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Abstract

Diese Dissertation leistet einen Beitrag zum Verständnis syntaktischer Phänomene, die oberflächlich betrachtet wie eine verbale Koordination erscheinen. Im Mittelpunkt steht die Analyse zweier syntaktischer Konstruktionen des Griechischen, die jeweils zwei flektierte Verben enthalten, die durch die koordinierende Konjunktion *ke* ‚und‘ verbunden sind. Diese Konstruktionen werden hinsichtlich ihrer syntaktischen, morphologischen und semantischen Eigenschaften untersucht, mit dem Ziel, eine formale Herleitung ihrer syntaktischen Struktur im Rahmen der minimalistischen Syntax zu entwickeln.

Die erste Konstruktion, bezeichnet als GPC (Greek Pseudo-Coordination), entspricht dem, was in der Fachliteratur allgemein als Pseudokoordination bezeichnet wird. Sie enthält entweder das Bewegungsverb *piyeno* ‚gehen‘ oder das Haltungsverb *kathome* ‚sitzen‘ in der ersten Verbposition, gefolgt von einem flektionsidentischen lexikalischen Verb. Diese Konstruktion zeigt die typischen Merkmale von Pseudokoordination, wie sie auch in anderen Sprachen vorkommt, weist jedoch auch bestimmte idiosynkratische Eigenschaften auf, etwa die Auslassbarkeit von *ke* sowie die spezifische Verteilung flektionaler Merkmale. Im Hinblick auf das Bewegungs- oder Haltungsverb in der ersten Position wird argumentiert, dass dieses als leichtes Verb fungiert, das nicht seine volle lexikalische Semantik beiträgt, sondern auf das zweite Verb angewiesen ist, um die primäre Ereignisinformation zu liefern. Aufgrund seiner syntaktischen Verteilung wird *ke* nicht als koordinierende Konjunktion, sondern als Diskursmarker analysiert, der die propositionale Integrität der Konstruktion aufrechterhält. Zudem wird gezeigt, dass die Konstruktion Effekte der Satzvereinigung (clause union) aufweist und somit als einsträngige (monoklausale) syntaktische Struktur abgebildet werden kann. Für die syntaktische Herleitung von GPC wird ein merkmalsbasiertes Modell vorgeschlagen, das auf Wurmbrands (2012) „Reverse Agree“-Mechanismus zur Merkmalsbewertung zurückgreift. Dieser Ansatz erklärt die flektionalen Besonderheiten der Konstruktion, insbesondere ihre flektionale Identität und die Verteilung von flektionalen Elementen.

Die zweite Konstruktion, GCC (Greek Control Coordination), besteht aus einem Kontrollverb in der ersten Verbposition, gefolgt von einem scheinbar koordinierten Verb. Dieses zweite Verb steht jedoch in einer Position, die typischerweise einem Konjunktivkomplement vorbehalten ist, was auf eine komplexere Tiefenstruktur als bei gewöhnlicher Koordination hinweist. Obwohl Konstruktionen wie GCC sprachübergreifend häufig unter die Kategorie der Pseudokoordination gefasst werden, unterscheidet sich GCC in drei zentralen Aspekten von GPC: (i) die Natur von V1, (ii) das syntaktisch-semantische Verhältnis zwischen V1 und V2 und (iii) der Status von *ke*. Aufgrund dieser Unterschiede wird ein alternativer Ansatz für die syntaktische Herleitung von GCC gewählt. Da *ke* in GCC keinerlei Erosionserscheinungen zeigt, wird es als reguläre Konjunktion interpretiert. Zur Erklärung der idiosynkratischen Eigenschaften dieser Konstruktion – etwa des Aktualitätsentailments und der Einschränkung auf den Indikativ – wird der Ansatz von Giannakidou und Staraki (2012) übernommen, wonach GCC semantisch als kausative Koordination verstanden wird. Ihr Kausalitätsbegriff wird über den Bereich von Fähigkeitsverben hinaus erweitert, um das breitere Spektrum an Kontrollverben in GCC zu erfassen. Zur Erklärung weiterer Phänomene wie der Verletzung der Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) und bestimmter Subjektrestrictionen wird

schließlich eine multidominante syntaktische Struktur vorgeschlagen, bei der das Subjektreferent zwischen beiden Verben strukturell geteilt wird.

Durch eine detaillierte empirische und theoretische Untersuchung von GPC und GCC leistet diese Dissertation einen Beitrag zur weiteren Typologie koordinationsähnlicher Konstruktionen in natürlichen Sprachen. Sie zeigt, dass Strukturen, die oberflächlich wie Koordination erscheinen, tatsächlich eine Vielzahl unterschiedlicher syntaktischer Konfigurationen widerspiegeln können. Darüber hinaus trägt sie zur laufenden Forschung bei, die die sprachübergreifende Uniformität von Koordination in Frage stellt, und unterstreicht die Bedeutung differenzierter, konstruktspezifischer Analysen.

Keywords: Koordination, Subordination, Pseudokoordination, leichte Verben, Kontrollverben

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List of Abbreviations

ACC accusative	SG singular
ART article	1 first person
AUX auxiliary	2 second person
CLI clitic	3 third person
COMP complementizer	
DAT dative	
F feminine	
FPART future particle	
GEN genitive	
IPFV imperfective	
M masculine	
NEG negation	
OBJ object	
PASS passive	
PFV perfective	
PL plural	
POSS possessive	
PRS present	
PST past	
REFL reflexive pronoun	
IMP imperative	
INF infinitive	
IRR irrealis	
SBJ subject	

Coordinate-Like Constructions in Greek: A Study on the Complementation of Light Verbs and Control Verbs

1. Introduction

Coordination in natural language remains one of the most highly debated topics within linguistic theory, not only due to its cross-linguistic variability, but also due to the variety of syntactic structures it is encountered in. A large bulk of the literature on coordination discusses syntactic phenomena, which, even though they share the typical surface structure of coordination, exhibit distinct semantic and/or syntactic properties. This dissertation aims to contribute to the understanding of two such phenomena, with a particular focus on how they manifest in the Greek language. Specifically, I will examine two syntactic constructions¹ that superficially resemble a coordination in the verbal system, as they involve two verbs joined by the conjunction coordinator.

The first construction is widely known in the literature as ‘asymmetric conjunction’ (Schmerling, 1975), ‘double verb construction and fake coordination’ (Carden & Pesetsky, 1977), or ‘non-logical coordination’ (Na & Huck, 1992), but the term ‘pseudo-coordination’ is usually shared more generally. The construction has been observed in a variety of languages and has been discussed by several scholars (cf. Cruschina, 2013 for Italian dialects; Lødrup, 2002 and Wiklund, 2007 for Scandinavian languages; de Vos, 2005 for English and Afrikaans; Heycock & Petersen, 2012 for Faroese, among others). Despite documented cross-linguistic differences, there is a general consensus that pseudo-coordinations exhibit a higher degree of semantic and syntactic integration compared to an ordinary coordination² of verbs.

¹ In this dissertation, the term ‘construction’ is not used as a technical term, but rather descriptively, to refer to a string of words and/or phrases associated with a specific meaning within a language. A close approximation of how the term is applied here is provided by Svenonius (2015, p. 2), where a ‘syntactic construction’ is defined as “a characteristic formal pattern of syntactic categories or features, usually associated with some meaning and/or discourse function.”

² With the term ‘ordinary coordination,’ I refer to strictly additive, Boolean coordination, which involves a semantically symmetric relation between its conjuncts. The properties characteristic of ordinary coordination will be discussed in section 1.2.1.

In Greek, verbal pseudo-coordinations, henceforth GPCs (Greek Pseudo-coordinations), are formed with the verbs *piyeno* ‘go’ or *kathome* ‘sit’ as the initial verb (V1), while the second verb (V2) may be chosen from a wide range of lexical verbs. The two verbs are joined by the conjunction coordinator *ke* ‘and,’ as in (1):

- (1) a. *Piye ke prodose tin apofasi tis epitropis.*
 go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee
 ‘He/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee.’
- b. *1169 meres kathete ke katanaloni oxiyono.*
 1169 days sit.PRS.3SG and consume.PRS.3SG oxygen
 ‘He/she sits 1169 days and consumes oxygen.’

A common assumption regarding pseudo-coordinations is that their initial verb does not contribute its full lexical semantics, but rather appears to have undergone semantic bleaching, which is described as “a process whereby parts of the lexical meaning of the verb are deaccented” (de Vos, 2005, p. 32). That said, the constructions in (1) can be interpreted under two readings. Under the first reading, the construction is interpreted as an ordinary coordination of verbs, since the events denoted by each verb are perceived as independent from each other. For example, (1a) is interpreted as the subject referent going to an unspecified or implicit location and also betraying the decision of the committee. Accordingly, (1b) is interpreted as the subject referent sitting on an unspecified or implicit location for 1169 days and also wasting oxygen. Crucially, under this reading, the order of conjuncts does not necessarily correspond to the temporal order of events and may be freely reversed without affecting the truth conditions of the sentence. I will henceforth refer to the reading associated with ordinary coordination as ‘independent event reading.’

However, the constructions in (1) are more likely to be interpretable under a second type of reading that pertains to the GPC. Under this reading, the motion verb *piyeno* ‘go’ in

(1a) and the posture verb *kathome* ‘sit’ in (1b) do not describe an independent motion or posture activity. Instead, these verbs are considered to bear only a meager semantic contribution, to the extent that they cannot be distinguished from the event described by the second verb. For example, in (1a) *piyeno* ‘go’ is considered to focus on the build-up of the action of betraying. On the other hand, the verb *kathome* ‘sit’ in (1b) is considered to contribute to the localization of the subject referent within a physical space, while performing the action of wasting oxygen. The intricate semantic characteristics of *piyeno* ‘go’ and *kathome* ‘sit’ within the GPC will be extensively analyzed in Chapter 3. I will henceforth refer to this second type of reading that accounts for V1 and V2 being interpreted as a single complex event as a ‘pseudo-coordinate reading.’

The second construction to be analyzed pertains to what has been labeled as ‘*ke*-complementation’ (Delveroudi, 1995; Ingria, 2005; Kapetangianni, 2010; Kotzoglou & Canakis, 2021; Thomopoulou, 2021) of control predicates. For the purposes of the analysis pursued in this dissertation, I will refer to this construction as Greek Control Coordination, or GCC for short. Due to the absence of infinitives, the complementation of control predicates in Greek always involves finite clauses. In addition, verbal morphology in Greek distinguishes only between +IMPERATIVE and -IMPERATIVE, whereas the indicative and subjunctive Mood categories are expressed through the use of particles. That said, control predicates typically select a subjunctive complement that consists of the subjunctive marker *na* and a verb form inflected for -IMPERATIVE.

However, certain control predicates, such as modals, implicatives, aspectuals, or knowledge verbs, are also compatible with an additional type of finite complementation that involves what appears to be a finite verb, prefaced by the conjunction coordinator *ke* ‘and.’ Similar to its subjunctive complementation counterpart, this construction can display both

obligatory (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC), as seen in the examples in (2). As a point of reference, I also provide the subjunctive complementation counterparts in (3):

- (2) a. O Iianis kseri ke ðiavaçi to vivlio.
 ART John know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book
 ‘John knows how to read the book.’
- b. I Maria frodisè ke minan moni=tus.
 ART Mary arrange.PST.3SG and stay.PST.3PL alone=POSS
 ‘Mary arranged for them to stay alone.’
- (3) a. O Iianis kseri na ðiavaçi to vivlio.
 ART John know.PRS.3SG SUBJ read.IPFV.3SG ART book
 ‘John knows how to read the book.’
- b. I Maria frodisè na minun moni=tus.
 ART Mary arrange.PST.3SG SUBJ stay.PFV.3PL alone=POSS
 ‘Mary arranged for them to stay alone.’

Due to the presence of *ke* in a position where a subordinating element would otherwise be expected, these constructions have commonly been considered subordinate, with *ke* acting as a clausal complementizer (Ingria, 2005; Kapetangianni, 2010; Kotzoglou & Canakis, 2021; Thomopoulou, 2021). Crucially, under the assumption that the *ke*-clause in the GCC is a complement, the construction constitutes an exception to the traditional view that control is typically attested cross-linguistically in infinitives, gerunds, or subjunctive complements (Landau, 2004).

Having said this, while similar constructions have also been observed in other languages, the construction has remained largely understudied from a cross-linguistic point of view. It should be noted that, in contrast to the GCC, documented cross-linguistic equivalents are far less productive in terms of the range of control verbs that may occupy V1. A notable

example in English is the so-called ‘conative coordination,’ with the verb ‘try’ (Carden & Pesetsky, 1977; de Vos, 2005; Zwart, 2005), which, similar to the GCC, shows a great degree of resemblance to its corresponding infinitival complementation counterpart. An example of this construction is given in (4):

- (4) a. John will try and kiss Mary at the party tonight.
 b. John will try to kiss Mary at the party tonight. (de Vos, 2005, p. 55)

Crucially, control verbs that would be licit in the V1 slot under the GCC schema have no corresponding equivalents in English. For example, if we were to reproduce the English equivalent of (2a), the ensuing construction would be as follows:

- (5) #John knows and reads the book.

In contrast to the Greek paradigm, where the second conjunct is interpreted as the complement of the first verb, the corresponding example in English is read as an ordinary coordination instead. The meaning attributed to (5) is not that of John knowing how to read the book, but rather of John both knowing about and reading a specific book.

The goal of the present dissertation is twofold. On the one hand, by examining the syntactic, morphological, and semantic properties of both the GPC and the GCC, I aim to provide a qualitative description of the typological features these constructions exhibit, both in comparison to each other as well as in comparison to ordinary verbal coordination. On the other hand, by inspecting the grammatical status of their components, I intend to develop a formal account of their syntactic derivation within the framework of Minimalist Syntax. My analysis will follow the Minimalist methodology (Chomsky, 1995; 2000; 2001) and will be rooted in the assumptions that: (i) there are two central syntactic operations to the derivational process, namely External Merge and Internal Merge, and (ii) the syntactic derivation proceeds in a strictly bottom-up fashion. External Merge is the main structure-building operation that combines two distinct elements (e.g., lexical items or syntactic

objects) to form a new syntactic structure. Internal Merge³ reconfigures the existing structure by remerging an element already present in the structure into a higher position.

Furthermore, the present dissertation aims to demonstrate that even though the GPC and GCC bear many surface similarities to each other (i.e., they are comprised of two verbs joined by *ke* ‘and’), they are to be distinguished in terms of their underlying syntactic structure. In that regard, the account that will be pursued here departs from previous studies in Greek (see Thomopoulou, 2021), as well as cross-linguistically (de Vos, 2005; Manzini et al., 2017), which treat constructions corresponding to the GPC and the GCC as a unitary phenomenon subsumed under the umbrella term ‘pseudo-coordination.’ In particular, I will argue that the GPC is a mono-clausal subordinate structure, in which V2 is realized as the verbal complement of the light verb *piyeno* ‘go’ and *kathome* ‘sit’ in V1. By contrast, I will advocate that the GCC is a bi-clausal coordinate structure that involves ellipsis of the subjunctive complement of the control verb in the first conjunct. Since my dissertation is primarily focused on the syntax of constructions that superficially resemble coordination, certain aspects of coordination in natural language need to be established before proceeding with my analysis. These will be laid out in the following section, along with other theoretical components deemed necessary to address the idiosyncrasies of the GPC and the GCC.

1.2 Theoretical Background

In this section, I will lay out the theoretical components that will be integral to my analysis of the GPC and the GCC. As pointed out in the introduction, one of the main

³ Within Minimalist literature, the terms Internal Merge and Move are commonly used to address the same empirical phenomenon (i.e., displacement or dependency creation). However, they are not conceptualized as the same syntactic operation. When subjected to movement, the displaced element leaves a trace or a gap in its original position, which maintains a dependency between its original and its new position. Internal Merge is the reinterpretation of Move as a specific type of Merge operation, aiming to reduce theoretical complexity. Instead of leaving a trace in the original position, Internal Merge creates a copy of the element in the higher position (Chomsky, 2001; Starke, 2001; Zhang, 2004). The reinterpretation of movement as Internal Merge is usually accompanied by a proposal regarding the pronunciation and interpretation of the remerged element, as in Nunes (1995). Given that this conceptual distinction is not relevant to the scope of this dissertation, the more traditional term Move may be used interchangeably with Internal Merge to refer to the application of the same syntactic operation.

proponents of this dissertation pertains to the GPC and the GCC being treated as two distinct syntactic phenomena. As such, the theoretical assumptions presented in this section are formulated to address the idiosyncrasies inherent to each construction independently. An overarching similarity between the GPC and the GCC pertains to these constructions being distinct from ordinary coordination. The properties associated with ordinary coordination will be discussed in sections 1.2.1 and 1.2.2. For my analysis of the GPC, the Minimalist framework outlined in the previous section will be combined with the concept of Late Insertion derived from Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999). Furthermore, for my account of the syntactic derivation on the GCC, I will assume the existence of an additional operation in addition to Internal and External Merge, namely that of Parallel Merge (Citko, 2005). Late Insertion and Parallel Merge will be discussed in sections 1.2.3 and 1.2.4, respectively.

1.2.1 Two Fundamental Constraints on Coordination

In the following chapters, it will be argued that the GPC and the GCC deviate semantically and syntactically from the ordinary coordination paradigm. However, before committing to this comparison, having a solid understanding of the defining properties that make up ordinary coordination is deemed essential. In this section, I will present two fundamental constraints, which will be useful for the following discussion.

The first constraint has been widely known since Ross (1967) as the Coordinate Structure Constraint (henceforth, CSC). The former postulates that “in a coordination structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct” (Ross, 1967, p. 89). The CSC is largely uniform across languages, suggesting that it is a deep-rooted property of coordination, rather than a language-specific quirk. Furthermore, it remains one of the longest-standing theoretical puzzles, since it constitutes a construction-specific constraint unique from the constraint on movement out of

syntactic islands. Based on its definition, the CSC can be further divided into two constraints on movement, namely the Conjunct Constraint (CC) and the Element Constraint (EC). The CC bans extracting a whole conjunct, as seen below:

(6) *Which boy_i did John kiss [_i and which girl]? (CC violation) (Zhang, 2010, p. 28)

On the other hand, the EC imposes a restriction on moving an element out of the coordinate complex, as in (7):

(7) *What_i kind of herbs did you [[eat _i] and [drink beer]]? (EC violation) (Zhang, 2010, p. 29)

The CC is considered strong as a generalization, and its status has rarely been challenged within Minimalist research (Postal, 1998). The CC has predominantly been considered a constraint based on pronunciation, because the movement of an entire conjunct renders the site of the moved conjunct null (Munn, 1993; Merchant, 2001; Zhang, 2010; Al Khalaf, 2015).

In contrast to the CC, the status of the EC has often been contested. There are two types of exceptions regarding the EC. The first pertains to when an element is extracted out of both conjuncts simultaneously. This type of extraction has been labeled as ‘across-the-board’ (ATB) (Ross, 1967; Williams, 1978) and is demonstrated below:

(8) Who_i did you say that Carrie likes _i and Sarah hates _i? (Zhang, 2010, p. 159)

In terms of ordinary coordination, ATB extraction constitutes the only licit way in which a constituent may be extracted out of the coordinate complex.

The second type of exception to the EC pertains to cases where an element is extracted out of a single conjunct. Many researchers have pointed out empirical cases of coordination where the EC can be violated (Ross, 1967; Goldsmith, 1985; Lakoff, 1986; Culicover & Jackendoff, 1997; de Vos, 2005). Some notable examples are presented below:

(9) a. John went to the store and bought the whiskey.

Here’s the whiskey_i that John went to the store and bought _i. (Ross, 1967, p. 168)

b. That's the stuff_i that the guys in the Caucasus drink _i and live to be a hundred.
(Lakoff, 1986, p. 157)

c. How many counterexamples_i can the Coordinate Structure Constraint sustain _i and still be considered empirically correct? (Goldsmith, 1985)

While it has been argued that, based on these exceptions, the CSC should be abandoned altogether (Lakoff, 1986), it has also been observed that these exceptions are fairly systematic and indicative of a specific sub-branch of coordination commonly labeled as 'asymmetric coordination' (Postal, 1998; Zhang, 2010; Al Khalaf, 2015; Weisser, 2015; Mayr & Schmitt, 2017). In contrast to ordinary coordination, the relationship between conjuncts in asymmetric coordination is not semantically parallel. In that regard, conjuncts may be linked to each other by some logical relation (i.e., a causative, conditional, or temporal relation), as long as they do not violate general well-formedness constraints. Crucially, based on the transparency that different types of asymmetric coordination show in terms of element extraction, it has been proposed that the EC is in fact a semantic constraint and not a syntactic one (Munn, 1993; Zhang, 2010).

The second constraint characteristic of ordinary coordination pertains to the type of conjuncts that may participate in the construction. While there are no restrictions in terms of the syntactic categories that may participate in coordination, there is an inherent tendency or preference for conjuncts to be 'alike.' This property is usually referred to as the Law of Coordination of Likes (LCL) in the literature (Chomsky, 1957). In early studies, the LCL was introduced as a syntactic constraint, dictating that only constituents of the same syntactic category may be combined:

(10) **Syntactic version of the LCL:** "A and B may be conjoined iff A and B are of the same syntactic type." (Bayer, 1996, p. 279)

Since then, it has been attested that natural language does in fact allow for categorical mismatches between the conjuncts of a coordination (Dik, 1968; Sag et al., 1985; Munn, 1993; Haspelmath, 2004). One of the most common violations of the LCL concerns the coordination of predicates:

- (11) a. Pat is healthy and of sound mind. (AP and PP)
 b. Pat is a Republican and proud of it. (NP and AP)
 c. Pat has become a banker and very conservative. (NP and AP) (Sag et al., 1985, p. 117)

The fact that any syntactic categories may be combined as long as they are predicates suggests that a purely syntactic version of the LCL cannot be empirically sustained. That said, there still seem to be other types of restrictions in place in terms of the types of conjuncts that may be coordinated. Munn (1993) notes that, although mismatched categories are allowed to combine, it seems that conjuncts must match in semantic type. In (11a), healthy is AP and of sound mind is a PP, but both have the same semantic type, namely $\langle e, t \rangle$. This explains why predicate conjunction is so free: predicates are all the same semantic type, namely $\langle e, t \rangle$. In contrast, categories that are not the same semantic type may not be coordinated, even if they are the same syntactic type:

- (12) a. *That man is [a republican and John]. ($\langle e, t \rangle$ & $\langle e \rangle$)
 b. *He lost [carelessly and unfortunately]. (event modifier & proposition taking adverb)
 c. *Barlow thinks [that he's smart and whether he should go]. ($\langle t \rangle$ & $\langle t, t \rangle$; a set of q propositions) (Al Khalaf, 2015, p. 58)

Throughout the years, various refinements to the definition of the LCL have been proposed, which either expand or dismiss its original syntactic parallelism requirement, to account for violations such as those listed in (11). Van Koppen (2005) describes the LCL as a

purely semantic constraint that requires that the set of items created by coordination receives a common semantic label. As such, the minimal constraint imposed by the LCL is that the label of the coordination reflects all and only those properties of the conjuncts that do not mutually exclude each other. Al Khalaf (2015) posits that, in addition to the semantic parallelism requirement, the LCL is also accommodated by a morphophonological parallelism requirement. This explains why cases of coordinated adverbs of the same semantic type as those presented in (13) are not equally acceptable:

- (13) a. The once and future king.
 b. *The originally and future king. (Al Khalaf, 2015, p. 58)

Bruening and Al Khalaf (2020) observe that categorical mismatches between conjuncts are overall constrained and predictable in their nature. When it comes to the coordination of predicates or modifiers of a different category in the clausal domain, the LCL is considered to be derived from c-selection of syntactic super-categories, such as Predicate or Modifier. As such, what looks like a categorical mismatch in the examples in (11) can be explained as a coordination of two constituents that share the same super-category.

The previous analyses suggest that even though certain refinements in the original formulation of the LCL are necessary, the former can still be maintained as a useful generalization that semantically selects certain combinations of conjuncts over others. The exact mechanisms that affect this type of selection will not be further discussed here. For my current purposes, I will simply view the LCL as a universal constraint inherent to ordinary coordination that requires, at the very least, a level of semantic parallelism to be maintained between conjuncts.

that-2PL [you.SG and ART Maria].2PL the first.prize won have-2PL

‘...that Maria and you have won the first prize.’ (Van Koppen, 2005, p. 43)

Moreover, it has been shown that the coordinator exhibits properties of a syntactic head, since in certain languages, such as Chinese, Japanese, Somali, and Turkish, certain coordinators c-select specific categories of conjuncts (Johannessen 1998; Haspelmath 2004; Zhang 2010). For example, in Mandarin Chinese, the coordinators *gen*, *tong*, *yu*, and *ji* combine only nominals, while the coordinators *erqie* and *you* cannot combine nominals.

(17) a. Dai Jiaoshou xihuan he pijiu *gen*/**you* lü-cha.

Dai Professor like drink beer and/and green-tea

‘Prof. Dai likes to drink beer and green-tea.’

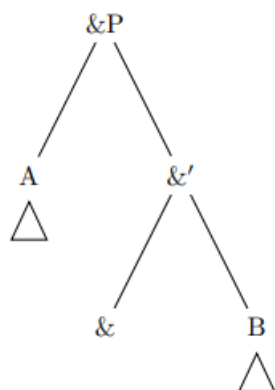
b. Dai Jiaoshou shanliang *you*/**gen* youmo.

Dai Professor kind and/and humorous

‘Prof. Dai is kind and humorous.’ (Zhang, 2010, p. 39)

In light of this data, many authors have proposed an asymmetric binary structure that involves the coordinator being realized as the head of an &P projection and conjuncts occupying the specifier and complement positions respectively (Munn, 1987; Zoerner, 1995; Johannessen, 1998; Van Koppen, 2005):

(18) **Coordination phrase structure**



What needs to be explained in terms of the structure in (18), is that the categorical label &P is a shorthand for a far more complex label, since in coordination phrases, the &P node effectively inherits the same label as the conjuncts, reflecting their shared syntactic properties. In the literature, there are different approaches to the categorical makeup of the &P projection. For example, Zoerner (1995) argues that a &P “lacks inherent features such as $[\pm V]$ or $[\pm N]$, which would limit the number of sites in which it could licitly surface; rather, it assumes the feature specification of its conjuncts” (p. 19). On the other hand, in Johannesen (1998), it is assumed that the features of the &P are explicitly inherited from the external conjunct via spec-head agreement. Finally, Zhang (2010) completely eliminates the &P label and instead uses the category label of the first conjunct as the label for the coordinator phrase/head.

For my current purposes, I will maintain the &P label for the sake of convenience under the assumption that the former is a group of the labels of the conjuncts, possibly mediated by rules of feature resolution. Furthermore, I will adopt the structure in (18) throughout this work, since it accounts for the asymmetric properties of coordination laid out above, while also conforming to binary branching. In addition, the structure in (18) is more compatible with the Minimalist framework adopted here compared to other approaches to the structure of coordination, such as Goodall’s (1987) union approach⁴ or Al Khalaf’s (2015) linear order approach⁵.

⁴ In his work, Goodall (1987) sees coordination as a union of phrase markers, which involves fusing two syntactic trees that exist at parallel levels in a way that identical nodes are merged together. The conjunction coordinator is considered to be inserted between the conjuncts at PF during linearization.

⁵ Al Khalaf (2015) treats coordination as a unique phenomenon that requires a special structure building procedure. According to her, coordination involves a binary structure in which the coordinator does not project a special phrase, but rather receives a ‘Set Label,’ which is the union of the labels of the conjuncts. Furthermore, structure building does not proceed in a bottom-up fashion, but instead linearly from left to right. These assumptions allow her to address issues such as case agreement or categorical mismatch between conjuncts.

1.2.3 *Late Insertion*

For my analysis of the GPC, I will deviate from traditional Minimalist theory in terms of the syntax-morphology interface of the syntactic derivation. Under the standard Minimalist view, syntax is integrated with morphology, in the sense that lexical items are fully specified in the lexicon, including their morphosyntactic and phonological information. In that regard, linguistic variation arises predominantly from parameter settings within the syntactic component. Taking into account that the GPC consists of two verbs joined by *ke* ‘and,’ these elements enter the derivation with their core lexical features in place, while their inflectional features are licensed through functional heads to which the verb moves (Chomsky, 1957; Pollock, 1989). Accordingly, elements that belong to the extended inflectional layer of the verb, such as mood markers or auxiliaries, are realized as heads of their corresponding functional projections, like Mood° and T°.

That said, I will pursue an alternative approach, under which inflectional elements are not modeled as heads during the syntactic derivation, but as features. More specifically, I will assume that the derivation is comprised of two distinct components, namely a syntactic component, which is responsible for the form of complex syntactico-semantic expressions, and a morphological component, which involves the mechanisms that produce the corresponding morphological expressions⁶ (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999). Following the framework of DM, I will treat syntactic categories as entirely abstract within syntactic derivation, consisting solely of syntactic-semantic features drawn from a set made available by Universal Grammar (UG). The syntactic component generates a structure whose terminal elements are morphosyntactic features. This structure is then subjected to morphological operations that account for non-isomorphic mappings from syntactic terminals

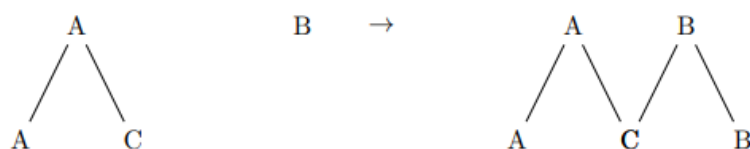
⁶ The DM framework proposed in this section was originally employed in my earlier analysis of motion verb pseudo-coordination in Greek (Georgopoulos, 2021).

to morpho-phonological constituents. Consequently, the word constituents that are realized post-syntactically do not necessarily correspond to syntactic entities, but are inserted during the morphological component of the derivation as a result of Late Insertion.

