HIGH RISING TERMINALS IN CYPRIOT GREEK: CHARTING 'URBAN' INTONATION*

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Recent variationist research on Cypriot Greek indicates that 'Nicosian' is an identifiable acrolectal urban register or speech style of the Cypriot Greek *koiné*. This study examines two distinct intonation contours which are identifiable as partly indexing a distinctly 'Nicosian' identity, namely the 'hello!' tune and the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements. The 'hello' and HRT tunes are strikingly absent from both Standard Greek, the *H* variety in Greek-speaking Cyprus, and from more mesolectal or basilectal registers of Cypriot Greek. We explore the structure of the tonal pattern of the 'hello!' and the HRT tunes and compare them to the CG polar question tonal pattern; a perception and a rating experiment exploring attitudes towards these two melodic patterns are presented, the results of which indicate that both melodies are identified as 'Nicosian' innovations, i.e. as part of the arguably emergent Cypriot Greek 'urban' register.

1 Introduction

In this paper we argue for the availability of an emergent 'urban' register or speech style in Cypriot Greek that is (perceived as) distinctly Nicosian, despite its numerous overlaps with the Cypriot Greek *koiné*. Based on findings from the ongoing *Mapping the Linguistic Landscape of Cyprus* project, we show that 'new Nicosian' is not the substratal geographical subvariety of the capital and the surrounding Mesaoria area. Rather, new Nicosian can be viewed as an acrolectal register or speech style of the Cypriot Greek *koiné* in some respects, in the sense that it approximates Standard Greek (the *H* variety) in certain aspects of its phonology and

morphosyntax, e.g. in (a) the availability of palatal stops in words such as [ce] 'and' *in lieu of* the Cypriot *koiné* palatoalveolar affricate [tʃ]; (b) the avoidance of hardening or stop formation in words such as [ˈerxume] 'I am coming (Standard Greek: [ˈerxome], Cypriot *koiné*: [ˈerkume]); (c) hypercorrective Standard-like Present Perfect A (Melissaropoulou et al, in press); (d) pronominal proclisis in enclitic contexts (Tsiplakou, 2009b); (d) future/counterfactual marker [θa] *in lieu of* the *koiné* [ˈenːa] (Tsiplakou, 2009b), etc. Such approximations to Standard Greek are coupled with features such as avoidance of intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. [koˈruðes] 'girlies' *in lieu of* Cypriot Greek *koiné* [koˈrues], which gives the impression of 'carefully enunciated' speech, and two distinctive intonation contours, the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements (Nicosian 'uptalk') and what we shall term the 'hello!' intonation contour. In this paper, in order to contextualize the discussion, we mention briefly results from a broader study exploring other phonological and morphosyntactic features that arguably index a 'Nicosian' register of the acrolect, but we discuss exclusively the two arguably innovative intonation contours, their phonetic properties and their sociolinguistic 'valuing' by speakers of Cypriot Greek as indexicals of an 'urban' lifestyle, through an examination of the ways in which they correlate with extralinguistic variables such as age, gender, education, 'urbanity', perceptions of 'modernity', 'politeness', 'affectedness' etc. The paper reports on findings from a perception and a rating experiment, which indicate that 'Nicosian' is indeed perceived as a distinct register or speech style, that the two intonation contours are interpreted as 'Nicosian', but also that attitudes towards them are mixed: while both carry overt prestige, the HRT tune appears to be merely viewed as 'polite', while the 'hello!' tune may on occasion come across as 'affected', as is also indicated by its association with the slangy term *vutyrika* 'Nicosian'/'poncey'/'foo-foo' or *psonistika* 'la-di-da', which indexes both an urban register and (perceptions of) the Cypriot urban lifestyle.

2 Diglossia, the dialect continuum, emergent registers or speech styles

Cypriot Greek stands in a diglossic relationship to Standard Modern Greek; this still by-and-large prevalent (socio)linguistic situation has led to the folk linguistic construction of Cypriot Greek as a unitary variety, usually termed *kypriaka* 'Cypriot' or even *xorkatika* 'peasanty'. This perception may well reflect an 'older' (socio)linguistic situation involving a diglossic 'split' between regional, geographical 'basilects', collectively termed *xorkatika*, and *ellinika* 'Greek' (cf. the eighteen regional varieties mentioned in Contosopoulos, 1969 or the lexical and structural isoglosses in Newton, 1972; but see Terkourafi, 2005 for arguments in favour of early *koinéization(s)* in the history of Cypriot Greek). Interestingly, Newton (1972) mentions a Cypriot 'metropolitan' variety, that of the central plane of Mesaoria and the capital, Nicosia, which his informants term 'town speech', i.e. a more standard or formal Cypriot Greek. Recent variationist research (Tsiplakou, 2006a, b, 2007; Tsiplakou et al, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009a) indicates that contemporary Cypriot Greek is in fact a dialect continuum still comprising a host of geographical basilects, which however are undergoing, or have undergone, heavy leveling, especially as compared to data from previous variationist research (Contosopoulos, 1969; Newton, 1972; see also Menardos, 1925[1969]), but also an emergent *koiné*, which is divested of identifiable local features (Tsiplakou et al, forthc.) but may involve register variation; the ongoing shift is therefore arguably from a geographical dialect continuum to a register/stylistic one (Papapavlou

and Sophocleous, 2009; Tsiplakou et al, 2006). The *koinéized* variety is sometimes treated as identical to 'Nicosian', the variety of the capital, and hence it is also termed a 'metropolitan' or 'urban' *koiné* (Karyolemou, 2000); however, in this paper we want to make the case that the *koiné* is in fact a pancypriot variety and 'Nicosian' is constructed differently.

