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MA Programme “Linguistics: Theory and Applications”

**THE MODERN GREEK PARTICLE AS: THE DISTINCTIVE
PROPERTIES OF THE CONSTRUCTION AS +
IMPERFECTIVE PAST**

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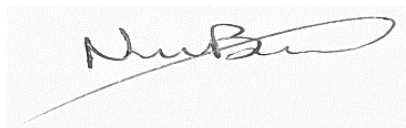
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January 2023

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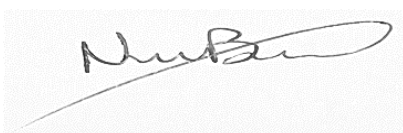


Ναταλία Βασιλάκη

Declaration

This submission is my own work. Any quotation from, or description of, work of others is acknowledged herein by reference to the sources, whether published or unpublished.

Signature



Natalia Vasilaki

Acknowledgements

I would like to wholeheartedly express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Kiki Nikiforidou for her continual support, guidance, prompt replies and constructive comments. I would also like to thank my family and friends for their love, emotional support and understanding. I am especially grateful to my wonderful mum for always being keen on reading and proofreading my assignments and for being with me through thick and thin. I love you unconditionally. I would also like to express my gratitude to Elena and Aimilia not only for being my best friends but also for being the proofreaders of all the assignments that I have submitted throughout the years. Thank you for having my back. Finally, I wish to thank all of my professors since each one of them has played a role in my academic journey.

Abstract

The notion of constructions, i.e., combinations of form and function, constitutes the cornerstone of Construction Grammar (CxG), one of the many different theoretical approaches to language. An example of a Greek construction is that of the Modern Greek particle *as* in combination with a verb. This particle can be used to create several constructions, each one having a different function. For the purposes of the present dissertation, the focus has been on the *as* + Imperfective Past construction, one of the meanings of which is to reprimand. To be more specific, with the present paper, I aspired to examine all the syntactic, pragmatic and semantic properties of the *as* + Imperfective Past construction in detail. I also aimed at exploring the relationship of the ‘reprimand’ function with the other *as* functions and at comparing it with English constructions used to reprimand. To achieve that, I employed a corpus-based approach and more specifically, I used the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWac) for the collection of the Greek data and the British National Corpus (BNC) for the English ones. The results showed that even though the ‘reprimand’ and the ‘wish’ functions are the most frequent ones when the particle is combined with the Imperfective Past, the ‘reprimand’ one is the most common of the two. They also pointed out the similarities and the differences of the *as* ‘reprimands’ with the other *as* functions and the English equivalent constructions.

Keywords: Construction Grammar, Usage-Based Linguistics, Modern Greek, Particle *as*, Corpus-Based Approach

Σύνοψη

Η έννοια των δομών, δηλαδή ο συνδυασμός μορφής και λειτουργίας, αποτελεί τον ακρογωνιαίο λίθο της Γραμματικής των Δομών, μιας από τις πολλές διαφορετικές θεωρητικές γλωσσολογικές προσεγγίσεις. Ένα παράδειγμα ελληνικής δομής αποτελεί ο συνδυασμός του μορίου *ας* με ρήμα. Το *ας*, μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για τη δημιουργία πολλών δομών, καθεμία από τις οποίες έχει διαφορετική λειτουργία. Η παρούσα διπλωματική εργασία εστιάζει στη δομή του μορίου *ας* με Παρατατικό, μία από τις σημασίες της οποίας είναι η επίπληξη. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, ο σκοπός αυτής της εργασίας ήταν η λεπτομερής εξέταση όλων των συντακτικών, πραγματολογικών και σημασιολογικών ιδιοτήτων της προαναφερθείσας δομής. Στόχος μου ήταν επίσης η διερεύνηση της σχέσης της λειτουργίας της ‘επίπληξης’ με τις άλλες λειτουργίες του μορίου και η σύγκριση της δομής της ‘επίπληξης’ με άλλες αντίστοιχες δομές της αγγλικής. Για να τα ανακαλύψω αυτά, χρησιμοποίησα μια προσέγγιση βασισμένη σε σώματα κειμένων. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, χρησιμοποίησα το Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC) για τη συλλογή των ελληνικών δεδομένων και το British National Corpus (BNC) για τα αγγλικά. Τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν ότι αν και η ‘επίπληξη’ και η ‘ευχή’ αποτελούν τις πιο συχνές λειτουργίες όταν το μόριο *ας* συνδυάζεται με Παρατατικό, μεταξύ των δυο η πιο συχνή είναι αυτή της ‘επίπληξης’. Επίσης, ανέδειξαν τις ομοιότητες και τις διαφορές που έχει η λειτουργία της ‘επίπληξης’ τόσο σε σχέση με τις υπόλοιπες λειτουργίες που εκφράζονται με το *ας* όσο και με τις αντίστοιχες αγγλικές δομές.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: Γραμματικές Δομές, Χρήση Γλώσσας, Νέα Ελληνικά, Μόριο *ας*, Σώματα Κειμένων

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Theoretical Framework

1.1.1 Usage-Based Linguistics

Linguistics can be defined as the discipline that studies human language through the use of scientific methods. Linguists use “controlled and empirically verified observations” along with “some general theory of language-structure” (Lyons, 1968: 1) in order to investigate all the different aspects of language.

Due to the large variety that exists with respect to the component parts of language, the fact that it is a discipline with many branches and subfields is to be expected. These different branches and subfields in turn, have given birth to different linguistic schools of thought and linguists, depending on the school/theory of which they are representatives, opt for different approaches in their investigation.

Both American Structuralism and Generative Grammar, i.e., two different theoretical approaches to language, view the study of language structure as something separate from the study of language use. American Structuralism on the one hand, followed the distinction made by Ferdinand de Saussure between *langue* and *parole* (de Saussure, 1966: 6–17) and Generative Grammar on the other, focuses on Chomsky’s distinction between linguistic *competence* and linguistic *performance* (Chomsky, 1965: 4).

de Saussure’s *langue* has to do with the abstract conventions that are necessary for the creation of meaning whereas *parole* has to do with how language is used. Chomsky’s *competence* is related to what people unconsciously know about a given language whereas his *performance* is related to what people actually produce in that language. In other words, both *langue* and *competence* are part of

the language structure and both *parole* and *performance* are included in the use of language.

Taking the above into consideration, if we were to draw a comparison between American Structuralism, Generative Grammar and Usage-Based Linguistics it would become obvious that the latter is a theory of language that unlike the other two, views the structure of the language and its usage as concepts that are inalienably linked.

The term “usage-based” was formulated in 1987 by Ronald Langacker (Gettys, Bayona & Rodríguez, 2018), an American linguist, and the basic premise of this model is that the experience of a speaker with a given language is strongly associated with the cognitive representations that exist in his mind with regard to that language (Bybee, 2006, 2013). According to usage-based theorists, linguistic structure is developed and influenced by various cognitive processes such as categorization, cross-modal association and automation (Bybee, 2013).

Categorization has to do with “identifying tokens as an instances of a particular type” (Ibbotson, 2013: 2). Cross-modal association is related to the ability of the human brain to connect the linguistic form with its meaning and automation is the result of the repetition of linguistic units. That is to say, units that appear frequently together become conventionalized and automatized in the mind of the speaker (Bybee, 2013).

From that we can understand that from the point of view of the usage-based theoretical model, grammar is considered to be “the cognitive organization of one’s experience with language” (Bybee, 2010: 8) and more specifically, it is the repeated use of language that gives rise to grammatical meaning and form (Bybee, 2006). “The more a linguistic unit is established as a cognitive routine or “rehearsed” in the mind of the speaker, the more it is said to be entrenched” (Ibbotson, 2013: 3). What is meant by entrenchment is how the cognitive system of the human mind responds to the inputs it receives from the outside world. For example, if the input is frequent, the response will be the creation of strong representations for it in the mind of the recipient. On the other hand, if it is scarce,

then these cognitive representations will be weakened and ultimately forgotten with the passage of time.

In other words, according to the usage-based view, language is seen as “a complex adaptive system; the interaction between cognition and use” (Ibbotson, 2013: 12) and linguistic representations are constructed from the generalizations of linguistic knowledge over usage events (Ibbotson, 2013).

As far as the reasons why we should opt for a usage-based approach to language are concerned, Bybee (2012) distinguishes several, with the strongest being that it is the usage of a language that guides us to real explanations with regard to the phenomena that are observed in it.

1.1.2 Construction Grammar (CxG)

American Structuralism, Generative Grammar and Usage-Based Linguistics that have been mentioned so far are only three out of the various theoretical approaches that exist with regard to language.

One of several linguistic theories that are compatible with Usage-Based Linguistics is that of Construction Grammar, which is also known with the abbreviation CxG. Construction Grammar, is considered to be a non-modular approach to language that aims at investigating it in its totality.

To put it in another way, from the constructionist point of view, the different levels of the language (i.e., phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics) are processed and studied as a non-divisible whole (Fried, 2015; Nikiforidou, 2022), with the ultimate goal being “to account for the defining properties of all types of linguistic expressions” (Fried, 2015: 974).

Central to this theory is the notion of grammatical *constructions*. Constructions can be defined as “conventionalized pairings of form and function” (Goldberg, 2006: 3) and according to Goldberg (2006: 3), they have been the starting point of important advancements with respect to the study of grammar that date back to the time of the ancient Greek Stoics.

We can locate constructions in all levels of grammatical analysis and by observing them, we are able to gain insight into the nature of language. To be more specific, “any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency” (Goldberg, 2006: 5).

When it comes to what we regard as a construction, this can range from simple morphemes (e.g., *un-*, *pre-*, *-ly* or *-tion*), which are considered to be the smallest linguistic units that have meaning and grammatical function (Trask, 1999; Yule, 2017), to fully productive patterns such as that of the Subject-Predicate construction. However, one thing is certain; constructions can be located in all languages and they point at their creative potential because as long as they do not give rise to conflicts, they can be combined without any restrictions (Goldberg, 2006).

Another feature of Construction Grammar that is important to point out is that it is a theory that aims to take into account the entirety of language, since all type of linguistic expressions, from the most regular to the most unusual, are considered to be of equal significance (Nikiforidou, to appear). This clarification is important, due to the fact that in the early days of this approach, constructionists tended to put the emphasis on expressions whose meaning cannot be derived from the meaning of its component parts, i.e., in non-compositionality, and to expressions that presented some sort of syntactical peculiarity (Nikiforidou, to appear).

This focus on non-compositionality and on syntactical peculiarities had as a result the creation of the erroneous view of Construction Grammar as a theory of language whose main aim was to explain the idioms that exist in it. Examples of such idiomatic expressions in English include the phrases *Under the weather*, *Call it a day* and *The ball is in your court*. Similarly, among the various idiomatic expressions that can be identified in the Greek language are the following; *na éxis ta mátia su ðekatéseira* (‘be very careful’), *péfto apó ta sínefa* (‘I am very surprised’) and *siyá ta láxana* (‘big deal!’).

According to Michaelis (2017), constructions define all the possible syntactic combinations that exist in any given language and determine their meaning and use. Moreover, the grammar of each language can be considered as “an inventory of constructions” (Fried, 2015: 984) and depending on their degree of productivity, they can be situated at any point along an idiomaticity continuum, which clarifies the various ways through which meaning is created.

At one extreme of the continuum, we can locate the most fixed constructions, like for example the English *once upon a time* or *by and large* and the Greek wish *ce tu xrónu* (‘next year as well’), where we cannot replace nor change anything. At the other extreme however, we can locate constructions that are fully productive like for example the Caused Motion one (e.g., *Jenny pushed the ball down the field*). In-between the two extremes of this idiomaticity continuum we can locate semi-schematic constructions, i.e., constructions that are partially fixed (Michaelis, 2017; Nikiforidou, to appear).

According to Bybee (2010), the fact that constructions illustrate the relationship between “specific lexical items and specific grammatical structures” (p. 78) can be considered as their most significant characteristic. What she means by that is that the lexical items of a particular construction are the ones that give rise to its meaning and specify its function.