1.2.4 *Parallel Merge*

For my analysis of the GCC, I will deviate from traditional Minimalist theory in assuming an additional syntactic operation next to Internal and External Merge, namely Parallel Merge. The theoretical apparatus of this operation was first outlined in Citko (2005), who describes Parallel Merge as an operation naturally derived from the properties of both Internal and External Merge. Similar to External Merge, it involves two distinct rooted objects (a and b), and similar to Internal Merge, it combines the two by taking a subpart of one of them, as in (19):

(19) **Parallel Merge (Citko, 2005)**



The operation accounts for the same syntactic object being simultaneously merged into two different positions within a syntactic structure. As a concept, Parallel Merge challenges the standard assumption that Merge applies in a strictly sequential, hierarchical manner. Instead, the operation gives rise to symmetric, multidominant syntactic trees in which a single node has multiple parent nodes. Multidominant structures have received a wide application across the literature, particularly in explaining phenomena associated with coordination, such as ATB movement and Right-Node Raising (RNR) (Wilder, 1999, 2008; Citko, 2005, 2011, 2017; Gračanin-Yuksek, 2007; de Vries, 2009, 2013). My analysis of the GCC aims to expand the application of multidominance to syntactic phenomena not necessarily linked to landing sites of movement at the right or the left periphery of the clause.

More specifically, I will argue that the properties of the GCC can be captured under the assumption that the subject of V1 and V2 is structurally shared between both conjuncts. My analysis will be motivated on the basis that the subject referent is semantically realized in both conjuncts, but only pronounced in one.

1.3 Overview of Each Chapter

This dissertation will be thematically divided into two parts. In chapters 2-5, I will address the GPC, while chapters 6-7 will focus on the GCC. In Chapter 2, I will outline the hallmark semantic and syntactic properties of the GPC and discuss the fundamental differences it attests to compared to ordinary coordination. In Chapter 3, I will examine the grammatical status of *piyeno* ‘go’ and *kathome* ‘sit’ within the GPC and argue that these verbs demonstrate the formal characteristics of light verbs. In Chapter 4, I will focus on the characteristics of the conjunction coordinator *ke* ‘and’ in these constructions and also provide arguments in favor of V1 and V2 representing a mono-clausal syntactic structure. In Chapter 5, I will provide a feature-based account of the syntactic derivation of the GPC. The account presented in this chapter extends the framework proposed in my earlier work on motion verb pseudo-coordination in Greek (e.g., Georgopoulos, 2021). Furthermore, I will make an excursion into previous accounts on the typology of serial verb constructions and discuss the degree of typological proximity that the GPC attests to these constructions.

In Chapter 6, I will turn to the GCC and provide a description of the construction in relation to the control module. Additionally, I will also highlight the semantic and syntactic differences that the GCC exhibits compared to both ordinary coordination as well as to the GPC. In Chapter 7, following previous work on the semantic status of the GCC (see Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012), I will argue that the construction is semantically analyzed as causative coordination that involves ellipsis in the subjunctive complement of V1. Finally, I

will provide a multidominance account of the syntactic derivation of the GCC and discuss issues regarding its linearization at PF.

2. The Semantic and Syntactic Properties of the GPC

In Chapter 1, it was shown that verbal coordinations prefaced by the verbs *piyeno* ‘go’ and *kathome* ‘sit’ give rise to an additional reading that accounts for V1 and V2 being interpreted as an indistinguishable event, rather than two distinct propositions. This reading was labeled ‘pseudo-coordinate’ and was deemed responsible for the construction being referred to as GPC. In this chapter, I will review the distinct semantic and syntactic properties that are intricately linked with the pseudo-coordinate reading of the GPC. For this purpose, I will also consider examples from similar constructions in other languages, such as English (de Vos, 2005), Swedish (Wiklund, 2007), Danish (Kjeldahl, 2010), Spanish (Bravo, 2020), and Italian varieties (Ledgeway, 2016; Manzini et al., 2017).

This aims to highlight the properties of the GPC comparatively and embed this discussion within the cross-linguistic literature on pseudo-coordination. By documenting the characteristic properties of the GPC, I plan to accomplish the following two goals. First, I will point out its idiosyncrasies and establish its status as a construction distinct from ordinary coordination of verbs. Second, since the overarching aim of my dissertation is to provide a syntactic account of the GPC, I will examine each of the properties in terms of whether they are more accurately captured under a coordinate or subordinate syntactic structure.

It should be noted that while a coordinate-like construction may exhibit properties distinct from ordinary coordination, it may still be considered amenable to a syntactic analysis based on coordination. This has been a common approach across the literature when it comes to constructions generally subsumed under the label of asymmetric coordination, such as those presented in section 1.2.1. Under a coordination account, the linking element is assumed to maintain its status as a conjunction coordinator, while the properties responsible for the asymmetric status of these constructions, such as violation of the CSC, are captured

by employing additional theoretical machinery. Consider, for example, the construction labeled as ‘scene-setting coordination’ (de Vos, 2009) presented in (9a), repeated here as (20):

(20) John went to the store and bought the whiskey.

Here’s the whiskey_i that John went to the store and bought _i. (Ross, 1967, p. 168)

De Vos (2009) proposes a VP-coordination analysis for scene-setting coordinations, in which the object argument of the verb in the second conjunct is merged outside of the coordinate complex and thus can be asymmetrically extracted without violating the CSC. On the other hand, Weisser (2015) suggests that the second conjunct is merged as a complement of an &P projection, while the first conjunct, which is considered to set the ‘scene,’ is base-generated as an adjunct to the second conjunct. The first conjunct moves to the specifier position of the &P projection only later in the derivation, thus giving rise to a derived coordinate structure. To successfully bypass the CSC, movement out of the second conjunct has to take place before the first conjunct moves to Spec&P. For the purposes of my analysis of the GPC, I will also follow the assumption that a coordination analysis can still be maintained, even in cases where the semantic relation between conjuncts is inherently asymmetric and, as such, distinct from the symmetric relation attested between conjuncts of an ordinary coordination.

2.1 Morphological ‘Sameness’ Condition

It is widely acknowledged across languages that the verbs within a pseudo-coordination must exhibit a high level of dependency, particularly in terms of their morphological specification. This dependency is formalized by de Vos (2005, p. 46) under the Morphological ‘Sameness’ Condition (MSC), which asserts that for the case of English, “both verbs of a pseudo-coordinative construction must have the same type of morphological

marking (i.e., both verbs must be either bare or morphologically marked with present, past, participle or similar).” This is demonstrated in the following examples:

- (21) a. I wonder how John went and behaved?
 b. *John has gone and behaves.
 c. *I wonder how John will go and behaved? (de Vos, 2005, p. 45)

The example in (21a) is interpreted as a pseudo-coordination due to both verbs having an identical past tense morphological specification. However, if either verb displays a different tense suffix, or if a tense auxiliary takes scope only over one of the verbs of the construction, as in (21b-c), then the construction is rendered ungrammatical.

Parallel constraints are observed in languages that exhibit variation in perfect auxiliary selection depending on verb class (e.g., unergative vs. unaccusative), such as Danish. Unergative verbs in Danish select the perfect auxiliary *have* ‘have,’ while unaccusative verbs select the perfect auxiliary *være* ‘be.’ While, according to Kjeldahl (2010), pseudo-coordinate constructions in Danish can be marked for perfect tense, the former is not possible if there is a conflict in terms of auxiliary selection between V1 and V2. This is evident in the following examples:

- (22) a. *Louise er gået ud og hentet avisen.
 Louise be.PRS.3SG gone out and fetched paper
 Int.: ‘Louise has gone out and fetched the paper.’
 b. *Louise har gået ud og hentet avisen.
 Louise have.PRS.3SG gone out and fetched paper
 Int.: ‘Louise has gone out and fetched the paper.’
 c. *Hvad er Louise gået ud og har hentet for aviser?
 what be.PRS.3SG Louise gone out and has fetched for papers
 Int.: ‘What has Louise gone and has fetched?’ (Kjeldahl, 2010, p. 53)

In (22a), the perfect auxiliary *er* ‘be’ while being compatible with *gā* ‘go,’ conflicts with the verb *hente* ‘fetch’ as V2. On the other hand, in (22b), the perfect auxiliary *have* ‘have’ is compatible with *hente*, but cannot be selected by *gā*. Moreover, (22c) shows that assigning separate auxiliaries to each verb within a pseudo-coordination is also disallowed. As such, even in the presence of alternation in terms of auxiliary selection, pseudo-coordinate constructions maintain a strict requirement for morphological uniformity between the verbs.

Next, I will examine whether the GPC is also subject to the MSC. Looking at the following examples, both verbs have to agree in terms of their inflectional morphology, with respect to the grammatical categories of Tense, Aspect, and Mood. If one of the verbs bears a different inflectional morphology in terms of these categories, then a pseudo-coordinate reading cannot be obtained, and instead, the construction reads as an ordinary coordination:

(23) a. *Pai ke proðose tin apofasi tis epitropis.

go.PRS.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she goes and betrayed the decision of the committee.’

b. #⁷Piye ke proðiðe tin apofasi tis

go.PST.PFV.3SG and betray.PST.IPFV.3SG ART decision ART.GEN

epitropis.

committee

‘He/she went and was betraying the decision of the committee.’

c. *1169 meres na kathete ke katanaloni oxiyono.

1169 days SUBJ sit.3SG and consume.PRS.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days to sit and he/she consumes oxygen.’

⁷ Throughout the examples I provide on the GPC, (#) is not used to indicate that the marked example is necessarily semantically or pragmatically odd, but rather that it is inconsistent with a pseudo-coordinate reading. That said, (23b) could be considered felicitous in a discourse context where the location to which the speaker went is treated as implicit. However, in (23b), V1 and V2 cannot be perceived as an indistinguishable event, as is the case in the GPC.

However, the grammatical category of Voice appears to be exempt from the MSC. In terms of the voice inflection of V1, *piyeno* has to surface in its default +ACTIVE voice morphology, while *kathome* has to surface in its default -ACTIVE morphology. While *kathome* can technically have a +ACTIVE morpheme attached to its verb stem, the latter is not possible in the context of the GPC:

- (24) *O anthropos kath-içi ke klei tin mira=tu.
 ART human seat-PRS.3SG and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human seats and cries his/her fate.’

On the other hand, V2 functions independently of V1 in terms of its voice specification. As shown in the following examples, *piyeno* may precede verbs inflected for -ACTIVE, while *kathome* may precede verbs inflected for +ACTIVE:

- (25) a. Aschetos an meta o alos pai ke padrevete.
 regardless if after ART other go.PRS.3SG and get.married.PRS.3SG
 ‘Regardless if afterwards the other (person) goes and gets married.’
 b. O anthropos kathete ke klei tin mira=tu.
 The human sit.PRS.3SG and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human sits and cries about his/her fate.’

That being the case, a more refined version of the MSC has to be pursued for the empirical cases of Greek to capture the independence of the Voice category. It should be noted that the Voice category being exempt from the MSC is not an idiosyncrasy of the GPC, but it is also observed in relevant constructions in other languages. Returning to Danish pseudo-coordination, each verb may project its own passive auxiliary without being required to match the +ACTIVE voice specification associated with the motion verb in V1:

- (26) Peter går ud og bliver fotograferet.
 Peter go.PRS.3SG out and PASS.AUX.PRS photographed

‘Peter (goes and) is photographed.’ (Kjeldahl, 2010, p. 76)

Another issue that needs to be addressed in terms of how the MSC manifests in the GPC pertains to the grammatical categories of Mood and Tense. Similar to other languages of the Balkan Sprachbund, these categories in Greek are not always realized through verb inflection. Instead, they may be realized through overt inflectional material, such as subjunctive markers, future particles, or tense auxiliaries. In terms of mood, Greek distinguishes between +IMPERATIVE and -IMPERATIVE affix-like inflection. -IMPERATIVE inflection is further specified as either +INDICATIVE or +SUBJUNCTIVE, with the latter being signaled through the use of a special particle. That said, whereas indicative mood is considered to be associated with a zero morpheme, subjunctive mood is formed periphrastically through the subjunctive marker *na* attaching to a verb inflected for -IMPERATIVE (Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos, 2004). In terms of tense, future tense is not reflected in the inflectional morphology of the verb, but is expressed through the future particle *tha* attaching to a verb inflected for -IMPERATIVE. Additionally, perfect tense is formed through the perfect auxiliary echo ‘have’ combining with a dependent non-finite verb form.

The GPC distinguishes itself from pseudo-coordinations in languages like English in terms of how the MSC is satisfied. In English, morphological sameness is achieved through elements assigned to the extended inflectional layer of the verb (i.e., tense auxiliaries) taking scope over both V1 and V2. On the other hand, in the GPC, morphological sameness is achieved through these elements being individually repeated for each verb of the construction. The respective examples are given below:

- (27) a. Itan anamenomeno na echi pai ke na echi
 be.PST.3SG expected SUBJ AUX.3SG go.PFV and SUBJ AUX.3SG
 proðosi tin apofasi tis epitropis.

betray.PFV ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘It was expected (from him/her) to have gone and betrayed the decision of the committee.’

b. 1169 meres tha kathete ke tha katanaloni oxiyono.

1169 days FPART sit.IPFV.3SG and FPART consume.IPFV.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she will sit and consume oxygen.’

Given that in overt syntax, morphemes associated with mood or tense are realized as heads of the respective functional categories, the presence of separate instances of overt inflectional material on each verb suggests that, in contrast to similar constructions in English (as in (21)), the GPC has a different underlying syntactic structure.

I will return to this issue in Chapter 3, where I will propose that overt inflectional material in the GPC is syntactically empty and only realized post-syntactically as a result of Late Insertion. For now, it is apparent that the version of the MSC provided at the beginning of this section needs to be adapted to also account for instances where the morphological sameness between V1 and V2 extends beyond affixes attaching to the verb stem. Below, I provide a refined version of the MSC adapted to how grammatical categories are reflected in the morphology of V1 and V2 in the GPC:

(28) Morphological ‘Sameness’ Condition adapted to the GPC:

Both verbs of the GPC must agree in terms of Mood, Tense, and Aspect. Overt inflectional material associated with these categories is realized separately for each verb of the construction.

Having established how the MSC applies to the GPC, I will now investigate whether this property can be used as a diagnostic for the underlying structure of the GPC. To start with, the MSC represents a point of differentiation between the GPC and instances of ordinary coordination. Since the conjuncts of ordinary coordination refer to independent

propositions, they may differ in terms of their tense and aspect morphology. This is demonstrated in (29):

- (29) O Ianis etroye ke tora tha pai γia treximo.
 ART John eat.PST.IPFV.3SG and now FPART go.PFV.3SG for running
 ‘John was eating and now he will go running.’

Even though morphological sameness establishes a tight relation between V1 and V2, it does not disclose any information about whether V2 is subcategorized or merely juxtaposed to V1. To the best of my knowledge, a condition that requires V1 and V2 to exhibit identical morphology can apply irrespective of whether the two verbs are analyzed as conjuncts of a coordinate structure or as a predicate along with its verbal complement. Thus, I consider the MSC as a property compatible with both a subordination and a coordination analysis.

2.2 Violation of the CSC

One of the most characteristic hallmarks of pseudo-coordinations cross-linguistically pertains to these constructions constituting exceptions to the CSC. As discussed in section 1.2.1, in ordinary coordination, asymmetric extraction out of conjuncts is banned. A relevant example is given below:

- (30) a. O Ianis diaskeðaçi ke chorevi bachata.
 ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG and dance.PRS.3SG bachata
 ‘John has fun and dances bachata.’
 b. *Ti_i diaskeðaçi o Ianis ke chorevi __i?
 what have.fun.PRS.3SG ART John and dance.PRS.3SG
 ‘What does John have fun and dance?’

Do note that, since in the examples in (30) *diaskeðazō* ‘have fun’ is interpreted as an unergative verb⁸, the NP ‘bachata’ can only be realized as an argument of the verb in the second conjunct. The GPC differs from ordinary coordination, in that the internal argument of V2 may be asymmetrically wh-extracted without yielding ungrammatical results:

- (31) *Ti_i piye ke proðose _i?*
 what go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG
 ‘What did he/she go and betray?’

The fact that asymmetric extraction is permitted opens the possibility for a syntactic analysis that involves a non-coordinate structure. In fact, based on its extraction properties, the GPC is eligible for a subordination analysis, given that it behaves identically to subjunctive control complementation:

- (32) a. *O Fianis prospathi na oloklirosi tis askisis.*
 ART John try.PRS.3SG SUBJ complete.PFV.3SG ART exercises
 ‘John tries to complete the exercises.’
 b. *Ti_i prospathi na oloklirosi o Fianis _i?*
 what try.PRS.3SG SUBJ complete.PFV.3SG ART John
 ‘What does John try to complete?’

While a subordination analysis can capture the possibility of asymmetric extraction more accurately, a coordination analysis cannot be entirely dismissed based on the violation of the CSC. As was shown in section 1.2.1, there are several examples across the literature of

⁸ In Greek, the verb *diaskeðazō* ‘have fun’ can theoretically receive a DP argument, in which case it is interpreted similarly to the English verb ‘amuse,’ as in (i):

(i) *O Fianis diaskeðazi tin Maria.*
 ART John amuse.PRS.3SG ART Mary.ACC.
 ‘John amuses Mary.’

However, when it comes to the inanimate DP ‘bachata’ in (30a), an interpretation of *diaskeðazō* as a transitive verb is not available.

asymmetric coordinations, which are transparent to element extraction out of a single conjunct. The relevant examples are repeated below:

(33) a. John went to the store and bought the whiskey.

Here's the whiskey_i that John went to the store and bought _i. (Ross, 1967, p. 168)

b. That's the stuff_i that the guys in the Caucasus drink _i and live to be a hundred.

(Lakoff, 1986, p. 157)

c. How many counterexamples_i can the Coordinate Structure Constraint sustain _i and still be considered empirically correct? (Goldsmith, 1985)

In these cases, conjuncts are not considered semantically parallel, but are rather linked to each other by some logical relation (i.e., a causative, conditional, or temporal relation). While the GPC could also be perceived as an instance of non-truth functional conjunction and thus be subsumed under the label of 'asymmetric coordination,' a coordination analysis of the former would still bear the burden of explaining how extraction is able to bypass the CSC provided that *ke* has the status of the conjunction coordinator. In that regard, a subordination analysis is deemed advantageous, since it can naturally capture the possibility of asymmetric extraction.

2.3 V1 Restrictions

A property that is considered integral to the pseudo-coordinate reading associated with the GPC pertains to the construction being able to occur only with a restricted number of verbs in its V1 slot. It has generally been attested that while almost any two main verbs can be combined to yield an independent event reading, only a limited set of verbs can combine to yield a pseudo-coordinate reading (de Vos, 2005 for English and Afrikaans; Wiklund, 2007 for Swedish; Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001 for Marsalese). A similar observation can be made in terms of the GPC. Consider the following examples of verbal coordination, in which

kathome and *piyeno* have respectively been substituted by a different posture and motion verb:

(34) a. #1169 meres stekete ke katanaloni oxiyono.

1169 days stand.PRS.3SG and consume.PRS.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she stands and consumes oxygen.’

b. #Perpatise ke proðose tin apofasi tis

walk.PST.PFV.3SG and betray.PST.PFV.3SG ART decision ART.GEN

epitropis.

committee

‘He/she walked and betrayed the decision of the committee.’

In (34a), the pseudo-coordinate reading that would otherwise be available under the presence of *kathome* as V1 cannot be obtained. Instead, each verb refers to an independent event, namely the event of standing and the event of wasting oxygen. The same is observed in (34b), where *piyeno* is substituted by *perpatao* ‘walk.’ This suggests that while the independent event reading associated with ordinary coordination is unrestricted in terms of verbal selection, the pseudo-coordinate reading associated with the GPC restricts the list of available V1 verbs to a specific subset.

In the presence of this restriction on V1 verbs, a syntactic analysis entrenched in coordination is considered problematic. More specifically, while coordinate constructions are known to be subject to certain parallelism constraints between conjuncts (such as the LCL), a lexical restriction that asymmetrically targets only the first conjunct would not be expected. In addition, a coordination analysis lacks any explanatory power with respect to why a reading other than the independent event reading is available in the first place. However, under a subordination analysis that involves V2 being analyzed as a complement of V1, the restriction on V1 being limited to a specific subset of verbs is expected.

2.4 Subject Restrictions

It has been cross-linguistically attested that both verbs in a pseudo-coordination obligatorily share the same subject referent. In addition, the shared subject referent cannot be phonetically realized more than once within the construction (de Vos, 2005 for English; Wiklund, 2007 for Swedish; Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001 for Marsalese; Lødrup, 2002 for Norwegian; Bravo, 2020 for Spanish). As seen in the examples below, these restrictions also apply to the GPC. When one of the verbs carries distinct subject agreement morphology, as shown in (35b), or when an overt, coreferential second subject is introduced, as in (35c), the pseudo-coordinate interpretation is lost. Instead, the construction is interpreted as describing two separate events:

- (35) a. O anthropos kathete ke klei tin mira=tu.
 ART human sit.PRS.3SG and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human sits and cries about his/her fate.’
- b. #O anthropos kathete ke klene tin mira=tu.
 ART human sit.PRS.3SG and cry.PRS.3PL ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human sits and they cry about his/her fate.’
- c. #O anthropos kathete ke o idios klei tin mira=tu.
 ART human sit.PRS.3SG and ART same cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human sits and the same human also cries about his/her fate.’

Furthermore, in (35a), the presence of the overt subject does not result in a reading where one human sits and a different human cries about their fate. This indicates that there is only one available subject instead of an overt and an elided one. The restriction on overt subjects is compatible with an analysis of the GPC as a subordinate structure. More specifically, the GPC resembles subjunctive control complementation, with respect to both verbs having to share a single subject referent:

- (36) a. O Γίανης prospathi na oloklirosi tis askisis.
 ART John try.PRS.3SG SUBJ complete.PFV.3SG ART exercises
 ‘John tries to complete the exercises.’
- b. *O Γίανης prospathi na oloklirosun tis askisis.
 ART John try.PRS.3SG SUBJ complete.PFV.3PL ART exercises
 ‘John tries to (they) complete the exercises.’

That said, the restriction of a single overt subject demonstrated in (35) cannot be adequately captured if we assume that the GPC is an ordinary coordination. As shown in (37a), ordinary coordination allows the occurrence of an additional subject in the second conjunct that is coreferential with the subject in the first conjunct. In addition, verbs in ordinary coordination may differ in terms of their subject agreement morphology (37b):

- (37) a. O Γίανης diaskeðaçi ke o iðios chorevi bachata.
 ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG and ART same dance.PRS.3SG bachata
 ‘John has fun and the same John also dances bachata.’
- b. O Γίανης diaskeðaçi ke chorevun bachata.
 ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG and dance.PRS.3PL bachata
 ‘John has fun and they dance bachata.’

One might propose that the restriction of a single subject referent can still be accommodated within a coordination framework under the assumption that each conjunct does not exceed the size of a VP. However, this approach encounters difficulties with respect to satisfying the MSC. As shown in (28), in the GPC, the MSC is met through the separate realization of overt inflectional material (e.g., mood markers, future particles, and tense auxiliaries) for both V1 and V2. Traditionally, these elements are analyzed as overt realizations of functional heads like Mood^o or T^o. Consequently, given the hierarchical

ordering of functional heads in Greek (Alexiadou 1997; Philippaki-Warbuton 1998), V1 and V2 must each project to at least a MoodP.

2.5 Valency Requirements of V1

An issue that also needs to be put into perspective when discussing the syntactic analysis of a pseudo-coordinate construction relates to how its stable elements, namely the verbs that occupy V1, behave outside the context of pseudo-coordination. If we examine the syntactic valency of the verbs *piyeno* and *kathome*, we will notice that they may occur as transitive verbs that select two core arguments. In these cases, the object argument takes the form of a verbal complement introduced by the subjunctive marker *na*, while *piyeno* and *kathome* act as the matrix verb. In addition, when selecting a subjunctive complement, both verbs adhere to the subject restrictions documented in section 2.4, which means that they function similarly to OC predicates:

- (38) a. 1169 meres kathete na katanalosi oxiyono.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG SUBJ consume.PFV.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she sits with the purpose of consuming oxygen.’ (Subjunctive complementation)

- b. Piye na proδosi tin apofasi tis epitropis.

go.PST.3SG SUBJ betray.PFV.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she was about to betray the decision of the committee.’ (Subjunctive complementation)

- c. 1169 meres kathete ke katanaloni oxiyono.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG and consume.PRS.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she sits and consumes oxygen.’ (GPC)

- d. Piye ke proδose tin apofasi tis epitropis.

go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee.’ (GPC)

If we compare the instances of subjunctive complementation in (38a-b) to the GPCs in (38c-d), we can ascertain that the non-motion and non-posture interpretation of V1 linked to the pseudo-coordinate reading remains consistent. In both (38a) and (38c), it is not necessarily implied that the subject participant is seated while they are about to perform, as in (38a), or while they are performing, as in (38c), the action of wasting oxygen. Instead, the semantic contribution of *kathome* is deemed rather minimal, in that it acts more as a localization frame, while the event described by V2 is semantically foregrounded.

A similar case can be made for the examples in (38b) and (38d). Here, *piyeno* does not necessarily conceptualize the act of moving, but rather highlights the inceptive nature of the V2 event, irrespective of whether the former is at the prospect of being performed, as in (38b), or actually performed, as in (38d), by the subject participant. That said, the difference in terms of semantic interpretation between the subjunctive complementations in (38a-b) and the GPCs in (38c-d) is attributed to the different mood specification of the respective V2.

The subjunctive mood specification yields an irrealis interpretation, under which the embedded verb is realized as potential and not as an event that has actually occurred. By comparison, the indicative mood specification accounts for the events of betraying the decision and of consuming oxygen being reported as actual facts. Since the meaning of *pijeno* remains the same in both GPC and subjunctive complementation, we would expect the verb’s valency requirements to be met in both cases. For the GPC, this condition can be met if V2 is treated as a complement to V1, rather than as the second conjunct in a coordinate structure.

The valency requirements of *piyeno* and *kathome* exemplified above are not always present in the corresponding motion and posture verbs that occupy the V1 slot of pseudo-coordinate constructions in other languages. Looking at the following examples, the verbs

‘go’ and ‘sit,’ which participate in pseudo-coordinate constructions in English, are not able to select an infinitival complement outside the context of pseudo-coordination:

(39) a. John went and read a book on the bus.

*John went to read a book on the bus.

b. John sat and read a book on the bus.

*John sat to read a book on the bus. (de Vos, 2005, p. 20)

On the other hand, looking at pseudo-coordinate constructions in the dialects of Salento, the motion verb *sci(re)/sciri* ‘go’ can in fact participate both in infinitival hypotaxis as well as pseudo-coordination:

(40) a. Va a chiama.

go.PRS.3SG and go.PRS.3SG

‘He goes and calls.’ (Pseudo-coordination)

b. Va a chiamare.

go.PRS.3SG to call.INF

‘He goes to call.’ (Infinitival hypotaxis) (Ledgeway, 2016, p. 157)

While I will not make any assumptions about the syntactic analysis of relevant constructions in other languages, I will consider the valency requirements that *piyeno* and *kathome* exhibit as a strong argument in favor of a subordination analysis of the GPC. Accordingly, a coordination analysis is deemed unfavorable, since it would have to stipulate that the inherent syntactic valency of these verbs is somehow suppressed in the context of the GPC.

2.6 Adjacency Restrictions

Pseudo-coordinations are generally assumed to exhibit a high degree of syntactic integration, in that they allow only a limited amount of syntactic material to intervene between their components. De Vos (2005) labels the equivalent of the GPC in English as ‘contiguous’ coordination, due to the fact that it cannot host any XPs between V1 and V2.

Wiklund (2007) notes that in Swedish, only specific subclasses of adverbials may occur between the linking element *och* ‘and’ and V2, while others are restricted. Similarly to pseudo-coordinate constructions in other languages, the GPC also attests to restrictions in terms of the syntactic material that may intervene between *piyeno/kathome* and V2. In what follows, I will label the position between V1 and *ke* as ‘Position A’ and the position between *ke* and V2 as ‘Position B.’

The only syntactic material that may occur in Position A is a restricted number of modifiers, as in (41a), and the shared subject, as in (41b). Regarding (41a), modifiers that trigger an independent event reading, such as locative PPs, cannot occur in Position A⁹. This contrasts with ordinary coordination, where Position A may be occupied by a wide range of modifiers, such as adverbials, PPs, or participles, as in (42a), as well as either the subject or the object argument of V1, as in (42b) and (42c) respectively:

- (41) a. Aschetos an meta pai ksafnika/*stin eklisia ke padrevete.
 regardless if after go.PRS.3SG suddenly/to.ART church and get.married.PRS.3SG
 ‘Regardless if afterwards he/she suddenly goes and gets married.’
- b. Aschetos an meta pai o alos ke padrevete.
 regardless if after go.PRS.3SG ART other and get.married.PRS.3SG
 ‘Regardless if afterwards the other (person) goes and gets married.’
- (42) a. O Iianis diaskeðaçi (poli/to vraði/vyenodas ekso) ke
 ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG a lot/ART evening/going outside and
 chorevi bachata.
 dance.PRS.3SG bachata
 ‘John has fun (a lot/in the evening/by going outside) and dances bachata.’

⁹ The types of modifiers that are compatible with a pseudo-coordinate reading will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, where I will focus on the meaning that *piyeno* and *kathome* occupy in the GPC.

b. O Γianis diaskeðaçi tin Maria ke chorevi bachata.

ART John amuse.PRS.3SG ART Mary.ACC and dance.PRS.3SG bachata

‘John amuses Mary and dances bachata.’

c. Δiaskeðaçi o Γianis ke chorevi bachata.

have.fun.PRS.3SG ART John and dance.PRS.3SG bachata

‘John has fun and dances bachata.’

The syntactic material that may occur in Position B is even more restricted. Modifiers, as in (43a), and arguments, as in (43b), that would otherwise be permitted in an ordinary coordination are not licit in the GPC:

(43) a. Δiaskeðaçi o Γianis ke sto rithmo chorevi bachata.

have.fun.PRS.3SG ART John and in.ART rhythm dance.PRS.3SG bachata

‘John has fun and dances bachata in rhythm.’

b. Δiaskeðaçi o Γianis ke bachata chorevi.

have.fun.PRS.3SG ART John and bachata dance.PRS.3SG

‘John has fun and dances bachata.’

(44) a. #1169 meres kathete ke stathera katanaloni oxiyono.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG and steadily consume.PRS.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she sits and steadily consumes oxygen.’

b. #1169 meres kathete ke oxiyono katanaloni.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG and oxygen consume.PRS.3SG

‘1169 days he/she sits and consumes oxygen.’