Leveling and koinéization in present-day Cypriot Greek can be attributed to a host of geopolitical, economic, demographic and social factors, such as the *de facto* separation of the island and forced population movements following the events of 1974, but also increased economic mobility, the spread of literacy and the mass media, increased contact with Greece etc. (see, e.g. Kerswill and Williams, 2000, 2005; Siegel, 2010; Terkourafi, 2005; Tuten, 2003, Tsiplakou et al, 2006; Tsiplakou, 2009a). The argument for levelling and koinéization on the basis of structural criteria is also quite conclusive: it seems that (i) all extant geographical basilects are fast losing marked or infrequent variants (to give but one example, local allophone [ç] in, e.g., ['çelo] 'I want', is yielding in favour of the pancypriot allophone [θ], ['θelo] thus being the recognizably *koiné* form); (ii) pancypriot/*koiné* forms emerge which are structurally akin to both Cypriot and Standard Greek. Let us give a couple of examples, one involving the *irrealis* forms and the other one involving periphrastic Present Perfect A. It looks like the *irrealis* form for 'I would have come' can be realized either as a morphosyntactically *bona fide* Cypriot structure consisting of the impersonal verb *itan* was-3sg or *iʃen* had-3sg and the 'subjunctive' form of the verb 'come' (*na 'rto* NA come-PERF.1sg), as in (1a); alternatively, it may be realized as a 'hybrid' structure, syntactically modeled on the Standard Greek *irrealis* construction *θa erxomun* FUT come-PAST.IMPF.1sg, but couched in Cypriot morphology and phonology, as in (1b):

(1) a. ˈitan/íʃen na rto
        was/had.3sg NA come.PERF.1sg
        'I would (have) come'

     b. eˈnːa rkumun
        FUT come-PAST.IMPF.1sg

The periphrastic Present Perfect A is another structural innovation in the pancypriot *koiné* that brings it closer to Standard Greek but, crucially, it does not display full transfer of the properties of the Standard Greek Present Perfect A. According to older accounts (Menardos 1925 [1969]), Present Perfect A was absent from Cypriot Greek; however, in the *koiné* Present Perfect A forms such as *éxo to θcavási* have-1sg it-CL.NEUT.ACC.sg read-PPL.PERF 'I have read it' are gaining ground, alongside *bona fide* Cypriot Present Perfect B forms such as *éxo to θcavazméno* have-1sg it.-CL.NEUT.ACC.sg read.PPL.NEUT.ACC.sg 'I have read it' or *íne θcavazméni* be-PRES.3sg read-PPL.FEM.ACC.sg 'she has studied', as is indicated by naturally-occurring data such as (2a) and (2b):

(2) a. ˈexumen to enˈdaksi
         have-PRES.1pl it-CL.NEUT.ACC.sg include-PPL.PERF
            ˈkato aˈpo tin oˈmbrelːa ton prosfoˈron
            under from the-umbrella-ACC.sg the-offer-GEN.pl
       'We have included it under the Offers umbrella'

b. en ta ʃi ˈxasi
   NEG them-CL.NEUT.ACC.pl have-3sg lost-PPL.PERF
       aˈlːa san toˈra ksiˈxanːi.
       but like now forget- PRES.3sg
   'She hasn't lost it, but, like, nowadays she forgets stuff'

(Melissaropoulou et al, forthc.: 161-162)

As can be seen from the data above, and as is also shown in Melissaropoulou et al. (forthc.), such innovative Present Perfect A structures may display Cypriot phonology (e.g. *[e]ʃi* rather than *eçi* 'has' in (2b), hybrid morphosyntax (e.g. pronominal enclisis together with the use of the standard-like Present Perfect A perfective uninflected 'participle' *endaksi* 'included' in (2a)), but also indeterminate semantics, in that these invonative structures of the *koiné* do not readily allow for the experiential/existential reading of Present Perfect A, but are rather seen as Simple Past forms of a higher register (Melissaropoulou et al, forthc.: 169-171).

In short, then, the *koiné* displays *partial*, but certainly not full, convergence to Standard Modern Greek; having shed basilectal, arguably sociolinguistically stigmatized, features, it emerges as a variety of almost overt prestige; being both partly convergent to, and divergent enough from, Standard Modern Greek may also account for the prestige accruing to it as a local regiolect, and thus for its ability to act as a barrier to full de-dialectization.