1.1.3 CxG and Usage-Based Linguistics

After having shed light to the basic ideas of Construction Grammar and Usage-Based Linguistics, it is now time to shift our focus to the relationship between the two.

Construction Grammar is closely related to usage-based theories of language (Bybee, 2012; Ibbotson 2013) since they maintain that “an important feature of linguistic experience is the regular repetition of phonological strings, words and constructions” (Bybee, 2006: 717). This relationship is further illustrated in Goldberg (2006) in which it is mentioned that “constructionist approaches are generally usage-based” (p. 45).

Usage-based models prefer to work with constructions because there are no intermediate structures in-between the form and the meaning. On the contrary, the relationship between the two is direct. Moreover, for usage-based theorists, constructions are viewed “as processing units or chunks-sequences of words (or morphemes) that have been used often enough to be accessed together” (Bybee, 2013: 51).

In both usage-based models and in CxG, the emphasis is placed on frequency because it is what leads to entrenchment and conventionalization. The knowledge speakers have of a language, is made up of a collection of constructions (i.e., form-meaning pairings) that they learn depending on the frequency with which they hear them and this knowledge can be accounted for through a usage-based grammatical model (Goldberg, 2006).

1.2 The Modern Greek particle AS

1.2.1 Brief historical overview of the particle’s origin

The Modern Greek *as* + verb constructions are situated towards the middle of the idiomaticity continuum mentioned in section 1.1.2 since they are semi-schematic. We have the particle *as* as the fixed part, but there is a certain freedom with regard to the tense of the verb that follows it and with respect to the lexical verb that can fill this slot.

As far as the history behind the origin of the fixed part of these constructions, i.e., the particle *as*, is concerned, the existing literature has provided us with very interesting insights.

Nowadays, the Modern Greek *as* is considered to be a verbal particle. However, this was not always the case. *As* derives from the Ancient Greek verb *aphēmi* and more specifically, it originates from the second person singular imperative form *áphes* of the verb (Babinotis, 2008), which underwent a process of grammaticalization and from a lexical verb, it turned into a verbal particle

(Nikiforidou, 1996). After its conversion, it is now “among the most polysemous grammatical categories” (Nikiforidou, 1996: 622) of the Modern Greek language.

Grammaticalization is a process that affects lexical items in all the different levels of the language, from phonology, morphology and syntax to semantics and pragmatics. To be more specific, it is a process that turns these lexical items into grammatical ones while at the same time it changes their distribution and function as well (Bybee, 2010). To put it in the words of Joan Bybee herself (2010), it is “the most pervasive process by which grammatical items and structures are created” (p. 106).

As was mentioned above, *as*, comes from the Ancient Greek verb *aphīēmi*, which means to “send away, let go of, let, leave, allow” (Nikiforidou, 1996: 601). However, the relevant construction with *áphes*, which serves as the syntactic and semantic origin of the particle as we now know it, does not appear until the time of the Greek Koine. More specifically, it is first found in two passages from the New Testament, which were written in Koine Greek.

The time of the Greek Koine is viewed as the transition period after which the imperative form *áphes* has reduced into *as* and is no longer regarded as a lexical verb but as a modal particle, which alongside *na*, another modal particle, “introduce clauses which when negated make use of the negative morpheme *mi*” (Nikiforidou, 1996: 606). After this transition, *as* can no longer occur on its own, nor take a subject and its position in the sentence is fixed, i.e., it precedes the main verb of the sentence, which is in the subjunctive mood (Nikiforidou, 1996).

1.2.2 Overview of the functions of the AS + verb construction

In general, the particle *as* can be used to create several constructions, each one having a different function/meaning. At first, its meaning was hortative, i.e., it was used to encourage or discourage a certain action, much like the English construction *let’s + verb*, and was “followed by the perfective non-past” (Nikiforidou, 1996: 608).

However, with the passage of time, it began to co-occur with other tenses, something that led to the creation of new functions and to its transformation into a polysemous morpheme. This particular construction can be used to express ‘permission’, ‘concession’ or ‘conditionality’ as well as to make a ‘suggestion’ or a ‘wish’ (Nikiforidou, 1996) and these functions are usually expressed through the subjunctive mood, i.e., the perfective non-past (Tzartanos, 1963).

Depending on the tense of the verb that follows/co-occurs with *as*, the meaning/function of the construction differs each time. According to Tzartanos (1963), the particle *as* is usually combined with a verb in the Imperfective Past in order to refer to something that did not happen in the past but should have.

The same function of ‘reprimand’/‘critique’ towards an action that did not take place in the past or towards someone occurs when we combine *as* with the Past Perfect. However, Tzartanos (1963) mentions that this combination is rare so it can be deduced that the ‘reprimand’ function is more common when the particle is combined with the Imperfective Past.

This correlation between the particle *as*, a verb in the Imperfective Past (and more rarely the Past Perfect) and the function of ‘reprimand’ becomes obvious also by looking into the dictionary entry for the particle *as* in the Dictionary of Modern Greek (2008) by G. Babiniotis.

Tzartanos (1963), also mentions that even though the function of ‘wishing’ that something happens or does not happen was first expressed by the perfective non-past, it can also be expressed by the indicative form and more specifically, by a verb in the Imperfective Past. This way, the speaker expresses an unfulfilled past ‘wish’.

1.3 Research Aims

From the above, it can be deduced that even though the most common functions of the *as* + Imperfective Past are that of the expression of an unfulfilled ‘wish’

and that of a ‘reprimand’ towards an action that took place in the past, the ‘wish’ function is not as restrictive in terms of tense as the ‘reprimand’ one.

In addition, to the best of my knowledge, even though other functions of the *as* + verb construction have already been studied in detail (see for example Nikiforidou, 1996, for an analysis of the ‘concession’ and the ‘conditional’ *as*), the ‘reprimand’ one has yet to be examined.

For these reasons, for the purposes of the present thesis, I aim at investigating all the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the *as* + verb in the Imperfective Past construction, one of the meanings of which is to reprimand.

Through my research, I wish to analyze a particular construction or constructions, if it turns out that the formal and functional/meaning differences are enough to substantiate the existence of distinct ‘wish’ and ‘reprimand’ constructions and I also intend to look into the features of the ‘reprimand’ construction with *as* besides the presence of the Imperfective Past.

More specifically, I plan to examine the person to which it mainly responds, i.e., the addressee of the ‘reprimand’, because even in the first person singular (like in *as prósexa* ‘I should have been more careful’), it presupposes an addressee, namely, the speaker himself. I will also look into the context in which it occurs and the prototypical form of the construction, i.e., its most entrenched form, and depending on the results, I will seek possible generalizations.

Furthermore, I aim at bringing out the distinctive properties of *as* + Imperfective Past and its differences from English constructions of that type, by comparing it to constructions such as “should (not) have” and “what were/was you/he thinking...”.

If I wanted to sum up all of my aims in a few words, I would say that with my research I intend:

- i. to examine all the syntactic, pragmatic and semantic properties of the *as* + verb in the Imperfective Past construction one of the meanings of which is to reprimand,

- ii. to explore the relationship of the ‘reprimand’ function with the other functions of *as*,
- iii. to investigate whether the corpus data support the existence of a distinct ‘reprimand’ construction, and
- iv. to compare the ‘reprimand’ construction with *as* with English constructions that are used to express the same function.

Chapter 2

Methodology

2.1 Why opt for a corpus-based methodology

In order to conduct my research, I opted for a corpus-based methodology. More specifically, for the gathering of my Greek data, I used the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC), which is a corpus of Greek texts that were gathered from the Internet. When it comes to the examination of the English ‘reprimand’ constructions “should (not) have” and “what were/was you/he thinking...” I used the British National Corpus (BNC), which includes both written and spoken British English texts. Both corpora were accessed through the Sketch Engine platform (<https://www.sketchengine.eu/>).

Usage-based approaches to language draw their data from existing electronic corpora due to the fact that the latter have enabled researchers to examine “the relationship between distributional patterns in experience and cognitive representations” (Bybee, 2012: 1) in a more direct way.

Such corpora, provide us with examples of natural language usage (Bybee, 2013) and have presented the analysis of language use with a huge momentum because they display “a varying topography of distribution and frequency” (Bybee, 2006: 712) of the items/constructions under investigation that might actually differ from the initial intuition of the researchers.

Besides the fact that a corpus puts at our disposal examples of natural language usage, another argument in favour of its use in the analysis of a given language has to do with the fact that it provides the researcher with a variety and a large number of examples of the item in question as well as the context in which it is used (O’Keeffe, McCarthy, & Carter, 2007).

As far as the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC) is concerned, the fact that most of the texts originate from blogs, provides us with expressions of an informal register. They are as close as we can get to a naturally occurring speech

(Nikiforidou, Marmaridou & Mikros, 2014) and their advantage is that it allows us to gain insight on how Greek speakers express themselves in their everyday communication. This allowed me to study the construction *as* + Imperfective Past in-depth by looking into how it is used in a normal conversational exchange between people and to draw conclusions as to which is the prototypical instance for the ‘reprimand’ function.

Moreover, for the collection of the English data, I opted for the British National Corpus (BNC) since it includes not only written but also spoken British English texts. That is to say, it provided me with expressions of a both formal and an informal register, allowing me to study the English constructions exactly as they are used by English speakers in their day-to-day exchanges.

2.2 Method and Parameters in the Present Work

In order to begin with the collection of data, I used the concordance tool in the Sketch Engine dashboard, which was the tool that provided me with examples of the construction that interested me in an actual context of use (see the Appendix in the Appendix section for screenshots of the concordance search criteria that I applied in my research).

I opted for the advanced search option, and I inserted the particle *as* in the search box. Then, I filtered the context in order to provide me with the lines that included a verb within a proximity of 5 tokens to the right, i.e., within 5 words after the particle in question. This search provided me with 57,255 results and I chose to display 500 concordance rows per page. Thus, I ended up analyzing 115 corpus pages.

Afterwards, I began to look for all the *as* + verb pairings in order to find the ones that served the function of ‘reprimand’. In this stage, I made sure to take screenshots of the said examples in order to be able to refer back to them later on in my research.

Whilst looking for ‘reprimands’, I was also noting down all the examples in which the verb was in the Imperfective Past tense in order to examine later on whether

that tense serves just the function of ‘reprimand’ or if it can be used for other functions as well.

After examining the whole corpus, I looked again at the screenshots that I had taken as well as my notes, in order to make sure that they indeed served the function I had categorized them to serve and to rule out possible mistakes. During this second look, I organized the ‘reprimand’ examples in a word document, making sure that I include enough context before and after the construction in order to take it into account later on.

Having finished with the collection of data from the Greek corpus, I turned my attention to the British National Corpus (BNC). Since the results included less than 10,000 rows, i.e., Sketch Engine’s download limit, for the English constructions (8,838 for the “should have”, 1,130 for the “should not have” and 430 for the “what were/was you/he thinking...” one), I was able to download and organize them into three separate Microsoft Excel documents in order to examine them with more ease.

Moreover, when I was investigating the “what were/was you/he thinking” construction, I searched for it as “what * * thinking” in order to get all the available results because the asterisk (*) in the query is used for any number of unspecified characters. As a result, since I was looking for two unspecified characters, i.e., the verb *to be* and the subject, I used two asterisks.

As far as the analysis of the data is concerned, with respect to the Greek data, before anything else, I draw a distinction between the different functions served by the *as* + verb in the Imperfective Past because as it turned out it did not serve just the ‘reprimand’ one. This will be demonstrated more thoroughly through examples taken from the corpus in the following chapter.