The only syntactic material that is acceptable is either elements that belong to the extended inflectional layer of V2 (as predicted by the MSC) or object clitics, as seen in (45):

(45) Tha pai ke tha tin proðosi tin apofasi tis

FPART go.3SG and FPART CLI.OBJ betray.3SG ART decision ART.GEN

epitropis.

committee

‘He/she will go and betray the decision of the committee.’

The data presented here indicate that there is a certain degree of adjacency that needs to be satisfied between *ke* and V2 for a pseudo-coordinate reading to be obtained. If we were to premise a syntactic analysis on these adjacency restrictions, we would detect that the GPC bears a close resemblance to its subjunctive control complementation counterpart, in terms of the intervening syntactic material that is permitted:

(46) a. *1169 meres kathete na stathera katanalosi oxiyono.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG SUBJ steadily consume.PFV.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she sits with the purpose of steadily consuming oxygen.’

b. *1169 meres kathete na oxiyono katanalosi.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG SUBJ oxygen consume.PFV.3SG

‘1169 days he/she sits with the purpose of consuming oxygen.’

Based on the data presented here, a subordination analysis is considered to follow more naturally. On the other hand, a coordination analysis faces difficulties in terms of accounting for the adjacency restrictions in Position B. We could potentially assume that the second conjunct does not project a separate functional domain, to account for the fact that elements such as adverbials cannot occur in Position B. For example, temporal adverbials display features similar to those located in T° and are considered to check their features through a spec-head agreement configuration in TP (Alexiadou, 1997). Assuming that the functional domain of both conjuncts is situated above the &P projection, then temporal adverbials would have to raise above Position B to check their features, and thus they would be unable to be spelled out in Position B. However, this would again run into problems in terms of satisfying the MSC described in (28), since overt inflectional material associated

with T° would still be able to occupy Position B. As such, I consider a subordination analysis advantageous in terms of capturing the adjacency restrictions of the GPC.

2.7 Unavailability of Coordinator Substitution

A property commonly attributed to pseudo-coordination relates to the linking element between the two verbs being limited only to the conjunction coordinator. This is often used as a diagnostic test in the literature to distinguish pseudo-coordinations from ordinary coordinations (de Vos, 2005 for English; Ledgeway, 2016 for dialects of Salento; Bravo, 2020 for Spanish). As demonstrated below, while ordinary coordinations allow for the substitution of the conjunction coordinator with the disjunction coordinator, the same is not true for pseudo-coordinations:

(47) a. John ate some cake and drank some tea.

*John ate some cake or drank some tea.

b. How often did John go and talk to Peter?

*How often did John go or talk to Peter? (de Vos, 2005, p. 39)

As seen in (47b), replacing ‘and’ with the disjunctive coordinator ‘or’ results in the possibility of asymmetric extraction, otherwise associated with pseudo-coordination being barred. An identical restriction is also documented in the GPC. As shown below, the conjunction coordinator *ke* cannot be substituted by the disjunction coordinator *i* ‘or’ without resulting in the pseudo-coordinate reading being dissociated. This is further supported by the unavailability of asymmetric extraction illustrated in (48b):

(48) a. *O anthropos kathete i klei tin mira=tu.

ART human sit.PRS.3SG or cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human sits or cries about his/her fate.’

b. *Ti_i kathete o anthropos i klei i?

what sit.PRS.3SG ART human or cry.PRS.3SG

‘What does the human sit or cry?’

While in the examples of ordinary verbal coordination commonly used for the purposes of the substitution test, substitution of the conjunction coordinator is licit, it is unclear whether the availability of coordinator substitution is a property associated with coordinate constructions in general. Looking across the literature, we can find multiple instances of coordinate constructions, where the conjunction coordinator cannot possibly be substituted by the disjunctive coordinator, as in (49) and (50). Furthermore, in the examples in (49), it is highly unlikely that the element ‘and’ has a different function other than that of the conjunction coordinator.

(49) a. Here’s the whiskey_i that John went to the store and bought _i. (Ross, 1967, p. 168)

b. The once and future king. (Al Khalaf, 2015, p. 58)

c. John walked and walked for hours. (de Vos, 2005, p. 72)

d. Ich und morgen heimfahren!¹⁰

I and tomorrow go.home.INF

‘Me and going home tomorrow!’ (Zaefferer, 1990, p. 23)

(50) a. Here’s the whiskey_i that John went to the store or bought _i.

b. *The once or future king.

c. *John walked or walked for hours.

d. *Ich oder morgen heimfahren!

I or tomorrow go.home.INF

‘Me or going home tomorrow!’

The former cases suggest that the unavailability of coordinator substitution should not be perceived as a special quirk unique to pseudo-coordination. In addition, the fact that

¹⁰ This is an example of presentative coordination in German, which according to Zaefferer (1990, p. 23) “evokes the idea of pure possibility of predication by joining a referring expression with a predicating one without asserting that the predicate holds of the referent. On the contrary, what is implicated is that it would be absurd to even entertain such a possibility.”

substitution of the conjunction coordinator is not permitted in pseudo-coordination should not be taken to reveal anything about the status of *ke*, nor should it be considered a counterargument to a coordination analysis. Thus, while it certainly highlights yet another point of differentiation from ordinary coordination, I consider the unavailability of coordination substitution a silent property with respect to the underlying structure of the GPC.

2.8 Availability of Coordinator Omission

Another property that is important to highlight when it comes to the syntactic analysis of pseudo-coordination pertains to whether the conjunction coordinator can be omitted without accounting for any change in the meaning of the construction. The possibility of omitting the conjunction coordinator gives rise to an asyndetic structure that involves no linking element between V1 and V2. If we look at this property from a cross-linguistic point of view, we will notice that instances of motion and posture verb pseudo-coordinations can, in fact, occur asyndetically in Southern Italian varieties. In his account of motion and posture verb pseudo-coordinations in Salentino dialects, Ledgeway (2016) observes that the connecting particle *a* ‘and’ may be omitted without resulting in ungrammaticality, as shown in (51):

(51) a. Stoc’ a ffazzu.

stand.PRS.1SG and do.PRS.1SG

‘I am doing.’ (Pugliese)

b. Sta ffazzu.

stand.PRS.1SG do.PRS.1SG

‘I am doing.’ (Salentino) (Ledgeway, 2016, p. 170)

A similar observation is made by Manzini et al. (2017) for Sicilian dialects, where the motion verb may surface along with what is labeled by the authors as a bare finite complement within certain syntactic contexts:¹¹

(52) Vaju (a) mandʒu.

go.PRS.1SG to eat.PRS.1SG

‘I go to eat.’ (Calascibetta) (Manzini et al., 2017, p. 20)

However, the possibility of coordinator omission should by no means be considered a universal property of pseudo-coordination. As the following examples suggest, in the majority of languages where pseudo-coordination is documented, the respective constructions cannot be formed without the presence of the conjunction coordinator:¹²

(53) a. John went and read a book on the bus. (de Vos, 2005, p. 20)

b. Han satt o läste en bok.

he sit.PST.3SG and read.PST.3SG a book

‘He was reading a book (in sitting position).’ (Wiklund, 2007, p. 93)

c. ...y entonces, va y me cuenta que ha llamado mi

and then go.PRS.3SG and DAT.1SG tell.PRS.3SG that has called my

hermana

sister.

‘And then he/she goes and tells me that my sister has called.’ (Bravo, 2020, p. 139)

¹¹ The authors claim that the element *a* does not stem from the coordinator *AC > a* ‘and,’ but rather is the equivalent of the Romance subordinator *AD > a* ‘to,’ hence it is glossed as ‘to’ rather than ‘and.’

¹² It should be noted that English exhibits the so-called ‘go get’ construction (Pullum, 1990), which can be considered equivalent to an asyndetic variety of pseudo-coordination:

(i) Every day I go get the paper. (Pullum, 1990, p. 219)

However, based on their semantic and syntactic properties, the ‘go get’ construction has been distinguished from pseudo-coordination with the verb ‘go’ (Shopen, 1971; Pullum, 1990; Wulff, 2006; Bjorkman, 2016). The most notable difference comes in the form of the inflection condition, which posits that “any overt sign of inflection on either of the verbs in the ‘go get’ construction renders it ungrammatical” (Shopen, 1971, p. 219).

(54) a. *John went read a book on the bus.

b. * Han satt läste en bok.

He sit.PST.3SG read.PST.3SG a book

‘He was reading a book (in sitting position).’

c. ...*y entonces, va me cuenta que ha llamado mi hermana

and then go.PRS.3SG DAT.1SG tell.PRS.3SG that has called my sister

‘And then he/she goes and tells me that my sister has called.’

In terms of the availability of coordinator omission, the GPC shows similarities with the respective constructions in Southern Italian dialects. As shown in the following examples, the asyndetic variety of the GPC is fully productive for both *piyeno* and *kathome* in all three mood specifications of Greek:

(55) a. O anthropos kathete/pai klei tin mira=tu.

ART human sit/go.PRS.3SG cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human sits/goes and cries about his/her fate.’

b. Katse/piyene klapse tin mira=su!

sit/go.IMP.2SG cry.IMP.2SG ART fate=POSS

‘Sit/go and cry about your fate!’

c. Tu ipe na katsi/pai na klapsi tin mira=tu.

CLI.OBJ tell.PST.3SG SUBJ sit/go.3SG SUBJ cry.PFV.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘He/she told him to sit/go and cry about his fate.’

The same is true for both present and past tense, as well as for perfective and imperfective aspect:

(56) a. O anthropos kathise/piye eklapse tin mira=tu.

ART human sit/go.PFV.PST.3SG cry.PFV.PST.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human sat/went and cried about his/her fate.’

- b. O anthropos kathotan/piyene ekleye tin mira=tu.
 ART human sit/go.PST.IPFV.3SG cry.PST.IPFV.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human was sitting/going and was crying about his/her fate.’

However, omission of *ke* is not available within all syntactic contexts. As shown below, when tense is realized through overt inflectional material, such as perfect auxiliaries or future particles, omission of *ke* results in ungrammaticality:

- (57) a. *O anthropos tha echi katsi/pai tha echi klapsi tin
 ART human FPART AUX.3SG sit/go.PFV FPART AUX.3SG cry.PFV ART
 mira=tu.
 fate=POSS

‘The human will have sat/gone and cried about his/her fate.’

In addition, *ke* cannot be omitted when the GPC is negated, as in (58a), or when it is modified by adverbials, as in (57b):

- (58) a. *O anthropos den kathete/pai klei tin mira=tu.
 ART human NEG sit/go.PRS.3SG cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human doesn’t sit/go and cry about his/her fate.’

- b. *O anthropos kathete/pai ksafnika klei tin mira=tu.
 ART human sit/go.PRS.3SG suddenly cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS
 ‘The human sits/goes and suddenly cries about his/her fate.’

The data presented here, albeit conflicting, are of particular importance when it comes to a syntactic analysis of the GPC. To start with, the examples in (55) and (56) suggest that the presence of a conjunction coordinator is not obligatory. If we also take into consideration the properties of the GPC outlined in the previous sections, such as the MSC and the obligatoriness of a shared subject referent, the GPC bears a close resemblance to a serial verb

construction (SVC). I will address this issue separately in Chapter 5, where I will compare the properties of the GPC to those of prototypical SVCs.

However, omissability of the conjunction coordinator does not appear to be a consistent characteristic of the GPC, since the syntactic contexts outlined in (57) and (58) resist a possible reduction of *ke*. Based on the examples presented in this section, we can deduce that the availability of coordinator omission is limited to syntactic contexts where the construction is devoid of any modification, and the possibility of intervening inflectional material becomes greatly reduced or eliminated. Bear in mind that in (55c), *ke* may still be omitted despite the presence of intervening syntactic material in the form of the subjunctive marker *na*. This possibility can be attributed to independent reasons. As pointed out in section 2.5, the GPC is in complementary distribution with subjunctive control complements selected by the verbs *piyeno* and *kathome*. When embedded, the two constructions display a complete overlap in terms of their morphology:

- (59) a. Tu ipe na katsi/pai (ke) na klapsi tin mira=tu.

CLI.OBJ tell.PST.3SG SUBJ sit/go.3SG and SUBJ cry.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘He/she told him to sit/go (and) cry about his fate.’ (GPC)

- b. Tu ipe na katsi/pai na klapsi tin mira=tu.

CLI.OBJ tell.PST.3SG SUBJ sit/go.3SG SUBJ cry.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘He/she told him to sit/go (and) cry about his fate.’ (Subjunctive complementation)

While in the examples in (38), the two constructions were semantically distinguished based on the Mood category of V2, in (59), the morphological overlap is accompanied by a semantic overlap. This is attributed to the fact that in both (59a) and (59b), the subjunctive V2 matches the Mood category of V1. On the other hand, the fact that the GPC semantically aligns with its subjunctive complementation counterpart under embedding indicates that *ke*

lacks any semantic contribution. This is further supported by the fact that it can be omitted altogether.

Based on that, it can be argued that the instantiation of *na* after *ke* should not be simply treated as overt inflectional material of V2, as would be the case with tense auxiliaries or future markers. Instead, its presence results in V2 being interpreted as identical to a subjunctive complement and *ke* being rendered semantically vacuous. I will return to this issue in Chapter 4, where I will claim that within the GPC, *ke* is a semantically vacuous element that does not play any role in the syntactic derivation. For the purposes of the current section, I will next examine the possibility of coordinator omission at the prospect of a coordination or subordination analysis of the GPC.

It should be noted that the possibility of omitting *ke* illustrates an additional difference between GPC and ordinary coordination. As shown in (60), omitting the conjunction coordinator results in ungrammaticality:

(60) *O Ianis diaskeðazi chorevi bachata.

ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG dance.PRS.3SG bachata

‘John has fun dances bachata.’

This also raises issues with respect to a coordinate analysis of the GPC, since similar to other European languages, Greek does not allow for coordinate structures to occur without the presence of an overt linker. Thus, in addition to providing an account for the data shown in (57) and (58), a coordination analysis would also have to concede the fact that the GPC instantiates the only empirical case of asyndetic coordination in Greek. In that respect, a subordinate structure is deemed preferable, since the former does not precondition an overt introducing element for the V2 complement.

2.9 Fixed Order

A property commonly attested in pseudo-coordinate constructions cross-linguistically pertains to the order of their verbs being fixed. This property has often been cited as a point of differentiation between pseudo-coordination and ordinary coordination (see de Vos, 2005 on English and Afrikaans pseudo-coordination; Bjerre & Bjerre, 2007 on Danish pseudo-coordination; Hilpert & Koops, 2008 on Swedish pseudo-coordination; Ledgeway, 2016 on pseudo-coordination in Salento varieties). A diagnostic test commonly applied to highlight this differentiation is the so-called ‘conjunct reordering’ test. A pertinent example of this test is provided below:

(61) a. John both walked and danced.

John both danced and walked.

b. John went and read the book that I gave him.

*John read the book that I gave him and went. (de Vos, 2005, p. 40)

Example (61a) represents a case of ordinary verbal coordination, where each conjunct corresponds to a distinct proposition. The order of conjuncts can be reversed without affecting the truth conditions of the sentence, since the propositions denoted by each conjunct are semantically independent from each other. On the other hand, example (61b) represents a pseudo-coordination, where the first verb does not describe a distinct act of going, but rather both verbs denote a single indistinguishable proposition. In this case, the order of conjuncts cannot possibly be inverted without resulting in ungrammaticality.

Turning to the GPC, similar to pseudo-coordinations in other languages, the order of verbs is fixed as suggested by the impossibility of reordering V1 and V2:

(62) #Katanaloni oxiyono ke 1169 meres kathete.

consume.PRS.3SG oxygen and 1169 days sit.PRS.3SG

‘He/she consumes oxygen and sits for 1169 days.’

The intermediate conclusion usually drawn from the conjunct reordering test is that, due to V2 being semantically subordinate to V1, reversing their order results in their subordinate relation being diminished (de Vos, 2005). In certain studies, the unavailability of conjunct reordering is also used as a counterargument to a possible coordination analysis of pseudo-coordinate constructions (Bjerre & Bjerre, 2007; Wiklund, 2007).

In what follows, I will argue that, other than highlighting the fixedness in terms of the order that pseudo-coordination exhibits in contrast to ordinary coordination, the unavailability of reordering does not reveal anything about the relation between V1 and V2 in pseudo-coordination. The first thing that needs to be addressed is that across the literature on pseudo-coordination, the examples of coordination used for the reordering test involve cases of strictly additive, Boolean coordination (referred to here as ordinary coordination). However, it is widely recognized that the conjunction coordinator can express semantic relations that do not necessarily relate to truth-functional conjunction, even when it connects two clauses. In fact, there are also coordinate constructions, in which conjuncts are contrasted to each other either temporally or causally, as seen in (63):

- (63) a. The magician pulled a trick and the audience was amazed.
 b. He pulled the chair and I fell.
 c. The door suddenly opened and I got scared.

If we attempt to reverse the order of conjuncts, the causal or temporal relation is eroded, and instead, the construction is interpreted as an ordinary coordination, in which there is no connection between the events expressed in each conjunct:

- (64) a. #The audience was amazed and the magician pulled a trick.
 b. #I fell and he pulled the chair.
 c. #I got scared and the door suddenly opened.

Based on this, we can extrapolate that coordinate constructions may exhibit fixed order as well, as demonstrated by the fact that conjunct reordering results in a temporal/causal relation being diminished. Bjorkman (2010) asserts that the availability or non-availability of conjunct reordering cannot be captured entirely on the basis of semantic or discourse-related terms, but is rather attributed to the underlying syntactic structure. The structural differences between ordinary coordination and temporal/causal coordination can be ascertained in embedded contexts, where the two types of coordination behave differently. On the one hand, in ordinary coordination, the conjuncts appear to be fully-fledged CPs, whereas temporally or causally dependent coordination involves coordination of smaller constituents, namely TPs. This is demonstrated in (65):

(65) a. The newspaper reported that a new mayor was elected and there was a riot.

(TP-coordination)

b. The newspaper reported that a new mayor was elected and that there was a riot.

(CP-coordination) (Bjorkman, 2010, p. 3)

In example (65a), the single instantiation of ‘that’ suggests that we are dealing with a coordination of TPs. If the coordinated conjuncts were CPs, then the valency requirements of ‘report’ would necessitate an additional instance of ‘that’ heading the second conjunct. This is the case in (65b), where the occurrence of ‘that’ in both coordinated clauses indicates that the conjuncts are larger than TPs. The observed structural difference is, according to Bjorkman (2010), correlated with an interpretive difference. If we assume that the events of a new mayor being elected and a riot occurring are unrelated to each other, example (65a) constitutes a misleading or false report, whereas example (65b) is acceptable. However, in the case of the two events being connected to each other, example (65a) constitutes a more informative report. That said, in CP coordinations, the order of conjuncts does not necessarily

correspond to the natural sequence of events. In fact, a logical interpretation is obtained even in contexts where the events denoted by each conjunct are introduced in a reversed order:

(66) The engineer has confirmed that the valley flooded and that the dam broke. (Bjorkman, 2010, p. 3)

Similarly to English, Greek also distinguishes between CP and TP coordination in embedded contexts. Contrary to English, though, where embedded coordination may be ambiguous between CP and TP coordination, in Greek, the distinction is always visible, since the embedded clause is obligatorily introduced by the overt complementizer *oti* ‘that:’

(67) *Ksero ~~oti~~ i Maria ton apelise.

know.PRS.1SG COMP ART Mary CLI.OBJ fired

Int: ‘I know that Mary fired him.’

With this background in place, we can observe that the GPC behaves similarly to temporal/causal coordination in embedded contexts, as evidenced by the single instance of the clausal complementizer in (68a). If we attempt to introduce a second clausal complementizer before V2, the construction loses its pseudo-coordinate reading and is instead interpreted as an ordinary coordination, as in (68b):

(68) a. Ksero oti piye ke prodose tin apofasi tis

know.PRS.1SG COMP go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN
epitropis.

committee

‘I know that he/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee.’

b. #Ksero oti piye ke oti prodose tin apofasi

know.PRS.1SG COMP go.PST.3SG and COMP betray.PST.3SG ART decision
tis epitropis.

ART.GEN committee

‘I know that he/she went and that he/she betrayed the decision of the committee.’

To summarize, we have seen that, in coordinate constructions, conjunct reordering may be licensed or not, depending on the size of the underlying conjuncts. Conjunct reordering is not a universal property of coordination, since it does not apply when conjuncts are equal to or smaller than a TP. Thus, I conclude that while the unavailability of conjunct reordering points towards a ‘fixed order’ relation between the verbs of the GPC (which is not present in ordinary CP coordination), it cannot by itself be used as an argument against a coordination analysis.

2.10 Single Event Interpretation

As pointed out in Chapter 1, the pseudo-coordinate reading associated with the GPC results in V1 and V2 being interpreted as a single integrated event, rather than two independent events, which would be the case if the construction was interpreted as an ordinary coordination of verbs. In the literature on pseudo-coordination, this contrast in terms of meaning has been highlighted through various semantic tests. De Vos (2005) points out that pseudo-coordinate constructions behave differently compared to ordinary coordination in the presence of distributive markers:

(69) a. John both ate some cake and drank some tea.

b. *What did John both go and read? (de Vos, 2005, p. 41)

As shown in (69b), the verbs of a pseudo-coordination cannot be modified by the distributive marker ‘both’ while maintaining their pseudo-coordinate reading. This is supported by the fact that asymmetric extraction, which would otherwise be possible under this reading, is not permitted. A similar test can be replicated for the GPC.

Like in many other languages, Greek distinguishes between ordinary coordination and what is called “emphatic coordination” (Haspelmath, 2004, p. 15). The semantic difference lies in that emphatic coordination semantically accentuates that each conjunct belongs to the

coordination and is considered separately from the others. In Greek, emphatic coordination is formed through the presence of two distinct conjunctive coordinators *ke*, one preceding each conjunct. Coordinators in emphatic constructions are also labeled as “correlative coordinators” (Haspelmath, 2004, p. 16), since one cannot occur without the other. As seen in (70), an ordinary coordination consisting of two independent propositions may be modified by two correlative coordinators, thus becoming an emphatic coordination:

- (70) O Ianis ke diaskeðaçi ke chorevi bachata.
 ART John and have.fun.PRS.3SG and dance.PRS.3SG bachata
 ‘John both has fun and dances bachata.’

However, in the GPC, V1 and V2 cannot be considered separately from each other. As shown in (71), a pseudo-coordinate reading does not arise if distributivity is enforced through the presence of two correlative coordinators:

- (71) #Aschetos an meta o alos ke pai ke padrevete.
 regardless if after ART other and go.PRS.3SG and get.married.PRS.3SG
 ‘Regardless if afterwards the other (person) both goes and gets married.’

Another test that serves as a diagnostic for the events of V1 and V2 being conceptualized as a single unit involves anaphoric reference. Wiklund (2007) points out that while ordinary coordination is compatible with both singular and plural anaphoric expressions, pseudo-coordination can only be selected by a singular anaphoric expression. This observation also holds true in the case of the GPC:

- (72) a. To na diaskeðaçis ke na chorevis bachata ine
 ART SUBJ have.fun.PRS.2SG and SUBJ dance.PRS.2SG bachata be.PRS.3SG/3PL
 iperoch-o/iperoch-a.
 amazing-SG/ amazing-PL
 ‘To have fun and to dance bachata is/are amazing.’

- b. To na piyenis ke na padrevese ine
 ART SUBJ go.PRS.2SG and SUBJ get.married.PRS.2SG be.PRS.3SG/3PL
 iperoch-o/*iperoch-a.
 amazing-SG/amazing-PL
 ‘To go and to get married is amazing.’

In (72a), the ordinary coordination introduces a discourse referent that can be viewed as either collective or singular and is thus compatible with both plural and singular anaphoric expressions. However, if the GPC is selected by a plural anaphoric expression as in (72b), then a pseudo-coordinate reading is not sustained, and the construction instead reads as a sequence of two independent events. That said, the pseudo-coordinate reading can only be accessed when the construction is targeted by a singular anaphoric expression. This is another characteristic that the GPC shares with its subjunctive complementation counterpart. As seen in (73), the latter is incompatible with plural anaphoric expressions.

- (73) To na pas na padreftis ine
 ART SUBJ go.PRS.2SG SUBJ get.married.PRS.2SG be.PRS.3SG/3PL
 iperoch-o/*iperoch-a.
 amazing-SG/amazing-PL
 ‘To go to get married is amazing.’

Other than highlighting the semantic idiosyncrasies that the GPC exhibits compared to ordinary coordination, the unavailability of distributivity and plural anaphoric expressions also serves as an argument in favor of a subordination analysis. The aforementioned properties follow naturally if we assume that V2 is embedded under V1. In contrast, a coordination analysis is opaque in terms of demonstrating why these idiosyncrasies are present in the first place and would also require additional theoretical machinery to explain why they are present in certain coordinate structures and absent in others.

2.11 Summary

To summarize, we have seen that the GPC exhibits all the properties that have traditionally been ascribed to pseudo-coordination cross-linguistically. This would include the MSC, the violation of the CSC, the fixed order of its components, the unavailability of coordinator substitution, the single event interpretation, the restrictions imposed on the subject referent, and V1 being restricted to a specific subset of verbs. Furthermore, we have observed that the GPC exhibits certain idiosyncrasies that are either unique to the Greek paradigm or shared with only a few documented cases of pseudo-coordination cross-linguistically. This would include its adjacency restrictions, the availability of coordinator omission, the valency requirements of *piyeno* and *kathome* outside of pseudo-coordination, and the interaction between overt inflectional material and the MSC.

The first goal I aimed to accomplish in this chapter was to establish that the GPC represents a unique syntactic phenomenon that should be distinguished from ordinary coordination of verbs. First of all, it was demonstrated that in contrast to the symmetric relationship attested between conjuncts of ordinary coordination, the relationship between V1 and V2 of the GPC is inherently asymmetric. This was particularly highlighted by the violation of the CSC, the restrictions on V1, the valency requirements of V1, the fixed order, and the unavailability of coordinator substitution. Furthermore, I have shown that the verbs of the GPC exhibit a much higher degree of syntactic and semantic integration compared to conjuncts of ordinary coordination. This was illustrated through the MSC, the single event interpretation, the availability of coordination omission, the adjacency restrictions, and the subject restrictions. The properties that distinguish the GPC from ordinary coordination are summarized in the table below:

Table 1.1*Properties of the GPC and ordinary coordination*

Properties	GPC	Ordinary coordination
<i>Asymmetric relation between V1 and V2</i>		
Unavailability of coordinator substitution	+	-
Violation of the CSC	+	-
V1 restrictions	+	-
Valency requirements of V1	+	-
Fixed order	+	-
<i>Semantic/syntactic integration</i>		
Morphological ‘Sameness’ Condition	+	-
Availability of coordinator omission	+	-
Adjacency restrictions	+	-
Subject restrictions	+	-
Single event interpretation	+	-

The second goal of this chapter was to examine, based on the aforementioned properties, whether a syntactic analysis rooted either in coordination or subordination is deemed more preferable for the GPC. At face value, a coordination analysis appears advantageous, since it is consistent with the original function of *ke* as a conjunction coordinator. However, throughout this section, we have seen that the properties otherwise

associated with the GPC cannot be adequately captured under a coordination analysis. First, the availability of coordinator omission as well as the valency requirements of *piyeno* and *kathome* present the strongest arguments against a coordination analysis. Secondly, a subordination analysis captures more accurately the single event interpretation associated with the GPC. In addition, the GPC displays a close resemblance to subordinate constructions with respect to the violation of the CSC and the adjacency, subject, and V1 restrictions. Finally, it was shown that the MSC, the fixed order, and the unavailability of coordinator substitution are properties that can be captured under both syntactic analyses. Below, I summarize the properties that argue either in favor of a subordination or a coordination analysis:

Table 1.2

GPC properties in relation to a coordinate or subordinate syntactic analysis

Properties	Coordination analysis	Subordination analysis
Morphological ‘Sameness’ Condition	+	+
Violation of the CSC	-	+
V1 restrictions	-	+
Valency requirements of V1	-	+
Subject restrictions	-	+
Adjacency restrictions	-	+
Unavailability of coordinator substitution	+	+
Availability of coordinator omission	-	+
Fixed order	+	+

Single event interpretation	-	+
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In conclusion, a subordination analysis has been deemed more advantageous in terms of capturing the inherent properties of the GPC. Having provided arguments in favor of the subordinate relation between V1 and V2, I will next attempt to establish the ingredients required to describe the syntactic derivation of the GPC. In order to do so, I will next turn my attention to the stable elements of the construction. My goals will be to ascertain the syntactic category of *piyeno* and *kathome*, as well as the status of *ke*, provided that the former does not function as a conjunction coordinator. Furthermore, I will examine whether a mono-clausal or a bi-clausal syntactic structure is deemed more appropriate for the properties related to the GPC. These issues will be explored in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

3. The Status of *Piýeno* ‘go’ and *Kathome* ‘sit’

In the previous chapter, I have shown that based on its semantic and syntactic properties, the GPC should be distinguished from ordinary coordination in the verbal system. Furthermore, I have demonstrated that these properties can be more accurately captured if we assume that the GPC involves a subordinate underlying structure, rather than a coordinate one. In this chapter, I will focus on the stable elements of the GPC, namely *piýeno* and *kathome*, and delve into the specific semantic nuances that these verbs express when inserted into the V1 slot.

By doing so, I aim to accomplish the following three goals. First, I will demonstrate how pseudo-coordinate *piýeno* and *kathome* are semantically distinguished from each other as well as from their main verb counterparts outside of the GPC. Secondly, I will argue that contra to previous accounts on pseudo-coordinate constructions in other languages, the GPC cannot be considered a grammaticalized construction in which V1 is semantically bleached. Finally, I will propose a unified light verb analysis on *piýeno* and *kathome*, under which these verbs retain some of their lexical properties, but are semantically dependent on the event described by V2.