It must be noted that speakers of Cypriot Greek are aware that there is an ongoing shift from a geographical to a register continuum, with the Cypriot Greek *koiné* and another speech style or register, which has been termed 'Cypriot Standard Greek' (Arvaniti, 2010) taking up the 'top' layers of the dialect continuum. Speakers invariably use the term *xorkatika* 'peasanty' to refer to local, basilectal varieties collectively, but at least younger speakers are typically unable to describe consistently local features of purported subvarieties, other than making general impressionistic statements such as *stin Pafon sirnun tin fonin allos pos* 'in Paphos they speak with a different kind of lilt' (cf. Katsoyannou et al, 2006; Tsiplakou et al, 2006). As has been argued in previous work, this is very good indirect evidence for levelling, together with hyperdialectism in youth slangs (Tsiplakou, 2003/forthc.) and dialect stylization in the popular media. In hyperdialectal slangy production and in stylized dialect production in sitcoms, obsolete dialect forms from are revived or novel, basilectal-sounding forms are constructed for reasons having to do with different types of performativities, e.g. in order to achieve a comedic effect or for more complex reasons having to do with the performance and the dismantling of notions of 'local identity' (Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012); but such resurrection, stylization and playful reappropriation of basilectal forms can only point to one thing, namely that these no longer belong to speakers' active repertoires, as a result of leveling. If *xorkatika* 'peasanty' is the generalized lowest register (sometimes also called *vareta kipriaka* 'heavy Cypriot' (or interestingly, just *kipriaka* 'Cypriot'), we may assume that the *koiné* occupies an intermediate sociolinguistic space, described by the *emic* term *sistarismena/evjenika* 'tidied-up'/'polite' Cypriot Greek, while the new *emic* term *ellinika tis Kyprou* 'Greek of Cyprus' refers to Standard Modern Greek as spoken in Cyprus (Arvaniti, 2010), i.e. a register with Cypriot phonetic (segmental and suprasegmental) features but (felt to be) identical to Standard Greek in other respects. Arvaniti (2010) has showed conclusively that Standard Greek as spoken in Cyprus is in fact a regional standard with phonological and lexical features (e.g. 'false friends') that distinguish it from Standard Greek as spoken in Greece, although speakers may not be aware of

the full gamut of differences to Standard Greek; see also Rowe and Grohmann, 2013). The term is distinguishable from *kalamaristika* 'pen-pusher-speak' ('pen-pusher' being a slightly pejorative term for 'Greek from the mainland'); *kalamaristika* refers to Standard Greek and the verb *kalamarizo* 'to speak like a pen-pusher' refers to being able to emulate Standard Greek fully, not only in terms of morphosyntax but also in terms of phonetics.

2.1 *Voutyrika?*

In this paper we describe yet another register or speech style, which younger speakers describe with the novel *emic* term *voutyrika* or *psonistika* ('poncey'/'foo-foo', 'la-di-da' Cypriot), which is almost synonymous to *xoraitika* 'of the capital', 'Nicosian'. The term refers to a register or speech style of the *koiné* with phonological, morphological and syntactic features that index urban lifestyles or youth identitites; this Cypriot register is more heavily 'mixed', at least as regards certain structural variants, than the arguably structurally partially hybrid baseline *koiné*, but, ultimately, it does not converge to Standard Greek (i.e. speaking *voutyrika* is different from *kalamarizo*) as *voutyrika* retains its hybrid flavour and partial convergence to Standard Greek is indexical of age and lifestyle. In fact, *voutyrika* contains two innovations which are exclusively Cypriot, in the sense that they do not occur in any other varieties of Greek, namely the 'hello!' and the HRT intonation patterns, on which our discussion will focus; ultimately, what is crucial from a sociolinguistic perspective, is not convergence' or 'non-convergence' to Standard Greek *per se*, but, rather, innovation *qua* departure from both 'Standard' and 'dialect', which allows for novel indexicalities associated with modernity, urbanity, lifestyle, identity work etc. to be achieved outside of the Standard-dialect dichotomy (which, as we saw above, the *koiné* has gone a long way towards resolving, at least as far as issues of prestige are concerned).

So, who speaks *voutyrika* or *psonistika*? According to popular perceptions, a *voutyros* (masc.) or a *voutyra* (fem.)[1] is a (young) city dweller, who is certainly not working class and who is heavily into 'lifetstyle, Nicosia style', which involves certain dress/fashion codes and participation in a particular car/café/club culture.[2] Linguistic variants identified as *voutyrika* may be associated with all sorts of indexicalities/indexical orders (youth, modernity, refinement, an urban lifestyle, but also snobbishness and pretentiousness), as evidenced by the pejorative connotations of the terms *psonistika* 'la-di-da' or *vutyrika* 'poncey', 'foo-foo'. Gender biases may also be prevalent, e.g. *voutyrika* may be associated with being effete and effeminate in young males and with the 'dumb blonde'(the Cypriot equivalent of 'Valley girl') stereotype in females (see section 3.2 below for details).

Charting *voutyrika* necessarily gives rise to a set of open questions, which we will attempt to answer only partly in this paper. A crucial question is whether we may legitimately treat *voutyrika* as a distinct register or speech style, or whether it is more realistic to argue that we are faced with yet another case of *enregistrement* of a few selected variants as indexicals of speaker status linked to a specific scheme of cultural values (cf. Agha, 2003, 2007; Johnstone et al, 2006; Johnstone and Kiesling, 2008; one wonders whether a similar point cannot be made for the

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[1] The equivalent Standard Greek terms are *voutyropeðo, floros, psonio/psonara* (see, e.g., http://www.slang.gr/lemma/show/floros_3723).