This initial distinction was drawn by thoroughly reading the examples, by examining the context they provided me with and by trusting my native speaker intuition. After distinguishing between the different functions, I focused on the ‘reprimand’ one. As a first step, I examined the tense of the verbs in order to verify what was mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2, about the Imperfective Past and the Past Perfect being the only tenses expressing that function with the

Imperfective Past being the most frequent of the two. In addition to that, I examined whether the Imperfective Past is just as frequent in other functions and more specifically in the functions of ‘wish’, ‘concession’ and ‘condition’, as it is in the ‘reprimand’ one, or whether these functions show a preference towards another tense.

As a next step, I tried to identify the prototypical form of the construction, i.e., its most entrenched form, by looking at whether I could locate any repetition with respect to the verb used to express the function of ‘reprimand’, its preferred person and number.

Having identified the prototypical instance, I moved on to the examination of the negation, i.e., whether it is more frequent to encounter the ‘reprimand’ in the form of *as + min + verb* (‘subject + should not + verb’) as opposed to *as + verb* (‘subject + should + verb’) and whether that negation primes the ‘reprimand’ function as opposed to the other functions of *as*.

In addition, I examined the context in which the ‘reprimand’ construction appeared. That is to say, I examined whether it is dependent on something that has been mentioned before the *as + verb*, i.e., on something that is mentioned after it either explicitly or implicitly or if it is independent and can stand on its own. With regard to the context, I also looked at whether there was a repeated word/item that primed the ‘reprimand’ function as opposed to other functions.

Moving on to the English data, before anything else, I distinguished in both the “should have” and the “should not have” Excel files the examples that served as ‘reprimands’, since not all of them had that function.

Then, in order to be able to compare them with the results from the Greek data, in both “should (not) have” and “what were/was you/he thinking...” constructions, I examined the context to see whether this meaning of ‘reprimand’ is dependent on something mentioned either explicitly or implicitly or if it can stand independently.

Besides the context, I also tried to identify the addressees of the aforementioned constructions, i.e., their prototypical subjects. Additionally, in the “should (not)

have” construction I further examined the appearance of the negation and whether it is prototypical for the ‘reprimand’ function. To put it differently, I examined whether it is more frequent to encounter it as “should have” or as “should not have”.

The following table, *Table 1*, summarizes the process that I followed during my research:

Table 1 *Research Process*

Greek Data

- Examined all the *as* + verb examples.
- Searched for the *as* + Imperfective Past.
- Distinguished between the different functions.
- Examined the frequency of the Imperfective Past in the distinguished functions.
- Examined the tense of the *as* ‘reprimands’.
- Identified the prototypical ‘reprimand’ instance.
- Examined the context of appearance of the *as* ‘reprimands’.
- Examined the appearance of the negation in all the functions.
- Examined whether the negation primes ‘reprimands’.

English Data

"should (not) have"

- Distinguished the ‘reprimands’.
- Examined the context of appearance of the ‘reprimands’.
- Examined the prototypical addressees.
- Examined the negation and whether it is prototypical.

"what were/was you/he thinking"

- Distinguished the ‘reprimands’.
- Examined the context of appearance of the ‘reprimands’.
- Examined the prototypical addressees.

Chapter 3

Results

The function of the present Chapter is to display the results that I obtained through my research before I proceed to their discussion and interpretation in Chapter 4.

3.1 Greek Data

To begin with, as it has already been mentioned in the previous Chapter, the search for the *as* + verb construction in the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC) provided me with 57,255 results and out of these, the majority serve the ‘suggestion’ meaning. To put it in another way, the majority of the examples are hortative and are used in order to encourage or discourage a certain action, much like the English construction *let’s* + verb. Consider for example (1) and (2):

- (1) *an pináme, andí na fáme to déftero íðos*
if hungry:PRES:1PL instead “na” eat:SUBJ:P:1PL the second type
as fame líyo parapáno apó to próto íðos
“as” eat:SUBJ:P:1PL a little more from the first type
‘If we are hungry, instead of eating the second type, let’s eat a little more from the first type.’
- (2) *ce as min ksexnáme ta ðiká mas*
and “as” NEG forget:SUBJ:PRES:1PL the own our
‘Let’s not forget our own.’

However, besides the ‘suggestion’ meaning, I have also identified the meanings of ‘concession’ (examples (3) and (4)), ‘conditionality’ (examples (5) and (6)), ‘wish’ (examples (7) and (8)) and ‘reprimand’ (examples (9) and (10)) that were mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2:

- (3) *as mu káni mínisi an pareksijíthice jia*
“as” me do:PRES:3SG lawsuit if misunderstand:SUBJ:P:3SG for

éna jióta

one iota

‘If she got offended because of an i, let her sue me.’

- (4) *ta rúxa as steynósun to mhaló mu óci úte to sóma mu*
the clothes “as” dry:SUBJ:PRES:3PL the mind mine no nor the body mine
‘The clothes may dry, it is my brain and my body that I do not wish to be dried out.’

- (5) *as pári tin protovulía ce tóte dískola*
“as” take:SUBJ:P:3SG the initiative and then hard
tha xothí kápios na tu kópsi
FUT barge in:SUBJ:P:3SG someone “na” his cut:SUBJ:P:3SG
ti fora
the force

‘If he takes the initiative, then it will be hard for anyone to cut him off.’

- (6) *as káni mia epískepi sto ájio óros*
“as” do:SUBJ:P:3SG a visit to sacred mountain
ce tha diapistósi óti ston evlojiméno ekíno
and FUT discover:SUBJ:P:3SG that to blessed that
tópo ðen patá to póði tis i eforía
place NEG step:PRES:3SG the foot her the tax office
‘If he pays a visit to Mount Athos, he will find out that the tax authorities do not set foot in that blessed place.’

- (7) *i mními su as íne eónia*
the memory yours “as” be:SUBJ:P:3SG eternal
‘May your memory be eternal.’

- (8) *o theós as ton eleísi*
the God “as” him show mercy:SUBJ:P:3SG
‘May the Lord have mercy on him.’

- (9) *as prósexan ce as sevódusan tus polítes*
“as” be careful:IMPFV:P:3PL and “as” respect:IMPFV:P:3PL the citizens
tis xóras pu tus filoksení
of-the country that them accommodate:PRES:3SG

‘They should have been careful and they should have shown respect towards the citizens of the country that accommodates them.’

(10) *as próseçe polí fovúme*
 “as” be careful:IMPFV:P:3SG much fear:PRES:1SG
oti to éxi íði metajónsi
 that the already regret:PERF:P:3SG

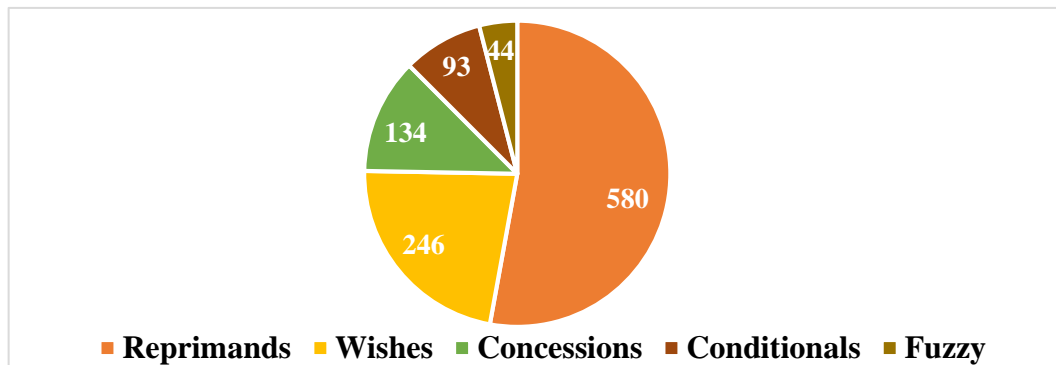
‘He should have been more careful, I fear that he has already regretted it.’

In general, with regard to the functions of ‘suggestion’, ‘wish’, ‘concession’ and ‘condition’, I have not encountered any particular restrictions as far as the tense through which they are expressed is concerned.

When it comes to whether I have located examples of the aforementioned functions in the Imperfective Past, I have identified at least 1,097 instances of that particular tense. I would like to put emphasis on that part because I do not want to rule out the possibility that I might have missed a few instances of the Imperfective Past due to the large amount of data that I had to categorize and count by hand.

Moreover, out of the 1,097 Imperfective Past examples that I located, I categorized 44 as fuzzy because I could not decide in which function category I should place them. As a result, I ended up analyzing 1,053 examples with the Imperfective Past and from them, I categorized 580 as ‘reprimands’, 246 as ‘wishes’, 134 as ‘concessions’ and 93 as ‘conditionals’. I have added the following pie graph, *Graph 1*, in order to better illustrate how I categorized my data:

Graph 1 *Imperfective Past Data Categorization*



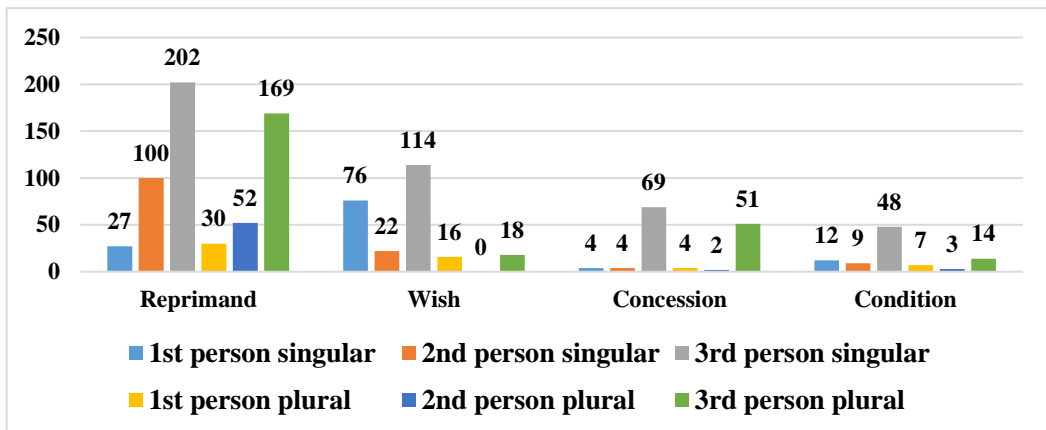
Even though I did not encounter any particular restrictions with the other functions, when it comes to the ‘reprimand’ one, the only tenses that I have

identified that express it are the Imperfective Past and the Past Perfect. Regarding the Past Perfect tense, I did not encounter it in the other functions, only in the ‘reprimand’ one. Even so, the tense that prevails in ‘reprimands’ is the Imperfective Past since out of the 593 examples that I categorized as such, only 13 were expressed through the Past Perfect tense. Consider for example (11), (12) and (13):

- (11) *an ðen arési se kápius i alíthia,*
 If NEG like:PRES:3SG to some the truth
as íxan pári norítera ta métra tus
 “as” take:PERF:P:3PL earlier the measure their
 ‘If some people do not like the truth, then they should have taken their measures earlier.’
- (12) *tóra jia to an íxan ðício i péktes pu ðen épezan*
 now for the if be:IMPFV:P:3PL right the players that NEG play:IMPFV:P:3PL
ton teleftéo ceró ne íme mazí tus
 the last time yes be:PRES:1SG with them
alá as íxan çiristí ðiaforetiká to théma
 but “as” handle:PERF:P:3PL differently the matter
 ‘When it comes to whether the players who had been left out lately were right, yes, I am with them, but they should have handled the matter differently.’
- (13) *as íxe spuðási káti pu tha borúse*
 “as” study:PERF:P:3SG something that FUT can:IMPFV:P:3SG
na tis eksasfalísi ðuλά
 “na” her ensure:PRES:3SG job
 ‘She should have studied something that would ensure her a job’

As far as the addresses are concerned, I identified 27 Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’ in the 1st person singular, 100 in the 2nd person singular, 202 in the 3rd person singular, 30 in the 1st person plural, 52 in the 2nd person plural and 169 in the 3rd person plural. In ‘wishes’, these numbers were 76, 92, 114, 16, 0, 18, in ‘concessions’ 4, 4, 69, 4, 2, 51 and in ‘conditions’ 12, 9, 48, 7, 3 and 14 respectively. *Graph 2* illustrates these numbers more clearly:

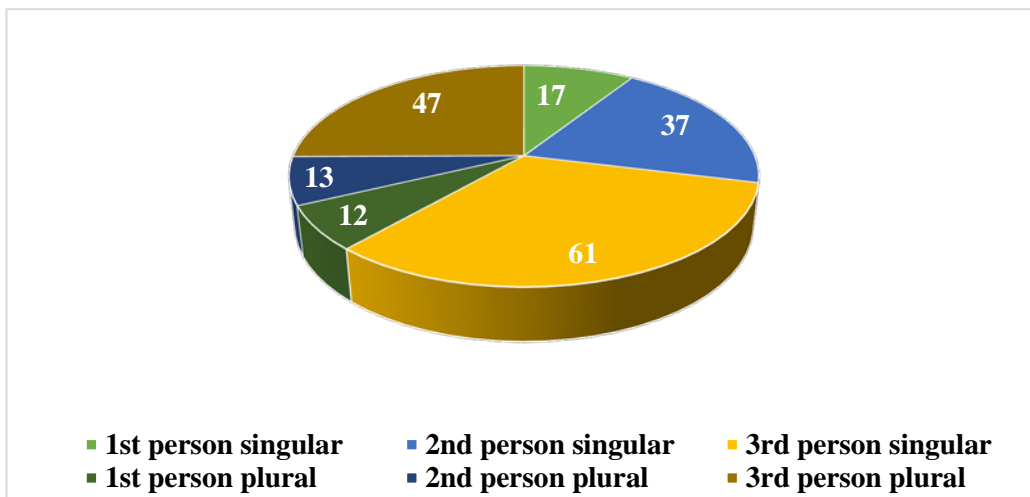
Graph 2 *as + Imperfective Past addresses*



The addresses of the Past Perfect ‘reprimands’ were 1 in the 2nd person singular, 6 in the 3rd person singular, 1 in the 2nd person plural and 5 in the 3rd person plural.

Out of the 580 Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’, 187 were comprised of the particle *as* and the verb *proséxo* ‘be careful’ in different persons. From these 187 instances, I encountered 17 in the 1st person singular, 37 in the 2nd person singular, 61 in the 3rd person singular, 12 in the 1st person plural, 13 in the 2nd person plural and 47 in the 3rd person plural. These numbers are better illustrated in *Graph 3*:

Graph 3 *as + proséxo*



I did not encounter any ‘reprimands’ with that particular verb in the Past Perfect tense, nor did I notice any similar repetitions with respect to the verb used in the other constructions.

In addition, when it comes to how frequent it is to encounter the grammatical feature of negative polarity, 71 ‘reprimands’, 16 ‘wishes’, 4 ‘concessions’ and 42 ‘conditions’ were negated through the use of the negative morpheme *mi*.

During the analysis of the data, I also noticed that when the function of the *as* + Imperfective Past construction is to show a ‘condition’ the *as* + verb part is the hypothesis/condition whereas when the function is to ‘reprimand’ it can sometimes serve as the result, the apodosis of the conditional. Compare for example (14), (15) and (16) which I have categorized as ‘conditions’ with (17), (18) and (19) which I have categorized as ‘reprimands’:

- (14) *as mi jinótan o sizmós tu septemvríu ce*
 “as” NEG happen:IMPFV:P:3SG the earthquake of-his September and
tha su éleya pósi tha apofítusan
 FUT your say:IMPFV:P:1SG how many FUT graduate:IMPFV:P:3PL
to 2000
 in-the 2000
 ‘If it was not for the earthquake that took place in September, nobody would have graduated in 2000.’
- (15) *as ménate stin kipséli ce ðen tha ipírxe*
 “as” stay:IMPFV:P:2PL in Kipseli and NEG FUT exist:IMPFV:P:3SG
théma epilojís
 matter choice
 ‘If you were living in Kipseli, there would not be a matter of choice.’
- (16) *as min ímun eyó dípla su ce tha vlépame*
 “as” NEG be:IMPFV:P:1SG I next you and FUT see:IMPFV:P:1PL
tóra pu tha ísun
 now where FUT be:IMPFV:P:2SG
 ‘If I was not by your side, then we would see where you would be now’
- (17) *an íthela na kriftó,*
 if want:IMPFV:P:1SG “na” hide:SUBJ:P:1SG
as ániya trípa, óçi blɔg
 “as” open:IMPFV:P:1SG hole no blog
 ‘If I wanted to hide, I should have dug a hole and not started a blog.’

- (18) *an ðen íthele na vrethí se aftí ti thési*
 if NEG want:IMPFV:P:3SG “na” find:SUBJ:P:3SG in this the position
as min ítan tóso proklitiki me tis ðilósis tis
 “as” NEG be:IMPFV:P:3SG so provocative with the statements her
 ‘If she did not want to find herself in such a position, then she should not
 have been as provocative as she was with her statements.’
- (19) *tóra an esí ðen to katálaves tóte*
 now if you NEG the understand:IMPFV:P:2SG then
ce évyales ylósa xorís lógo,
 and take out:IMPFV:P:2SG tongue without reason
ðe ftéo eyó, as próseçes
 NEG be responsible:PRES:1SG I “as” be careful:IMPFV:P:2SG
 ‘Now if you did not understand it then and you talked back for no reason,
 then it is not my fault, you should have been more careful.’

As far as the linguistic context, which is also known as co-text (Yule, 2017: 366), is concerned, the pragmatic phenomenon of anaphoric reference, anaphora, is observed in a few examples through the use of pronouns.

For instance, the pronoun, *ton* (‘him’) in example (20) refers back to the noun *blóger* (blogger), the pronoun *tin* (‘her’) in examples (21) and (22) refers back to the noun *póli* (‘city’) and *ynósi* (‘knowledge’) and the pronoun *ta* (‘them’) in example (23) refers back to the noun *mátia* (‘eyes’):

- (20) *borí na ítan kuzulós o blóger*
 maybe “na” be:IMPFV:P:3SG mad the blogger
ða pári pistopiitiko adílipsis apó sena í apó mena
 FUT take:PRES:3SG certificate perception from you or from me
an ðen su árese as min ton ðiavazes
 “an” NEG your like:IMPFV:P:3SG “as” NEG him read:IMPFV:P:2SG
 ‘The blogger could be mad. Which one of us is going to certify his mental
 capacity? If you did not like him then you should not have read him.’
- (21) *ótan énas jermanos to 2002 paraponéthice stin filí mu*
 when a German in-the 2002 complain:SIMPLE:P:3SG to friend mine
tin ‘miriām oti i póli ðen éxi tin istoricí xári

the Miriam that the city NEG have:PRES:3SG the historical grace

tu ámsterdam i tis utrétis,

of-the Amsterdam or of-the Utrecht

énas roterdamézos petáxtice

one from Rotterdam barge in:SIMPLE:P:3SG

apó to píso méros tu tram

from the back area of-the tram

léyondas tu as min tin isopeðónate

saying him “as” NEG her demolish:IMPFV:P:2PL

‘When someone from Germany complained to my friend Miriam in 2002 that the city was not as historically graceful as Amsterdam or Utrecht, some guy from Rotterdam barged in from the back of the tram and said to him “you should not have demolished it”.

(22) *sterní tus ynósi as tin íxan próta*

last their knowledge “as” her have: IMPFV:P:3PL first

‘If only they knew then what they know now’

(23) *ta mátia su*

the eyes yours

as ta évlepa páli na me kitún

“as” the see:IMPFV:P:1SG again “na” me watch:SUBJ:PRES:3PL

‘Your eyes! Oh how I wish I could see them looking at me again!’

With respect to the functions of ‘reprimand’ and ‘wish’, I also noticed that they can be located in article or post headlines as well as in titles for poems and songs. Consider for example (24) which is a football headline, (25) which is the title of a poem by C. P. Cavafy, (26) which is the title of a song by Stelios Kazantzidis and (27) which is the title of a song by Danae Stratigopoulou:

(24) *mas ksípnisan as prósexan*

us wake up:SIMPLE:P:3PL “as” be careful:IMPFV:P:3PL

‘Did they wake us up? They should have been more careful.’

(25) *as fróndizan*

“as” cater for:IMPFV:P:3PL

‘They should have taken the trouble.’

(26) *as ítane o pónos éna tsiyáro δrómos*

“as” be:IMPFV:P:3SG the pain a cigarette road

‘If only pain was a stone’s throw.’

(27) *as erxósun jia líyo*

“as” come:IMPFV:P:2SG for little

‘If only you would come for a little while.’

The adverb *tuláçiston* (‘at least’) is a frequent antecedent of the function of ‘concession’ and the coordinating conjunction *ce* (‘and’) follows after every example of the ‘condition’ function. See the ‘concession’ examples (28), (29), (30) and the ‘condition’ examples (31), (32) and (33):

(28) *tuláçiston as epikalúndan to babinoti í ton elíti*

at least “as” invoke:IMPFV:P:3SG the Babiniotis or the Elytis

í to seféri

or the Seferis

‘At least he could have invoked Babiniotis or Elytis or Seferis.’

(29) *an itan na perási ti vraðjá tu ksáyripnos*

if be:IMPFV:P:3SG “na” pass:SUBJ:P:3SG the night his sleepless

as ítan tuláçiston meθizménos

“as” be:IMPFV:P:3SG at least drunk

‘If he were to spend his night sleepless, he could at least have been drunk’

(30) *tuláçiston as to púlayan se kamiá saos*

at least “as” the sell:IMPFV:P:3PL to a SAOS

‘At least they could have sold it to a SAOS.’

(31) *as ékanan tin ðulá tus i ðimosioyράfi*

“as” do:IMPFV:P:3PL the job their the reporters

ce ðen tha íxan típota na foviθún

and NEG FUT have:IMPFV:P:3PL nothing “na” fear:PERF:P:3PL

‘If the reporters did their job, they would not have to fear anything.’

(32) *as ísun ce esí stin apékso*

“as” be:IMPFV:P:2SG and you in outside

ce metá tha vlépame ti tha kanes

and then FUT see:IMPFV:P:1PL what FUT do:IMPFV:P:2SG

‘If you were left out as well, then we would see how you would react’

(33) *as min íxa anáji ton misθó ce θa su éleya*

“as” NEG need:IMPFV:P:1SG the salary and FUT you say:IMPFV:P:1SG

‘If I did not need the salary, then we would talk.’

Preceding the appearance of the ‘wish’ function, in some examples I noticed the interjection *ax* (‘oh’), which is used to indicate desire. In addition, ‘wishes’ were often surrounded by words belonging to the semantic fields of CONDITION (e.g., *timoriménos* - ‘punished’) and FEELINGS (e.g., *póno* (in example 26), *kaimó* - both translated as ‘pain’). Moreover, a lot of the verbal fillers following *as* belong to the semantic fields of CAPABILITY (e.g., *íme* - ‘to be’, *boró* - ‘be able to’) and POSSESSION (e.g., *éxo* - ‘have’). See examples (34) – (40) below:

(34) *ax as ítan éfkolo na aróstene tóra to arnί*

oh “as” be:IMPFV:P:3SG easy “na” get sick:IMPFV:P:3SG now the lamp

‘Oh, how I wish that it would be easy for the lamp to get sick now.’

(35) *ax as ímun o pépu*

oh “as” be:IMPFV:P:1SG the Pepou

‘Oh how I wish I was PePou.’

(36) *sigenίs ce fíli θa apadísunε me éna stóma mia psičí*

relatives and friends FUT answer:FUT:3PL with one mouth one soul

ax as zúse

oh “as” live:IMPFV:P:3SG

‘Family and friends will answer with one voice: oh, how we wish he was alive.’

(37) *as min ímun timoriménos*

“as” NEG be:IMPFV:P:1SG punished

‘I wish I was not punished!’