This chapter will be divided into four sections. In the first section, I will provide a brief overview of previous accounts on the grammatical status of pseudo-coordinate equivalents of *piýeno* and *kathome* in other languages. In the second section, I will provide arguments against an analysis of *piýeno* and *kathome* as auxiliaries. For the sake of my argumentation, I will also use the semantics that these verbs display in their single verb usage outside of the GPC, as a point of reference. In the third section, I will narrow down the semantic nuances that these verbs encapsulate in the GPC. More specifically, I will claim that *piýeno* accounts for an inceptive reading of the event described by V2 and also attributes a sense of agentivity to the shared subject referent. On the other hand, *kathome* localizes the

event described by V2 within a physical space. In the last section, I will examine how pseudo-coordinate verbs can be subsumed under the light verb paradigm and provide a framework for their syntactic analysis based on Ramchand's (2008) 'First Phase Syntax.'

3.1.1 Previous Accounts on Motion Verb Pseudo-coordination

Motion verb pseudo-coordination is prevalent in a wide range of languages across Europe, and within certain languages, it is encountered without its posture verb counterpart (e.g., Spanish). In terms of its semantic content, the motion verb in these constructions is commonly associated with notions such as surprise, inceptiveness, determination, and andative verbal deixis. Regarding its status, there are two major proponents. In Scandinavian languages, the verb is commonly assumed to be a light verb that has lost most of its lexical properties and is predicationally dependent on the main verb occupying the V2 slot of pseudo-coordination. On the other hand, in Romance languages, the general assumption is that 'go' has undergone a significant degree of grammaticalization on a morphological, semantic, and syntactic level, to the extent that it functions as an auxiliary.

Starting with Scandinavian languages, motion verb pseudo-coordination has been documented in Swedish and Danish. According to the relevant literature, the construction in Swedish is not limited to the verb 'go,' but can rather occur with a variety of verbs that denote change of location, such as 'go,' 'run,' and 'come.' The verb *gå* 'go' is generally assumed not to carry its original lexical meaning, but rather to function more as a light verb. Wiklund (2009) posits that *gå* may combine with another predicate to yield an inceptive reading, where the onset of the event denoted by the main predicate is in some sense focalized. In addition, the construction may overall yield a sense of surprise or unexpectedness based on three factors: (i) the particular event structure associated with the predicates involved, (ii) the choice of lexicalization of this structure, and (iii) the pragmatic inferences about the particular event involved.

A similar view regarding the status of *gā* is shared by Josefsson (2014), who nonetheless attributes the surprise reading associated with motion verb pseudo-coordination to different factors. According to him, *gā* is a highly polysemous verb, and the *gā* encountered in pseudo-coordination stems from a variety of the verb that assigns three theta roles under its regular lexical use. However, when functioning as a light verb, it is considered to only assign two roles, while its EXPERIENCER theta-role remains unassigned. This leads to subjectification, whereby the EXPERIENCER role is assigned to the speech situation instead, either to the logophoric agent (i.e., the speaker), or, in other cases, to the logophoric patient (i.e., the addressee). The ‘surprise effect’ emerges as the pragmatic outcome of this pattern of theta-role assignment, in contexts where the subject is +HUMAN and exerts control over verbal agreement on both V1 and V2 (i.e., in pseudo-coordination).

Turning to Danish, Kjeldahl (2010) posits that the verb *gā* ‘go’ in motion verb pseudo-coordination is a light verb that highlights the inceptive nature of the event described by V2. However, unlike its posture counterpart (discussed in the next section), *gā* retains more of its lexical properties, as indicated by its inability to encode aspectual meaning and its incompatibility with inanimate subjects. Furthermore, *gā* may also occur in these constructions along with the particle *hen* ‘over.’ In these cases, the verb receives a non-motion interpretation and instead imposes an aspect of unexpectedness and perhaps undesirability, regarding the event described by V2.

In Southern Italian varieties, motion verb pseudo-coordinations have overall received a different treatment with respect to the status of V1 compared to Scandinavian languages. The first conclusive account regarding the status of the verb *vaju* ‘go’ in Marsalese pseudo-coordinations comes from Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001). In their work, they analyze the pseudo-coordinate *vaju* as a semi-lexical auxiliary merged in an unspecified, but necessarily higher projection than the lexical verb occupying V2. According to them, cross-linguistic

variation in motion verb pseudo-coordination can be explained based on the structural position of the motion verb. The higher up the structure the motion verb is merged, the less of its lexical properties are considered to be active. The auxiliary status of *vaju* is deduced based on the fact that the verb displays invariant inflectional morphology and does not impose any selectional restrictions on the subject. Furthermore, in these constructions, *vaju* is unable to project any locative arguments that would otherwise be permitted under a full lexical reading and is also immune to adjunction.

A similar view regarding the status of *vau* ‘go’ is adopted by Ledgeway (2016) for the dialects of Salento. In his work, he posits that motion verb pseudo-coordinations are grammaticalized subordinate constructions, originally developed from ordinary coordination of verbs. The gradual change that these constructions underwent can be reflected in their morphology, syntax, and semantics. Looking at their V1 slot, *vau* ‘go’ has lost its original lexical properties and functions as a marker of andative aspect, which is linked to the functional structure of the clause. Related to this change is the attrition in the inflectional paradigm of the verb, with the former being able to surface as a bare form.

Finally, Cruschina (2013) also adopts a grammaticalization approach to motion verb pseudo-coordination in Sicilian dialects. He observes that while the motion verb overall contributes to the meaning of the construction, it does not denote an independent event, nor does it preserve the thematic structure typical of motion verbs. Instead, V1 has two distinct functions; in its canonical use, it functions as an andative verb that indicates movement away from the speaker or from the viewpoint adopted by the speaker. In its desemanticized use, the Sicilian *jiri* ‘go’ functions as an empathic past marker within narrative contexts. An indicative example is given below:

- (74) Cuannu u vitti ca sunava nna banna, vaju a
when CLI.OBJ see.PST.1SG that play.IPFV.3SG in.ART band go.PRS.1SG to

pruvua na gioia!

feel.PRS.1SG ART joy

‘When I saw him play in the band, I felt such a joy! (Cruschina, 2013, p. 279)

Despite the present tense inflection attested in both verbs, the construction overall refers to a past temporal frame. V1 in this case only denotes the emotional participation of the speaker and thus encodes temporal deixis, in contrast to the spatial deixis that would be present under its canonical andative use.

Motion verb pseudo-coordination has also been documented in Spanish. A first account comes from Arnaiz and Camacho (1999), who describe these constructions as instances of verbal coordination, in which *ir* ‘go’ functions as a topic auxiliary. According to them, the topic auxiliary is merged in a defective inflectional head, and the only way for the former to be a legitimate linguistic object is to be coordinated with a main verb. The topic auxiliary by itself requires the conjunct it combines with to share the same topic. This is encoded as an interpretable feature +TOP in its lexical specification that needs to be checked at some point in the derivation. Since there are no topic resolution rules, a possible feature clash between conjuncts can only be prevented if both conjuncts have the same topic. The +TOP feature of the auxiliary is checked through a spec-head relation in the specifier position of the auxiliary projection. While the authors treat *ir* as a functional element that does not participate in theta role assignment, they do not explicitly discuss the semantic nuances associated with it in motion verb pseudo-coordination.

An account regarding the semantic properties of V1 comes from Bravo (2020). In her work, she claims that motion verb pseudo-coordinations in Spanish are highly grammaticalized constructions, in which the motion verb *ir* is an auxiliary that does not impose any selectional restrictions on the subject and is tense defective. In these constructions, *ir* can receive two different pseudo-coordinate readings, which are distinct

from its original motion interpretation. The first conveys strong determination on the part of the subject participant to carry out the event described by V2, as shown in (75a). Under the second pseudo-coordinate reading, the event denoted by V2 is presented as unexpected, as long as it is interpreted as representing a sudden change in the course of the events. An indicative example is shown in (75b):

(75) a. Una tarde, mirando el estante, descubro una edición de lujo de La isla del tesoro.

Voy y tomo el libro. Y advierto que...

‘One afternoon, while I was looking at the shelf, I found out a deluxe edition of The Treasury Island. I go and get the book. I realize, then, that...’

b. (Se levanta violento consigo y gira sobre sí mismo). Yo pude, yo pude ser...Un sollozo lo ahoga. Va y se derrumba (...) sobre la silla.

‘(He stands up feeling violent at himself and revolves around himself). I could, I could have been...He was being choked by sobs. He goes and collapses into the chair...’ (Bravo, 2020, p. 135)

Turning to English, de Vos (2005) suggests that the verb ‘go’ in pseudo-coordination has undergone semantic bleaching, in the sense that parts of the lexical meaning of the verb are deaccented. Instead of denoting an independent event, the verb in V1 only brings into focus the incipient nature of the event described by V2. Thus, while the lexical verb indicates the type of action characterizing the event, the verb ‘go,’ in combination with pseudo-coordination, places focus on the build-up to the action. The reason why ‘go’ has this property is attributed to the fact that it has a +PROSPECTIVE feature in its lexical specification. Evidence for this feature is provided in the following example:

(76) John is going to die. (de Vos, 2005, p. 32)

According to de Vos (2005), (76) is consistent with a reading where, although everybody will eventually die, it is not the case that they have all already started dying. The sentence merely makes a claim about the prospect of eventually dying.

Finally, motion verb pseudo-coordination has also received some attention in Greek. Svorou (2018a) observes that in the string ‘*piyeno ke V2*,’ *piyeno* may receive a non-motion interpretation, as in (77):

- (77) O Kostas Gatsioudis bike ston ayona me stocho na riksi
 ART Kostas Gatsioudis enter.PST.3SG in.ART race with goal SUBJ throw.3SG
 pano apo 83 metra, aftos omos piye ke kseperase ta 87!
 above from 83 meters, he however go.PST.3SG and surpass.PST.3SG ART 87!
 ‘Kostas Gatsioudis entered the competition with the goal to throw more than 83
 meters, but he went and surpassed 87 meters!’ (Svorou, 2018a, p. 286)

In (77), the expression ‘went and surpassed’ is not understood as involving Gatsioudis’ movement, followed by him surpassing 87 meters in javelin throwing. Instead, *piyeno* is considered to attribute intentionality to the actor of the event of surpassing a threshold, even though this event is not necessarily under complete control of the actor. Furthermore, she notes that, in terms of pseudo-coordinations with *piyeno*, the shared subject argument is predominantly an agent, while the predicates occupying V2 are mostly accomplishments. Despite highlighting the change in meaning that *piyeno* undergoes in the GPC, the author does not make any claims about its grammatical status.

3.1.2 Previous Accounts on Posture Verb Pseudo-coordination

Posture verb pseudo-coordination has been documented in a variety of languages and previous language-specific accounts largely adopt a similar view in terms of the semantic properties that these constructions exhibit. The common assumption is that posture verb pseudo-coordinations represent grammaticalized constructions in which the posture verb has

lost most or all of its lexical content and instead denotes durative/progressive/imperfective aspect. Other semantic nuances commonly attributed to the verb ‘sit’ concern the lack of dynamicity and the expression of the static nature of the activity of V2. Where previous accounts may differ from each other, even within the same language, is in terms of whether the posture verb is analyzed as an auxiliary or a light verb. Light verb accounts usually contend that while the verb is reduced to denoting an aspectual meaning, it retains some of its lexical properties, such as its selectional restrictions. On the other hand, auxiliary accounts usually claim that the verb is fully bleached, to the extent that it functions merely as a marker, similar to the ‘being’ progressive in English.

A large bulk of the literature pertaining to posture verb pseudo-coordination comes from Scandinavian languages. These constructions have been well-documented in Swedish (Wiklund, 2007; Hilpert & Koops, 2008; Josefsson, 2014), in Norwegian (Hesse, 2009; Lødrup, 2002, 2019; Blensenius, 2015; Kinn et al., 2018), and in Danish (Kjeldahl, 2010; Biberauer & Vikner, 2017). They are considered to occur with different verbs that denote human posture, such as ‘lie,’ ‘stand,’ and ‘sit’ in their V1 slot.

Regarding Swedish, Hilpert and Koops (2008) have conducted a corpus study on the diachronic development of posture verb pseudo-coordination. They observe that the construction has diachronically displayed an increase in its syntactic cohesion, while the verb *sitta* ‘sit’ has undergone a gradual change in terms of its argument structure. Throughout its grammaticalization process, the posture verb has developed into a light verb that does not receive primary stress and instead only conveys that the event described by V2 has an extended duration or is in process. Wiklund (2007), who focuses on posture verb pseudo-coordination from a synchronic perspective, also adopts a light verb analysis. However, she contends that there is not always a one-to-one relation between the V1 of a pseudo-coordination and its interpretation. Posture verbs frequently pseudo-coordinate to yield a

progressive reading, under which the event denoted by the embedded predicate is interpreted as being in progress at a certain point in time. However, under their directional use, posture verbs are also capable of expressing an inceptive reading. This is highlighted in the following example:

(78) Han satte sig o sjöng.

He sit.PST.3SG REFL and sing.PST.3SG

‘He sat down and sang.’ (Wiklund, 2007, p. 144)

Regarding Norwegian, Hesse (2009) puts forth that posture verb pseudo-coordinations are grammaticalized complex predicates developed from erstwhile clausal coordination. In these constructions, the posture verb functions as an auxiliary that can receive different aspectual interpretations due to its constant static nature, which is further analyzed in the following three features: +DUR, -TEL, -DYN. Lødrup (2002, 2019) and Blensenius (2015) take a different approach and argue that different types of pseudo-coordination display varying degrees of grammaticalization. According to them, posture verb pseudo-coordination does not display any significant signs of semantic bleaching or decategorialization, and thus its degree of grammaticalization should be considered rather minimal. The posture verb does not denote any aspect, but rather encodes the temporary localization of the subject referent in space.

Finally, Danish posture verb pseudo-coordinations have been analyzed as complex predicates, in which V1 is a light, but otherwise thematic verb, since it imposes restrictions on subject selection (Kjeldahl, 2010). The posture verb denotes progressive aspect and is incompatible with V2s that cannot yield a progressive reading, such as punctual or state verbs.

Posture verb pseudo-coordination has also been documented in Italian varieties, although it has received less attention compared to its motion counterpart. Posture verb

pseudo-coordination has been documented in Sicilian, Apulian, and Calabrian varieties, in which it is limited to the posture verb *sta* ‘stand.’ Ledgeway (2016) mentions that in the Pugliese dialects of Apulia, the verb *sta* displays significant signs of desemantization and auxiliation, to the extent that it merely functions as an invariant progressive aspect marker. As with grammaticalization accounts in other languages, these constructions are considered to originate from ordinary verbal coordination that gradually developed into a mono-clausal complement structure.

A similar account is provided by Manzini et al. (2017), who describe these constructions as equivalents of the English ‘being’ progressive. However, they do not adopt any special treatment of V1, and they depart from Ledgeway (2016) in that they assume that these constructions are bi-clausal and are syntactically analyzed similarly to subjunctive complementation structures. Thus, morphological invariability is not attributed to V1 having undergone auxiliation, but rather to the former behaving similarly to other invariable verbs selecting for subjunctive complements. In that regard, the authors draw parallels to causative constructions in Arbëreshe varieties (Manzini & Savoia, 2007), where the invariable matrix verb ‘make’ selects for a finite complement, introduced by the subjunctive particle *të*, as in (79):

(79) bun te ’flen di’al-in.

make.1SG SUBJ sleep.3SG boy-ART.ACC

‘I make the boy sleep.’ (Manzini & Savoia, 2007, p. 337)

In contrast to motion verb pseudo-coordination, posture verb pseudo-coordination has not been widely discussed in English. The most prominent account comes from de Vos (2005), who notes that, along with the verb ‘go,’ pseudo-coordinations may also occur with the verb ‘sit’ as a V1. He asserts that while similarly to ‘go,’ ‘sit’ is also subject to semantic bleaching and lack of selectional restrictions, the latter appears to generally retain more of its

lexical meaning. As with other languages, the verb ‘sit’ denotes extended duration and, as such, forms an aspectually durative construction when combined with a V2. However, ‘sit’ may also imply a particular lack of dynamism or static manner, in the way the activity described by V2 is carried out. This becomes prevalent in the following example:

- (80) These helicopters are piloted with a ‘computer control panel’ which enables them to
 ‘fly and sit and hover’ (de Vos, 2005, p. 33)

In this context, ‘sit’ specifies the ‘static’ nature of the activity, in the sense that the helicopter is in a fairly fixed position, even though its rotors, etc., are moving. It is also the case that in this context, ‘sit’ cannot be interpreted to show the physical location of the helicopter upon/in something else. Thus, ‘sit’ in this context does denote the semantics of posture.

Posture verb pseudo-coordination has also been attested in Bulgarian. Kuteva (1999) notes that bodily posture verbs, such as ‘sit,’ ‘lie,’ and ‘stand’ in Bulgarian have been grammaticalized to express progressive/continuative/durative aspect when they are inserted in a ‘sit/lie/stand and V2’ structure. According to the author, this development can be attributed to the tendency for a language to encode the spatial position of an entity in terms of the specific, ‘embodied’ notions of sitting, standing, or lying. This elevates the corresponding verb structures to the status of basic, most common verb expressions and makes them appropriate source structures in auxiliatation.

The development of the posture verb to an auxiliary in Bulgarian can be traced in four consecutive stages of grammaticalization. In the first stage, posture verbs are used with human subjects to specify the orientation of the human body in space. In the second stage, posture verbs are extended to express the canonical spatial position of physical objects. This extension is deemed as the first prerequisite for ‘sit,’ ‘lie,’ and ‘stand’ to begin the process of auxiliatation. The third stage is characterized by an increase in the cohesion between the components of the construction. The structure is reanalyzed from bi-clausal to mono-clausal,

and its interpretation with physical objects is no longer ambiguous between spatial and aspectual, but rather fully aspectual. Finally, in the fourth stage, the aspectual interpretation extends also to animate subjects. The posture verb has now shifted completely from a lexical verb that denotes body posture (as in the first stage) to a marker that denotes progressive/continuative/durative aspect. The fourth stage also allows the auxiliary construction to occasionally receive a habitual meaning. An example indicative of Bulgarian having reached the fourth stage of grammaticalization is provided below:

(81) Stoi i gotvi po cjal den v kaš'ti.

stand.PRS.3SG and cook.PRS.3SG along whole day in home

‘He/she cooks all day long at home.’ (Kuteva, 1999, p. 210)

Turning to Greek, Svorou (2018b) has conducted a corpus study to examine the different meanings that the string ‘*kathome ke V2*’ encapsulates when the subject is shared between the two verbs. She notes that the semantic integrity of the verb *kathome* is strongly related to the amount of information disclosed within a sentence and to the degree it is revealing of the predicate’s semantic valence. The more valence elements remain unspecified, the more the semantic integrity of the verb is eroded. She observes that the syntactic arrangement of ‘*kathome ke V2*’ can account for five different types of meaning that involve *kathome* being interpreted either posturally or non-posturally.

The five different meanings are classified as follows: postural in unordered collection, postural sequential, postural simultaneous, deliberate, and extended. The first three types are present when the construction is read as an ordinary coordination and differ from each other only in terms of how the events expressed in V1 and V2 are distributed on a timeline. The two non-postural types are associated with the string exhibiting a higher degree of semantic and syntactic integration and can be accessed when “valence requirements of conjuncts are relaxed, the order of conjuncts becomes fixed, and possibilities of intervening elements are

reduced or eliminated” (Svorou, 2018b, p. 25). Crucially, the deliberate and extended types are labeled as instances where the ‘*kathome ke V2*’ string is interpreted as a pseudo-coordination. Examples of the two integrated types are presented below:

- (82) a. *ores ores eyo kathome ke anarotieme.*
 hours-hours I sit.PRS.1SG and wonder.PRS.1SG
 ‘Sometimes I keep wondering.’
- b. *bravo telika stus podosferistes=mas, an odos ekatsan ke echasan*
 bravo finally to.ART footballers=POSS if indeed sit.PST.3PL and lose.PST.3PL
apo tin Larisa yiati tus parakalusan i Larisei.
 from ART Larisa because CLI.OBJ beg.PST.3PL ART Lariseians
 ‘Bravo finally to our footballers, if indeed they deliberately lost to Larisa because the Lariseians were begging them!’ (Svorou, 2018b, p. 24)

(82a) is an instance of the extended type of the construction, in which *kathome* does not denote posture, but rather contributes additional extension to the duration of the V2 event.

Accordingly, (82b) is an instance of the deliberate type¹³, where *kathome* is assumed to contribute additional persistence, patience, and purposefulness on the part of the agent

¹³ While the deliberate type refers to a syntactic context where *kathome* receives a non-postural, more abstract meaning, it is unclear whether said instances can be subsumed under the label of pseudo-coordination. The example related to the deliberate type provided in (82b) could be paraphrased as in (i), while maintaining the sense of deliberation argued in Svorou (2018b):

- (i) *bravo telika stus podosferistes=mas, an odos ekatsan ke tus nikise i Larisa*
 bravo finally to.ART footballers=POSS if indeed sit.PST.3PL and CLI.OBJ win.PST.3SG ART Larisa
yiati tus parakalusan i Larisei.
 because CLI.OBJ beg.PST.IPV.3PL ART Lariseians
 ‘Bravo finally to our footballers, if indeed they deliberately let Larisa defeat them because the Lariseians were begging them!’

Example (i) violates the subject restrictions associated with the GPC, since it can support two distinct subject referents and distinct agreement morphology on V1 and V2. In that regard, treating examples like (82b) and (i) as ordinary coordinations is more principled. The sense of deliberation found in these examples can be replicated in coordinations where *kathome* is unambiguously used as a single verb:

- (ii) *Prospathisan na tu parun ta lefta ke aftos ekatse.*
 try.PST.3PL SUBJ CLI.OBJ take.PST.3PL ART money and he sit.PST.3SG
 ‘They tried to take his money and he let it happen.’

participant to carry out the V2 event. According to Svorou (2018b), the two integrated types can be distinguished based on verbal aspect. The extended type occurs with -PERFECTIVE aspect, while the deliberate type occurs with +PERFECTIVE aspect. Even though the contribution of *kathome* in the extended and deliberate types of the construction is considered purely aspectual, the author does not make any claims about how the two integrated types differ structurally from the three strictly postural types.

3.2 *Piyeno* ‘go’ and *Kathome* ‘sit’ are not Auxiliaries

In this section, I will argue, contra to previous analyses in other languages, that at least in the case of the GPC, *piyeno* and *kathome* cannot be considered auxiliaries. The crux of my argument is that the usage of these verbs inside the GPC does not significantly differ from their single-verb counterparts outside the GPC. Moreover, I will argue that if pseudo-coordinate verbs have indeed undergone grammaticalization, it is only to a minimal degree, as signified by the fact that these verbs retain semantic and syntactic properties associated with their lexical meaning.

The first thing to be noted here is that the assumption that motion and posture verbs tend to develop into auxiliaries not only concerns pseudo-coordination, but is a widespread topic across syntactic constructions in different languages. Given that auxiliaries express grammatical concepts typically related to the temporal state (tense), the temporal contours (aspect), and the type of reality (modality) of propositional contents, the linguistic entities associated with these concepts are derived from concrete entities describing general notions, such as motion (where one moves to, though, or from) and posture (where one’s body is situated) (Heine, 1993). Additionally, when it comes to the semantic categories of motion and posture, the more generic members of said categories are more prone to exhibit grammaticalization, since they are semantically least constrained, exhibit a wider scope of usage, and may substitute for other members of the same category.

Regarding English, Bybee et al. (1992) note that movement verbs, such as ‘walk,’ ‘swim,’ ‘slide,’ ‘stroll’ contain considerable detail about the nature of the movement, whereas ‘go’ does not entail any specifics regarding the nature of the movement and can thus be applied in a wider range of contexts. Verbs that exhibit this degree of generality have a higher likelihood of appearing in constructions that enter a grammaticalization path. A similar observation is made by Mkhathshwa (1991) for Zulu, in terms of the semantic category of posture. He contends that the more generic verb *-hlala* ‘sit, stay’ has progressively developed into a habitual auxiliary, whereas more specific members of the category, such as *-qoshama* ‘sit on launches,’ *-qhiyama* ‘sit leaning back,’ or *-dangalaza* ‘sit with legs astride,’ have not been grammaticalized.

The mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization of a main verb into an auxiliary have also been extensively described in previous studies. The two important predictions of grammaticalization theory concern desemantization and decategorialization. Decategorialization is described as the process whereby a linguistic expression loses the morphological and syntactic elements that were characteristic of its initial category, but which are not relevant to its grammatical function (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). On the other hand, desemanticization or semantic bleaching refers to the process whereby an entity loses all (or most) of its lexical content, while only its grammatical content is retained (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). In what follows, I will argue, based on empirical data, that there is no sufficient evidence to corroborate the effect of either of these two processes when it comes to the GPC.

3.2.1 Constraints on Subject Selection

It is traditionally assumed that motion and posture verbs impose a restriction regarding subject animacy on their subject referent. While in Greek, *piyeno* and *kathome* are

most commonly used to describe the motion or posture of a person, they can also be used to describe the movement or the location of inanimate subjects, as seen below:

- (83) a. To vivlio piye stin thesi=tu.

ART book go.PST.3SG to.ART position=POSS

‘The book went to its spot.’

- b. To forema kathete kala pano=tis.

ART dress sit.PRS.3SG well on=POSS

‘The dress sits well on her.’

Piyeno and *kathome* are also not strictly associated with physical motion and posture. Both verbs are able to express a variety of metaphorical meanings, based on the context they occur, and are also commonly encountered in more or less fixed expressions. Looking at the following examples with *piyeno*, the verb can be used instead of the copula, and it can also select for inanimate or even abstract subjects:

- (84) a. I efkeria piye chameni.

ART opportunity go.PST.3SG wasted

‘The opportunity went to waste.’

- b. O Iianis den pai kala sta miala=tu.

ART John NEG go.PRS.3SG well in.ART minds=POSS

‘John is not of a sound mind.’

- c. I supa pai me lachanika.

ART soup go.PRS.3SG with vegetables

‘The soup goes well with vegetables.’

A similar observation can be made with respect to *kathome*, based on the following examples:

- (85) a. Tu ekatse meyalı eukeria.

OBJ.CLI sit.PST.3SG big opportunity

‘He was presented a big opportunity.’

b. O Iianis kathete sto tilefono.

ART John sit.PRS.3SG on.ART phone

‘John is on the phone.’

c. I oli katastasi mu ekatse ston lemo.

ART whole situation OBJ.CLI sit.PST.3SG in.ART neck

‘The whole situation stuck with me in a bad way.’

A preliminary conclusion that can be drawn from the examples in (84) and (85) is that *piyeno* and *kathome* are not confined in expressing their prototypical lexical content, but can in fact account for a minimal semantic contribution, even in contexts outside of pseudo-coordination. The general flexibility that these verbs show in terms of their predication casts doubt upon the claim that they have undergone semantic bleaching as part of a grammaticalized construction in the form of pseudo-coordination.

The former examples suggest that bleaching of meaning when it comes to *piyeno* and *kathome* should be perceived as a general characteristic of these verbs independent of pseudo-coordination. In fact, if we examine the degree of desemanticization that pseudo-coordinate verbs have undergone based on the selectional restrictions they impose on their subject, we can attest that they are more restricted compared to their single-verb usage. If *piyeno* and *kathome* were desemanticized in the GPC, we would expect this to affect their syntactic selection. However, as seen in the following examples, pseudo-coordinate verbs do in fact impose selectional restrictions on their shared subject:

(86) a. O Iianis piye ke chathike.

ART John go.PST.3SG and get.lost.PST.3SG

‘John went and got lost.’

*I efkeria piye ke chathike.

ART opportunity go.PST.3SG and get.lost.PST.3SG

‘The opportunity went and got lost.’

b. O Γιανis kathete ke perimeni to leoforio.

ART John sit.PRS.3SG and wait.PRS.3SG ART bus

‘John sits and waits for the bus.’

*I efkeria kathete ke perimeni ton Γιani.

ART opportunity sit.PRS.3SG and wait.PRS.3SG ART John

‘The opportunity sits and waits for John.’

Looking at the examples in (86a), it becomes clear that in the GPC, *piyeno* may not select an abstract subject. This selectional restriction is imposed by *piyeno* and not by V2, since *chanome* ‘get lost’ may select for abstract subjects in its single verb usage outside of the GPC, whereas the same is not true for *piyeno* under its physical motion interpretation. Accordingly, in (86b), *kathome* also does not select an abstract subject following its physical posture interpretation outside of the GPC. This restriction is not yielded by *perimeno* ‘wait,’ since the former may select abstract subjects as a single verb. In contrast to abstract subjects, inanimate subjects may in fact occur in the GPC. Consider the following examples:

(87) a. To lipos pai ke kathete stis artiries ke stis fleves.

ART fat go.PRS.3SG and sit.PRS.3SG in.ART arteries and in.ART veins

‘Fat goes and sits in the arteries and the veins.’

b. I tileorasi kathete ke sapiçi sto patari.

ART television sit.PRS.3SG and decay.PRS.3SG in.ART attic

‘The television sits and decays in the attic.’

Similarly to their single-verb usage, *piyeno* and *kathome* in the GPC are generally encountered with animate subjects. That said, the examples presented in (87) should not be perceived as exceptional cases unique to the GPC, since they are comparable to the use of

these verbs when describing movement or the location of inanimate subjects, as in (83). In fact, the examples in (87) could be transformed into mono-verbal clauses, where *piyeno* and *kathome* act as the main verb:

- (88) a. To lipos pai stis artiries ke stis fleves.

ART fat go.PRS.3SG in.ART arteries and in.ART veins

‘Fat goes to the arteries and the veins.’

- b. I tileorasi kathete sto patari.

ART television sit.PRS.3SG in.ART attic

‘The television sits in the attic.’

The data presented in this section suggest that *piyeno* and *kathome* maintain their selectional restrictions associated with physical motion and posture, in the sense that they may select for animate or inanimate subjects, but are otherwise incompatible with abstract subjects.

3.2.2 Constraints on V2 Selection

The presence of physical motion and posture semantics in pseudo-coordinate verbs can be ascertained not only through the restrictions they impose on the subject referent, but also through their compatibility with different V2 complements. That said, restrictions based on the semantic content of V2 that affect complement selection would not be expected if the pseudo-coordinate verb was semantically bleached. As seen in the following examples, *piyeno* may not select a verb that denotes a change of location as its complement. The same is true for *kathome* and a posture verb complement:

- (89) a. #O Gianis pai ke ftani sto dasos.

ART John go.PRS.3SG and arrive.PRS.3SG at.ART forest

‘John goes and arrives at the forest.’

