3.3) and *ela de* (3.4) were not included in the contrastive analysis since, as noted in the corresponding sections, they only have the challenging function. Although our focus was on the overarching features in all three challenging patterns and their contrast with the non-challenging ones, there emerged also features that appear to differentiate systematically one particular challenging pattern from the others; although not part of this work, this raises the possibility of pattern-specific contours and merits further investigation.

4.1 Methodology

In order to experimentally test the intonation effect we recorded two 25 year old female speakers (A & I) using a noise reduction microphone in a quiet room. Each speaker read corpus-derived (with allowed context) non-challenging (= control) and challenging (= experimental) *ela*, *ela tora* and *ela pu* samples (30 of each type, 180 total). Before recording, each speaker was given time to familiarize with

the content of the text and was instructed to read each text with a natural, unmarked style. All texts were printed out on separate sheets and were shuffled before handed to the speakers. All speech samples were recorded using 22 KHz sampling rate and 16 bit resolution. We further used 70 Hz high-pass filter in order to eliminate background noise. All recordings were analyzed using Praat software (v. 5.3.42).

We measured the starting and ending f_0 values of the *ela* word and the starting and the ending f_0 values of the words that immediately follow *ela* (i.e. *tora*, *pu*, or *other* (*other* corresponds to the simple *ela* construction in which *ela* can be followed by just any word). In addition we measured the f_0 range of *ela* and the following words as the absolute difference between the starting and ending f_0 of their initial and ending f_0. Finally, we measured the f_0 rate of change per millisecond calculated as absolute value of the difference of the f_0 start and the f_0 ending of the word divided by the word's duration measured in milliseconds.

For the purposes of the analysis, we fitted linear mixed models[16] with dependent variables the initial and ending f_0 measurements and the respective range of *ela* and the following words and the f_0 change rate of *ela* and the following words.

Both absolute pitch height and pitch rate of change have been previously used as markers of various pragmatic functions[17] and we systematically measured them in all the utterances of the corpus. As fixed factors, we used the type of the utterance (control or experimental) and the word following *ela* (effectively distinguishing the three patterns *ela* (= other), *ela tora*, *ela pu*). Since our two female speakers exhibited considerable variation in f_0 range[18], we used Speaker as a random effect variable in order to assume a different "baseline" pitch value for each subject. In this way we can model these individual differences by assuming different random intercepts for each speaker.

In order to attain p-values, we used Likelihood Ratio Tests[19] between an intercept-only model, i.e. a model where we estimate just the mean of the dependent variable and many augmented models containing our fixed factor in various

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16 Linear Mixed Models were performed using lme4 package of the R statistical language (Bates et al. 2013).

17 Steep pitch change rate has been associated previously to positive predisposition to new information (Freese and Maynard 1998: 198).

18 For example, the mean f_0 range of the *ela* word for Speaker A was 65 Hz and for Speaker I 40 Hz respectively. An independent samples t-test was performed to evaluate the above mentioned mean differences and was found to be statistically significant (t = 6.9, p < 0.0001).

19 The procedure was performed using a customized R function which iteratively fits (via maximum likelihood instead of restricted ML) models reduced by each fixed effect and compares them to the full model, yielding a vector of p-values based on $\chi^2(1)$.

combinations. In each case, we conclude that a fixed effect is significant if the difference between the likelihood of these two models is significant. More specifically the models which contrasted with the intercept-only model are:

1. A fixed effect model using the "Type of Utterance"
2. A fixed effect model using the "Word following *ela*"
3. An interaction model between "Type of Utterance" and "Word following *ela*".