(38) *as borúsa na madépso*

“as” can:IMPFV:P:1SG “na” guess:SUBJ:P:1SG

tis karðiás su ton kaimó

her heart yours the pain

‘I wish I could guess the source of your heart’s pain.’

(39) *as íxa ti δínami jia líya ðeftenólepta*

“as” have:IMPFV:P:1SG the strength for a little seconds

na metaciníso ta astéria

“na” move:SUBJ:P:1SG the stars

‘If only I had the strength to move the stars for a few seconds.’

(40) *as íxa to kurájo n anévo sto pço*

“as” have:IMPFV:P:1SG the courage “na” climb:SUBJ:P:1SG with more

psiló psiló vunó apáno t astéria me ta çéria mu

tall tall mountain up the stars with the hands mine

na ftáno me to theó na jóso sijjenís

“na” reach:SUBJ:PRES:1SG with the God “na” feel:SUBJ:P:1SG relative

‘If only I had the courage to climb up the highest mountain, to reach the stars with my bare hands and to feel akin to God.’

What is more, both ‘reprimands’ and ‘wishes’ carry presuppositions. ‘Reprimands’ presuppose that something that should (not) have happened has whereas ‘wishes’ presuppose that the current situation is not the desired one.

The following table, *Table 2*, summarizes the most important Greek results presented in this section:

Table 2 *Greek results summary*

In all functions most of the examples → 3 rd person singular
Out of the 580 Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’ → 187 <i>as</i> + <i>proséxo</i> ‘be careful’ → 61 in the 3 rd person singular
Out of the 593 ‘reprimands’ → 71 instances of negation
Out of the 93 ‘conditions’ → 42 instances of negation
In ‘conditions’: the <i>as</i> part → hypothesis
In ‘reprimands’: the <i>as</i> part → apodosis
‘Wishes’ and ‘Reprimands’ appear in headlines, song titles and poem titles
<i>tuláčiston</i> (‘at least’) → frequent antecedent in ‘concessions’
<i>ce</i> (‘and’) → necessary in ‘conditions’

‘Wishes’ → may be preceded by the interjection *ax* (‘oh’)
often surrounded by words belonging to the semantic fields of
CONDITION and FEELINGS
a lot of the verbal fillers following *as* belong to the semantic
fields of CAPABILITY and POSSESSION

In ‘reprimands’ → *proséxo* (‘be careful’) → semantic field of CAUTION

Both ‘reprimands’ and ‘wishes’ carry presuppositions

3.2 English Data

In order to bring out the distinctive properties of the *as* + Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’ and their differences from the English ‘reprimands’, I chose to compare them to the “should (not) have” and “what were/was you/he thinking...” constructions.

On the one hand, the modal verb *should*, which is the past tense of *shall*, usually expresses “medium strength deontic or epistemic modality” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 186). However, out of the two, the deontic modality is the one that is more central. This deontic *should*, can be used to point out that the “recommendation has *not* been carried out” (Quirk et al., 1985: 227), thus acting as a rebuke (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 186).

On the other hand, even though interrogative sentences are usually used “to ask a question which one does not know the answer with the aim of obtaining the answer from the addressee” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002: 866), not all questions are looking to be answered. The questions formed with the “what were/was you/he thinking...” construction, besides fulfilling their prototypical role, namely that of inquiring, they can also function as ‘reprimands’, i.e., a way to show disapproval, and when they function as ‘reprimands’ the speaker does not expect an answer.

As far as the English findings of my research are concerned, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.2, the search in the British National Corpus (BNC) provided me with 1,130 results for the “should not have” construction, 8,838 for the “should have” and 430 for the “what were/was you/he thinking...” one.

Out of the 430 “what were/was you/he thinking...” examples, I disregarded 412 because they did not correspond to the function of ‘reprimand’. For the same reason, out of the 1,130 “should not have” examples I disregarded 390 and out of the 8,838 “should have” I disregarded 5,898.

Examples of data that I disregarded during my analysis are examples (41) – (46):

- (41) *At the same time that Thomas was studying Vitor, so Vitor was studying him. What was he thinking? she wondered, in alarm.*

- (42) *'Thinking? You are doing that too often of late. It's a wonder you can attend to the business downstairs. What were you thinking with your mouth half open?'*
- (43) *I gather Mrs Viola Machin suggested they be left with us for safety, and for completeness' sake. I don't see why you shouldn't have access to those.'*
- (44) *but with transcontinental trade already well established in pre-conquest times, it seems unlikely that fine pottery should not have come to Britain.*
- (45) *'I didn't run away,' she muttered in a shaky voice. He needed her! It should have sent her spirits soaring, but it didn't.*
- (46) *'Well, poor kid, she's gone and I'm sorry. She didn't deserve that, none of them did.' 'Can you think of any reason why she should have been killed? Anyone who disliked her?'*

As a result, for the “what were/was you/he thinking...” construction, I analyzed 26 examples, for the “should not have” I analyzed 740 and for the “should have” 2,940. Examples of data that I analyzed are examples (47) – (52):

- (47) *Not fitzAlan. It couldn't be fitzAlan. It would destroy her to have to choose between Guy and her brother. Sweet lord, what was she thinking? FitzAlan meant nothing to her.*
- (48) *there's no arthritis. Aha. And you still get pains in your joints even though you don't have arthritis. Er right. But what I was thinking, maybe I'd be better going back to work*
- (49) *She looked across at Matthew. She should not have come on this picnic. She loved Jenny, and Jenny loved Matthew.*
- (50) *He led her into the hall with a shining expanse of parquet floor in front of her, his hand still on her arm. 'You should not have come alone. Had I realised what had happened I would not have allowed it.'*
- (51) *Outside the hall, I turned to Benjamin. 'You should have let me kill him!' I accused.*

(52) *'It's my fault,' he said later when she was sitting up, her eyes gazing blankly at the opposite wall. 'I should have seen it coming. Trouble is, I thought you'd be able to handle him.*

As far as the tenses are concerned, since in the “what were/was you/he thinking” search I used the asterisk (*), as was mentioned in Chapter 2, section 2.2, the results that I got included not only the past tense but also the present tense e.g., “what am I thinking”. Therefore, out of the 26 results that I categorized as ‘reprimands’, 8 were in the present tense. See for example (53), (54) and (55):

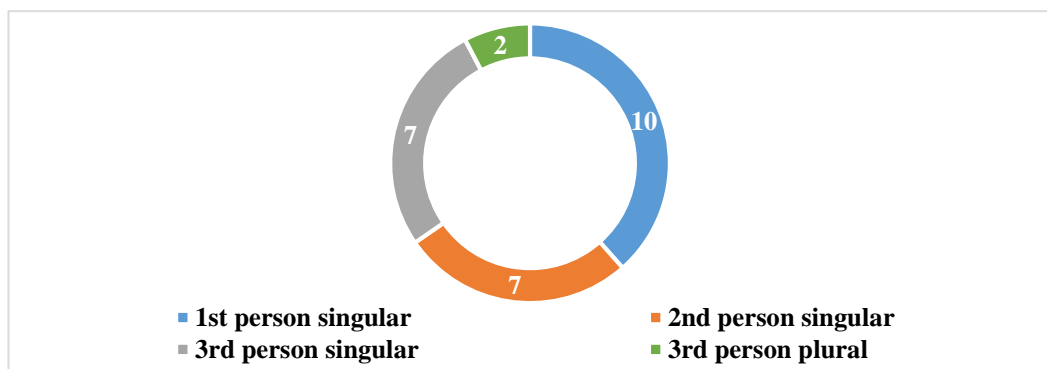
(53) *'It suited him, the name, she thought. It had a strong, no-nonsense ring about it. Hell, what am I thinking that for? Robyn cried silently. At a time like this!*

(54) *'I am hardly surprised,' Apanage declared. 'Look at the state of this place! What are you thinking of, entertaining guests here in your revolting lair?*

(55) *David sat up quickly. 'What am I thinking about about? You'll get pneumonia! Come on, I've got to get you home.' He started the car. 'It's your fault,' he said.*

As far as the addresses of this English ‘reprimand’ are concerned, in the “what + were/was + subject + thinking” construction I identified 10 instances in the 1st person singular, 7 in the 2nd person singular, 7 in the 3rd person singular and 2 in the 3rd person plural. These results include both the past tense and the present tense. See the following graph, *Graph 4*, for a better illustration of the findings:

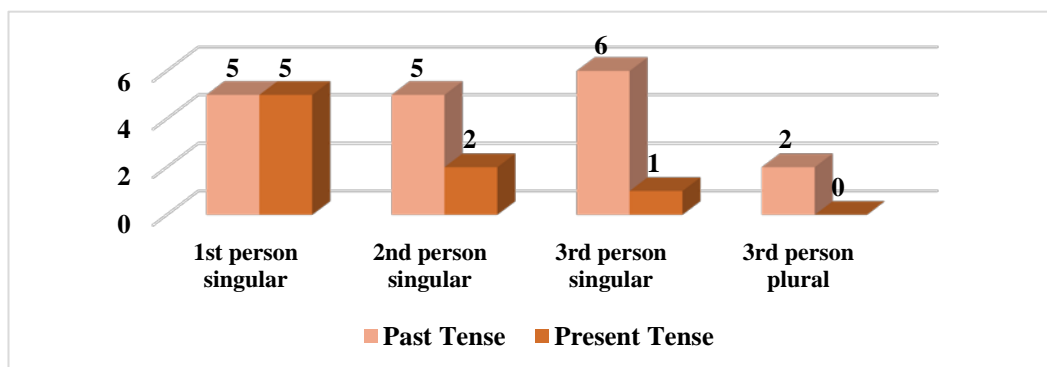
Graph 4 “what were/was you/he thinking...” addresses



To be more specific with the addresses of the ‘reprimand’, out of the 18 past tense results, 5 were in the 1st person singular, 5 in the 2nd person singular, 6 in the 3rd

person singular and 2 in the 3rd person plural. Out of the 8 present tense results, 5 were in the 1st person singular, 2 in the 2nd person singular and 1 in the 3rd person singular. See *Graph 5* below for a better illustration of the results:

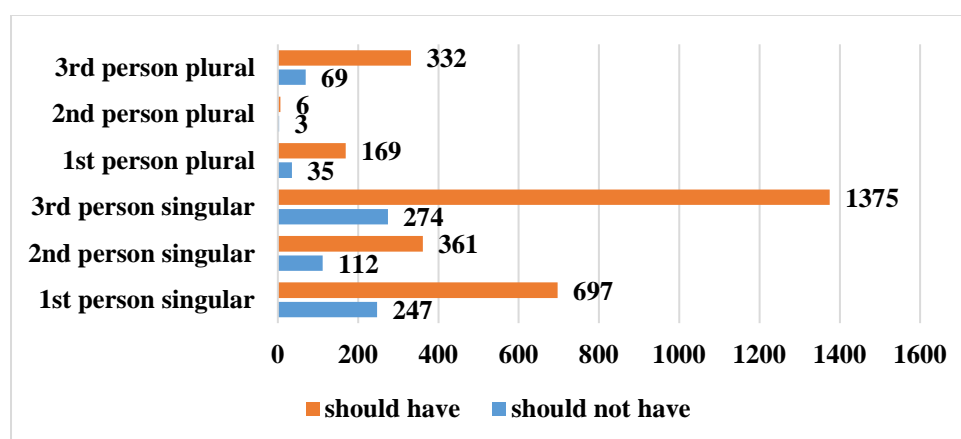
Graph 5 “*what am/was ... thinking*” addresses



In the “should not have” one, I identified 247 examples in the 1st person singular, 112 in the 2nd person singular, 274 in the 3rd person singular, 35 in the 1st person plural, 3 in the 2nd person plural and 69 in the 3rd person plural.