- b. #O Gianis kathete ke xaplioni sto krevati.

ART John sit.PRS.3SG and lie on.ART bed

‘John sits and lies on the bed.’

In (89), a pseudo-coordinate reading cannot be obtained. Instead, each conjunct denotes a distinct act of motion or posture that happens before or simultaneously with the act of motion or posture denoted by the other conjunct.

Furthermore, if pseudo-coordinate verbs were auxiliaries, they could combine with all types of predicates, irrespective of their lexical aspect. However, both *piyeno* and *kathome* cannot be combined with state verbs:

(90) a. #Pai ke misi tus δinatus thorivus.

go.PRS.3SG and hate.PRS.3SG ART strong noises

‘He/she goes and hates loud noises.’

b. #Kathete ke misi tus δinatus thorivus.

sit.PRS.3SG and hate.PRS.3SG ART strong noises

‘He/she sits and hates loud noises.’

Example (90a) is interpreted as the subject participant going into an unspecified location and also hating loud noises. Example (90b) is interpreted as the subject participant being seated and also hating loud noises.

In addition, pseudo-coordinate verbs may not select modal verbs as their complements. This is demonstrated below:

(91) #O Gianis pai/kathete ke prepi na δiavasi tis askisis.

ART John go/sit.PRS.3SG and must.PRS.3SG SUBJ read.3SG ART exercises

‘John sits/goes and must read the exercises.’

Finally, pseudo-coordinate verbs are incompatible with V2s that select null-expletive subjects, such as existential and weather verbs:

(92) a. #Pai/kathete ke fenete oti tha nikisi tis ekloyes.

go/sit.PRS.3SG and seem.PRS.3SG COMP FPART win.PFV.3SG ART elections

‘He/she goes/sits and it seems that he/she will win the elections.’

Int: ‘It goes/sits and seems that he/she will win the elections.’

b. #Pai/kathete ke vrechi.

go/sit.PRS.3SG and rain.PRS.3SG

‘He/she goes/sits and makes things wet.’

Int: ‘It goes/sits and rains.’

When surfacing with such verbs, *piyeno* and *kathome* receive an unambiguous physical motion and posture interpretation, while the null-expletive subject is instead interpreted as an implied animate subject.

The data presented in this section further support the argument that V1 in the GPC has not undergone desemantization, as would be the case if it was grammaticalized into an auxiliary. That said, as also demonstrated in Chapter 2, *piyeno* is still able to select for V2 complements not strictly associated with physical motion, such as *prodiðo* ‘betray’ or *padrevome* ‘marry,’ and *kathome* may also select for V2 complements not strictly associated with physical posture, such as *katanalono* ‘consume’ or *kleo* ‘cry.’ By selecting such predicates as its complement, V1 dissociates itself from its strict motion or posture interpretation and becomes amenable to a pseudo-coordinate reading, under which it is perceived as indistinguishable from the event described by V2. In section 3.4.1, I will claim that complement selection in the case of *piyeno* and *kathome* is enabled by the fact that they are light verbs that can denote eventive information, only through predication dependency. What matters for this section is that the pseudo-coordinate reading, which would be attributed to semantic bleaching under a grammaticalization account, is incompatible with specific categories of predicates in the V2 slot.

3.2.3 No Change in the Valency Requirements of V1

An argument brought up to support the auxiliary status of V1 in pseudo-coordinate constructions relates to the former having undergone a change, with respect to its valency requirements, as a result of grammaticalization. More specifically, the fact that the pseudo-coordinate verb embeds a complement in the form of V2 could serve as evidence of decategorialization. However, this argument is obsolete in the case of the GPC, if we take into account the general valency requirements of *piyeno* and *kathome*. With the exception of their agentive ‘maintain position’ and ‘maintain movement’ meaning, when denoting physical motion and physical posture, *piyeno* and *kathome* commonly select for a locative complement.

Furthermore, in section 2.5, it was shown that pseudo-coordinate verbs may also embed a subjunctive complement prefaced by the marker *na*. These constructions show a great degree of resemblance to the GPC and serve as an empirical case of *piyeno* and *kathome* selecting for a verbal complement outside of the GPC. Two relevant examples are repeated below as (93a) and (93b):

(93) a. 1169 meres kathete na katanalosi oxiyono.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG SUBJ consume.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she sits with the purpose of consuming oxygen.’

b. Piye na proδosi tin apofasi tis epitropis.

go.PST.3SG SUBJ betray.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she was about to betray the decision of the committee.’

The empirical cases outlined above demonstrate that the valency of *piyeno* and *kathome* does not change as a result of these verbs participating in the GPC. Therefore, we can conclude that the GPC is not responsible for modifying the complement-taking options of V1 as a result of grammaticalization.

3.2.4 Full Inflectional Morphology on V1 and V2

Another crucial difference that needs to be highlighted between pseudo-coordinate verbs and functional elements, such as auxiliaries or modals, is that the former inflect for all forms in the GPC, whereas the latter come with certain restrictions in terms of their inflectional morphology. When it comes to core modals like *bori* ‘can’ and *prepi* ‘must,’ they obligatorily select for a subjunctive complement, they invariably inflect for 3rd person singular, and they cannot surface with +IMPERATIVE mood morphology. On the other hand, the tense auxiliary *echo* ‘have’ selects for a non-finite form of a lexical verb as its complement. The non-finite form is +PERFECTIVE, in terms of aspect, and exhibits morphological variation only in terms of voice. Accordingly, tense and agreement features are encoded in the inflection of the tense auxiliary. Similarly to modals, it also cannot inflect for imperative mood. Examples of modal and auxiliary complementation are provided below:

- (94) a. Ta peðia prepi na meletisun.

ART children must.PRS.3SG SUBJ study.PFV.3PL

‘The children must study.’

- b. Ta peðia echun meletisi.

ART children AUX.3PL study.PFV

‘The children have studied.’

As was shown in Chapter 2, such restrictions are not prevalent in the GPC, since both V1 and V2 in the GPC are unrestricted in terms of their inflectional morphology. The pseudo-coordinate verb may receive all mood specifications and encodes categorical features in its inflectional morphology, similarly to a lexical verb. Furthermore, the V2 complement is not a dependent form, but displays a full inflectional paradigm. The only restriction in terms of inflectional morphology that both verbs have to adhere to is the MSC. This suggests that pseudo-coordinate verbs and their complements display an inflectional pattern distinct from

modal or auxiliary complementation. The full inflectional paradigm of the GPC indicates that the construction has not undergone morphological attrition, which is typically attested in decategorized grammatical elements.

3.2.5 *Modification of V1*

In contrast to auxiliaries, pseudo-coordinate verbs may be subjected to modification by adverbs or PPs. At the same time, the GPC poses certain restrictions with respect to the types of modifiers that can modify V1. For example, having V1 being modified by locative modifiers results in the construction being interpreted as two separate events:

- (95) #Pai/kathete sto patoma ke diavaçi tis agelies.
 go/sit.PRS.3SG on.ART floor and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements
 ‘He/she goes/sits on the floor and reads the advertisements.’

In (95), *piyeno* and *kathome* unambiguously denote an independent event of physical motion and of physical posture respectively, and thus a pseudo-coordinate reading cannot be obtained. Manner adverbials are also incompatible with a pseudo-coordinate reading, since, through highlighting the way in which V1 takes place, they trigger a physical motion or posture event reading. Having manner adverbials unambiguously targeting V1 prevents the construction from being interpreted as an integrated event:

- (96) #Pai/kathete γριγορα ke diavaçi tis agelies.
 go/sit.PRS.3SG fast and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements
 ‘He/she goes/sits fast and reads the advertisements.’

Finally, temporal, aspectual, and speaker-oriented adverbials do not interfere with a pseudo-coordinate reading and are thus compatible modifiers for the pseudo-coordinate verb, as in (97):

- (97) Pai/kathete arya/sinechos/eftichos ke diavaçi tis agelies.
 go/sit.PRS.3SG late/continuously/fortunately and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements

‘He/she goes/sits late/continuously/fortunately and reads the advertisements.’

Based on the data presented in this section, we can deduce that pseudo-coordinate verbs are not fully desemanticized, because they allow modification by certain types of adverbials. Modification in terms of V1 appears to be limited only to the modifiers that do not directly trigger a lexical meaning. Overall, the more the pseudo-coordinate verb is individually modified, the more it becomes foregrounded and thus becomes liable to being interpreted as a distinct event of physical motion or posture. On the other hand, lack of modification allows the verb to remain underspecified and to be interpreted as integrated into the event described by V2.

3.3 The Semantic Contribution of *Piyeno* ‘go’

Having established the distinction between pseudo-coordinate verbs and auxiliaries, I will next delve into the specific semantic nuances that these verbs contribute when inserted as V1 in the GPC. Starting with *piyeno*, the verb is a medieval development of the ancient Greek verb *ipayo*, which most commonly imparts meanings related to the act of moving (e.g., arrival or departure from a location, following a specific route, showing the way, etc.), but also unrelated meanings, such as the passing of time and being close to a specific achievement or attempting to do something (Triantafyllidis, 1998).

In section 3.2.2, it was shown that contextual clues within the same sentence, such as the predicates the verb combines with, serve as indices of the explicit meaning that *piyeno* contributes within a specific syntactic environment. The GPC represents yet another case where the syntactic dependency formed between *piyeno* and a lexical V2 plays a decisive role in how the motion verb is interpreted. The pseudo-coordinate reading associated with the GPC is mutually exclusive to the independent event reading associated with verbal coordination. The crucial difference between the two readings lies in the explicit meaning that V1 encompasses.

In verbal coordination, *piyeno* denotes an independent event of physical motion, whereas in the GPC, the meaning of the verb does not denote an independent event, but rather appears integrated with the meaning denoted by the V2 complement. However, if we were to isolate the meaning attributed to *piyeno*, what would be the semantic components it is comprised of? In what follows, I will argue that in its instantiations as V1 of the GPC, the verb: (i) attributes a sense of agentivity to the subject participant in terms of carrying out the event described by V2, (ii) highlights the incipient nature of the event described by V2, and (iii) accounts for the ‘V1 and V2’ event being interpreted as dynamic.

First, I will look at the agentivity component of *piyeno*. The former can be specifically brought into attention if we compare a GPC with *piyeno* to a mono-verbal clause where V2 acts as the main verb:

(98) a. Proðose tin apofasi tis epitropis.

betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she betrayed the decision of the committee.’

b. Piye ke proðose tin apofasi tis epitropis.

go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee.’

In (99a), although the act of betrayal is grammatically attributed to the agentive subject, the sentence is pragmatically acceptable in contexts where the betrayal of the decision is indirectly caused by or inferred from actions or decisions made by entities other than the subject participant. Conversely, in (99b), the presence of *piyeno* explicates the active involvement of the subject participant in the event of betraying. The active involvement of the subject that *piyeno* brings about in the GPC has also been highlighted by Svorou (2018a). However, in her account, she argues that *piyeno* not only encodes the subject’s active

participation but also highlights the subject's intentional mental state in carrying out the action denoted by V2. This can be seen in the following example:

- (99) O Kostas Gatsioudis bike ston ayona me stocho na riksi
 ART Kostas Gatsioudis enter.PST.3SG in.ART race with goal SUBJ throw.3SG
 pano apo 83 metra, aftos omos piye ke kseperase ta 87!
 over from 83 meters he however go.PST.3SG and surpass.PST.3SG ART 87
 'Kostas Gatsioudis entered the competition with the goal to throw more than 83
 meters, but he went and surpassed 87 meters!' (Svorou, 2018a, p. 286)

Based on (99), Svorou (2018a) notes that *piyeno* is considered to "attribute intentionality to the actor of the event of surpassing a threshold, even though this event is not necessarily under complete control of the actor" (p. 287).

While an intentionality entailment is considered consistent with an example like the one presented in (99), it cannot account for all instances of the GPC with *piyeno*. Consider the following example:

- (100) Apo to methisi=tu piye ke skodapse sta skalia.
 From ART drunkenness=POSS go.PST.3SG and stumble.PST.3SG on.ART stairs
 'Due to his drunken state, he went and stumbled on the stairs.'

The example above illustrates an event in which the subject is not acting with explicit intention, as the action of stumbling is causally linked to their state of intoxication. That said, the presence of *piyeno* still highlights its active involvement of the subject in the action of stumbling. Another case of the GPC that challenges an intentionality entailment of *piyeno* arises when it is headed by an inanimate subject, as was demonstrated in section 3.2.1.

Consider the following examples:

- (101) a. To lipos kathete stis artiries ke stis fleves.
 ART fat sit.PRS.3SG in.ART arteries and in.ART veins

‘The fat sits in the arteries and the veins.’

b. To lipos pai ke kathete stis artiries ke stis fleves.

ART fat go.PRS.3SG and sit.PRS.3SG in.ART arteries and in.ART veins

‘The fat goes and sits in the arteries and the veins.’

In (101a), the event of sitting, as in the accumulation of fat, is reported as an event whose external cause may be related either to the subject *lipos* ‘fat’ itself or to some other unspecified external factor. However, this ambiguity is eliminated in (101b). Here, the presence of *piyeno* accounts for the subject *lipos*, or at least a process involving the subject, being directly responsible for the event of sitting. At the same time, the sense of agentivity conveyed in (101b) cannot be described as intentionality, given the inanimate nature of the subject. In conclusion, certain empirical cases, such as the one presented in (99), illustrate an overlap between intentionality and agentivity entailment, as they refer to events that reflect the volitional involvement of the subject referent. However, the term ‘agentivity’ is better suited to the broader range of empirical cases within the GPC, as it also accounts for instances where the shared subject is inanimate or where the action expressed by V2 occurs involuntarily.

Next, I will focus on the inceptive semantic component of *piyeno*. As already discussed, V1 and V2 in the GPC are interpreted as an integrated event, with the main event semantics being provided by V2. Returning to the example in (98b), the integrated event is comprised of the action of betraying, with *piyeno* focalizing the build-up towards that action. This can be especially highlighted through the use of temporal PPs or adverbials that mark the onset of a specific timeframe. In the following examples, the event described by *prodiðo* ‘betray’ in its single-verb usage (102a), as well as in its GPC counterpart (102b), is targeted by the temporal PP *stis 2 i ora* ‘at 2 o’clock:’

(102) a. Proðose tin apofasi tis epitropis stis 2 i ora.

betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee at.ART 2 ART time

‘He/she betrayed the decision of the committee at 2 o’clock.’

- b. Piye ke proðose tin apofasi tis epitropis stis 2
 go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee at.ART 2
 i ora.
 ART time

‘He/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee at 2 o’clock.’

The semantic difference that ensues between the two examples concerns the onset of the event of betraying. In (102a), it is not specified when the event of betraying started. The only information that is disclosed is that an event of betraying took place at 2 o’clock. It may as well be the case that the event started or was actually completed at 2 o’clock. However, the same is not true in (102b). Here, the presence of *piyeno* makes clear that the subject referent has not betrayed the decision of the committee before 2 o’clock.

The role of the pseudo-coordinate verb is thus to lexicalize the inceptive nature of the event described by V2. In that respect, *piyeno* could be paralleled to how the control verb *archižo* ‘start’ functions when embedding a subjunctive complement, since the former also brings into focus the onset of the event described by its complement. However, there is a crucial distinction that needs to be noted. Compare the following two examples:

- (103) a. Piye ke proðose tin apofasi tis epitropis mesa se mia
 go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee inside in one
 ora.
 hour

‘He/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee within an hour.’

- b. *Archise na proðiði tin apofasi tis epitropis mesa se mia
 start.PST.3SG SUBJ betray.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee inside in one

ora.

hour

‘He/she started to betray the decision of the committee within an hour.’

While both verbs refer to the initiation of the betraying event, only *piyeno* is compatible with modifiers that bring into focus the result state of that event. Thus, we can deduce that whereas *archiζo* is restricted to the beginning of the event denoted by the embedded predicate, *piyeno* puts emphasis on the beginning of an event, while simultaneously referring to its result state. Wiklund (2009) labels the meaning yielded by the aspectual verb ‘start’ as ingressive, to differentiate it from the inceptive meaning associated with the Swedish motion verb in pseudo-coordination.

Another issue that needs to be raised with respect to the inceptive semantic component of *piyeno* pertains to the types of predicates that the verb usually selects. To examine the former, I analyzed data collected from a large, web-based, automatically tagged corpus on the platform ‘Sketch Engine’ (sketchengine.eu). The latter belongs to the TenTen corpus family, which is a set of corpora compiled through web crawling and designed to represent modern Greek language usage as found on the internet during the year of collection. The data of the ‘elTenTen Greek Web corpus’ were obtained in 2019 and comprise 2.342.091.029 words. To ascertain the range of available V2 predicates, I conducted a query for all instances of the ‘*piyeno ke V2*’ sequence within the corpus.

The findings were compiled and filtered manually to obtain a sample that comprises instances of the GPC. To this end, I excluded instances that correspond to ordinary coordination, such as when *piyeno* receives an argument, a distinct subject referent, or a distinct mood, tense, or aspect specification from the sample. Furthermore, I eliminated

instances that are semantically odd or correspond to fixed expressions¹⁴. Do note that due to the nature of the query, the sample does not account for GPCs in which the adjacency between verbal components and *ke* is interrupted (e.g., through the presence of overt inflectional material or clitics), or in which *ke* is omitted altogether. Out of the 2,842 occurrences of the '*piyeno ke V2*' sequence within the corpus, only 1,903 occurrences correspond to the GPC. The 10 most frequent verbs occupying the V2 slot in the queried sequence are displayed in the table below:

Table 2.1

Verbs most significantly attracted to the 'piyeno ke V2' sequence

Verb	Frequency	% of GPCs with <i>piyeno</i>
<i>kathome</i> 'sit'	78	4.10%
<i>kano</i> 'do'	72	3.78%
<i>ayoraζo</i> 'buy'	70	3.68%
<i>vrisko</i> 'find'	66	3.47%
<i>perno</i> 'take'	57	3.00%
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	54	2.84%
<i>leo</i> 'say'	53	2.79%
<i>vaζo</i> 'put'	37	1.94%
<i>pefto</i> 'fall'	35	1.84%
<i>psifiζo</i> 'vote'	34	1.79%

¹⁴ An example of a fixed expression would be *pai ke teliose*, which literally translates to 'it goes and is over.' The phrase obligatorily receives a null expletive subject and is encountered only in 3rd person singular. It is used similarly to the English idiom 'said and done,' to emphasize the final outcome or the most important point after everything else has been taken into account.

As shown in the table above, the V2 slot attracts predicates usually associated with a culmination point, namely achievements and accomplishments, like *ayoraζo* ‘buy,’ *vrisko* ‘find,’ *perno* ‘take,’ *vaζo* ‘put,’ *psifiζo* ‘vote.’ However, *piyeno* can also receive atelic predicates as its complement, and overall, its presence does not account for any changes in terms of the telicity V2. In that regard, a verb like *kano* ‘do’ can be interpreted as an activity verb, in the same manner it would in its mono-verbal use outside of the GPC. A relevant corpus example is given below:

- (104) Ston elefthero chrono=tu pai ke kani ekpliksi se thavmastēs.
 in.ART free time=POSS go.PRS.3SG and do.PRS.3SG surprise to fans
 ‘In his free time, he goes and does surprises for fans.’

It should be noted that verbs like *kathome* and *vlepo* ‘see,’ which in their mono-verbal use usually describe non-dynamic eventualities, cannot receive this kind of interpretation when inserted in a GPC with *piyeno* as V1. Instead, its presence imposes a reading under which the integrated ‘V1 and V2’ event is interpreted as dynamic. GPCs with either *kathome* or *vlepo* as their V2 within the corpus always refer to either activities or achievements. Two relevant examples are provided below:

- (105) a. Tis telefteēs merēs pai ke kathete anamesa sta fita.
 ART last days go.PRS.3SG and sit.PRS.3SG between in.ART plants
 ‘The last days it goes and sits between the plants.’
 b. Δen ine ta erya pu pai ke vlepi to kino
 NEG be.PRS.3SG ART movies that go.PRS.3SG and see.PRS.3SG ART audience
 tis Kinas.
 of.ART China
 ‘These are not the movies that the Chinese audience goes and sees.’

The last thing I want to address regarding the semantic content of *piyeno* in the GPC pertains to the surprise effect or counter-expectational reading often attributed to motion verb pseudo-coordinations cross-linguistically (see de Vos, 2005; Wiklund, 2009; Cruschina, 2013; Josefsson, 2014; among others). Svorou (2018a) also makes a reference to a surprise reading associated with the GPC. According to her, surprise arises as “a pragmatic inference in discourse settings that invite contrast, with a preceding adverbial clause (e.g., ‘although,’ ‘instead’), a contrastive particle (*omos*, *ala* ‘but’), in a rhetorical question (*ti pas ke kanis?* ‘what do you go and do?’) or exclamatory statement (*pu piyes ke eblekses!* ‘where did you go and get caught up!’)” (Svorou, 2018a, p. 302).

With this in mind, I will next demonstrate that surprise cannot be inherently derived via the stable elements of the construction, namely *piyeno* and its V2 complement. If surprise was a meaning attributed to *piyeno*, then we would expect the former to clash with markers of negative surprise. However, the GPC may be embedded under a predicate of negative surprise without giving rise to any semantic anomaly:

- (106) Δεν me ekplisi oti piye ke proδose tin
 NEG OBJ.CLI surprise.PRS.3SG COMP go.PST.3SG and betray.PST.3SG ART
 apofasi tis epitropis.
 decision ART.GEN committee

‘It does not surprise me that he/she went and betrayed the decision of the committee.’

In (106), betraying is perceived by the speaker as an act within their realm of expectations. While it is possible that a surprise reading could be enforced through the interjection of surprise markers, based on the example above, *piyeno* by itself does not give rise to such a reading.

3.3.1 The Semantic Contribution of *Kathome* ‘sit’

The verb *kathome* is a medieval development of the ancient Greek verb *katheme* and is polysemous in its main verb usage. The more common meanings include, but are not limited to, being seated somewhere, assuming a sitting position, being inactive, spending a relatively long period of time somewhere, waiting, and tolerating something (Triantafyllidis, 1998). As with *piyeno*, the verb often derives its explicit meaning in association with contextual clues within the same sentence and the predicates it combines with. As has been shown in section 3.1.2, posture verbs in pseudo-coordinate constructions are commonly associated with the expression of progressive aspect. Svorou (2018b) seems to share this opinion also when it comes to *kathome* in the GPC, as she notes that “*kathome* does not express posture; it attributes additional extension to the duration of the V2 event” (p. 24). In this section, I will claim that, based on empirical evidence, *kathome* cannot denote progressive aspect. Instead, the verb semantically contributes to the localization of the subject referent in space.

In order to narrow down the exact meaning that *kathome* receives in the GPC, I will compare it to its use as a main verb within a mono-verbal clause:

(107) a. O Iianis anakeniçi to saloni.

ART John renovate.PRS.3SG ART living.room

‘John renovates the living room.’

b. O Iianis kathete ke anakeniçi to saloni.

ART John sit.PRS.3SG and renovate.PRS.3SG ART living.room

‘John sits and renovates the living room.’

The first thing to notice when comparing the examples in (107a) and (107b) is that in (107b), there is no sense that the subject participant takes more time to renovate the kitchen compared to (107a). Instead, the presence of *kathome* contributes to the subject participant

being merely engrossed in the act of renovating to the extent that they are fixed in a specific space. The semantic component of localization can be ascertained if a different location is introduced to that of the V2 event. Consider the following example:

- (108) *O Ianis kathete ke anakeniçi to saloni ala tora
 ART John sit.PRS.3SG and renovate.PRS.3SG ART living.room but now
 ine sto yrafio
 be.PRS.3SG at.ART office.

‘John sits and renovates the living room, but now he is at the office.’

Example (108) is not acceptable, since it implies that the subject referent is situated in a different location at speech time compared to the location in which the act of renovating takes place. A restriction in terms of the localization of the subject would not be expected if *kathome* was merely a progressive marker. If we were to replicate the example in (108) for a typical progressive construction like the ‘being’-progressive, no such restriction is in place, as seen below:

- (109) John is renovating the living room, but now he is at the office.

Additionally, it is well-established that “semantically, changing an event verb to the progressive requires that it be treated as a state verb; this simply means the sentence in question will require for its truth that the event in question holds, not that it culminates” (Parsons, 1989, p. 222). A sentence such as ‘John painted the wall’ (non-progressive) contrasts with ‘John was painting the wall’ (progressive) in that, in the former, the event *e* culminates at time *t*, namely $\text{Cul}(e, t)$, while in the latter, the event *e* is ongoing at time *t*, namely $\text{Hold}(e, t)$. If the GPC was indeed a progressive construction, we would expect the culmination point of an achievement or accomplishment predicate to be suppressed when inserted in the V2 slot. Consider the following examples, in which an adversative that explicitly denies the event boundary of V2 from being reached is added:

(110) a. John was finishing the exercise, but eventually didn't finish it.

- b. *O Ianis kathise ke oloklirose tin eryasia, ala
 ART John sit.PST.PFV.3SG and finish.PST.PFV.3SG ART assignment but
 telika den tin oloklirose
 eventually NEG CLI.OBJ finish.PST.PFV.3SG
 'John sat and finished the assignment, but eventually didn't finish it.'

As shown in (110a-b), while the progressive construction is compatible with the culmination point of the exercise event being stripped off, in the GPC, the former results in incompatibility¹⁵. In that regard, the GPC with *kathome* exhibits no difference to a mono-verbal clause where the respective V2, in this case *oloklirono* 'finish' would function as the main verb.

The last thing to consider concerning the semantic content of *kathome* is the type of verbal complements it typically selects. Following an identical methodology to the one presented in section 3.3, I conducted a query for all instances of the '*kathome ke V2*' sequence within the corpus. The search yielded 7,099 results, out of which 6,743 correspond to pseudo-coordinations. The verbs that most frequently occupy the V2 slot of pseudo-coordinations in the form of '*kathome ke V2*' are the following:

¹⁵ It can be argued that a non-progressive reading in (110b) is enforced due to the perfective inflectional aspect of both V1 and V2. If both verbs of the GPC are inflected for non-perfective aspect, then the culmination point of the V2 event is suppressed, as seen below:

- (i) O Ianis kathotan ke oloklirose tin eryasia, ala telika den tin
 ART John sit.PST.IPFV.3SG and finish.PST.IPFV.3SG ART assignment but eventually NEG CLI.OBJ
 oloklirose
 finish.PST.PFV.3SG
 'John was sitting and was finishing the assignment, but eventually didn't finish it.'

What needs to be considered, though, regarding both the example above and in (110b), is that *kathome* itself does not account for any change in terms of the culmination of V2. Rather, whether V2 is interpreted as 'in progress' or as a completed event is entirely dependent on its morphological aspect marking being either perfective or non-perfective.

Table 2.2*Verbs most significantly attracted to the 'kathome ke V2' sequence*

Verb	Frequency	% of GPCs with <i>kathome</i>
<i>skeftome</i> 'think'	434	6.44%
<i>γrafo</i> 'write'	319	4.73%
<i>ascholume</i> 'occupy oneself with'	300	4.45%
<i>perimeno</i> 'wait'	297	4.40%
<i>vlepo</i> 'see'	273	4.05%
<i>leo</i> 'say'	250	3.71%
<i>siζito</i> 'discuss'	220	3.26%
<i>diavaζo</i> 'read'	201	2.98%
<i>akuo</i> 'listen'	194	2.88%
<i>chaζevo</i> 'browse'	109	1.62%

At first glance, the verbs presented in Table 2.2 predominantly describe activities that can conceivably be carried out in a single location and most likely require the subject participant to be fixed in that location. Furthermore, the activities described by these verbs are inherently atelic, meaning that they do not have any intrinsic bounds and may stop at any point without resulting in a change of state. Whether in the V2 slot of the GPC or under their mono-verbal use, atelic predicates are commonly interpreted as being in progress at utterance time. In that regard, the association of posture verbs with progressivity in pseudo-coordinate constructions could, to an extent, be based on the type of predicates the verbs usually combine with. This observation is made by Lødrup (2019) for Norwegian posture verb

pseudo-coordinations, who notes that the predicates commonly occupying V2 would receive a progressive interpretation independently of the posture verb.

Certain verbs in Table 2.2, such as *ascholume* ‘occupy oneself with,’ can be interpreted as state verbs within specific syntactic contexts under their mono-verbal use. However, similarly to GPCs with *piyeno*, when occupying V2, these verbs cannot be construed as such. Compare the following examples of the mono-verbal *ascholume* ‘occupy oneself with’ and its GPC counterpart derived from the corpus:

(111) a. *Kakos ascholume me to podosfero.*

wrongly be.occupied.PRS.1SG with ART football

‘I wrongly occupy myself with football.’

b. *Kakos kathome ke ascholume me to podosfero.*

wrongly sit.PRS.1SG and be.occupied.PRS.1SG with ART football

‘I wrongly sit and occupy myself with football.’

Example (111a) is interpreted as a state, as it describes a property over an individual that has no apparent spatio-temporal boundaries. However, the same is not true in (111b). In that case, given that the subject is considered fixated within a specific space, their ‘occupation’ is interpreted as them being actively engaged with football, either by participating, tuning in, or betting on a football match. In that regard, the subject’s ‘occupation’ in (111b) manifests as a spatio-temporally bound activity. Thus, it can be argued that the sense of localization invoked by *kathome* also accounts for a sense of temporariness regarding the eventuality expressed by V2, which in turn prevents the latter from being interpreted as a state.

3.4 *Piyeno* ‘go’ and *Kathome* ‘sit’ as Light Verbs

So far, it has been established that pseudo-coordinate verbs do not show any significant signs of grammaticalization, nor do they share the prototypical properties of auxiliaries, and thus are not to be associated with the functional domain of the clause.

Furthermore, it was shown that both *piyeno* and *kathome* do not have a solid meaning when inserted in the GPC, in the sense that they do not describe an independent event, but rather lexicalize certain nuances associated with the V2 event. *Piyeno* brings into focus the onset of the event described by V2 and attributes a sense of agentivity to the subject participant in carrying out that event. On the other hand, *kathome* brings into focus the engagement of the subject participant in carrying out the V2 event and localizes the former in a space associated with that event.