[2] In fact a booklet came out a few years ago called *Xoraitikon ine* 'Nicosian is…', which put together a bunch of stereotypical jokes about Nicosians which had been circulating on the internet for years; interestingly, the book came out as a sequel to *Xorkatikon ine* 'Peasanty is…' (cf. http://xorkatikon.blogspot.gr/), which shows that the *xorkatiko/xoraitiko* binary opposition is by now firmly entrenched in the Cypriot Greek imaginary (cf. also Mavratsas, 2012; Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012).

construct of 'Athenian' Greek). The second, related question is how constellations of variants collectively form a register or speech style; alternatively, what variants 'count' for the formation/identification of a register and in what types of configurations (Auer, 1997; Irvine, 2008). More to the point, and perhaps more realistically for our purposes, what types of variants are associated with what types of indexicalities? What is the relation of these variants and their related indexical values to the construct of an 'urban' register/speech style?

2.2 Some variants and their sociolinguistic valuing

In order to answer (at least) the latter question, we designed a perception and rating experiment which involved a matched-guise test. An online questionnaire with sounds was provided to participants. The sounds were utterances provided with relevant contexts, e.g.

(3) a. [context:] Spyros' mom is trying to force-feed him a cheese-pie; Spyros says:

b. ˈefaa eθ ˈθelo ˈalːo
    eat-PAST.1sg NEG want.PRES.1sg more
    'I ate already, I don't want any more'

The utterances were provided in a male and a female guise and moreover they were each provided twice, each time with one of the two alternative realizations of the variable under investigation, but keeping everything else identical, and, of course, non-sequentially; for example, the utterance in (3b) was provided with a falling (statement) and with a 'hello!' intonation.

We investigated seven phonological, morphological and syntactic variables with two alternative realizations each (presumably 'Nicosian'/vs 'non-Nicosian', according to our working hypothesis), plus the two intonation patterns which we will discuss at length below. The linguistic variables investigated were:

(i) -/+ intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. 'Nicosian' [eˈpiɣamen] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [eˈpiamen] 'we went';
(ii) +/- prenasalization and voicing of stops, e.g. 'Nicosian' [mbaˈmbas] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [paˈpas] 'dad';
(iii) -/+ hardening in words such as [ˈerxume] 'I am coming' vs. Cypriot *koiné* [ˈerkume];[3]
(iv) -/+ intervocalic fricative elision in one category of diminutives, e.g. [koˈruðes] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [koˈrues] 'girlies';
(v) standard-like diminutive [ˈacin] vs. Cypriot *koiné* [ˈuin];
(vi) hypercorrective/innovative Present Perfect A vs. Simple Past: [ˈexumen pci kaˈfen eˈpses] vs. [ˈipcamen kaˈfen epses] 'we (have) drunk coffee yesterday'; (Melissaropoulou et al. forthc.)
(vii) pronominal proclisis vs. enclisis (in enclitic environments, e.g. without the presence of elements such as FUT, NEG, WH- etc., which induce clitic-second effects): [ton eˈθorun] vs. [eˈθorun ton] 'I was looking at him';
(viii) two distinctive intonation contours with a high-rising terminal in statements ('Nicosian uptalk'), on which more below.

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[3] On hardening in Cypriot Greek see Tsiplakou and Papanicola, 2009.

All variants under investigation were sampled from recordings of naturally-occurring conversations among (young) Nicosians and had been previously identified as *voutyrika* by a number of informants. In the questionnaire, participants were asked to characterize speakers as 'Nicosian' or 'non-Nicosian'; furthermore, participants were asked to characterize speakers as younger/older, educated/uneducated, modern/traditional, more intelligent/less intelligent, snobbish/not snobbish, on a Likert scale (1…5). We added two additional speaker variables, 'effeminate' for men and 'blonde' for women, having first made sure that these variables were meaningful to participants. The preliminary analysis presented here is based on data from 41 completed questionnaires by 26 female and 14 male participants, most of whom have a university education and come from, or live in, Nicosia, Limassol and Larnaka. Given the relative paucity of the data, we treat this as a pilot study, whose results we hope to refine in subsequent research.

2.2.1 Some preliminary results

In this section we will briefly mention some of the most interesting results for the seven phonological and morphosyntactic variables, before turning to the main focus of this paper, i.e. the two intonation curves under investigation. As mentioned earlier, variants were evaluated on a Likert scale; here we report on means with more than 10% difference. In brief, despite the relative paucity of the data, our first hypothesis is confirmed, in that all seven variants which we assumed would be perceived as more 'Nicosian' (i.e. -intervocalic fricative elision, e.g. [eˈpiɣamen] 'we went'; +prenasalization and voicing of stops, e.g. [mbaˈmbas] 'dad'; -hardening in words such as [ˈerxume] 'I am coming'; -intervocalic fricative elision in one category of diminutives, e.g. [koˈruðes] 'girlies'; standard-like diminutive [ˈacin]; hypercorrective/ innovative Present Perfect A, e.g. [ˈexumen pci kaˈfen eˈpses] 'we (have) drunk coffee yesterday'; and pronominal proclisis in enclitic contexts, e.g. [ton eˈθorun] 'I was looking at him') were indeed, perceived as 'more Nicosian'. Interestingly, most of the above were also consistently rated as 'younger'.[4] As regards their function as indexicals of speaker traits, lifestyle etc., there was greater dispersion, a full description of which must lie outside the scope of the paper, also pending further research, but at first blush the results indicate that certain variants are associated with certain purported speaker traits: for example, prenasalization was associated with 'intelligence', but also with 'snobbishness', while pronominal proclisis and the retention of the fricative in diminutives of the [ˈuðes] type were associated with 'snobbishness' but not with 'intelligence'; interesting, prenasalized stops were also associated with 'effeminacy' in men, as was intervocalic fricative retention in verbs, while avoidance of hardening, retention of the fricative in diminutives of the [ˈuðes] type and, surprisingly, Present Perfect A, were associated with the 'blonde' stereotype in women.