With respect to the “should have” one, I identified 697 examples in the 1st person singular, 361 in the 2nd person singular, 1,375 in the 3rd person singular, 169 in the 1st person plural, 6 in the 2nd person plural and 332 in the 3rd person plural. In the *Graph 6* below, a better illustration of the findings can be encountered:

Graph 6 “*should not have*” and “*should have*” addresses



In addition, one more thing that I noticed during the analysis of the English data was that in the “should not have” construction the perfect infinitives of the verbs

say and *do* were very frequent so I counted them and I identified 61 “should not have said” constructions and 65 “should not have done”.

When it comes to the most repeated perfect infinitive in the “should have” construction, it was that of the verb *know*. To be more specific, I came across 179 “should have known” instances.

The following table, *Table 3*, summarizes English results presented in this section:

Table 3 *English results summary*

In the “should (not) have” and the “what were/was you/he thinking” → most of the examples → 3 rd person singular
In the “what are/is you/he thinking” → most of the examples → 1 st person singular
65 “should not have done” instances
179 “should have known” instances

Chapter 4

Discussion of the results

Having presented all the results that I obtained through my research in the previous Chapter, in the present Chapter I aim at their interpretation.

To begin with, as the examples have already demonstrated, the Imperfective Past in the *as* + verb construction can be used to express not only the functions of ‘reprimand’ and ‘wish’ but also that of ‘concession’ and ‘condition’. However, the fact that out of the 1,097 examples that I analyzed, I encountered 580 ‘reprimands’ and 246 ‘wishes’ as opposed to the 134 ‘concessions’ and the 93 ‘conditions’ point at the fact that the first two functions are the ones that are most commonly expressed through that particular tense.

Moreover, the fact that the ‘reprimands’ that I encountered were more in number than the ‘wishes’ also makes me believe that the ‘reprimand’ function is the one that is more entrenched when the particle *as* is combined with the Imperfective Past tense.

Additionally, since I did not encounter the Past Perfect tense in any of the other functions besides the ‘reprimand’ one I believe that this is the function that is expressed by it. Even so, if we take into account that out of the 593 examples that I categorized as ‘reprimand’, including both the Imperfective Past and the Past Perfect, only 13 were expressed through the Past Perfect, we can safely assume that this is not the predominant tense for that function. This realization in turn confirms what was mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2, with respect to the scarcity of the Past Perfect in the *as* ‘reprimands’.

Moving on to the speakers to which these functions mainly refer, in all of them the majority of the verbs are found in the 3rd person singular form. The following table, *Table 4*, displays how many examples were encountered in the 3rd person singular in each function:

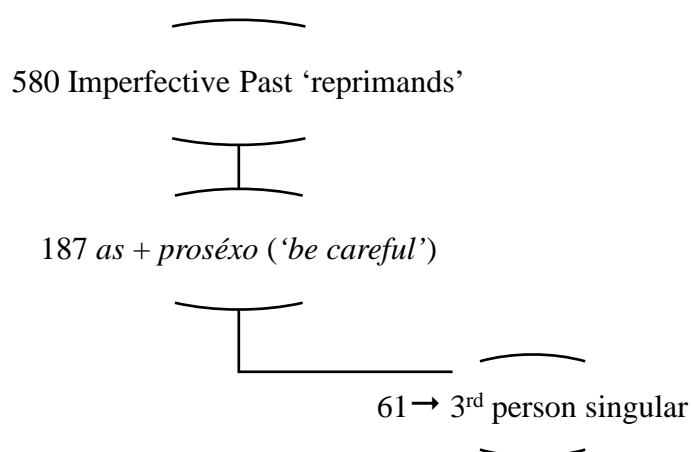
Table 4 Number of examples in the 3rd person singular

Function	Total Number of Results	Results in the 3 rd person singular
‘wish’	247	114
‘concession’	133	69
‘condition’	93	48
‘reprimand’ (with the Imperfective Past tense)	580	202
‘reprimand’ (with the Past Perfect tense)	13	6

What the contents of *Table 4* exhibit is that regardless of the function that is expressed by the *as* + verb construction, the preferred grammatical person is in the 3rd singular form.

Moreover, the fact that out of the 580 Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’ I encountered 187 with the verb *proséxo* (‘be careful’) shows that this is the preferred verb through which the *as* ‘reprimands’ are expressed. Regarding its preference in person and number, 61 examples are in the 3rd person singular. This is better demonstrated in the following figure, *Figure 1*:

Figure 1 *as* + *proséxo* instances



Consequently, the 187 instances of the ‘be careful’ verb in combination with the 61 3rd person singular addresses show that the prototypical instance of the *as* + Imperfective Past reprimands is the 3rd person singular of the verb *proséxo* (‘be careful’), namely *as próseçe* (‘he should have been careful’).

In the previous Chapter, I also mentioned the frequency with which I encountered the grammatical feature of negative polarity, i.e., how often it was to encounter the *as* + verb construction in negation introduced by the particle *mi*. To begin with the ‘reprimand’ function, out of the 580 with the Imperfective Past, 69 were in negation and out of the 13 with the Past Perfect, I came across 2 with negation.

Taking into account that I categorized 593 examples in total in the ‘reprimand’ function, I would not say that the 71 instances of negation are enough to conclude that the negation primes the meaning of ‘reprimand’. On the contrary, I would say that the presence of negation primes the ‘condition’ meaning because out of the 93 examples that I categorized as such, 42 were in negation making use of the negative morpheme *mi*.

In addition, when the function of the *as* construction is to ‘reprimand’, the sentence with the construction comprises a main/an independent clause that can stand on its own and the meaning of reprimanding for doing or not doing something will still be inferred. For instance, compare the examples (56) and (57) that follow:

(56) *to vasanistírio tis limoktonías ce tu zondanú nekrú*
the torture of-the starvation and of-his living dead
to íxan epiléksi aftovúlos, i iðji.
it-the choose:PERF:P:3PL of your own volition they themselves
as prósexan.

“as” be careful:IMPFV:P:3PL

‘They chose themselves the torture of being starved and being transformed into a walking dead. They should have been careful.’

(57) *as ékanan perikopés ce sto bádzet tu obradovits*
“as” do IMPFV:P:3PL cutbacks and the budget his Obradović
ce tha su leya eyó ti tha ékane

and FUT your say:IMPFV:P:1SG I what FUT do IMPFV:P:3SG
 ‘If they dared cutback on Obradović’s budget, then we would see how
 he would react.’

If we take a look at the first example, example (56), which is an example of the ‘reprimand’ *as*, we will notice that even if we keep just the *as prósexan* (‘they should have been careful’) part we can still infer that it is a reprimand towards some people who were not careful when the situation required them to be and as a result, they had to face the consequences of their actions.

On the contrary, in ‘conditions’, like in example (57), the whole context is needed in order to help us understand that the function of the construction is to show a ‘condition’, something that makes us realize that *as* ‘conditions’ are dependent on the main clause.

Similarly, ‘concessions’ need the surrounding context in order for their meaning to be derived. Otherwise, they might be misinterpreted as ‘reprimands’. Even if we do not encounter the exact adverb *tuláčiston* (‘at least’), we will still be able to locate an item in the surrounding context that will lead us to infer that the function of the construction is that of ‘concession’.

For instance, in the following examples, example (58) and (59), I believe that it is the words *ésto* (‘even’) and *kan* (‘even’) respectively that give rise to the ‘concession’ meaning of *as*:

(58) *pu íne to prásino re paiðia*
 where be:PRES:3SG the green you guys
as vázane esto ce plastiká prásina ðedrákia
 “as” put:IMPFV:P:3PL even and plastic green trees
 ‘You guys, where did they see the greenery? They could at least have put
 some green plastic trees.’

(59) *ce ðen xriazótan kan na ítan tu 1100 í tu*
 and NEG need:IMPFV:P:3SG even “na” be:IMPFV:P:3PL of-his 1100 or of-his
900 px as ítan pio nées
 900 BC “as” be:IMPFV:P:3PL more young

‘And they did not even have to be of the 1100 or the 900 BC, they could be younger’

If we were to examine the sentence with the construction out of that particular context, then we would probably assume that its function is that of ‘reprimand’ and not that of ‘concession’.

In addition, the fact that ‘reprimands’ do not depend on the context that precedes or follows after them in order for their function to be understood is also strengthened by the fact that I did not encounter in the examples that I categorized as ‘reprimands’ words such as the adverb *tuláçiston* (‘at least’) in examples (28), (29) and (30) which are examples of the ‘concession’ function.

Furthermore, since the sentences with the ‘reprimand’ construction can stand as independent clauses, they can also play the part of the apodosis of a conditional as was shown in examples (14), (15) and (16). However, when the function of the construction is to show a ‘condition’, the sentence with the construction transforms into a dependent/subordinate clause. It becomes the hypothesis, the condition that must be met in order for what is described in the main clause to be materialized. As a result, with that function, we have the appearance of conditional sentences that are introduced by the particle *as* instead of the typical hypothetical conjunction *an* (‘if’).

Since in the *as* conditionals in the hypothesis we have the Imperfective Past tense and in the apodosis we have the future marker *θa* again with the Imperfective, we can deduce that they function as 2nd type conditionals, i.e., counterfactual conditionals, which talk about what would happen if the circumstances expressed in the hypothesis were different. That is to say that the *as* conditionals are used to express an irrealis mood. Moreover, if we pay close attention to all the examples of the ‘conditional’ *as* that I have used thus far, it becomes clear that a necessary element of the *as* conditionals is the presence of the coordinating conjunction *ce* (‘and’).

The use of that conjunction points at a causal relationship between the two sentences, where the sentence with the *as* functions as the cause that contributes to the production of the effect expressed by the dependent clause. This causal

relationship that is expressed in the *as* ‘conditions’ is also noted in Nikiforidou (1996: 616), in which the ‘conditional’ function of the particle *as* is analyzed in detail.

Moreover, even though the pragmatic phenomenon of the anaphoric reference is observed in the examples (20) - (23), it is by no means necessary prerequisite for the functions of ‘wish’ and ‘reprimand’. Its main function is the avoidance of repetition. To illustrate further, the prototypical instance of ‘reprimands’, namely *as próseçe* (‘he should have been careful’), does not contain any anaphoric expressions.

Another point that I would like to make is that the fact that we can locate ‘wishes’ and ‘reprimands’ in titles, songs and headlines is equally important with the fact that these two are the most frequent functions of the *as* + Imperfective Past construction that I encountered during my research. This is because it further strengthens the evidence that these are the conventional functions expressed by that construction.

Such genres need to create as many connotations as possible in a subconscious level in order to create the intended effects and gain the desired reaction from people. However, besides needing to convey the intended meaning, they also have to be as short as possible. As a result, the constructions that constitute them need to be entrenched in the minds of people and the fact that the *as* ‘reprimand’ and ‘wish’ functions appear in such genres makes me think that these two functions are the entrenched ones for the *as* + Imperfective Past.

Furthermore, if we compare the examples with the song titles (i.e., examples 26 and 27) with the headline and poem title examples (i.e., examples 24 and 25) we see that out of these two functions, the preferred one for songs is that of the ‘wish’ whereas for the others is that of ‘reprimand’. This might be an indication that the ‘reprimand’ function is not limited to a specific genre. That is to say, it is more widely encountered.

In addition, the context in which the ‘wish’ function is encountered is negatively charged. As was mentioned in the previous Chapter, ‘wishes’ were often surrounded by words belonging to the semantic fields of CONDITION (e.g.,

timoriménos - ‘punished’) and FEELINGS (e.g., *póno*, *kaimó* - both translated as ‘pain’) and the semantic features of these words are [-positive], with negative connotations. The word “pain” for example, is a negatively charged word that conveys unpleasant feelings, feelings of hurt, of physical and/or emotional damage.

Similarly, I also mentioned that a lot of the verbal fillers following *as* in ‘wishes’ belong to the semantic fields of CAPABILITY (e.g., *íme* - ‘to be’, *boró* - ‘be able to’) and POSSESSION (e.g., *éxo* - ‘have’) and that ‘wishes’ presuppose that the current situation is not the desired one. Taking that into account, the fact that the speakers wish of having something that they do not have (examples 39, 40) or of being something that they are not (examples 35, 37) or of being able to do something that they cannot (example 38), is an indication of loss and inability, which are both negative emotions.