In this section, I will advocate that, based on their semantic properties, *piyeno* and *kathome* should be considered as light verbs. This not only conforms with their usage within the GPC, but also encapsulates the semantic properties that these verbs attest to when selecting other predicates as their complement outside the GPC. The term ‘light verb’ was initially coined by Jespersen (1965) to describe V+NP constructions in English, where the verb acts as a verbal licenser for the noun (e.g., ‘John takes a bath’). Since then, it has been adopted for studies in various languages to describe verbs which, when combined with one or more predication elements, come to predicate as a single element (see Rosen, 1989; Mohanan, 1994; Butt, 1995; among others). According to Butt and Lahiri (2013):

The lexical specification of a handful of verbs cross-linguistically allows for a use as either a main verb or a light verb. Some common examples cross-linguistically are the verbs for ‘come,’ ‘go,’ ‘take,’ ‘give,’ ‘hit,’ ‘throw,’ ‘give,’ ‘rise,’ ‘fall,’ and ‘do/make.’ One can think of this set of verbs as passepartouts: their lexical semantic specifications are so general that they can be used in multitude of contexts, that is, they ‘fit’ many constellations (p. 18).

In that context, the term ‘light’ is used to reflect the fact that these verbs lack the semantic predicative power to supply their own predication. Unlike main verbs, they are semantically and syntactically dependent on another predicative element with which they

enter a complex predicate relationship. While their semantic predicative power is deficient, in the sense that they cannot head independent predication, they are also not entirely devoid of semantic power, to the extent that they are considered fully functional elements.

When a light verb combines with a main verb, it interacts with its event semantics by modifying them or adding additional information. The subevental information these verbs contribute to verbal predication is not inherently encoded at the common underlying lexical representation. Instead, it only becomes relevant once a predication choice has to be made, determining whether the verb's lexical entailments will be realized as a main verb predicate or as part of a light verb construction. When the verb enters the syntax as a main verb, it predicates as a full event with a full range of thematic arguments. When the verb enters the syntax as a light verb (i.e., it is slotted into the distributional space for light verbs in a language), then its lexical semantic content must combine with a separate predication unit that supplies the full event meaning. Thus, the information contained in the verb can be deployed differently based on syntactic distribution.

It should be noted that, when entering syntax as light verbs, these verbs display an inflectional morphology identical to the main verb they combine with (Butt & Lahiri, 2003).

Based on these properties, light verbs are also set apart from auxiliaries. While, given their functional role, auxiliaries situate the main predication with respect to temporal or aspectual information, light verbs do not have an impact on the speech and reference time of the main predicate, but modify it only in a subtle manner. Due to their distributional differences, both compared to main verbs and auxiliaries, it is commonly assumed that light verbs form a separate 'semi-lexical' syntactic class that can be characterized neither as fully verbal nor as fully functional (Butt & Geuder, 2001). Their peculiarity lies in the fact that they are essentially lexical elements unable to predicate like main verbs, and thus have to

semantically and syntactically combine with a main verb, in a fashion reminiscent of functional elements.

Having outlined the main characteristics of light verbs, we can now begin sketching out how *piyeno* and *kathome* fit into the light verb paradigm. The first thing to note is that both *piyeno* and *kathome* possess an underspecified underlying lexical entry, which makes them eligible candidates for a light verb use within certain syntactic configurations. For example, *piyeno* is more underspecified in terms of the type of motion or its relation to the destination, compared to other motion verbs, such as *vadiço* ‘walk’ or *plisiaço* ‘near.’ Accordingly, *kathome* has more general lexical semantics, compared to posture verbs that explicate the type of posture, such as *yonatiço* ‘kneel’ or *skivo* ‘duck.’ Similar to prototypical light verbs, *piyeno* and *kathome* are able to enter syntactic configurations as either main verbs or light verbs. Under their main verb use, the verbs describe a full event of physical motion, in the case of *piyeno*, or a full event of physical posture, in the case of *kathome*.

The GPC relates to instances where these verbs do not head an independent predication, but rather enter syntax as light verbs and thus rely on the main verb in V2 to form a full event predication. As was shown in section 2.10, V1 and V2 of the GPC cannot be interpreted independently from each other, but are understood as an indistinguishable event. Furthermore, in sections 3.3 and 3.3.1, it was shown that the semantic contribution of *piyeno* and *kathome* is light, in the sense that these verbs merely bring into focus certain aspects regarding the V2 event, such as its incipient nature or the localization of the subject referent. In that regard, they semantically pattern with light verbs, in that they only provide subevental information to the main verb they combine with. Pseudo-coordinate verbs also pattern with how light verbs morphologically resemble the main verb they combine with, in that, along with their V2 complement, they are subject to the MSC. Finally, the light verb use of pseudo-coordinate verbs is not construction-specific to the GPC, but can be extended to syntactic

contexts where these verbs combine with non-verbal predicates, as in section 3.2.1, or subjunctive complementation contexts, as in section 3.2.3.

The last issue to be addressed in terms of the semantics of *piyeno* and *kathome* and the notion of lightness pertains to how these verbs are commonly associated with a movement or sitting activity in the GPC, even though their semantic contribution is considered only minimal. For example, looking back at some of the most frequent V2s occurring after *piyeno* outlined in Table 2.1, we find verbs that commonly require some sort of physical motion on the part of the subject participant, such as *vrisko* ‘find,’ *perno* ‘take,’ or *pefto* ‘fall.’ Accordingly, Table 2.2 shows that *kathome* usually selects for activities that are associated with a sitting posture, such as *γrafo* ‘write,’ *διαवाζο* ‘read,’ and *perimeno* ‘wait.’ In cases where V2 is consistent with a motion or posture activity, it can be argued that the meaning of *piyeno* and *kathome* does not remain ‘light,’ but approximates the main verb meaning of these verbs.

Here, I contend that a posture or motion interpretation of these verbs is purely implicit in the GPC and becomes available only as a side effect of the interplay between the activity denoted by V2 and the main verb semantics of *piyeno* and *kathome*. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

- (112) a. Epsachne kero mechri pu piye ke vrike to vivlio
 seek.PST.3SG time until that go.PST.3SG and find.PST.3SG ART book
 tu Stephen King.
 ART.GEN Stephen King
 ‘He/she was looking for a long time until he/she went and found the book of Stephen King.’
- b. Kathete ke perimeni to leoforio γia na pai sti δουλια.
 sit.PRS.3SG and wait.PRS.3SG ART bus for SUBJ go.PFV.3SG to.ART work

‘He/she sits and waits for the bus to go to work.’

Example (112a) is likely to be interpreted as the subject participant physically moving in order to perform the act of finding the book. However, this sentence could also be uttered in a context that involves no physical motion, such as in a case where the subject finds the book of Stephen King online. Accordingly, in (112b), the subject participant is likely perceived as seated while waiting for the bus. This sentence could also be uttered in a context where the subject participant is standing or even walking in circles around the bus stop. The fact that physical motion or posture is not encoded by the pseudo-coordinate verb, but becomes prominent contextually, can be attested if we substitute V2 for a verb that is not commonly associated with physical motion or posture:

- (113) a. O δikastis pai ke aneri tin apofasi tu
 ART judge go.PRS.3SG and override.PRS.3SG ART verdict ART.GEN
 efetiou.
 appeal.court

‘The judge goes and overrides the verdict of the appeal court.’

- b. Ke san na min eftane afto i adartes kathodan ke
 and if SUBJ NEG be.enough.PST.3SG this ART rebels sit.PST.IPFV.3PL and
 polemusan me tis ores.
 fight.PST.IPFV.3PL with ART hours

‘And as if that wasn’t enough, the rebels were sitting and fighting for hours.’

In (113a), it is highly unlikely that the judge physically moves while performing the act of overriding the verdict. Even if physical movement was in fact involved on the part of the judge, this information does not become explicit through the presence of *piyeno*, nor is it relevant to the event described by V2. The same is true in (113b), since the event of fighting described by V2 is incompatible with an interpretation of the subject participant being seated

while performing this act. While it is possible that (113b) refers to a fringe case where the rebels fought for hours while also being seated somewhere, this information cannot be elicited by the presence of *kathome* in V1.

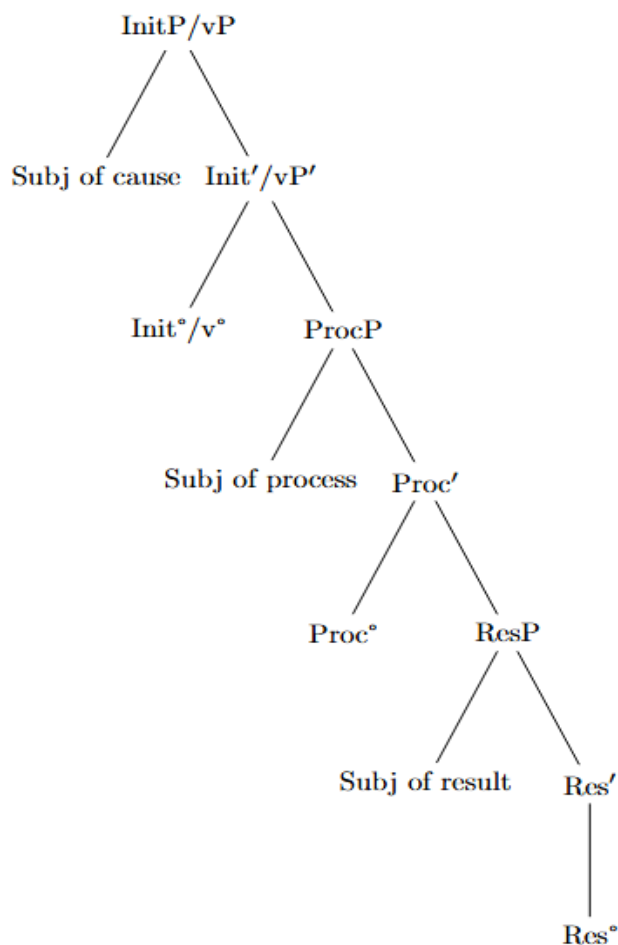
3.4.1 The Syntactization of *Piyeno* ‘go’ and *Kathome* ‘sit’

Assuming a close correspondence between syntax and semantics, the syntactic analysis of pseudo-coordinate *piyeno* and *kathome* must be reflective of their mixed nature, in that these verbs do contain some semantic information, but are otherwise always predicationally dependent within the GPC. Looking at the nature of these verbs from an event semantics point of view, we could put forth that pseudo-coordinate verbs depend on a main verb to supply the event information, while they only bring into focus or add additional information to certain parts of that event.

Taking this as the basis of our syntactic account, we can look for a model that enables us to hardwire this idiosyncrasy of pseudo-coordinate verbs into syntactic structure. More specifically, we are looking for a model that is sensitive to how event semantics are coded into syntax and also articulated enough to account for the subevental semantics of pseudo-coordinate verbs at the syntax/semantics interface. This can be found in Ramchand’s (2008) theory of ‘First Phase Syntax,’ although certain aspects of her theory not pertinent to my current purposes will be left out for the sake of conciseness.

Ramchand’s (2008) First Phase Syntax establishes a direct relation between syntactic categories and the components of event structure building. According to her, event structure can be decomposed into exactly three subevental components, namely: a causing subevent, a process denoting subevent, and a subevent describing the result state. These subevental components correspond to syntactic projections in the verbal domain ordered in a hierarchical embedding relation as shown in (114):

(114) **Syntactic decomposition of the verbal domain (Ramchand, 2008)**



InitP represents the outer causation projection, equivalent to little *v*, which introduces the causation event and licenses the external argument. ProcP specifies the nature of the change or process and licenses the entity undergoing this change (or process). This projection essentially corresponds to VP, although Ramchand (2008) avoids traditional labels, since to her, the notion of verb is always seen as a composite of some or all three subevental projections. Finally, ResP provides the result state of the event and licenses the entity for which the result state holds. Verbs are assumed to carry category features within their lexical entry in the form of *init*, *proc*, and *res*, which allow them to be associated with the corresponding syntactic nodes.

Crucially, this model predicts that verbs are not simply inserted at a single terminal node, but Merge and project according to their category features. The major advantage of this

model is that it offers an articulated depiction of the complexity of different verbs while establishing a direct link between their event semantics and their syntactic representation. As such, verbs can be categorically distinguished on the basis of how they are mapped into the three projections of First Phase Syntax. Consider the following examples:

(115) Semantic decomposition of verbs based on First Phase Syntax

Structure		Examples
[init [proc]]	→	drive, push, paint
[init [proc [res]]]	→	throw, defuse
[proc]	→	melt, roll, freeze
[proc [res]]	→	break, tear

Three important clarifications need to be made in terms of Ramchand's (2008) model. First of all, verbs that denote dynamic events always have a proc feature, and their variation in terms of syntactic decomposition is premised on the presence or absence of an initP and/or a resP. Accordingly, verbs with only an init or res feature in their lexical entry are considered to lack eventive information altogether. This distinction is crucial for my prospective analysis of pseudo-coordinate verbs, since these verbs are unable to independently denote eventhood.

Secondly, within the current model, there is no prediction for theta role assignment. Rather, each projection is assigned a universal semantic role, namely that of Initiator, Undergoer, and Resultee. What's more important is that the specifier positions corresponding to these roles are not mutually exclusive, and as such, a single argument may occupy more than one specifier position simultaneously. This is a point I will not commit myself to, since I will not employ the full syntactic decomposition presented here for the analysis of *piyeno* and *kathome*. Instead, my analysis will be premised on the underassociation of certain features into syntactic structure. Thirdly, recursion of the entire first phase is permitted, which is

especially important for multi-verb constructions, where each verb projects its own first phase.

Having access to theoretical machinery that accounts for the semantic mapping of subevental information allows us to approach the syntactization of pseudo-coordinate verbs in a new light. Following Ramchand's (2008) model, we can first of all provide an analysis of the syntactic and semantic decomposition of *piyeno* and *kathome* under their main verb usage. Starting with *piyeno*, its lexical entry contains both an *init* and a *proc* feature. Under its main verb meaning that denotes movement towards a location, the verb licenses an Initiator that begins the act of moving and an Undergoer that performs the act of moving. A *res* feature is unspecified in the lexical entry; thus the verb only associates with *InitP* and *ProcP* in the structure. The *ProcP* may then take rhematic material in the form of locative PPs that signify the goal of the movement as complements.

Turning to *kathome*, its main verb meaning of assuming position is associated with an *init* and a *proc* feature, as it requires both an Initiator to begin the act of assuming position and an Undergoer who performs the act of assuming position. In the ensuing syntactic structure, the projected *ProcP* may take rhematic material in the form of locative PPs as its complement. *Kathome* has an additional meaning associated with maintaining position, which cannot be straightforwardly captured under Ramchand's (2008) model. The issue lies in the fact that in its current iteration, *ProcP* is reserved for predicates that are able to express dynamic events. As a result, verbs that express non-dynamic events, like 'sit,' 'lie,' and 'hang,' are not specified by a *proc* feature in their lexical entry and are thus bound to be structurally analyzed as pure *initPs* or *resPs*. However, under this approach, non-dynamic events would follow a syntactization identical to that of state verbs, also considered to lack a *proc* feature in their lexical specification. This issue is also addressed by Gómez-Vázquez and

Mateu (2022), who, in their analysis of posture verbs based on First Phase Syntax, propose a wider definition for the notion of eventhood.

More specifically, they follow Silvagni (2017), who views dynamicity as a property orthogonal to eventhood, and instead puts forth the notion of a ‘spatio-temporal’ unit as the defining property for eventhood. In his framework, lack of dynamicity does not preclude eventualities from being classified as eventive, and thus, stative verbs that are predicated on a ‘spatio-temporal’ unit are classified as events. Under this approach, eventualities are classified either as states or events, with the latter being distinguished either as non-dynamic or dynamic. States are merely properties over individuals and, as such, devoid of a ‘spatio-temporal’ notion. The taxonomy of eventualities is demonstrated by Gómez-Vázquez and Mateu (2022) as below:

(116) Taxonomy of eventualities (Gómez-Vázquez & Mateu, 2022)

- a. States: *love, know, be yellow, be intelligent*, etc.
- b. Events:
 - i. Non-dynamic events: *sit, lie, be ill, be tired, hang, smell*, etc.
 - ii. Dynamic events: *wait, sleep, run, write, work, build, paint, clean, eat, sing*, etc.

Following this taxonomy, an updated version of Ramchand’s (2008) ProcP can be construed, which associates the proc feature not only with dynamic events, but with ‘spatio-temporal’ units in general. Under this version, the ‘maintain position’ meaning of *kathome* is associated with only a proc feature, because it only requires an Undergoer to perform the act of maintaining position.

So far, we have seen that under its main verb meaning, *piyeno* is syntactically decomposed into an InitP and a ProcP. On the other hand, *kathome*, based on whether it denotes ‘assuming position’ or ‘maintaining position’, is syntactically decomposed into InitP

and ProcP or only ProcP respectively. Next, I will outline how the light verb use of those verbs is projected in Ramchand's model. First Phase Syntax predicts that under certain circumstances, verbs may not associate all of their features in syntax. For example, while a verb may contain both an init and a proc feature in their lexical entry, that verb may only project its init feature into syntax and have its proc feature be realized by a different lexical item. This is predicted through a process that Ramchand (2008) labels as 'underassociation':

(117) Ramchand's (2008) definition of 'underassociation':

If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,

- (i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature, by Agree;
- (ii) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical encyclopaedic content (p. 148).

The subclauses in (i) and (ii) impose two important constraints in terms of how underassociation is instantiated within First Phase Syntax. Constraint (i) ensures that if a verb underassociates with one of its features in the syntax, it must still agree with the head carrying that feature. The corresponding head will then be typically filled by a different lexical item that associates its feature with that head. Constraint (ii) necessitates that the underassociated verb and the lexical item it connects with are compatible in terms of their encyclopaedic content.

Through the mechanism of underassociation, we can now provide a structural interpretation for the two main characteristics of light verb *piyeno* and *kathome*, namely their subevental semantics and their dependency on a main verb to supply the relevant eventive information. In contrast to their main verb use, under their light verb use, *piyeno* and *kathome* only project their init feature into the syntactic structure. This leaves their proc feature

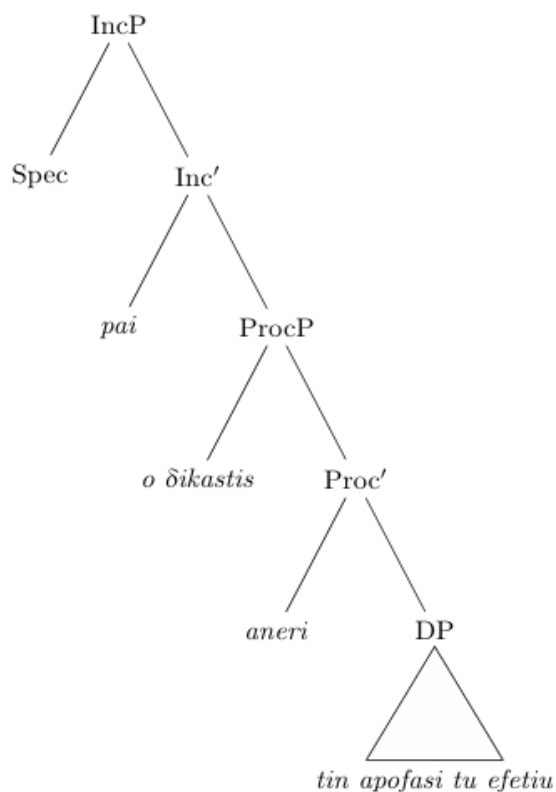
unassociated, which in turn must independently be identified within the phase by a different lexical item.

Provided that in the present approach, the *proc* feature is linked either to a dynamic or non-dynamic ‘spatio-temporal’ unit, the latter is projected in the GPC by the main verb that occupies V2. As such, verbs that occupy V2 in the GPC must contain a *proc* feature in their lexical entry and also associate it with the syntactic structure. This correctly predicts the incompatibility of pseudo-coordinate verbs with state verbs, addressed in section 3.2.1, as the latter do not constitute ‘spatio-temporal’ units, and thus lack a *proc* feature in their lexical entry. Since recursion of the entire first phase is permitted, V2 may also associate its *init* or *res* feature with the syntactic structure, if specified by those. Thus, the encyclopedic content of the light verb *piyeno* and *kathome*, as described in sections 3.3 and 3.3.1, and of the main verb in V2 are merged, giving rise to the integrated event reading associated with the GPC.

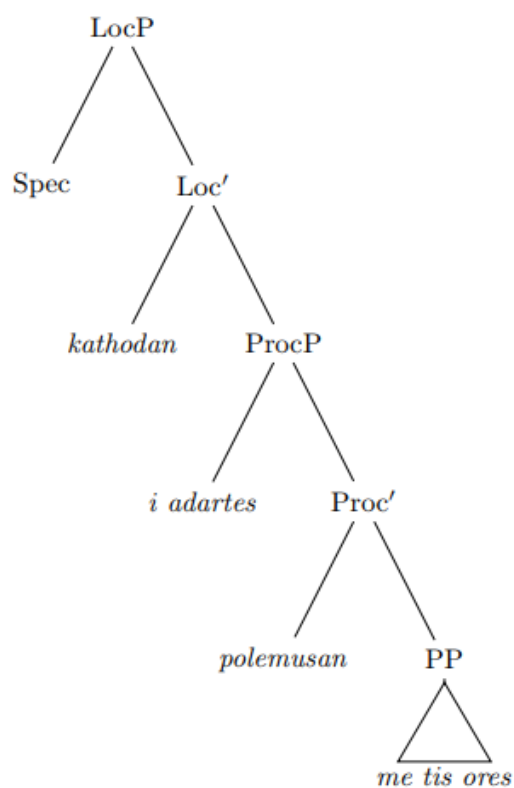
The fact that *piyeno* and *kathome* only associate their *init* feature into syntax accounts for why these verbs do not supply independent eventive information, but only add information to the event described by V2. If *piyeno* underassociates its *proc* feature, which corresponds to eventive information, the latter surfaces as a light verb that highlights the incipient nature of the event otherwise denoted by V2. Accordingly, underassociated *kathome* is unable to describe the assumption or maintenance of a physical position, but contributes only a sense of localization to the event otherwise denoted by V2.

A preliminary syntactic structure for the GPCs in (113a) and (113b) is given in (117a-b). In order to distinguish between the semantic contribution of *piyeno* and *kathome*, the *InitP* projected by the light verb *piyeno* is labeled as *IncP*, and the *InitP* projected by the light verb *kathome* is labeled as *LocP*.

(118) a. **Syntactic decomposition of light verb *piyeno* based on First Phase Syntax**



b. Syntactic decomposition of light verb *kathome* based on First Phase Syntax



I intentionally do not provide a syntactic analysis of *ke* and of the functional domain of V1 and V2 in these examples, since these aspects of the GPC will be covered in the next

chapter. For the sake of simplicity, I will also henceforth not provide an articulated structure for V2 based on First Phase Syntax. I will rather use the common labels of vP and VP to refer to the verbal domain of V2, leaving the possibility open that the former can also be depicted in a decomposed manner, as described in Ramchand's (2008) model. For the sake of compliance with the framework of the Minimalist Program, I will also consider the InitP projection to be related to little v. This is in line with both Ramchand's (2008) description, as well as common assumptions within Minimalist theory regarding light verbs constituting instantiations of little v (see Adger, 2003, p. 134).

4. The Functional Domain of the GPC and the Status of *Ke* ‘and’

In the previous chapter, I demonstrated that the semantic contribution of *piyeno* and *kathome* in the GPC can be captured under a light verb analysis that involves V1 being predicationally dependent on V2. Furthermore, in Chapter 2, it was shown that this predication dependency can be captured under a subordinate syntactic structure that involves V2 being realized as the complement of V1. In this chapter, I plan to delve further into the syntactic structure of the GPC to provide a complete account of its syntactic derivation.

The issues that have yet to be addressed are: (i) the status of the conjunction coordinator *ke*, and (ii) the functional domain projected by V1 and V2. Regarding the first issue, I will argue that based on its distribution, *ke* cannot be analyzed as a complementizer-like element. Instead, I will propose that, when present, the former functions merely as a discourse marker that maintains the propositional integrity of the GPC. Regarding the second issue, I will demonstrate that based on clause union effects, the GPC is more accurately captured under a mono-clausal analysis of the GPC that involves a single functional domain licensing inflection on both V1 and V2.

This chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I will provide an overview of the main accounts that advocate for the complementizer status of *ke* in Greek. I will then offer distributional evidence, which indicates that contra to these accounts, *ke* in the GPC does not occupy a syntactic position in the CP domain typically reserved for declarative complementizers. In the second section, I will summarize the semantic and syntactic properties of the GPC that corroborate a mono-clausal syntactic structure. Through a series of semantic and syntactic tests, I will demonstrate that the GPC attests to clause union and is thus amenable to a syntactic account that involves both V1 and V2 sharing a single functional domain. The tests presented in the second section were originally advanced in my previous

work on motion verb pseudo-coordination in Greek (e.g., Georgopoulos, 2021). In the third section, I will address two possible counterarguments that can be raised against a monoclausal analysis of the GPC, namely the placement of object clitics and the presence of overt inflectional material in the V2 complement. Finally, I will contend that *ke* is a semantically vacuous element, not present within the syntactic derivation, that only functions as a discourse marker.

4.1 *Ke* ‘and’ as a Clausal Complementizer

Having outlined the semantic and syntactic properties of the GPC that are proponents of an underlying subordinate syntactic structure, it is also deemed within reason to examine whether, in these constructions, *ke* functions as some sort of subordinating element, rather than the conjunction coordinator. The idea that what appears to be a conjunction coordinator is actually a complementizer that introduces the embedded complement of V1 is not unprecedented in the literature on pseudo-coordination. Wiklund (2007), for example, suggests that in Swedish pseudo-coordination, the conjunction-like element *och* ‘and’ is identical in nature to the homophonous finite clausal complementizer *att* ‘that.’ Similarly, in pseudo-coordinations of Southern Italian dialects, Manzini et al. (2017) claim that the intervening element *a* is not an instantiation of the Latin copulative coordinator *ac* ‘and,’ but rather “the ordinary locative/dative preposition/complementizer of Romance” (p. 39).

Turning to Greek, it has often been claimed that the conjunction coordinator *ke* can serve functions distinct from merely coordinating two syntactic entities. This idea goes back to Ingria (2005), who, based on the distribution of the conjunction coordinator within different syntactic contexts, provides an account of the polysemous behavior of *ke* within the framework of the Generative Lexicon. Ingria (2005) asserts that, due to its underspecified semantics, *ke* can occupy syntactic positions that would otherwise be reserved for complementizers. To solidify this claim, he provides numerous empirical examples, some of

which correspond to the phenomena discussed in this dissertation, namely the GPC and the GCC¹⁶:

(119) a. *Prospatho ke ta matheno monos=mu.*

try.PRS.1SG and CLI.OBJ learn.PRS.1SG alone=POSS

‘I’m trying to learn them myself.’ (Ingria, 2005, p. 83)

b. *Piyene ke kathise!*

go.IMP.2SG and sit.IMP.2SG

‘Go (to) sit down!’ (Ingria, 2005, p. 89)

Regarding (119a), Ingria (2005) notes that the control verb in *prospatho* ‘try’ would typically select for a complement clause whose main verb is subjunctive. In that case, the event denoted by the complement clause would not receive a temporal interpretation, but instead would always be interpreted as potential (irrealis). In contrast, (119a) represents an instance where the control verb selects an indicative complement that receives a temporal interpretation. As such, complement clauses introduced by *ke* in these apparent control cases convey that the event denoted by the complement clause actually took place.

Example (119b) is seen by Ingria (2005) as an instance where *ke*, again, acts as a complementizer that introduces an embedded purpose clause. The embedded purpose clause would otherwise be introduced by the subjunctive marker *na*, which is the closest Modern Greek equivalent to the infinitival ‘to’ in English. However, the fact that it is introduced by *ke* allows the clause to denote an event that has actually occurred. Thus, the overarching claim with respect to these syntactic constructions is that *ke* substitutes for the subjunctive complementizer *na*. In contrast to *na*, the complement clause introduced by *ke* is always marked for +INDICATIVE, which in turn allows the complement to receive a temporal

¹⁶ The GCC will be discussed separately in Chapter 6. The sole purpose of bringing it up here is that it represents another construction in addition to the GPC, where *ke* has been assumed to function as a clausal complementizer.

specification. That said, Ingria (2005) does not commit to a syntactic account of these phenomena. Rather, his main goal is to demonstrate the multifunctionality of the conjunction coordinator in Greek.

An account of the syntactic status of *ke* as a clausal complementizer premised on the Minimalist framework comes from Kapetangianni (2010). Kapetangianni (2010) views cases like the one presented in (119a) in light of her more general analysis of control in embedded finite complements in Greek. Following Ingria (2005), she states that certain categories of control verbs may select either subjunctive complements prefaced by *na* or indicative complements prefaced by *ke*. In the latter cases, *ke* acts as a complementizer associated with indicative mood. She assumes that *ke* is assigned to the CP domain due to its distribution relative to other constituents in the clause. Given that *ke* precedes both clitics usually associated with I° and negation, which is situated above IP, in a NegP projection, the former is treated as the overt instantiation of C°, similar to other declarative complementizers in Greek.

Another account of the status of *ke* as a complementizer comes from Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021). In their work, they put forth that *ke* should be categorized among the other four declarative complementizers that introduce object complement clauses, namely *pu*, *oti*, *pos*, and *na*¹⁷. Similar to complement clauses introduced by *na*, complement clauses introduced by *ke* are morphosyntactically dependent on a matrix argument and can potentially constitute a locus of control. However, in contrast to *na*-complements, which are associated with subjunctive mood, *ke*-complements are not marked for a specific Mood category, but copy the Mood category of their superordinate clause. Semantically, *ke*-complements resemble complements introduced by the complementizer *pu*, in that their truth is

¹⁷ An introduction to the three complementizer elements of Greek will be provided in the next section.

presupposed, rather than asserted. Thus, complementizers in Greek may receive the following categorization:

Table 3

The four-way divide of clausal complementizers (Kotzoglou & Canakis, 2021)

	Non-presupposed	(Potentially) presupposed
Morphosyntactically independent	<i>oti, pos</i>	<i>pu</i>
Morphosyntactically dependent	<i>na</i>	<i>ke</i>

According to Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021, p. 625), “this four-way divide opens up the possibility that these complementizers are manifestations of a single C° with parametric choices leading to its different instantiations.”