3 'Nicosian' intonation patterns

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[4] There were two notable exceptions, namely innovative Present Perfect A and pronominal proclisis, where differences in rating with regard to age were minimal. This result comes as no surprise, as it confirms findings from previous research which indicate that pronominal proclisis and the Present Perfect A are by now a *bona fide* part of the *koiné* and therefore not recent innovations indexing age or lifestyle, although they may signal a higher register (Melissaropoulou et al, forthc.; Tsiplakou, 2009a, 2010).

As was mentioned earlier, this study also investigated two very distinctive intonation contours, in an attempt to gauge whether these index a distinctly 'Nicosian' identity, namely the 'hello!' tune and the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour in statements. The 'hello' and HRT tunes are strikingly absent from both Standard Greek and from more mesolectal or basilectal registers of Cypriot Greek. In this section we explore the structure of the tonal pattern of the 'hello!' and the HRT tunes and compare them to the Cypriot Greek polar question tonal pattern; results from the perception and rating survey study exploring attitudes towards these two melodic patterns are presented, the results of which indicate that both melodies are identified as 'Nicosian' innovations, but that sociolinguistically each is valued differently as an indexical pointing to specific speaker traits and 'lifestyles', as was the case with many of the segmental (phonological and morphosyntactic) variants discussed in section 2.1.1.

3.1 The HRT, or 'uptalk'

The rising tune in statements is known as the High Rising Terminal (HRT) contour (also popularly known as 'uptalk'), and it is a fairly recent phenomenon in Cypriot Greek. A tonal pattern that superficially sounds interrogative is used with utterances that are clearly intended as statements (cf. Ladd, 2008: 125-7). Arguably the HRT is a fast-spreading innovation, especially among younger dwellers of Nicosia.

3.1.1 Phonological properties

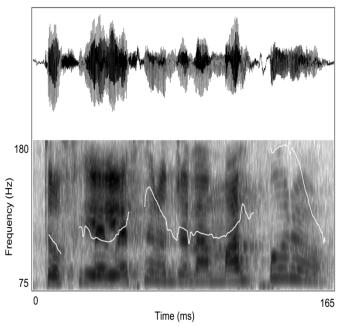A phonological representation of the HRT contour is provided in Figure 1:

Figure 1. The tonal contour of a HRT for *tof file ˈlefθeron tʃ ˈena ˈmarporo* 'the Phileleftheros newspaper and a pack of Marlboros', uttered by a male speaker of Cypriot Greek.

The contour in Figure 1 is the 'Nicosian' or 'polite' way of expressing a request when the syntactic structure is not interrogative; in effect, this is a statement with what superficially

sounds like a 'question' intonation contour, pretheoretically known as 'uptalk'. Interestingly, a possible response to this request, e.g. *o'xto e'vro* 'eight euro', can also be in exactly the same intonation pattern.[5]

The difference to the intonation contour of polar questions in Cypriot Greek can be seen if we compare the representation in Figure 1 and that in Figure 2.
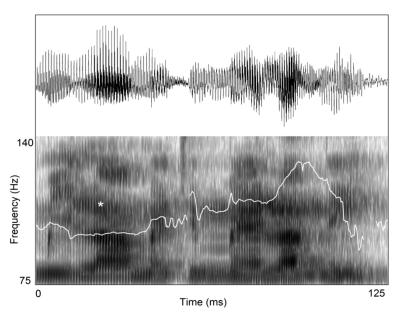

Figure 2. Tonal contour of the yes/no question *mi'la me ti 'melani* 'is s/he talking to Melanie?', uttered by a male speaker of Cypriot Greek.

Specifically, the Cypriot Greek question tune consists of a low (L*) nuclear pitch accent that aligns at the most prominent syllable of the utterance, an H- phrase accent and a low (L%) boundary tone (Arvaniti et al, 2006; Baltazani, 2007; Grice et al, 2000; Themistocleous, 2011). The HRT contour in Figure 1 consists of two intonation phrase*s*; the first comprises the first lexical constituent, *tof file'lefθeron* and it bears a prenuclear pitch accent, whereas the second one contains the phrase *tʃ ena 'marporo*, uttered with a HRT; this pattern can also be phonemically analyzed as L*+H-L%, but the final rise-fall in the HRT contour has a wider pitch range than the one in polar questions and its most prominent constituent lies at the right edge of the utterance.