What is more, preceding the appearance of the ‘wish’ function, we might find the interjection *ax* (‘oh’), like in examples (34) and (35). Additionally, when we first read example (27) if we are not given any more context or if we are not aware of the fact that it is a song, we might misinterpret it as ‘reprimand’. However, when we read the rest of the song, i.e., the *monaxá jia éna vráði* (‘just for one night’) part, we understand that it is a ‘wish’ after all.

What this points at is that once again, the ‘reprimand’ meaning is not dependent on contextual items in order to be inferred and as a result, it seems to be the preferred interpretation out of context.

At the beginning of the present Chapter, I also mentioned that since the number of the Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’ that I encountered was larger than that of the ‘wishes’, I believe that it is the former and not the latter function the one that is more commonly expressed by that tense. To that I added, that its prototypical instance is the *as próseçe* (‘she/she/it should have been careful’) one. This is reinforced further by the following example, example (60):

(60) *θα ίταν skliró na pó*
 FUT be:IMPFV:P:3SG hard “na” say:SUBJ:P:1SG
to ynostó as próseçe

the known “as” be careful:IMPFV:P:3SG

‘It would be hard to say the well-known he should have been more careful’

In this example, the adjective *γνστός* (‘well-known’) refers to the phrase *as próseçe* (‘he should have been more careful’) characterizing it as something that is used with frequency and that is considered to be common knowledge among native Greek language speakers. Therefore, from that I understand that every native Greek speaker intuitively knows that when someone utters the words *as próseçe* (‘he should have been careful’), the goal is to comment on and rebuke a past action that according to them either happened when it should not have or it did not happen when it should have.

Moreover, the verb *proséxo* (‘be careful’), i.e., the most frequent lexical filler for ‘reprimands’, belongs to the semantic field of CAUTION and since ‘reprimands’ presuppose that something that should have happened has not, it indicates lack of caution on behalf of the agent.

As far as the interpretation of the English data is concerned, with respect to the “what + were/was + subject + thinking” construction, I was surprised with the small amount of ‘reprimands’ that I encountered because I thought that this construction along with the “should (not) have” one were equally common for the expression of that particular function. Therefore, comparing the amount of data that I gathered for the two English ‘reprimands’ I would say that the “should (not) have” one is the most frequent.

Furthermore, if we compare the “what was/were you/he thinking” ‘reprimand’ with both “should (not) have” one and the Greek *as* ‘reprimand’ on a tense level, we observe that it is the only one that can be used to show disapproval about an event that is taking place in the Present.

Both the Greek Past Perfect and the Imperfective Past are past tenses and the combination of the modal auxiliary “should (not)” with the perfect infinitive “have + past participle” is used to refer to desirable or non-desirable past events that have already taken place. In both languages, even though the effects of these

events affect the present, they took place in the past, so the ‘reprimand’ has to refer to the past.

Nonetheless, since the majority of the “what were/was you/he thinking” examples are in the past tense (18 out of the 26), I assume that it is most commonly used in order to rebuke a past action and not a present one. Moreover, since out of these 18 examples, 6 are in the 3rd person singular, I believe that this is the prototypical instance for that construction.

What is more, when compared to the Greek *as* ‘reprimands’ and the English “should (not) have” ‘reprimands’, the “what were/was you/he thinking” construction depends on the context before it in order for the meaning of ‘reprimand’ to become apparent. They depend on interjections such as “Sweet lord” (example 47) and “Hell” (example 53), as well as on whole sentences like “Look at the state of this place!” (example 54). If these do not exist, then the function changes and they no longer serve as reprimands. Instead, they function as questions that show an interest towards the thoughts of somebody, like in the examples (41) and (42).

On the contrary, the “should (+ not) + perfect infinitive” constructions do not depend on something that precedes them either explicitly or implicitly in order to be understood as ‘reprimands’. All the ‘reprimand’ examples, i.e., examples (49) – (52) can stand on their own and even without further elaboration the function can be deduced. What the rest of the context does is provide us with more information about what has happened, but it is not a necessary requirement.

When it comes to the “should not have” construction, if we take into account the numbers that I presented in Chapter 3, we deduce that the most common addressee is in the 3rd person singular and the most common verb is the verb *do*. Therefore, I would presume that the prototypical perfect infinitive for the “should not have” construction is “done” and the prototypical addressee of the construction is in the 3rd person singular.

Similarly, when it comes to the “should have” construction, the most frequent addressee is in the 3rd person singular, making me assume that this is the prototypical addressee. However, since contrary to the “should not have”

construction, the most frequent perfect infinitive for the “should have” one was that of the verb *know*, i.e., “known”, I believe that this is the prototypical one for that construction.

Taking everything that I have mentioned with respect to the addresses of all the ‘reprimand’ constructions, it is safe to assume that for both the Greek and the English ones the prototypical referents are in 3rd person singular.

What is more, the fact that the “should have” examples are more in number than the “should not have” ones despite the 5,898 examples that I did not regard as ‘reprimands’ leads me to assume that it is the prototypical instance of the “should (not) have construction”.

Moreover, just like the Greek *as* ‘reprimand’ construction, both the “should have” and the “should not have” sentences can function as the apodosis of a conditional, enhancing the argument that they can stand independently on their own since they are the main clauses upon which the conditional sentences depend. Consider for example the examples (61) and (62) below:

(61) *If he wanted a real, one hundred per cent unprejudiced check he should have kept quiet.*

(62) *However, my enquiry was met with the response that I should not have entered the competition if I was not prepared to travel etc.*

In both these examples, the sentences with the constructions can stand independently since even if we isolate them from the rest of the context they still make sense, they do not feel as if they were incomplete. Thus, they constitute the main clauses of the conditionals. We cannot say the same however for the if-clauses because without the rest of the sentences they are incomplete. They are missing the consequences of the situations described.

The last comment that I would like to make before proceeding to the next and final Chapter of the present dissertation, has to do with the fact that the English “should (not) have” construction is the translation equivalent for the Greek *as* ‘reprimands’. To be more specific, I was led to that belief because if we pay close attention to how all of the aforementioned examples of the Greek *as* ‘reprimand’

constructions are translated into English, we notice that all of them are translated as either “should have” or “should not have” depending on whether they are in negation or not in the Source Language.

The following tables, *Table 5 and Table 6*, summarize the most important conclusions that were reached in the present Chapter:

Table 5 *Summary of the Greek conclusions*

‘Reprimand’ and ‘Wish’ → The most common functions expressed through the Imperfective Past
‘Reprimands’ > ‘Wishes’ → ‘Reprimands’ more entrenched with the Imperfective Past
Imperfective Past > Past Perfect in ‘reprimands’ → the Imperfective Past is the predominant ‘reprimand’ tense
In all functions, the majority of the verbs → 3 rd person singular → the preferred grammatical person
The prototypical instance of the <i>as</i> ‘reprimands’ → <i>as próseçe</i> (‘he should have been careful’)
Negation primes ‘conditions’
‘Wishes’ → preferred in song titles
‘Reprimands’ → preferred in poems and headlines
↓
shows conventionalization
‘Wishes’ → encountered in a negatively charged context & can be dependent on specific words
‘Reprimands’ → seem to be the preferred interpretation out of context

Table 6 *Summary of the English conclusions*

The “should (not) have” construction is the most frequent

Prototypical addressee for all English constructions → 3rd person singular →
similar to the *as* ‘reprimands’.

“should not have” → done = the prototypical perfect infinitive

“should have” → known = the prototypical perfect infinitive

“should have” > “should not have” → the negated form is not the prototypical
→ similar to the *as* ‘reprimands’

“should (not) have” → can serve as the apodosis of a conditional → similar to
the *as* ‘reprimands’

“what were/was you/he thinking” → depends on contextual items in order for
the ‘reprimand’ meaning to become apparent

“should (not) have” → can stand on its own and still be understood as
‘reprimand’ → similar to the *as* ‘reprimands’

“should (not) have” → the translation equivalent for the *as* ‘reprimands’

Chapter 5

Conclusion

5.1 Summary of the most important points

The aim of the present section is to offer a summary of the most important points that have been mentioned thus far before moving on to the next section which includes the theoretical conclusions that I have drawn based on the data that I examined and before attempting to offer suggestions for future research in the fields of Construction Grammar and Usage-Based Linguistics.

To begin with the brief theoretical summary, Construction Grammar (CxG) is one of the many approaches that exist with regard to the study of language. It is a non-modular theoretical approach, which means that it takes into account all the different levels that exist in a language during its analysis and its cornerstone is the notion of grammatical *constructions*, which can be defined as combinations of form and function.

Construction Grammar is very closely related to Usage-Based linguistic approaches, which put a lot of emphasis on the study of how the language is being used. For Usage-Based linguists constructions are examples of frequent language usage because in order for something to be entrenched into a language, it needs to be frequently used and constructions are indeed entrenched into each language.

Constructions compose the grammar of all languages and according to their degree of productivity, we can situate them at any point along an idiomaticity continuum. The Greek construction of the particle *as* + verb can be located in the middle of the continuum due to the fact that it is a semi-schematic one. What this means is that even though there is a fixed part, the particle *as*, there is also a certain freedom with regard to the tense of the verb that follows it and with respect to the lexical verb that can fill this slot.

With respect to the particle *as*, it originates from the second person singular imperative form *áphes* of the Ancient Greek verb *aphíēmi*, which underwent a

process of grammaticalization that from a lexical verb turned it into a polysemous verbal particle. Typically, it can be used to create several constructions, each one having a different function depending on the tense of the verb with which it co-occurs. For instance, we can use it to express ‘permission’, ‘concession’ or ‘conditionality’ as well as to make a ‘suggestion’ or a ‘wish’.

Besides these functions, when the particle *as* is combined with a verb in the Imperfective Past, we have the emergence of a new function, that of ‘reprimand’ towards someone or towards an action. The fact that, this ‘reprimand’ function, seemed to appear only with that particular tense led me to believe that it faces a constraint as far as the tense of the verb is concerned.

For this reason, for the purposes of the present dissertation, I decided to investigate in detail all the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the *as* + verb in the Imperfective Past construction, one of the meanings of which is to ‘reprimand’. I wished to explore the relationship of this ‘reprimand’ function with the other functions of *as*. Moreover, I aimed at comparing the *as* ‘reprimand’ with the English ‘reprimand’ constructions “should (not) have” and “what were/was you/he thinking” in order to bring out their differences and/or similarities.

In order to achieve these goals and conduct my research, I opted for a corpus-based methodology. The reasoning behind that choice was that the use of a corpus would allow me to access a large number of examples while also providing me with the actual context within which they were used. Bearing this in mind, I accessed through Sketch Engine platform the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC) for the collection of the Greek data and the British National Corpus (BNC) for the collection of the English ones.

5.2 Theoretical conclusions

The results that I obtained through my research have guided me into drawing the theoretical conclusions that I aim at presenting in the present section.

To begin with, as far as the Greek data are concerned, they confirmed that the *as* + verb construction is used to express various functions, such as that of ‘suggestion’, ‘wish’, ‘conditionality’ and ‘concession’.

They also pointed out that among other tenses, these functions can be expressed also through the Imperfective Past. Having said that, if we take into account the amount of Imperfective Past data that I gathered, it becomes obvious that the most common functions expressed by it are by far the functions of ‘wish’ and ‘reprimand’.

Moreover, I believe that the evidence displayed in the previous Chapters are enough to support that there is indeed a distinct ‘reprimand’ construction. The first reason for that has to do with the fact that even though the function of ‘wish’ does not face any particular constraints when it comes to the tense that will be used to express it, the ‘reprimand’ one prefers the Imperfective Past.

What is more, the fact that I encountered examples of ‘reprimand’ expressed through the Past Perfect, these examples were so little in number in comparison with the Imperfective Past ones, that I strongly believe that the prototypical tense that is used for the *as* ‘reprimands’ is the Imperfective Past.