4.2 Results

First, significant results concern the steepness of the fall of the intonation curve of the *ela* word which crucially varies according to whether the utterance belongs to the control or the experimental group, and also according to the particular pattern (i.e. according to the word that follows *ela*). As shown in Figure 1, the "Utterance type" was found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 20.5$, $p < 0.0001$) affecting the f_0 change rate of the pronunciation of *ela*. More specifically, experimental (challenging) utterances exhibited significant higher f_0 change rates of *ela* (76.1 Hz/sec ± 16.6 standard errors) compared to the control utterances, implying a much steeper f_0 movement in the pronunciation of all three *ela*, *ela tora* and *ela pu* in their challenging function. Interaction of the fixed factors was also found statistically significant ($\chi^2(1) = 24.6$, $p = 0.0001$).
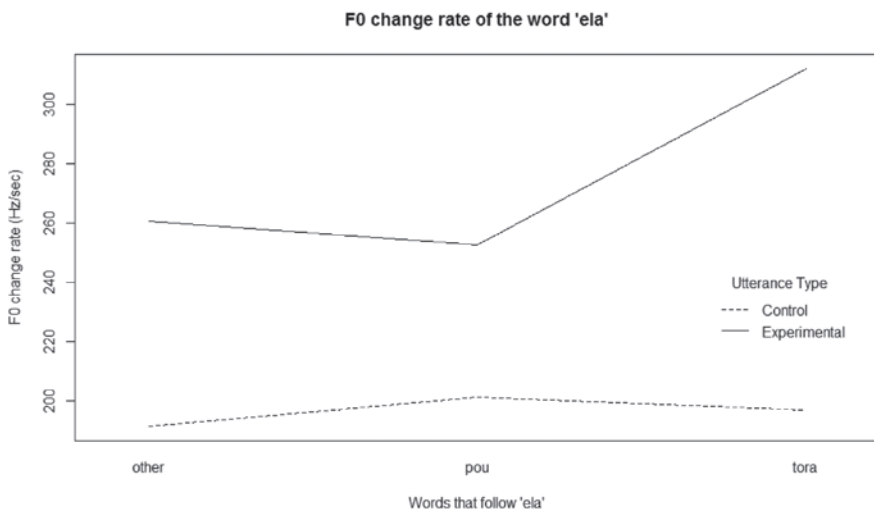
Fig. 1: f_0 change rate of *ela* according to the utterance type and the words that follow it.

F0 range of 'ela' across different utterance type and following words
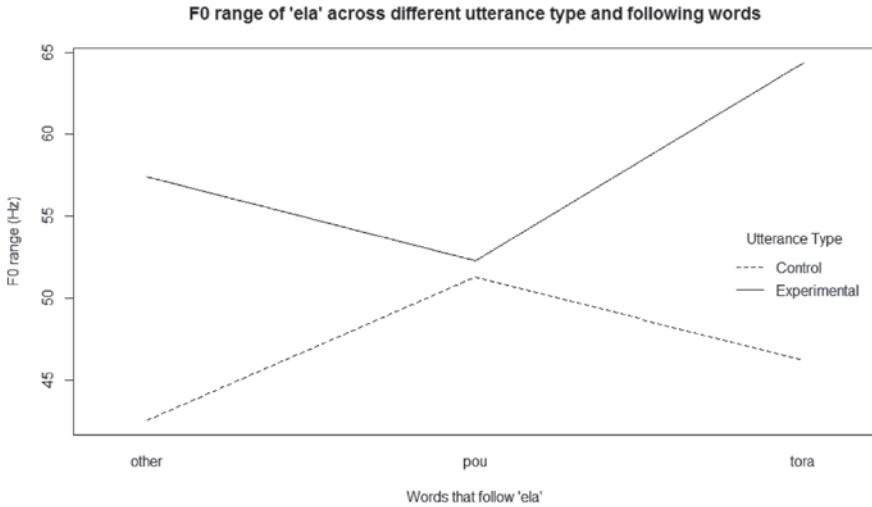
Fig. 2: f_0 range of *ela* according to the utterance type and the words that follow it.

We further tested whether the f_0 range of *ela* is associated with the "Utterance Type" and the words that follow it. Here also we had a statistically significant effect of the variable "Utterance Type" which affected the f_0 range of *ela* ($\chi^2(1) = 14.3$, p = 0.0001) with the experimental condition to extend it by 13.7 Hz ± 3.6 (standard errors) (cf. Figure 2). It seems then that the pronunciation of *ela* in challenging functions covers a broader frequency spectrum than the corresponding control utterances, especially as it concerns the simple *ela* construction and *ela tora*.

Whereas the initial f_0 of *ela* was not affected significantly in the challenging uses (compared to the non-challenging ones), speakers used lower f_0 when they finish pronouncing *ela*. Thus, "Utterance Type" affected the final f_0 of *ela* ($\chi^2(1) = 9.9$, p = 0.0016) with the experimental condition to lower it by 12 Hz ± 3.8 standard errors (cf. Figure 3).