3.1.2 Pragmatic properties

It would appear that the Nicosian HRT has similar functions to the HRT statement contour found in New Zealand, Australian, Canadian and Californian 'Valley' English, known as Valspeak (cf. Britain 1992; Ching, 1982; Hay et al, 2008; Warren, 2005; Warren and Britain, 2000). Generally 'uptalk', i.e. the use of an HRT, can be said to mitigate the strength of a statement, possibly

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[5] To a Standard Greek speaker an answer in this intonation contour would sound like the interlocutor, in this context the salesperson, was not sure about the price of the newspaper and the cigarettes, as personal experience and anecdotal evidence confirms.

because the question-like intonation pragmatically functions as a (*meta*)request to the interlocutor to confirm or accept the veridicality of the speaker's statement; the connotations of politeness hence arise as a result of the HRT functioning as an index of respect towards the interlocutor's (discourse) status or 'face' (see Brown and Levinson, 1987).[6]

Naturally, such connotations of 'politeness' can be defeasible in context, given that they arise as contextual implicatures.[7] Terkourafi (2001) mentions the following instance of the use of a 'rising pitch', in Terkourafi's terms, indicated by a question mark in her transcription. The episode took place at the workplace, between a female customer and a male salesperson:

> (4)   ta ˈexo propliˈrosi prin ðjo ˈmines**?** (.) parakaˈlo na mu ta ˈðosete
>   'I have prepaid for them two months ago**?** Please give them to me'

(Terkourafi, 2001: 58)

The HRT in this instance is obviously not intended to be 'polite'; rather, it is intended as a (*meta*)request for the hearer to confirm the veridicality of the speaker's statement (just as a question tag would do, e.g. 'I paid for them two months ago, **didn't I?**'), i.e. as a request to the hearer to admit what he already knows to be true. In this case, the HRT again mitigates the strength of the statement, but in fact it makes it stronger and more forceful, rather than weaker.[8]

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[6] This general pragmatic approach can account for a number of superficially disparate functions of the HRT proposed in relevant literature, e.g. *checking* whether the speaker provides the information that the listener wants and that the listener understands what the speaker is saying; *establishing rapport* with the listener, especially in narratives, as HRTs seem to be checking whether the listener shares the same contextual assumptions as the speaker, etc. (Hay et al, 2008: 27-29; cf. also Warren, 2005; Warren and Britain, 2000).

[7] A pragmatic approach that assigns particular 'meanings' or 'functions' to specific intonation contours would indeed be very hard to argue for (contra, e.g., Hirschberg, 2006; Pierrehumbert and Hirschberg, 1990), given precisely the defeasibility or cancellability of such meanings in varying contexts. We opt for a radical pragmatic approach to intonation, in the spirit of, e.g., Relevance theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995), whereby an intonation contour may be semantically rather underdetermined, or, rather, have as much of semantic content as would be adequate for it to act as a constraint on interpretation *qua* implicature generation in different contexts; in the case of the HRT, such minimal semantic 'content' could be a (*meta*)request for confirmation of the veridicality of a statement by the hearer, which, in context, could yield either implications of politeness or their exact opposite, as is shown by example (4).

[8] Similar reinforcement of the strength of the statement is achieved through the HRT in the following naturally-occurring examples and through similar pragmatic processes, i.e. the generation of implicatures to the effect that the interlocutor should confirm what s/he already knows to be true (the HRT contour is marked as ↑ ⌐):

> (i)   en apaˈraðekton, en aθliˈtes tʃe ˈpernun anavoliˈka, na ˈfefkun kaˈlitʰe↑ra⌐
>   'It is unacceptable, they are athletes and yet they take substances, they had better leave'

> (ii)   ˈpiramen isiˈtiri↑a⌐, eˈklisamen ksenoðoˈçi↑on⌐, eˈpcasamen tʃe tes koˈru↑es⌐, en ˈeʃi peˈriptosin na men ˈpa↑men⌐.
>   'We bought the tickets, we booked the hotel, we phoned the girls, there's no way we aren't going'

3.2   The 'hello!' tune, or more 'uptalk'

There is another type of rising tune in statements, again a fairly recent phenomenon in Cypriot Greek, which we will term the 'hello!' tune. Arguably the 'hello!' tune is also a fast-spreading innovation, especially among young(er) Nicosians.

3.2.1 Phonological properties

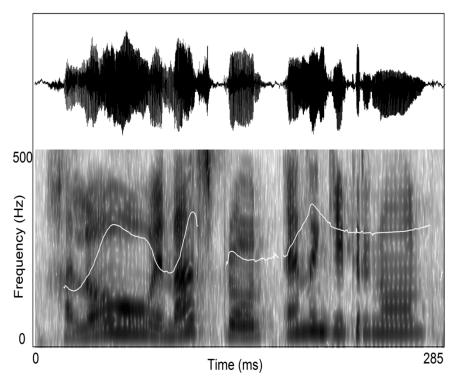A phonological representation of the 'hello!' contour is provided in Figure 3:

Figure 3. Tonal contour of the 'hello! tune for *xaˈlou en ˈaspron, en en ˈcitrinon* 'Hello, it's white, it's not yellow!', uttered by a female speaker of Cypriot Greek.