Finally, the status *ke* as a complementizer has also been addressed in Thomopoulou (2021). In her work, she aims to provide a unitary account of both the GPC and the GCC by demonstrating that both represent subordinate constructions that involve a finite complement introduced by *ke*. Thomopoulou’s (2021) analysis of *ke* draws parallels from how the marker *na* is treated in Roussou’s (2009) account of control in Greek subjunctive complements. According to Roussou (2009), *na* is a nominal element with locative properties merged as the head of a Locative Phrase inside the CP domain (assuming a split CP approach). Given the pronominal nature of verbal agreement in Greek, the EPP in the embedded clause is satisfied through the agreement of the D feature in *na*, and the D feature disclosed in the subject agreement affix in the inflectional morphology of the verb. As such, in *na* clauses, the subject has to obligatorily be null, since *na* is assumed to block the lexicalization of a DP in EPP position. In that regard, control in subjunctive complements arises through an agreement

chain of D features, triggered by the matrix predicate that results in clause union. An example is provided below:

- (120) O Kostas_D bor-i_D na_{Loc} fiγ-i_D.
 ART Kostas can-PRS.3SG SUBJ leave-PRS.3SG
 ‘Kostas can leave.’ (Roussou, 2009, p. 21)

In (120), the matrix control predicate *boro* triggers clause union, leading to both the matrix and the embedded predicate being interpreted as parts of a single event. This is instantiated through the matching of all nominal D features in the derivation. *Na* is bound by the matrix DP subject, and in turn, it binds an associate in the lower clause, which is the embedded verbal agreement. Thus, control arises as a reflex of binding dependencies throughout the matrix and embedded clause.

Thomopoulou (2021) argues that, as a morpheme, *ke* has identical properties to *na*, and thus can also be considered a nominal element associated with the CP domain. She supports her claim by arguing that both morphemes are similar in terms of their distribution and functionality¹⁸. In terms of distribution, they are both situated above the inflectional domain of the embedded predicate. Furthermore, they can both occur as independent elements within a clause, as shown in (121):

- (121) a. Na o Gianis.
 there ART John
 ‘There is John.’

¹⁸ While in Thomopoulou (2021), *ke* is treated as a nominal element with locative properties similar to *na*, it is not entirely clear how those locative properties are derived in the case of *ke*. Regarding *na*, they are based on the empirical fact that *na* can be found in deictic contexts, as in (121a), where it is analyzed as having a presentational interpretation expressing movement towards a location (Roussou, 2009). The use of *na* in (121a) is considered similar to the use of ‘there’ in English. However, this function cannot be replicated in contexts where *ke* occurs independently:

(i) *Ke o Gianis.
 and ART John.
 Int: ‘There is John.’

b. *Ke ti?*

and what

‘So what?’ (Thomopoulou, 2021, p. 36)

In terms of their functionality, they both head a finite clause that can be a locus of control when embedded under a control predicate. Also, similarly to *na*, *ke* as a complementizer blocks the lexicalization of a DP in EPP position. In contrast to Kapetangianni (2010), Thomopoulou (2021) remarks that finite complements headed by *ke* are not restricted to indicative mood, but can, at least in the case of the GPC, also occur in subjunctive mood, as shown in (122):

- (122) *I Ageliki theli na katsi ke na pexi me tis*
 ART Ageliki want.PRS.3SG SUBJ sit.3SG and SUBJ play.3SG with ART
 kukles=tis me tin isichia=tis.
 dolls=POSS with ART quietness=POSS

‘Ageliki wants to sit and play with her dolls in peace.’ (Thomopoulou, 2021, p. 36)

The fact that *ke* may co-occur with *na* within the same embedded clause suggests, according to Thomopoulou (2021), that the former heads a distinct functional projection within the CP domain.

To summarize, it was shown that an analysis of *ke* as a complementizer is considered plausible, both based on previous accounts of pseudo-coordination in other languages, as well as on the treatment this element has previously received in relevant studies on Greek. In addition, an analysis of *ke* as a complementizer is compatible with the underlying subordinate structure that has already been established for the GPC. That said, there are certain conceptual and empirical issues that the analysis of *ke* as a declarative complementizer runs into. In the next section, I will demonstrate that contra to Ingria (2005), Kapetangianni (2010), Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021), and Thomopoulou (2021), a complementizer analysis

of *ke* cannot be substantiated. Before proceeding with my argumentation, I will provide a brief overview of the main declarative complementizers in Greek.

4.1.2 Overview of Declarative Complementizers in Greek

Similar to other Balkan languages, Greek lacks the grammatical category of infinitives and thus exhibits only finite complements. Regarding declarative complement clauses, a three-way distinction can be made based on the introducing elements between *oti/pos*-clauses, *pu*-clauses, and *na*-clauses¹⁹:

(123) a. Skeftome oti/pos tha diavaso to vivlio.

think.PRS.1SG COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book

‘I think that I will read the book.’

b. Cherome pu tha diavaso to vivlio.

be.glad.PRS.1SG COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book

‘I am glad that I will read the book.’

c. Elpiço na diavaso to vivlio.

hope.PRS.1SG SUBJ read.PFV.1SG ART book

‘I hope to read the book.’

Complement clause selection does not involve a one-to-one relation between predicates and complements, since different types of complement clauses may be assigned to the same predicate (Roussou, 2010). For example, when selecting for an *oti/pos*-complement, *ksero* ‘know’ functions as a regular knowledge verb. However, when selecting for a *na*-complement, it becomes associated with a dynamic modal reading, as in (124b):

(124) a. Ksero oti/pos tha diavaso to vivlio.

know.PRS.1SG COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book

¹⁹ Here, *na* is glossed as subjunctive marker instead of a complementizer for the sake of consistency with the other chapters of this dissertation. The dual status of *na* as a complementizer and as a subjunctive marker will be discussed further in this section.

‘I know that I will read the book.’

b. Ksero na diavaζo to vivlio.

know.PRS.1SG SUBJ read.IPFV.1SG ART book

‘I know how to read the book.’

In contrast to *oti* and *pos*, which are in free distribution, complements introduced by *pu* can only be selected by factive predicates. Furthermore, *pu*-complements attest different syntactic properties in terms of nominalization and extraction patterns and have generally been considered oblique arguments (Roussou, 2010). In terms of their syntactic position, *oti*, *pos*, and *pu* are commonly considered elements that reside in C° and embed a complement clause bearing an indicative mood specification. On the other hand, the syntactic position that *na* realizes in a complement clause has been a topic of debate. The main issue regarding the status of *na* pertains to the fact that, in addition to introducing complement clauses, *na* is also considered the particle associated with subjunctive mood.

As already addressed in section 2.1, Greek morphologically distinguishes only between two mood paradigms, namely +/-IMPERATIVE. A -IMPERATIVE morphology is commonly subsumed under the ‘indicative’ paradigm, as it involves no other distinctions. In contrast to Romance languages, Greek lacks morphological subjunctive, in the sense that it does not have an inflectional paradigm that would be characterized as such. In the absence of a morphological specification, the particle *na* has been treated as the equivalent of the subjunctive marker. As a subjunctive marker, *na* subcategorizes a verbal form that morphologically would be recognized as indicative, thus expressing subjunctive mood periphrastically.

This property distinguishes *na* from the other declarative complementizers and has led to its treatment either as a mood/modal marker (Philippaki-Warbuton, 1998; Rivero, 1994), a complementizer (Agouraki, 1991; Tsoulas, 1993), or both (Roussou, 2000, 2009). The issue

of whether *na* is similar to other complementizers assigned to the CP domain or a subjunctive marker heading its own modal or mood projection will not be further pursued here. For my current purposes, it is sufficient to demonstrate that, unlike the other elements discussed in this section, *ke* is not a viable candidate for a complementizer analysis. This will be shown through a series of syntactic tests that highlight the differences in distribution between *ke* and traditional complementizer-like elements.

4.1.3 *Fronting*

Complement clauses in Greek are flexible in terms of order, insofar as they may occur on either side of their respective matrix clause. As shown in (125), with the exception of *pu*-clauses, which are considered oblique arguments (Roussou, 2010), complement clauses can potentially be fronted to a position that precedes the matrix clause:

(125) a. Oti/pos tha diavaso to vivlio skeftome.

COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book think.PRS.1SG

‘That I will read the book I think.’

b. Na diavaso to vivlio elpiço.

SUBJ read.PFV.1SG ART book hope.PRS.1SG

‘To read the book I hope.’

Assuming that, in the GPC, *ke* also introduces a complement clause, we would expect it to optionally front to the left periphery of its matrix clause. However, this yields ungrammatical results:

(126) *Ke diavaço to vivlio pao/kathome.

and read.PRS.1SG ART book go/sit.PRS.1SG

Int: ‘And read the book I go/sit.’

If *ke* was an element traditionally assigned to the CP domain, then a restriction in terms of its distribution would not be expected. However, *ke* appears to maintain the distribution

indicative of its original function as a connecting element, in that it cannot possibly occupy a clause-initial position.

4.1.4 Omission

As has been pointed out in section 2.8, in syntactic contexts where the GPC is not subject to negation or modification, and the possibility of intervening material becomes eliminated, *ke* may be omitted without accounting for any change in meaning. This raises issues with respect to its possible complementizer status, since embedded clausal complements in Greek cannot otherwise surface, without the overt realization of their respective complementizer:

- (127) a. Pao/kathome ~~ke~~ *diavažo* to *vivlio*.
 go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG ART book
 ‘I go/sit and read the book.’
- b. *Skeftome ~~oti/pos~~ *tha diavaso* to *vivlio*.
 think.PRS.1SG COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book
 ‘I think that I will read the book.’
- c. *Cherome ~~pu~~ *tha diavaso* to *vivlio*.
 be.glad.PRS.1SG COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book
 ‘I am glad that I will read the book.’
- d. *Elpižo ~~na~~ *diavaso* to *vivlio*.
 hope.PRS.1SG SUBJ read.PFV.1SG ART book
 ‘I hope to read the book.’

In addition to explaining why *ke* may be omitted in the first place, an analysis of *ke* as a complementizer would also bear the burden of explaining why this idiosyncrasy is present only in *ke*, but does not affect other complementizers typically associated with the CP domain. The second point is difficult to justify under the premise that *ke* emulates other

complementizers in terms of functionality. This is, for example, the case in Thomopoulou's (2021) account, where *ke* is distributionally and syntactically described as identical to *na*.

4.1.5 Nominalization

Greek allows for a special case of nominalization that involves prefixing the neuter article *to* 'the' to a clause introduced by the complementizer *oti/pos* or *na*²⁰ (Roussou, 1991). However, the same is not possible in embedded complements prefaced by *ke*, as shown in (128):

- (128) a. *Pao/kathome to ke *ðiavaço* to *vivlio*.

go/sit.PRS.1SG ART and read.PRS.1SG ART book

'I go/sit and read the book.'

- b. Skeftome to *oti/pos* tha *ðiavaso* to *vivlio*.

think.PRS.1SG ART COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book

'I think that I will read the book.'

- c. Elpiço sto na *ðiavaso* to *vivlio*.

hope.PRS.1SG to.ART SUBJ read.PFV.3SG ART book

'I hope to read the book.'

Furthermore, nominalized complement clauses have a similar distribution to NPs, in that they are able to occupy the syntactic position associated with external arguments:

- (129) a. Me provlimatiçi to *oti/pos* tha *ðiavaso* to *vivlio*.

CLI.OBJ concern.PRS.1SG ART COMP FPART read.PFV.1SG ART book

'It concerns me that I will read the book.'

²⁰ Roussou (1991) also documents a case where complements introduced by *pu* can be selected by the neuter article *to* 'the':

(i) Me to pu *efiye*.
with ART COMP leave.PST.3SG
'Upon leaving.'

However, this construction has an adverbial meaning and should be distinguished from the cases of nominalization discussed in this section.

b. Me provlimatiçi to na ðiavaso to vivlio.

CLI.OBJ concern.PRS.1SG ART SUBJ read.PFV.1SG ART book

‘Reading the book concerns me.’

As shown in the previous examples, in contrast to traditional complement clauses, the V2 complement introduced by *ke* cannot undergo nominalization and occur independently in the position of an external argument. This demonstrates yet another argument against the complementizer status of *ke*. Following the standard assumption that the nominalization of complement clauses involves the functional head D selecting for a CP instead of an NP (Roussou, 1991), the unavailability of *ke*-complement selection points toward the absence of a CP layer.

4.1.6 Topicalization of Arguments

In complement clauses, verbal arguments may typically be fronted to a clause-initial position as a result of topicalization. Below, complement clauses corresponding to each of the main complementizers exemplified in (123) are rearranged, as a result of the object argument of the embedded verb occupying a topicalized position in the CP domain.

(130) a. Skeftome oti/pos to vivlio tha ðiavaso.

think.PRS.1SG COMP ART book FPART read.PFV.1SG

‘I think that I will read the book.’

b. Cherome pu to vivlio tha ðiavaso.

be.glad.PRS.1SG COMP ART book FPART read.PFV.1SG

‘I am glad that I will read the book.’

c. Elpiço to vivlio na ðiavaso.

hope.PRS.1SG ART book SUBJ read.PFV.1SG

‘I hope to read the book.’

Note that in (130c), topicalization of arguments can only occur in a position preceding *na*. This is commonly taken as an argument that *na* is situated in a projection below the CP domain, possibly an MP or a MoodP (Rivero, 1994; Philippaki-Warbuton, 1998; Alexiadou, 1997). In Roussou (2000), the distribution of *na* compared to the topicalized argument is accounted for by postulating an articulated CP projection based on Rizzi (1997), in which *na* is initially merged as the head of a lower CM projection and raises to a higher C° only later in the derivation.

Turning to the GPC, topicalization of the V2 argument follows a different pattern compared to the embedded clausal complements in (130). If *ke* was a clausal complementizer, then we would expect it to attract topicalized arguments. However, as seen in (131), topicalization of the V2 internal argument either before (similar to the distribution of *na*-clauses) or after *ke* (similar to the distribution of *oti/pos*-clauses and *pu*-clauses) results in ungrammaticality, as in (131a), or in the construction being read as an ordinary coordination, as in (131b):

(131) a. *Pao/kathome to vivlio ke diavažo.

go/sit.PRS.1SG ART book and read.PRS.1SG

‘I go/sit and read the book.’

b. #Pao/kathome ke to vivlio diavažo.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and ART book read.PRS.1SG

‘I go/sit and read the book.’

The examples in (131) suggest that *ke* exhibits a distinct distribution both to the elements traditionally associated with C°, as well as the complementizer/subjunctive marker *na*. The incompatibility of (131a-b) with a pseudo-coordinate reading is in fact predicted by the adjacency restrictions described in section 2.6. The position between V1 and *ke* may be occupied only by adverbials and the shared subject, while the position between *ke* and V2

may be occupied only by object clitics and overt inflectional material associated with V2.

That said, topicalization of the V2 argument follows a distinct pattern in the GPC, in that the former has to be topicalized at the left periphery of the construction, in a position that precedes both V1 and V2, as in (132):

(132) To vivlio pao/kathome ke diavaço.

ART book go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG

‘I go/sit and read the book.’

The topicalization data presented in this section further emphasizes the fact that *ke* is not an element that can be assigned to the CP layer of the embedded V2 complement.

4.1.7 Mood Category of V2

As was shown in section 4.1.2, introducing elements in complement clauses are associated with a specific Mood category. Complements prefaced by *oti*, *pos*, and *pu* are always characterized by an indicative mood specification, whereas *na* is the marker associated with a subjunctive mood specification. However, the V2 complement in the GPC is not restricted in terms of its Mood category, as it may occur in indicative, subjunctive, or imperative mood, as long as it adheres to the MSC:

(133) a. Pao/kathome ke diavaço to vivlio.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG ART book

‘I go/sit and read the book.’

b. Mu ipe na pao/katso ke na diavaso to vivlio.

CLI.OBJ tell.PST.3SG SUBJ go/sit.PFV.1SG and SUBJ read.PFV.1SG ART book

‘He/she told me to go/sit and read the book.’

c. Piyene/katse ke diavase to vivlio!

go/sit.IMP.2SG and read.IMP.2SG ART book

‘Go/sit and read the book!’

This casts doubt on the status of *ke* as a complementizer, since traditionally complementizers are only compatible with either indicative or subjunctive mood and cannot introduce finite complements inflected for +IMPERATIVE. Previous studies on the complementizer status of *ke* express conflicting views, with regard to the Mood category associated with this type of complements. Kapetangianni's (2010) account faces problems, since it assumes that *ke*-complements are only limited to indicative environments, which, as shown in (133b) and (133c), is not the case²¹.

Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021) assume that in *ke*-complements, the Mood category of the embedded verb is copied from the relevant category of the matrix verb. While this is purely speculative, considering that complementizers are typically associated with a single Mood category, it represents a theoretical possibility that could capture the cases illustrated in (133). However, Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021) do not commit to an account of how the proposed copying of functional categories is instantiated between the matrix clause and the embedded *ke*-clause²².

An issue I see with implementing such a copying mechanism is that the former would require some sort of look-ahead device. More specifically, the occurrence of syntactic material associated with a specific Mood category in the embedded V2 complement suggests that the embedded clause is derived with a valued Mood category independently of its matrix clause. For example, the occurrence of the future particle *tha* would signify indicative mood, since the former is incompatible with a +IMPERATIVE morphology on the verb and mutually exclusive with the subjunctive marker *na*. Accordingly, the occurrence of *na* in the

²¹ Kapetangianni (2010) bases her claim on empirical data associated with the GCC, which, as we will see in Chapter 6, can in fact only inflect for indicative mood. In that regard, her claim in terms of the complementizer status of *ke* cannot possibly be extended to the GPC, due to the morphological variation the latter exhibits in terms of mood.

²² According to Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021), copying does not only involve the category of Mood, but also extends to the category of Tense.

embedded clause would account for a subjunctive mood specification on the embedded verb irrespective of the mood specification on the matrix verb.

Finally, while Thomopoulou (2021) also acknowledges the diversity in terms of mood associated with *ke*-complements, her syntactic analysis of *ke* is incompatible with instances of subjunctive embedding, such as those shown in (133b). According to her, both *ke* and *na* are nominal elements that satisfy the EPP, along with agreement inflection on the embedded verb and head their own projection within the CP domain. This results in the underlying structure of the embedded clause in (133b) involving the nominative element *ke* asymmetrically c-commanding another nominative element in *na* and both of them satisfying the EPP, along with verbal agreement on the embedded verb. Overall, the assumption that both *ke* and *na* head their own projection in the CP domain is conceptually problematic, since it leads to cases such as (133b) being interpreted as the complement clause being introduced by two separate complementizer elements, which is generally excluded as a possibility in Greek.

4.2 GPC as a Mono-clausal Structure

Having argued against an analysis of *ke* as a clausal complementizer, I will now examine the possibility of whether the subordinate relation between V1 and V2 can be captured within a mono-clausal syntactic structure. This assumption is not arbitrary, given the properties discussed in Chapter 2. The first property that could point towards an underlying mono-clausal syntactic structure is the shared inflection that both V1 and V2 realize as a result of the MSC. A straightforward way to capture the fact that both verbs agree in terms of mood, tense, and aspect is to posit that both verbs receive valuation of the features associated with those heads from the same functional domain.

A second property that can be straightforwardly accounted for within the boundary of a single clause relates to the shared subject referent being overtly realized only once. This

restriction is deemed natural within a mono-clausal syntactic structure that involves the pseudo-coordinate verb being analyzed as a light verb associated with little *v*, as was argued in section 3.4.1. On the other hand, under a bi-clausal structure, this restriction can be captured only if V1 is treated as a control predicate and the embedded V2 clause as the locus of control.

Finally, a third property that needs to be considered when discussing the underlying structure of the GPC is the fact that V1 and V2 refer to a single event proposition. Assuming a close correspondence between syntax and semantics, a mono-evental proposition is straightforwardly mapped into a mono-clausal syntactic structure²³. In this section, I will demonstrate that a mono-clausal analysis is not only compatible with the syntactic and semantic properties of the GPC, but also preferable based on the clause union effects that the construction exhibits. More specifically, following up on the argumentation provided in Georgopoulos (2021), I will demonstrate that V2 does not project a functional domain on its own and is thus amenable to a structural treatment that involves a single functional domain c-commanding both V1 and V2.

4.2.1 Lack of Embedded Negation

As I have pointed out in Georgopoulos (2021), evidence from negation placement indicates that the GPC lacks a separate functional projection that licenses negation specifically for the embedded verb. Instead, negation markers are confined to the matrix clause and consistently yield a wide scope interpretation. Consider the following examples:

(134) a. Δεν παο/kathome ke δiavaζo to vivlio.

NEG go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG ART book

²³ It has been pointed out that mono-clausal syntactic structures are not always limited to a single event description. As has been shown for German long passives (Wurmbrand, 2001), predicates in verbal constructions that exhibit restructuring can, under certain circumstances, be individually targeted by event modifiers. While this suggests that mono-clausal syntactic structures are not necessarily linked to a single event description, in the absence of empirical data on bi-clausal syntactic structures restricted to a single event description, I consider mono-eventhood as an index of mono-clausality for the purposes of my analysis.

‘I don’t go/sit and read the book.’

b. #Pao/kathome ke den diavaço to vivlio.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and NEG read.PRS.1SG ART book

‘I go/sit and I don’t read the book.’

c. #Δen pao/kathome ke den diavaço to vivlio.

NEG go/sit.PRS.1SG and NEG read.PRS.1SG ART book

‘I don’t go/sit and I don’t read the book.’

In (134a), a narrow scope reading of the negation marker results in the sentence being interpreted as two distinct events, namely the participant not going or sitting in an implicit location, in addition to reading the book. Crucially, a pseudo-coordinate interpretation is only possible if the matrix negation marker unambiguously scopes over both V1 and V2. In contrast, in example (134b), when negation scopes solely over the embedded verb, a pseudo-coordinate reading cannot be obtained, and instead the two verbs are understood as sequential, independent events. Likewise, in example (134c), the presence of separate negation markers targeting each verb also leads to an interpretation involving two distinct events. The pattern exemplified above suggests that the GPC can host only a single negation-licensing projection, situated in the matrix domain.

4.2.2 *Inverse Quantifier Scope*

It is commonly accepted that while indefinites are capable of taking scope beyond their local clause, universal quantifiers are restricted to scoping within their own clause. This asymmetry has been used as a diagnostic tool for identifying restructuring in complement clauses selected by partial versus exhaustive control predicates (Grano, 2015; Modesto, 2016). In exhaustive control contexts, an embedded universal quantifier can take scope over the entire matrix clause. In contrast, in partial control constructions, the boundary of the

embedded clause prevents such wide-scope interpretations. This pattern can also be witnessed in finite complements in Greek:

- (135) a. *Kapios fititis kseri na lini kathe provlima.*
 some student know.PRS.3SG SUBJ solve.IPFV.3SG every problem
 ‘Some student knows how to solve every problem.’ ($\exists > \forall / \forall > \exists$) (Grano, 2015, p. 193)
- b. *Kapios fititis pistevi oti elise kathe provlima.*
 some student believe.PRS.3SG COMP solve.PST.3SG every problem
 ‘Some student believes that he/she solved every problem.’ ($\exists > \forall / * \forall > \exists$) (Grano, 2015, p. 194)

In (135a), the sentence is scopally ambiguous, allowing both a surface and inverse scope reading, i.e., either that there is a particular student who knows how to solve every problem, or that for each problem, a student exists who knows how to solve it. However, in (135b), only the surface scope reading is available. This suggests that the restructuring effects in (135a) enable the embedded universal quantifier to take scope outside of its clause, while in (135b), the finite complement clause blocks such scope extension.

A similar pattern has been observed with the embedded V2 in the GPC, which, according to Georgopoulos (2021), in terms of quantifier scope behaves like the complement of an exhaustive control predicate:

- (136) *Kapios fititis pai/kathete ke lini kathe provlima.*
 some student go/sit.PRS.3SG and solve.PRS.3SG every problem
 ‘Some student goes/sits and solves every problem.’ $\exists > \forall / \forall > \exists$ (Georgopoulos, 2021, p. 45)

Given that (136) allows an inverse scope reading based on which ‘for every problem, there is a student who goes or sits and solves it,’ I conclude that no clause boundary exists between V1 and V2 of the GPC.

4.2.3 Licensing of Negative Polarity Items (NPIs)

The negative polarity item *kanena* ‘any/none’ receives a universal negative interpretation when it carries emphatic stress, and an existential quantifier interpretation when unstressed. Although both readings are permitted under sentential negation, the emphatic reading can only be licensed within the same tense domain (Giannakidou & Quer, 1997). Grano (2015) argues that this distinction effectively predicts the structural contrasts between complements associated with exhaustive control predicates and those linked to partial control predicates. NPI licensing in Greek finite complements is demonstrated below:

(137) a. O Iianis den kseri na lini KANENA provlima.

ART John NEG know.PRS.3SG SUBJ solve.PRS.3SG any problem

‘John doesn’t know how to solve ANY problem.’

b. O Iianis den ipe oti elise {kanena/*KANENA}

ART John NEG say.PST.3SG COMP solve.PST.3SG any

provlima.

problem

‘John didn’t say that he solved any/ANY problem.’ (Grano, 2015, p. 190)

As seen in (137), the emphatic interpretation of *kanena* is licensed solely in exhaustive control complements, indicating that these complements display clause-union effects.

The GPC patterns with exhaustive control complements in terms of NPI licensing. In Georgopoulos (2021), it is shown that an emphatic interpretation of the embedded NPI can be enforced in the presence of sentential negation:

(138) O Iianis den piye/kathise ke elise KANENA provlima.

ART John NEG go/sit.PST.3SG and solve.PST.3SG any problem

‘John didn’t go/sit and solve ANY problem.’ (Georgopoulos, 2021, p. 45)

Since the emphatic interpretation can be licensed only within the same tense domain, a straightforward way to account for the NPI licensing in (138) is to propose that the GPC has just one functional projection available for licensing tense.

4.2.4 *Single Temporal Reference*

In section 3.2.5, it was shown that V1 can co-occur with specific types of modifiers, such as temporal adverbials, without having its full lexical content activated and, as such, being interpreted as a distinct act of motion or posture. Moreover, similar to mono-verbal clauses, temporal adverbials may occupy a sentence-final position in the GPC. The respective examples are given in (139):

(139) a. Pao/kathome vrađiatika ke điavažo to vivlio.

go/sit.PRS.1SG in.the.evening and read.PRS.1SG ART book

‘I go/sit in the evening and read the book.’

b. Pao/kathome ke điavažo to vivlio vrađiatika.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG ART book in.the.evening

‘I go/sit and read the book in the evening.’

However, the GPC cannot host two distinct temporal adverbials simultaneously:

(140) #Pao/kathome vrađiatika ke điavažo to vivlio mesimeriatika.

go/sit.PRS.1SG in.the.evening and read.PRS.1SG ART book at.noon

‘I go/sit in the evening and read the book at noon.’

In (140), the construction is unambiguously read as an ordinary coordination of the verbs that involves the subject participant going or sitting in an implicit location in the evening and also reading the book at noon. This suggests that, for an integrated event reading to be sustained,

both verbs have to occur at the same time frame. It is generally assumed that temporal adverbials carry features similar to those located in T°, which they check through a spec-head agreement configuration in TP (Alexiadou, 1997). If the GPC was a bi-clausal structure, then adverbials that denote distinct time frames could be licensed within the matrix and the embedded clause. However, the fact that this is not the case suggests that only a single Tense projection is responsible for adverbial licensing.

4.2.5 *Argument Extraction*

In section 2.2, it was shown that in contrast to ordinary coordinations, the GPC does not adhere to the CSC, since V2 arguments may be asymmetrically extracted in a position that precedes both V1 and V2. Additionally, in section 4.1.6, evidence from topicalization of arguments showed that *ke* does not occupy the position of a complementizer, because arguments cannot be topicalized to its left or to its right, but only in the left periphery of the matrix clause. The relevant examples are repeated below:

(141) a. Ti_i *pao/kathome* *ke* *ðiavaζo* $_i$?

what go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG

‘What do I go/sit and read?’

b. *To* *vivlio* *pao/kathome* *ke* *ðiavaζo*.

ART book go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG

‘I go/sit and read the book.’

Based on this data, it can be safely assumed that the embedded clause lacks a CP layer. Thus, under a bi-clausal analysis, movement out of the complement clause into the left periphery of the matrix clause would only be permitted if the CP layer is somehow rendered

deficient or stripped away during the derivation²⁴. However, under a mono-clausal analysis, the aforementioned extraction and topicalization patterns follow naturally.

4.3 Counterarguments to a Mono-clausal Structure

In this section, I will address two possible counterarguments that can be raised against the mono-clausal analysis of the GPC advocated here. These refer to the presence of overt inflectional material and the placement of object clitics. Starting with the first one, in section 2.1, it was shown that mood and future markers, as well as tense auxiliaries, have to precede both verbs as posited by the MSC. This raises issues in terms of a mono-clausal analysis, since in overt syntax these elements are treated as realizations of functional heads associated with Mood and Tense. In turn, this would imply that the embedded V2 projects its own functional domain in order to license those elements. However, given the MSC, we also have to consider the fact that V1 and V2 have to share an identical inflection in terms of tense, mood, and aspect. That being the case, we can explore the idea of a single functional domain accounting for the valuation of the features associated with those heads onto both verbs. For this to become theoretically possible, we need to depart from the traditional assumption that verbal inflection is directly realized through functional heads to which the verb moves (Chomsky, 1957; Pollock, 1989).

Rather, a more refined approach has to be pursued, which allows multiple inflectional forms of the same functional category to be licensed by a single functional projection. This would imply that inflection is not modeled in terms of (number of) heads, but in terms of features. Under that premise, Agree does not require movement of the goal to its c-commanding probe, but can occur in an upward fashion, in the sense that a goal can have its

²⁴ Accounts in which full sentential complements are reanalyzed or lose various projection during the course of the derivation have traditionally been proposed for restructuring infinitives (cf. Rizzi, 1982; Haegeman & van Riemsdijk, 1986; von Stechow, 1990). In these approaches, restructuring infinitives are initially merged as full CPs and end up as bare VPs through independent restructuring mechanisms. A common point of critique that has been raised against said approaches is that they violate the Projection Principle (Chomsky, 1986) and that they are predominantly premised on arbitrary rules.

features checked against the higher c-commanding probe through feature valuation. These requirements can be accommodated by the narrow-syntactic mechanism of Reverse Agree (see Wurmbrand, 2012; Zeijlstra, 2012; Bjorkman, 2016; Bjorkman & Zeijlstra, 2019).