Another evidence in support of a distinct ‘reprimand’ construction is the fact that I have identified a prototypical instance for it. To elaborate further on that, I have come to the conclusion that since the Imperfective Past ‘reprimands’ were frequently combined with the verb *proséxo* (‘be careful’) in the 3rd person singular form, i.e., *as próseçe* (‘he should have been careful’), then that has to be its prototypical instance.

In addition, out of the two functions, the one with the most examples was that of ‘reprimand’, something that demonstrates that this is the prototypical one for the Imperfective Past tense.

Furthermore, as was explained in the previous Chapter, these two functions are the conventionalized ones since they appear in headlines, poem titles and song titles, i.e., in places where conventionalized expressions are needed. However, ‘wishes’ in comparison to ‘reprimands’ are limited to song titles only, something that points

at the fact that there is a distinction between the two since the latter is more widely encountered.

Another feature of the *as* ‘reprimands’ is that they do not depend on specific items from the context in order to be understood as such unlike the other functions, nor do they appear in an emotionally charged context unlike ‘wishes’. *As* ‘reprimands’ can stand on their own and their meaning will still be inferred. In other words, the preferred interpretation out of context when the particle *as* is combined with the Imperfective Past tense is that of ‘reprimand’

Besides what has been mentioned thus far, another difference between the functions of ‘reprimand’ and ‘wish’ could be that of intonation since there is a change in the intonation when someone reprimands someone else and when someone wishes for something. However, that belief comes from my native speaker intuition and not from the data that I collected, since I did not examine a spoken corpus.

As far as the English data are concerned, both the “what were/was you/he thinking” construction and the “should (not) have” one have their prototypical addresses in the 3rd person singular, something that is similar to the Greek *as* ‘reprimand’. However, this is the only similarity that I noticed between the Greek *as* and the “what were/was you/he thinking”.

On the other hand, the “should (not) have” one has more in common with its Greek counterpart. To begin with, they are both independent. That is to say that neither is tied to a specific word from the surrounding context from which they derive their function. Furthermore, they are both combined with the past tense and they both can serve as the apodosis of conditional sentences. The last thing that I noticed was that they are translation equivalents and perhaps that is what gives rise to the similarities that I encountered.

5.3 Suggestions for future research

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, section 1.3, I am not aware of any research that has been conducted within the field of Construction Grammar with respect to the

‘reprimand’ function of the Modern Greek *as* particle. As a result, the present dissertation has been a step towards this direction. More specifically, it is an addition to the Greek construction since it is a first step towards the identification of a new member of the *as* + Imperfective Past family of constructions and even though it is a mostly empirically grounded work, it has theoretical consequences because it adds to how Greek constructions are identified and organized. However, there is still room for further investigation.

To elaborate further on that and to support my previous claim that ‘wishes’ differ from ‘reprimands’ not only in terms of the context in which they appear and the genre but also in their intonation, further research needs to be conducted employing the use of a spoken corpus. This research will strengthen the empirical data presented and will determine whether we can draw one more distinction between the functions of ‘reprimand’ and ‘wish’.

In addition, in the previous section, I pointed out that the English “should (not) have” ‘reprimands’ are the translation equivalents for the Greek *as* ‘reprimands’. This gave me the idea that a future corpus-based research in the fields of Construction Grammar and Usage-Based Linguistics would be the examination of the translation equivalent of the “what were/was you/he thinking” construction.

To put it in a different way, I believe that the Greek *ti skeftósun* construction is the translation equivalent of the English “what were/was you/he thinking” and again it is noticeable that the Greek verb is in the Imperfective Past tense. Taking that into account, I find that it would be interesting to examine and discover whether the Greek interrogative pronoun *ti* has any particular restrictions as far as the tense with which it is combined in order to express the function of ‘reprimand’ is concerned, i.e., whether the *ti* ‘reprimands’ correlate just with the Imperfective Past tense.

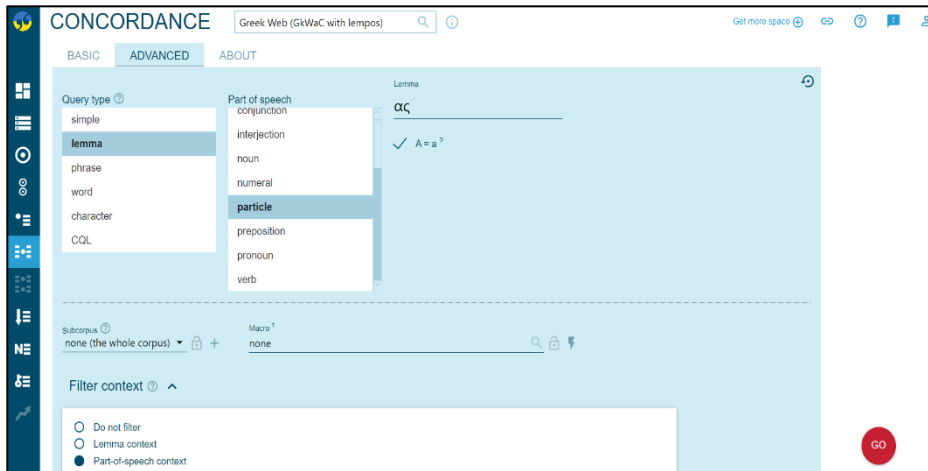
What is more, if it is proven that it is indeed just the Imperfective Past tense that gives rise to the *ti* ‘reprimands’ one could take this examination a step further. With that, I mean that all the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the *ti* + verb in the Imperfective Past construction could be studied in detail and it

could be further compared with the *as* + Imperfective Past ‘reprimand’ construction as well as with the English “what were/was you/he thinking” one.

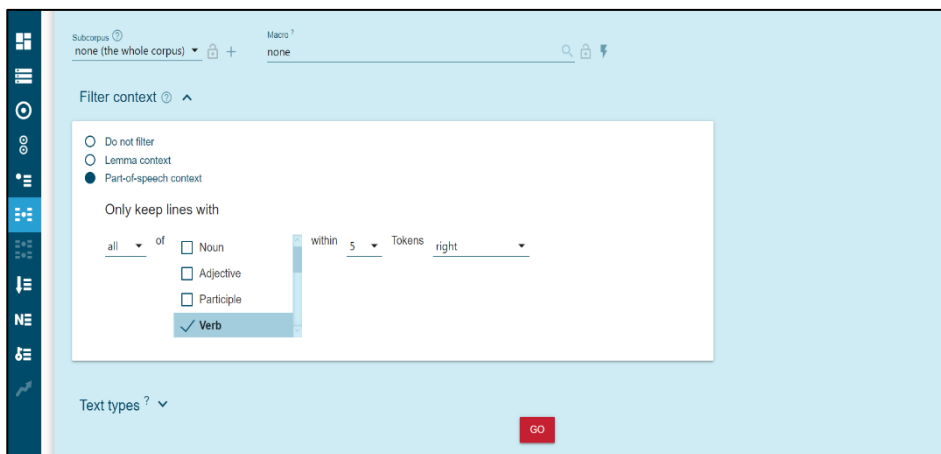
One last idea would be that one could try to identify all the ‘reprimand’ constructions that exist in the Greek language and compare them with one another and/or with English ‘reprimand’ constructions in order to bring out their distinctive properties.

Appendix

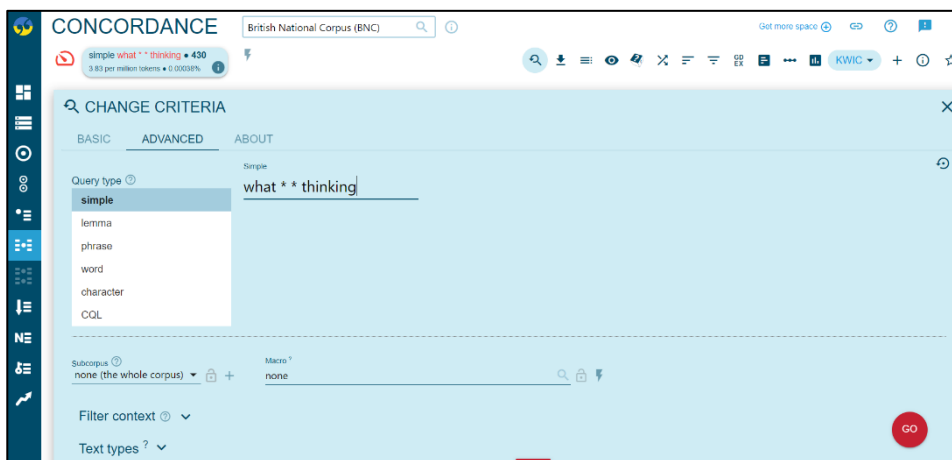
Screenshots from the Search Process



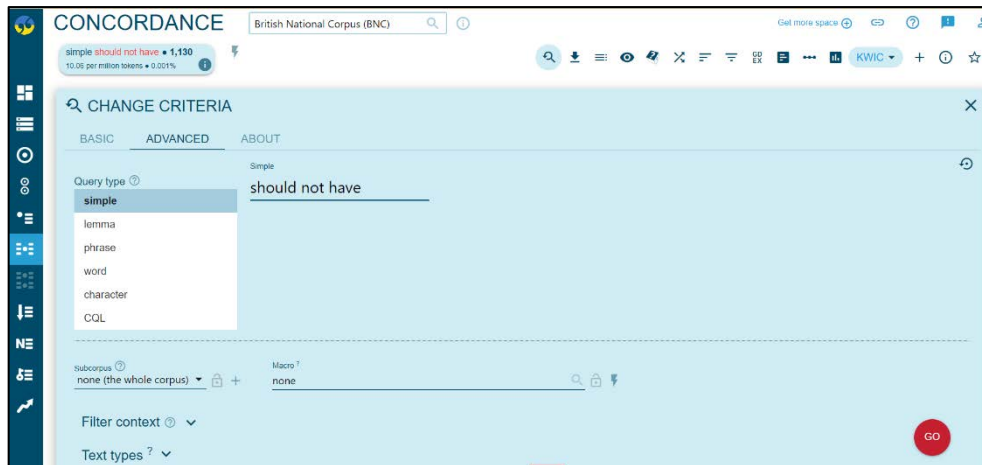
Screenshot 1 Greek as + verb search



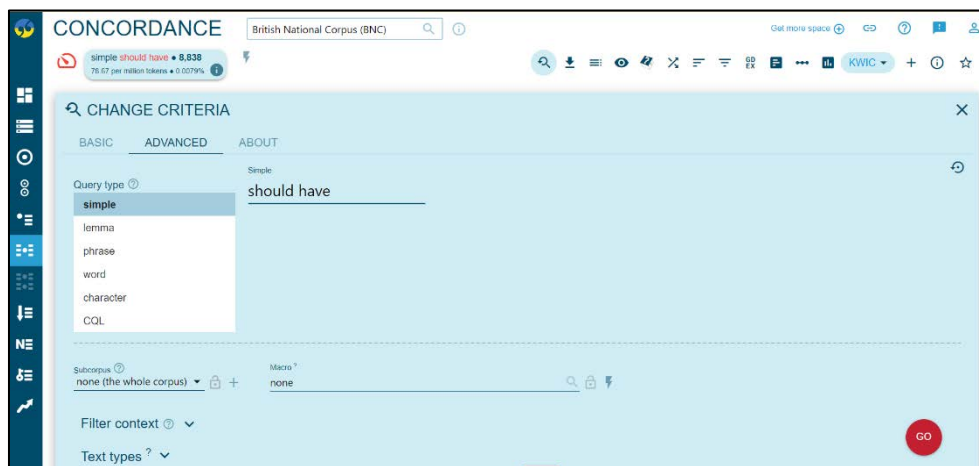
Screenshot 2 Greek as + verb search



Screenshot 3 “what thinking” search



Screenshot 4 “should not have” search



Screenshot 5 “should have” search

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