Interestingly, having a different tonal composition from the HRT (which is L*H-L%) and because it usually associates with two intonational phrases, the 'hello!' tune provides an instance of a more complex tune. Specifically, the tune's first component, analyzed autosegmentally as L+H*!H%, is associated with the utterance's first phrase, *xaˈlou en ˈaspron*, whereas the second one, analyzed as (L+)H*!H%, is associated with the second phrase, *en en ˈcitrinon*. Consequently, both parts share a similar tune; nevertheless, the latter associates with greater degrees of final lengthening. The 'hello tune' resembles the *calling contour* in that it comprises a low tone associated with the stressed syllable, a rise up to the speaker's mid frequency, and a steady mid ending (Varga, 2008). Interestingly, the *hello* phrase can also be omitted.

3.2.2 Pragmatic properties

This unusual intonation contour has rather distinctive pragmatic properties, as well as a very interesting history of how these properties arguably emerged. As is well known, besides its function as a greeting, 'hello' in (American) English can be "used as an emphatic interjection serving other functions, such as presenting a counterpoint framed as obvious" (Chun, 1997: 158). It appears that the 'hello!' intonation contour performs this very function in new Nicosian/*voutyrika*, and this with or without the interjection *xaˈlou* 'hello'; this can be seen from the data in (3) above, repeated here for convenience:

(3) a.   [context:] Spyros' mom is trying to force-feed him a cheese-pie; Spyros says:

    b. {xaˈlou} ˈefaa eθ ˈθelo ˈal:o
        {hello} eat-PAST.1sg NEG want.PRES.1sg more
        '{Hello,} I already ate, I don't want any more'

In (3), the 'hello!' intonation contour (coupled with, but even without, the *xaˈlou* interjection) indexes a shared contextual assumption (in this case, the premise that the speaker has already eaten) that should be glaringly obvious to the interlocutor.[9]

Interestingly, this tune may have originated in 'dumb blonde' jokes, which were very popular in Cyprus in the 2000s and in which the blonde typically prefaces the punchline with 'hello!' and, moreover, the punchline, which invariably frames an assumption as a piece of information that ought to have been obvious to the interlocutor, is delivered with a 'hello!' intonation contour.[10] It remains unclear what the origins of this intonation contour are; almost identical 'hello!' blonde jokes were popular for a time in Greece, but the punchline is not delivered with this type of 'uptalk'. We may then suggest tentatively that, together with the HRT, this is a Cypriot innovation loosely modeled on (perceptions of) 'Valspeak' or other media-propounded equivalents thereof, that found its way into a speech style (*voutyrika*) through jokes.

4. Results from the perception and rating survey

As with the segmental (phonological and morphosyntactic) variables discussed briefly in section 2.1, the purpose of the perception and rating survey was to detect speaker attitudes towards these

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[9] Again, if we want to aim for a unitary pragmatic account, we may put forward the argument that this type of 'uptalk' also reinforces the strength of the statement as the interlocutor is 'invited' to confirm the truth of the statement, the implicature being that s/he is in a position to access the veridicality of the statement, this being a shared and possibly salient contextual assumption.

[10] A typical (Cypriot) blonde joke is something along these lines,

    ksaˈθ:i A: ˈkori, o paˈpas en ˈspiti?
    ksaˈθ:i B: xaˈlou, o paˈpas en ˈaθropos!

    Blonde A: Girl, is dad home?
    Blonde B: Hello, dad's a man!

two tunes, and, more specifically, to test whether these are associated with aspects of an 'urban' lifestyle, as preliminary informant comments and intuitions suggested. As with the segmental variables, the tunes were provided in a male and a female guise; moreover, relevant utterances were provided twice, one token displaying the HRT or the 'hello!' intonation and the other displaying a regular statement intonation but keeping everything else identical, and, of course, non-sequentially. As with the rest of the variables, participants were asked to characterize the guises as 'Nicosian' or 'non-Nicosian'; furthermore, participants were asked to characterize the guises as younger/older, educated/uneducated, modern/traditional, more intelligent/less intelligent, snobbish/not snobbish, aggressive/non-aggressive on a Likert scale (1...5). The two additional speaker variables, 'effeminate' for men and 'blonde' for women, were added for obvious reasons: if 'uptalk' is considered a trait of female speech, then it might be taken to index effeteness *qua* effeminacy in men; and if 'uptalk', and especially the 'hello!' tune is associated with the 'blonde' stereotype, a lifestyle-related stereotype *par excellence*, then including that variable made sense, also because it was readily understood as a lifestyle-related variable by participants.

Results were however surprisingly univocal as regards the variables younger/older, educated/uneducated and more intelligent/less intelligent, and this for both tunes and for both the male and the female guise. One notable exception was the association of both tunes with the trait 'modern', but this only for the female guises. Even more surprisingly, as regards the variables snobbish/not snobbish, aggressive/non-aggressive, effeminate/non-effeminate and 'blonde', the results ran contrary to our expectations, as none of the tunes were rated as such. These are results that require explanation, but given the relevant paucity of the responses, the explanation will have to remain tentative at best, pending further research.