We further detected an interaction effect between the ending f_0 of *ela* when it is followed by *tora* and at the same time the utterance belongs to the experimental condition (t = –2.1, p = 0.036). More specifically, a f_0 drop of 19.5 Hz ± 9.3 (standard errors) was observed compared to our reference category ("other"). This suggests that the *ela tora* challenging pattern, more than the other two, is characterized by a bigger pitch drop, the exclamatory fall being significantly more pronounced.

The *ela tora* pattern is further differentiated from the other two in that the f_0 change rate of the *tora* word is significantly lower than our reference category "other", i.e., words that follow *ela* in the simple *ela* pattern (–55 Hz/sec ± 20.5

F0 ending mean of 'ela' across Utterance Type and following words
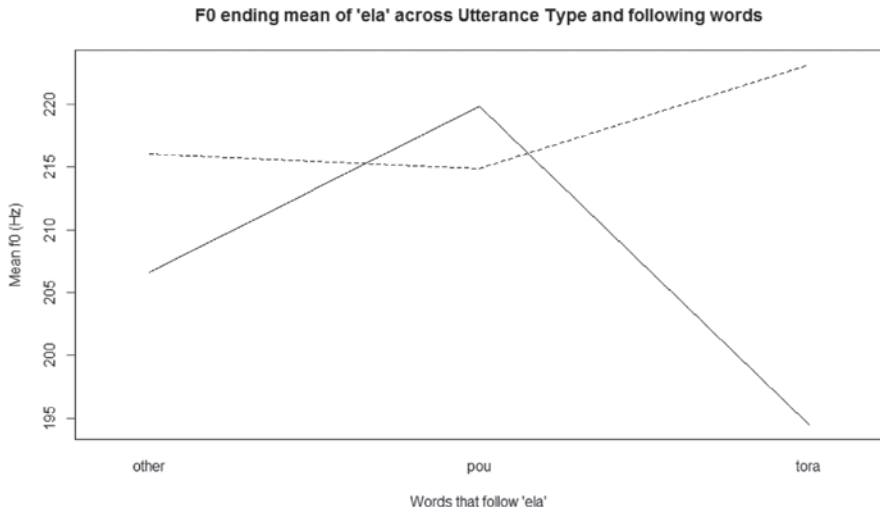

Fig. 3: f_0 ending mean of *ela* according to the utterance type and the words that follow it.

standard errors), meaning that our speakers pronounced it with slower f_0 transition speed (see Figure 1 for the change rate, "steepness" results on the pronunciation of the *ela* word). Overall, this confirms our intuition that *ela tora* is associated with a more distinctive intonation than the other challenging patterns.

Summarizing, we found that the challenging contexts affect both the final f_0 of the *ela* word and its f_0 range. In addition to their effect on absolute f_0 values, the challenging uses appear to accelerate the change rate (or velocity) of f_0 during the pronunciation of the *ela* word. We have thus shown that parameters in pitch variation are significant for Greek as well, in particular as it concerns the difference between challenging and non-challenging uses, and established that challenging *ela* formally differs from the non-challenging one in terms of prosody.

5 Conclusions

In recent work, Du Bois (2014) argues for the need to recognize structural and other dependencies across the utterances of multiple conversational participants, which jointly constitute the syntax of a given dialogic exchange; such multi-sentential constructions may shape "not only the immediate situated meaning but the ongoing learning of language and, ultimately, the emerging structure of language itself" (Du Bois 2014; cf. also Brône and Zima 2014). The data we discussed here in a sense constitute a case of crystalized dialogic syntax,

representing fully conventional grammatical patterns characterized by syntactic, semantic and pragmatic dependencies across dialogic turns.

Our initial motivation for the present work was native speakers' intuition that the patterns of dialogic challenge we identified are not free variants. While acknowledging that once we venture into supra-sentential (dialogic or other) patterns variation is bound to increase, we nevertheless attempted to show that at least some of the variation inherent in discourse can be captured in the form of regular sub-patterns. The analysis has necessarily extended to the preceding context as well, since particular constructions were shown to impose particular requirements (or constraints) on the speech act force and/or the sentence type of the utterance preceding that introduced by the *ela* expression. Such specifications are no less regular or predictable, no less conventional or less part of constructional makeup, than pragmatic or textual specifications associated with sentence-level constructions.