As regards the variable 'Nicosian'/'non-Nicosian', however, a much clearer picture emerged for both tunes:
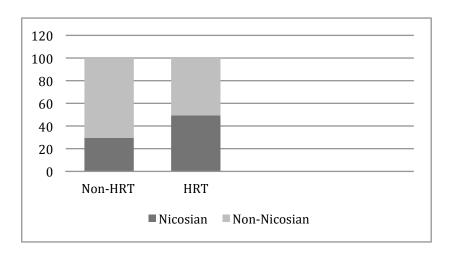

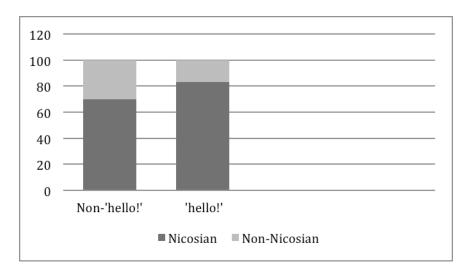Figure 4. Rating of the HRT and non-HRT tunes as
'Nicosian'

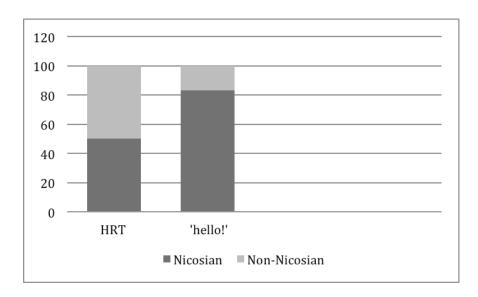Figure 5. Rating of the 'hello!' and non-'hello!' tunes as
'Nicosian'

Figure 6. Rating of the HRT and the 'hello!' tunes as
'Nicosian'

As can be seen from Figures 4-6, both the 'hello!' and the HRT tunes were rated as 'more Nicosian' than their non-'uptalky' counterparts. Interestingly, though, the 'hello!' tune was rated as far more 'Nicosian' than the HRT tune, as shown in Figure 6.

4.1 Discussion

This study was an attempt to provide an initial report on the HRT and the 'hello!' tunes in Cypriot Greek, their phonetic description and their tonal composition. The matched-guise test deployed for the purpose of studying attitudes towards the HRT and the 'hello!' tunes yielded

some rather interesting, albeit preliminary, results. As we saw, none of the two tunes were associated with negative values such as snobbishness, aggressiveness, etc. On the other hand, none was actively associated with positive values such as modernity, education, etc. Interestingly, the two novel variables we controlled for, namely 'effeminate' and 'blonde', did not seem to be associated with these tunes either. On the other hand, both tunes were clearly rated as 'Nicosian', i.e. 'urban', the 'hello!' tune far more so than the HRT tune.

In fact, as is indicated by the preliminary results in Figures 4 and 6, the HRT is rated as much 'Nicosian' as 'non-Nicosian' (although it is rated as more 'Nicosian' than its non-'uptalky' counterpart). We take this result to indicate that the HRT is perceived as not exclusively 'Nicosian' but rather as a pancypriot tune, a *bona fide* part of the *koiné*, at least for a subset of our participants. Arguably we are faced with the case of an innovation originating as a marker of an 'urban' speech style that is however fast spreading, and hence losing specific lifestyle-related connotations, functioning instead as a generalized politeness marker. This is clearly not the case with the 'hello!' tune, which is felt to be distinctly 'Nicosian'. As was mentioned in section 4, however, the fact that the tune does not seem to be overtly associated with lifestyle-related categories such as snobbishness, aggressiveness, effeteness etc., despite its origins and therefore contrary to our initial hypothesis, requires some explanation, which must however be proffered tentatively at this stage. We might speculate that (*meta*)pragmatically the 'hello!' tune indexes ingroup solidarity and a 'young' lifestyle, hence it was not evaluated negatively, at least not by participants in this study, since the overwhelming majority belonged to younger age groups.[11] It would therefore be interesting to see whether the 'hello!' tune would be rated differently by older participants.

5. Conclusions

We wrap up this paper with some preliminary speculations, rather than full-blown conclusions. We may speculate that new 'Nicosian' is ultimately not a geographical term, although the geographical connotations perhaps have their own significance as lifestyle indicators. In this context, 'urban' refers to lifestyle(s) and their linguistic indexing, and what has emerged from this study is that different variants index different aspects of purported identities/lifestyles, albeit with some significant overlaps.

To reiterate a question posed earlier, it remains an open issue whether new 'Nicosian' is a readily identifiable, distinct register or speech style within the Cypriot Greek *koiné*, or, given its significant overlaps with the *koiné* (as revealed by this study as regards both the segmental and the suprasegmental features examined), whether new 'Nicosian'/*voutyrika* is in fact a result of rapid *enregistrement* (or even stylization) on the basis of some distinctive variants (such as the 'hello!' tune), which are treated as salient or load-bearing in terms of their indexical load or valuing(s). If this is the case, then the (real and imagined) relationship between 'Nicosian', the pancypriot *koiné* and Standard Greek invites an analysis in terms of indexical orders (Silverstein, 2003; Tsiplakou and Ioannidou, 2012) and their reshuffling in the exciting sociolinguistic context of present-day Cyprus.

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[11] As a 27-year old participant in the study aptly notes, "I don't think it sounds snobbish or aggressive; it's how I talk with my friends. Why would I be aggressive or snobbish towards my friends?". She adds, though, that the 'hello! intonation contour may well be 'misunderstood' by older speakers, so "we wouldn't use it outside the *parea* [ingroup]".

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