The realization that discourse, and dialogue in particular, are amenable to this kind of regularity has presumably motivated all the work cited in the Introduction, and the work we reported here also demonstrated that constructional specifications can and should extend to beyond the sentence. A constructional framework, which accommodates partially productive patterns and constellations of formal (including prosodic) and semantic-pragmatic features, is precisely the kind of framework (probably the only kind) that can extend naturally from sentence-level constructions to discourse units with conventional makeup (see also Östman 2005). While the majority of constructionally-oriented work has focused on sentence grammar, the idea that the right kind of grammatical framework may be also appropriate for discourse was there in seminal work; As noted by Fillmore (1981: 150–51), "I'm inclined to think that judgments of grammaticality and judgments of sequiturity are intuitively different sorts of things, but I cannot believe this difference imposes a boundary between different kinds of linguistic units."

Ela can carry challenging meaning by itself, without the support of any following context. This in turn suggests that like the literal (motion), the hortative, and the telephone-call/acknowledging senses, challenge is yet another meaning of *lexically* polysemous *ela*. Stopping here, however, seriously underestimates the complexity of the factors influencing interpretation, not least the dialogic, turn-initial context and prosody. Other *ela*-based expressions, as we showed, are further sensitive to pragmatic factors in the preceding context or to text type. It is in such multi-faceted, multi-layered gestalts (minimally represented in the corresponding Tables), that the relevant "meanings" emerge; hence our claim is that a lexical polysemy ("semantic niches") approach by itself does not do justice to the full array of relevant parameters.

In a functional space we may term "dialogic challenge" each of the *ela*-based patterns expresses a specialized kind of challenge, e.g., challenge of a preceding complaint, dismissive challenge, challenge by proxy, etc. This space is also served by other exclamative items, e.g., *ande* or *siya* (cf. 2.3), and possibly other lexical or grammatical expressions, some of which may partially overlap prosodically and pragmatically with the *ela* patterns we discussed here. This in turn highlights further the need for an approach that includes detailed pragmatic, prosodic, textual etc. specifications, since by itself semantic labeling may not be enough to distinguish one pattern from the other.

The commonalities found in the *ela* patterns can be captured in the form of a generalized *ela* exclamative/challenging construction including the following features:

Table 6: The generalized *ela* construction

Pragmatics	Conversational Structure	Re-active
	Interactional Style	Polite
	Register	Informal/familiar
	Speech act force of *ela* utterance	Challenge
Morpho-syntax		*ela* = Particle, constituting or introducing an exclamative clause
Intonation		non-declarative
Lexis		/*ela* .../

In this template, the text-type is not specified so as to allow for the monologic *ela pu* construction, which however is still interpreted as reacting to a previous (evoked) utterance. The systematic correlation of such an interpretation with the *ela pu* pattern is in fact a clear argument for the existence (and cognitive reality) of the generalized *ela* construction and its conventionally-imposed dialogic/reactive import. Similarly, intonation is specified generally as non-declarative so as to include the interrogative prosody associated with *ela de* (3.4). The speech act force is 'challenge', covering the different subtypes discussed in the previous sections, and the lexis necessarily includes *ela* (possibly along with other elements). Obviously, such a representation is not meant as any kind of formalization. However, like all the other Tables in the preceding sections, it serves to highlight the multiplicity of parameters giving rise to a particular interpretation. These features of the generalized construction are inherited (Kay and Fillmore 1999; Fried and Östman 2004) by the more specific patterns, which are further characterized by idiosyncratic properties.

In the other direction, the *ela* exclamative/challenging construction is naturally linked to other exclamative constructions and possibly to a generalized Greek exclamative; such links are not in our present scope. Still, both the postulation of a generalized *ela* construction and its presumed links with exclamatives in general bring forward one of the fundamental tenets of constructional approaches, namely the cline between the general and the arbitrary, the motivated and the idiosyncratic. Our preoccupation with the intonation properties of the *ela* exclamatives – admittedly at an initial stage – can be embedded in the same context: identifying some of the prosodic cues that prime the challenging interpretation at least offers testable hypotheses as to its (prosodic) relationship with other (exclamative or not) constructions in the language. At the same time, the systematic prosodic differentiation of the *ela* exclamatives from literal/hortative *ela*, *ela tora*, *ela pu* (as outlined in 4) highlights the importance of prosodic cues among constructional specifications, most notably in conversational data (see also Terkourafi 2010).

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