The details of how Reverse Agree can account for the presence of overt inflectional material within a mono-clausal syntactic structure will be addressed in the next chapter, where I will focus on the syntactic derivation of the GPC. For my current argumentation, I should note that adopting an approach that models inflection in terms of a series of functional heads is impractical with regard to multi-verb constructions. Under such an approach, the same inflectional morpheme can't appear on more than one verb, unless more than one of the relevant functional heads occurs in the structure. This leads to massive opacity at the syntax/semantics interface, since it implies that multi-verb constructions that display a full inflectional paradigm are necessarily bi-clausal. However, this is empirically not the case. The literature discusses numerous examples of multi-verb constructions that attest clause union, such as complex predicates or serial verb constructions. A feature-based approach to inflection is thus more capable of addressing syntactic phenomena that fall under this spectrum.

The second counterargument that may be raised against a mono-clausal analysis of the GPC relates to clitic climbing and clitic doubling. Starting with clitic climbing, the term refers to a syntactic phenomenon associated with clausal complementation, where a clitic that refers to the object argument of the embedded verb attaches to the matrix verb instead. The availability of clitic climbing out of infinitival complements in Romance languages is commonly considered one of the main diagnostics for restructuring (Rizzi, 1976; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky, 2004; Cinque, 2006). Clitic climbing has also been attested in finite complementation, as in Serbo-Croatian (Stjepanovic, 2004). In the following example, clitic

climbing is permitted out of the embedded clause, despite the presence of the complementizer *da* and the fact that the embedded verb displays both tense and agreement morphology:

- (142) Marija ga mora/želi da posjeti.

Marija CLI.OBJ have.to/want.3SG COMP visit.PRS.3SG

‘Marija has to/wants to visit him.’ (Stjepanovic, 2004, p. 174)

Examples as in (142) suggest that clitic climbing is not purely linked to restructuring infinitival complements, but can also become available in finite types of verbal complementation. That said, in Greek, despite the occurrence of object clitics, clitic climbing is unavailable across all types of finite complementation, with the GPC being no exception:

- (143) a. Pao/kathome ke to ðiavažo.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and CLI.OBJ read.PRS.1SG

‘I go/sit and read it.’

- b. *To pao/kathome ke ðiavažo.

CLI.OBJ go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG

‘I go/sit and read it.’

On the other hand, in languages like Italian, which similarly to Greek also attests object clitics, clitic climbing in the respective pseudo-coordinate constructions is obligatory. Consider the following example of a pseudo-coordination with the verb *vaju* ‘go’ in Marsalese:

- (144) a. *Vaju a pigghiu-lu.

go.PRS.1SG to fetch.PRS.1SG-CLI.OBJ

‘I go and fetch it.’

- b. U vaju a pigghiu.

CLI.OBJ go.PRS.1SG to fetch.PRS.1SG

‘I go and fetch it.’ (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001, p. 388)

Given the established link between clitic climbing and restructuring, pseudo-coordinate constructions in Italian dialects have traditionally been analyzed as mono-clausal (see Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; Cruschina, 2013; Ledgeway, 2016). By extension, the unavailability of clitic climbing in pseudo-coordinate constructions such as the GPC could be considered an argument for the absence of restructuring and the presence of a bi-clausal structure. However, before arriving at this conclusion, what needs to be examined is whether the availability of clitic climbing can consistently be used as a means to distinguish between restructuring and non-restructuring complements or whether the phenomenon itself is subject to cross-linguistic variation.

If we look at the case of Brazilian Portuguese, where similar to Greek, clitic climbing is across the board unavailable, infinitival complements selected by exhaustive control predicates still fulfill other criteria associated with restructuring, such as licensing of embedded negative polarity items by matrix negation (Modesto, 2016). This indicates that while in languages that permit clitic climbing, the phenomenon consistently serves as an index for restructuring, its absence in other languages does not necessarily entail the absence of restructuring.

In her cross-linguistic account of restructuring, Wurmbrand (2014) distinguishes between the three different domains that constitute clausal complements, namely the thematic domain Θ ($\sim vP$), the inflectional domain Φ ($\sim TP$), and the operator domain Ω ($\sim CP$). Restructuring is assumed to arise in cases where not all domains are projected. She posits that clitic positions in restructuring complements are cross-linguistically associated with either of the three domains. In addition, elements occupying clitic positions are subjected to a freezing condition, which prevents them from moving further up the structure.

Under her approach, the cross-linguistic variation in terms of clitic climbing is accounted for by language-specific associations between clitics and the domains of the

embedded clause. In languages like Italian, for example, clitic positions are assumed to attach to the inflectional domain, which acts as a boundary to clitic climbing in non-restructuring complements, allowing clitics to escape if not projected (as is the case in restructuring complements). On the other hand, in languages like Brazilian Portuguese, clitic positions are bound to the thematic domain, and thus object clitics cannot escape complements, even when restructuring is involved (i.e., the operator and/or the inflection domain are not projected). The case of Greek can also be subsumed under the paradigm of Brazilian Portuguese, since the full range of embedded finite complements from full CPs, such as *oti/pos*-complements, to the V2 in GPC, do not attest clitic climbing.

Another syntactic phenomenon that marks the position of the object clitic within sentence structure is that of clitic doubling. It involves the doubling of a verbal argument by means of a clitic pronoun that agrees in gender, number, and case with its ‘double’ NP within the same propositional structure (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2000; Kallulli & Tasmowski, 2008; Kechagias, 2011a). Svorou (2018a) has observed that in GPCs where the embedded V2 is transitive, the clitic referring to the object argument cannot attach to the matrix V1, but rather has to attach to the embedded V2, as in (145):

- (145) a. I sibatriotes=tu piyan ke ton thimithikan to
 ART compatriots=POSS go.PST.3PL and CLI.OBJ remember.PST.3PL ART
 yalo
 French.OBJ
 ‘His compatriots went and remembered the French guy.’
- b. *I sibatriotes=tu ton piyan ke thimithikan to
 ART compatriots=POSS CLI.OBJ go.PST.3PL and remember.PST.3PL ART
 yalo
 French.OBJ

‘His compatriots went and remembered the French guy.’ (Svorou, 2018a, p. 294)

According to Svorou (2018a), this counts as evidence that GPCs in which V2 is transitive display signs of a bi-clausal structure. She asserts that it may very well be the case that GPCs where the embedded V2 is transitive are structurally distinguished from GPCs where the embedded V2 is intransitive, due to how the former behave in the presence of clitic doubling. However, this argument is infelicitous, since, given the criteria that the author has set, the only way through which the object clitic could cliticize onto V1 is through clitic climbing, which is generally excluded as a possibility in Greek. The reason why clitic doubling can only target the embedded V2 can, again, be traced to the embedded domain with which clitics interact. Assuming that in Greek, the former is the thematic domain, we expect the ‘double’ clitic to still attach to the embedded V2, even if the operator and inflectional domain are stripped off.

4.4 *Ke* ‘and’ as an Empty Marker

In Chapter 2, I demonstrated that, based on its semantic and syntactic properties, the GPC cannot be considered a syntactic structure in which *ke* functions as the conjunction coordinator. Furthermore, in section 4.1, it was shown that based on its distribution compared to other complementizers, *ke* cannot be considered a complementizer. This leaves very few possibilities available with respect to the syntactic function that this element serves in the GPC. In this section, I will propose that *ke* is a semantically empty marker that does not occupy a structural position in the syntactic derivation of the GPC. My proposal is premised on three empirical arguments that have been discussed so far concerning the status of *ke*, namely: (i) its semantic vacuousness, (ii) its omissability, and (iii) its adjacency to V2. The three arguments are intricately linked to each other in the sense that the latter two follow from the first. As addressed in section 2.8, the semantic vacuousness of *ke* in the GPC becomes especially apparent in embedded contexts:

- (146) a. Tu ipe na pai/katsi (ke) na klapsi tin
 CLI.OBJ tell.PST.3SG SUBJ go/sit.PFV.3SG and SUBJ cry.PFV.3SG ART
 mira=tu.

fate=POSS

‘He/she told him to go/sit and cry about his fate.’ (GPC)

- b. Tu ipe na pai/katsi na klapsi tin mira=tu.

CLI.OBJ tell.PST.3SG SUBJ go/sit.PFV.3SG SUBJ cry.PFV.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘He/she told him to go/sit and cry about his fate.’ (Subjunctive Complementation)

When embedded under a predicate, the GPC exhibits a complete morphological and semantic overlap with an embedded subjunctive complementation structure. In this context, the presence of *ke* does not prevent the construction from being interpreted identically to its subjunctive complementation counterpart, which is further highlighted by the fact that *ke* can be omitted altogether without accounting for a change in meaning. That said, omission of *ke* as a result of semantic vacuousness is not limited to embedded contexts, but can also occur in indicative or imperative contexts:

- (147) a. O anthropos pai/kathete klei tin mira=tu.

ART human go/sit.PRS.3SG cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human goes/sits and cries about his/her fate.’

- b. Piyene/katse klapse tin mira=su!

go/sit.IMP.2SG cry.IMP.2SG ART fate=POSS

‘Go/sit and cry about your fate!’

In these contexts, again, the absence of *ke* does not affect the semantic interpretation of the construction.

That said, *ke* cannot be omitted in contexts where adverbial modification intervenes between V1 and V2 or when V1 and V2 are embedded under negation. The relevant examples are repeated below:

(148) a. *O anthropos den pai/kathete ~~ke~~ klei tin mira=tu.

ART human NEG go/sit.PRS.3SG and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human doesn’t sit/go, he/she cries about his/her fate.’

b. *O anthropos pai/kathete ksafnika ~~ke~~ klei tin mira=tu.

ART human go/sit.PRS.3SG suddenly and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human sits/goes, suddenly he/she cries about his/her fate.’

However, in these examples, the presence of *ke* does not appear to be syntactically motivated, but can be interpreted as a discursive function. As has already been established, V1 is unable to denote a distinct proposition from V2, as this would result in the construction being read as an ordinary coordination of verbs. While in contexts like (147), the mere juxtaposition of V1 and V2 does not prevent both verbs from being realized as a single proposition, the same is not true in (148). In (148a), the absence of *ke* accounts for the negation marker being interpretable only under a narrow scope reading that involves the human not going or sitting in an implicit location and also crying about his/her fate. In spoken language, the latter reading would be accompanied by an intonational break between the two verbs. It is only through the presence of *ke* that a wide scope reading associated with pseudo-coordination can be enforced instead. In (148b), the absence of *ke* accounts for the manner adverb *ksafnika* ‘suddenly’ modifying only the V2 in *kleo* ‘cry.’ In turn, *piyeno* or *kathome* in V1 is interpreted as a distinct predicate that describes an event of motion or posture. However, through *ke* intervening between the adverbial and V2, the adverbial modifies V1 and V2 as a unit, which, again, enforces a single proposition reading upon the construction. Thus, it can be argued that

ke functions as a discourse marker whose presence is necessary to maintain the propositional integrity of the GPC in contexts where the former is challenged.

The last property that advocates for the empty status of *ke* relates again to its distribution and more specifically to its strict adjacency to V2. As was shown in section 2.6, the only syntactic material that may intervene between *ke* and the verb form in V2 are elements that belong to the extended inflectional layer of V2 and object clitics. This idiosyncrasy in terms of *ke*'s distribution cannot be accounted for under its original syntactic position as the conjunction coordinator, nor under the assumption that it occupies a position identical to that of clausal complementizers. Instead, given its semantically vacuous status, *ke* appears to be reduced to an element that, when present, attaches to the edge of the inflectional layer of V2 similarly to a clitic.

The assumption that what appears to be the conjunction coordinator is actually an empty marker is commonly attested among accounts on pseudo-coordinate constructions cross-linguistically. Regarding Danish, Kjeldahl (2010) posits that pseudo-coordinations are a subtype of control infinitives. The apparent finiteness of the V2 complement is phonologically copied from V1, since V2 does not project a syntactic structure beyond the verbal domain. The joining element *og* 'and' is not present in the syntactic structure, but serves as a phonological copying marker that prevents V2 from surfacing as a bare stem, which is not licensed in Danish and would cause the derivation to crash. In their Lexical Array²⁵-based account of Danish and Afrikaans pseudo-coordinations, Biberauer and Vikner (2017) contend that the Lexical Array associated with V2 contains not just its root and verbalizing *v*, but also *og/en* 'and.' Assuming a bottom-up structure building procedure, *og* and *en* are derived as 'edge markers' that mark the edge of the lower clause domain, which in

²⁵ Their approach is based on phase theory and on the assumption that every phasal domain is defined by a Lexical Array (Chomsky, 2001).

the case of V2 is the size of a vP²⁶. Regarding pseudo-coordinations with *ir* ‘go’ in Marsalese, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) note that the connecting element *a*, even though derived from the Latin conjunction coordinator *ac*, can be considered neither a coordinative element nor a clausal complementizer. Instead, it is analyzed as some sort of subordinative element, that even though it does not introduce clausal complement, its occurrence is required by the presence of the verb *ir* ‘go’ in V1. Finally, Andrason (2018), in his account of pseudo-coordinations with the verb *wziqć* ‘take’ in Polish, states that the conjunction coordinator *i* ‘and’ only serves as a dummy juncture suggestive of the diachronic development of these constructions from verbal coordinations into serial verb constructions.

A counterargument that could be raised against accounts that advocate for the emptiness of the conjunction coordinator is that they merely state an issue, rather than explain it. This point is raised by Manzini et al. (2017), who note that approaches in that vein are premised on the cartographic program as to the ‘syntacticization of semantics’ (Cinque & Rizzi, 2009). The former implies that a mono-eventive proposition will be mapped to a mono-clausal structure, even if the latter surfaces as two finite verbs connected by a complementizer-like element. This approach leads to massive opacity at the morpholexical interface, since elements such as the conjunction coordinator “are freely interspersed in syntactic structures as meaningless fillers and inflections do not necessarily signal syntactically relevant positions, but potentially only morphological parasitism and so on” (Manzini et al., 2017, p. 56). In that regard, a bi-clausal analysis is more preferable, since it is equipped with sufficient structure in order to relate inflection on both verbs, as well as the connecting element to syntactically relevant positions, thus maintaining a more transparent relation between syntax and morphology.

²⁶ Biberauer and Vikner’s (2017) classification of *og/en* ‘and’ as an ‘edge marker’ is in agreement with the current proposal, under which *ke* attaches to the edge of the V2 inflectional layer similarly to a clitic. The difference between the two accounts lies on the fact that in Biberauer and Vikner (2017), the connecting element participates in the syntactic derivation, whereas in the case of the GPC, *ke* (based on its omissability) is not structurally present.

While their argument definitely raises an important issue regarding transparency between syntax and morphology, it fails to address the discrepancies created by the assumption of a bi-clausal structure. In what follows, I will argue that at least for the GPC, a mono-clausal account, under which *ke* is interpreted as semantically vacuous, bears more explanatory power compared to a bi-clausal account, under which *ke* is interpreted as a complementizer-like element.

The first thing to note is that a mono-clausal structure cannot be simply dispensed on the grounds that the same meaning does not necessarily correspond to the same syntactic structure. Even if we assume that a mono-eventive proposition can theoretically be mapped into a bi-clausal structure, there is still significant evidence that points towards structural deficiency in the V2 complement. In an account that assumes a full embedded clausal domain, issues such as the lack of embedded negation, lack of independent inflection, extraction and topicalization patterns, and unavailability of subject and temporal adverbial licensing would have to be addressed independently. These issues can be addressed only through establishing some sort of link between the matrix and the embedded functional domain and/or through rendering the embedded functional domain somehow deficient (i.e., through compromising the bi-clausal structure). The major advantage of a mono-clausal structure is that it accounts for these issues straightforwardly without the need for additional stipulations.

Furthermore, it is consistent with the distribution of *ke* in the GPC, which under a bi-clausal structure would have to be treated as a clausal complementizer. Leaving aside the problems with such an analysis discussed in section 4.1, simply attributing a syntactic status to *ke* does not automatically account for a higher degree of transparency between syntax and morphology. Instead, it would still have to be explained why the construction is able to surface without its presence within specific syntactic contexts, while unable to do so in

others. In the present account, despite its semantically empty status, *ke* is not simply treated as a filler element, but as an element whose realization is necessary in the domain of discourse for maintaining the propositional integrity of the GPC, in contexts where the former is challenged, such as under negation or modification.

Another issue that results in a lack of transparency between syntax and morphology under Manzini et al.'s (2017) view pertains to shared inflection between V1 and V2 being treated as morphological parasitism within a mono-clausal structure. For example, within the mono-clausal structure of the GPC advocated here, the shared inflection on both verbs is not syntactically transparent, but accommodated through top-down valuation by a single functional domain. That said, it is unclear how a bi-clausal structure where inflection on both verbs corresponds to the presence of two distinct functional domains is overall more transparent. If inflection was indeed linked to syntactically relevant positions, then we would also expect V1 and V2 to be able to inflect independently, which is not the case in the GPC. Furthermore, such an approach leads to opacity at the syntax-semantics interface, since: (i) it does not provide a structural explanation for the MSC, and (ii) it does not structurally distinguish between the GPC and bi-clausal complementation structures, such as the *oti/pos-*, *pu-*, and *na-*complementation discussed in section 4.1.

5. The Syntactic Derivation of the GPC and the Relation to Verb Serialization

In the previous three chapters, I examined the status of the stable elements of the GPC as well as the relation between V1 and V2, with the goal of uncovering its syntactic structure. So far, I have established the following four key components of a prospective syntactic account: (i) *piyeno* and *kathome* are light verbs that, due to their minimal lexical contribution and their semantic dependency on an eventive predicate, are considered elements which are merged as the head of a little *v* projection, (ii) *ke* is a semantically vacuous element that functions merely as a discourse marker, (iii) V1 and V2 stand in a subordinate relation to each other that involves V2 being realized as the complement of V1, (iv) V1 and V2 exhibit a high degree of morphological, semantic, and syntactic dependency, in that they exhibit clause union.

Based on these findings, in the first part of this chapter, I will provide an account of the syntactic derivation of the GPC rooted in the Minimalist framework. The present account builds upon the feature-based account of motion verb pseudo-coordination developed in Georgopoulos (2021). In the second part of this chapter, given the surface similarities between the GPC and serial verb constructions (SVCs), I will explore the idea of an interface between pseudo-coordination and verb serialization. To do so, I will consult two prominent accounts on the defining criteria of SVCs cross-linguistically: Aikhenvald's (2006) typology-based account of SVCs and Haspelmath's (2016) account of SVCs as a 'comparative concept.' Based on these accounts, I examine the extent to which these criteria are applicable to constructions such as the GPC and discuss the degree of approximation that the GPC attests to a prototypical SVC.

5.1 Syntactic Derivation of the GPC

An issue that is integral to the syntactic derivation of the GPC and will be addressed in this section pertains to the requirements of the MSC. As was pointed out in section 2.1, the

MSC dictates that V1 and V2 have to morphologically agree in terms of the categories of Mood, Tense, and Aspect. The inflectional agreement imposed by the MSC relates not only to affix-like morphology, as in (149a), but also to elements that belong to the extended inflectional layer of each verb, as in (149b):

(149) a. O Iianis piye/kathise ke diavase to vivlio.

ART John go/sit.PST.3SG and read.PST.3SG ART book

‘John went/sat and read the book.’

b. Itan anamenomeno o Iianis na echi pai/katsi ke na

be.PST.3SG expected ART John SUBJ AUX.3SG go/sit.PFV and SUBJ

echi diavasi to vivlio.

AUX.3SG read.PFV ART book

‘It was expected for John to have gone/sat and read the book.’

In contrast to other functional categories, the category of Voice is exempt from the MSC. More specifically, it was shown that V2 may receive a +/-ACTIVE voice specification, regardless of the fixed voice specification of V1. From a structural perspective, this suggests that V2 has a distinct functional projection that licenses voice alternations. Following previous research on the syntactization of Voice (Marantz, 1997; Alexiadou et al., 2006; Folli & Harley, 2007), I consider this category to be encoded above the VP. In addition, following Merchant (2008), Harley (2009, 2013), and Ramchand (2018), I consider the verbalizing head (vP) as distinct from the external argument-introducing projection (VoiceP). This gives us a tripartite structure of the verb phrase made up of VoiceP, vP, and VP. Furthermore, this implies that VoiceP constitutes the projection situated at the top of the first phase²⁷.

²⁷ In traditional theory on locality (Chomsky, 1995; and subsequent work), it is widely assumed that little *v* is the highest head in the verbal domain and naturally also the head associated with the edge of the phase. Ramchand (2018) notes that syntactic work on locality often operates with a very coarse-grained phrase structure, which can lead to ambiguity regarding the timing of Spell-Out and the exact size of the verbal domain. On the other hand, syntactic work focused on the verbal domain generally agrees upon the fact that little *v* and voice cannot be

This also ensures compatibility with Ramchand's (2008) model presented in section 3.4.1, where voice is assigned in the same domain as event decomposition. According to Ramchand (2008), voice is understood as a byproduct of how the event structure is syntactically decomposed and how arguments are mapped to the sub-events (initiation, process, result). More specifically, voice alternations are captured by how the InitP is projected into the structure. For example, in active constructions, the external argument is syntactically realized in the InitP, where it can directly license an agent or causer. On the other hand, with passive, the transitive verb still retains and projects its init feature, although the passive morphology existentially binds off the actual Initiation position.

As already discussed, the main reason for adopting Ramchand's (2008) model for the syntactic analysis of the GPC is that it can accurately capture the subevental semantics of pseudo-coordinate verbs. While I assume that light verb *piyeno* and *kathome* only project an InitP due to their meager event semantics, I do not commit to the theoretical implications of Ramchand's (2008) model regarding the role of InitP in the syntactization of voice. Instead, I opt to compromise Ramchand's (2008) notion of InitP with a more conventional approach to the first phase, compatible with the advances of Minimalist theory. In that regard, I use the label vP as the structural equivalent of InitP in terms of event decomposition. As to the encoding of voice, similar to event decomposition, I consider the former to also occur within the first phase, albeit under a distinct functional projection labeled as VoiceP.

Taking this into account, we can now begin to sketch out the syntactic derivation associated with the first phase. Assuming a bottom-up bare phrase structure procedure (Chomsky, 1995), structure building begins inside the vP, where arguments are assigned their thematic role based on the lexical properties of the verb. First, the lexical V2 is merged as the

collapsed into a single functional head. If this assumption is correct, then the phase head of the verbal domain is marked by Voice and not by little v.

head of a VP projection along with a possible internal argument in complement position.

Building then continues with the vP layer of V2, where the external argument is merged in the specifier position and is assigned its thematic role. Finally, the verbal domain of V2 is concluded through Merge of the VoiceP projection, which is considered the head that affects voice alternations by either licensing an agentive external argument (active voice) or by promoting the internal patient argument to subject position (passive voice). Under the single verb usage of V2 outside of the GPC, the first phase of the clause would now be completed and sent to the interfaces for Spell-Out.

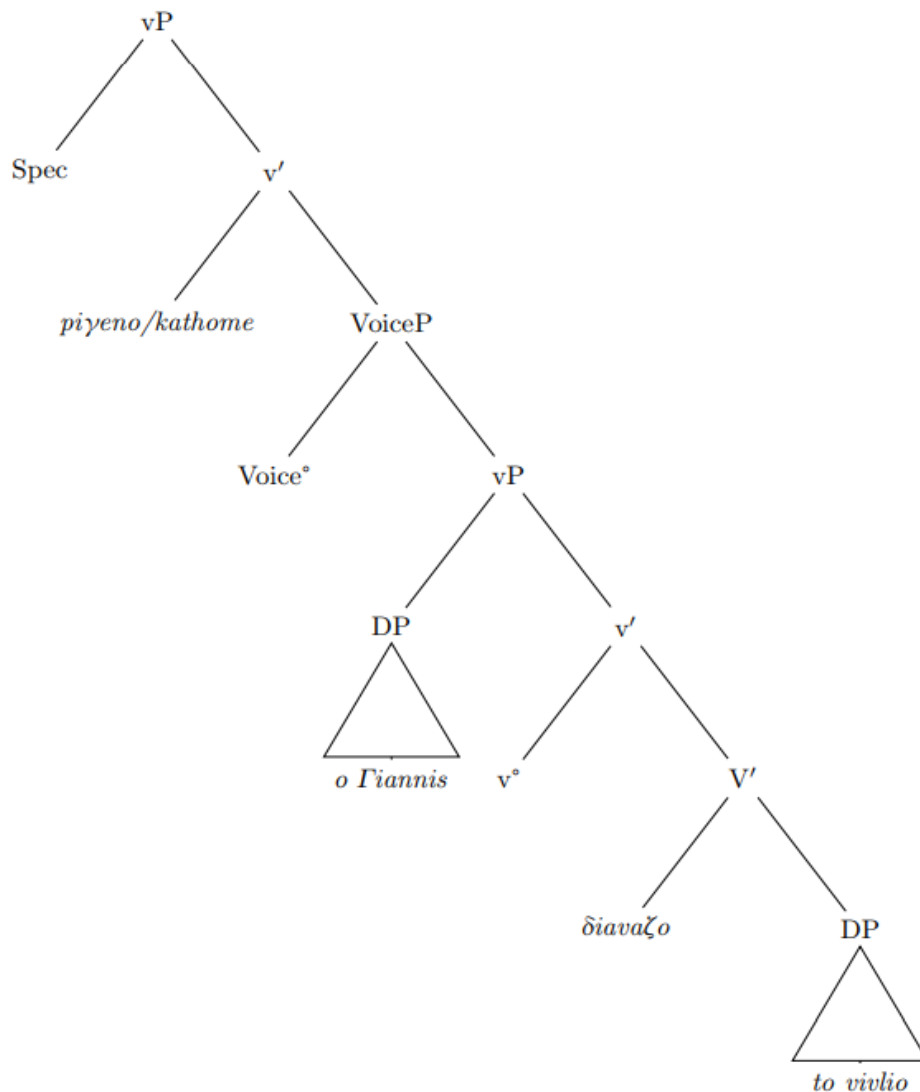
That said, the GPC represents a case where the already merged VoiceP is still available for argument selection within the first phase. As was demonstrated in section 3.4.1, within the GPC, *piyeno* and *kathome* enter syntax as light verbs that lack eventive information to denote an independent event, conceptualized as a ‘spatio-temporal’ unit. As such, they are predicationally dependent on other predicates, to be able to form an eventive proposition. In Ramchand’s (2008) terms, they underassociate their proc feature, otherwise present in their lexical specification, and thus require that proc feature to be realized by a different lexical item.

As long as V2 is marked by a proc feature in its lexical entry, it becomes available for argument selection by the light version of *piyeno* and *kathome*, which projects only an InitP. Following more conventional terminology, I consider an InitP to correspond to a bare little v projection, since within Minimalist theory, little v constitutes the domain typically associated with light verbs and event structure²⁸. Returning to the syntactic derivation of the GPC, the

²⁸ Recall that in Ramchand’s (2008) model, there is no prediction for theta role assignment. Instead, each subeventual projection assigns a universal semantic role to the external argument in the form of ‘Initiator,’ ‘Undergoer,’ and ‘Resultee.’ Theoretically, this could mean that the same argument receives more than a single semantic role. This approach does not conform to theta role assignment as the formal device for representing syntactic argument structure. With that in mind, the light verb vP assumed here as the structural equivalent of InitP is not recursive, in the sense that its specifier position does not assign an additional thematic role to the shared subject merged in the specifier of the lower vP.

first phase is complete once V1 is merged inside its vP projection. Using the GPC in (149a) as an example, we have the following structure:

(150) **The first phase of the GPC**



The derivation of the functional domain is intricately linked to the MSC, since the features associated with the TMA projections have to be reflected in the inflectional morphology of both V1 and V2. Below, I will advance an account of how the functional domain can be modeled, so as to capture the inflectional requirements posited by the MSC. As I have pointed out in Chapter 1, I make two important theoretical assumptions that are necessary for my account to be put in place.

First, I assume that a single functional projection can license multiple inflectional realizations of the same morphological category. Within narrow syntax, this assumption is accommodated by the so-called Reverse Agree model (see Wurmbrand, 2012; Zeijlstra, 2012; Bjorkman, 2016; Bjorkman & Zeijlstra, 2019). Secondly, I assume that the syntactic derivation is comprised of two distinct components, namely a syntactic component, which is responsible for the form of complex syntactico-semantic expressions, and a morphological component, which involves the mechanisms that produce the corresponding morphological expressions (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999).

Having outlined the two main ingredients of my analysis, I will next look at how the MSC can be explained on the basis of a feature-based approach to inflectional morphology. To this end, I introduce Wurmbrand's (2012) Reverse Agree model of inflectional licensing and explain how the former can be implemented within the current derivation²⁹. In her analysis, Wurmbrand (2012) distinguishes between two types of features: interpretable features (iF), which contribute to semantic interpretation, and uninterpretable features (uF), which are semantically irrelevant but may surface morphologically. Additionally, features are categorized as either valued (F: val), meaning they are specified, or unvalued (F: $_$), meaning they are unspecified for a semantic value. Functional heads are associated with specific sets of interpretable and valued features, with which they value the corresponding unvalued and uninterpretable features on the verbal heads in a downward fashion. In this sense, Reverse Agree departs from standard Agree, where feature transfer occurs upwards, specifically from commanded goals to c-commanding probes (Chomsky, 1998). The mechanism of Reverse Agree is defined as follows:

(151) Reverse Agree (Wurmbrand, 2012)

²⁹ As pointed out in Zeijlstra (2012), Reverse Agree is naturally suited to account for cases of Multiple Agree. To this end, the model has received various implementations in the literature, not only for cases of inflectional identity among multiple verbs within a single clause (see Bjorkman, 2016), but also for cases of ϕ -agreement (see Baker, 2008; Merchant, 2011), and for negative concord (see Zeijlstra, 2008, 2010).

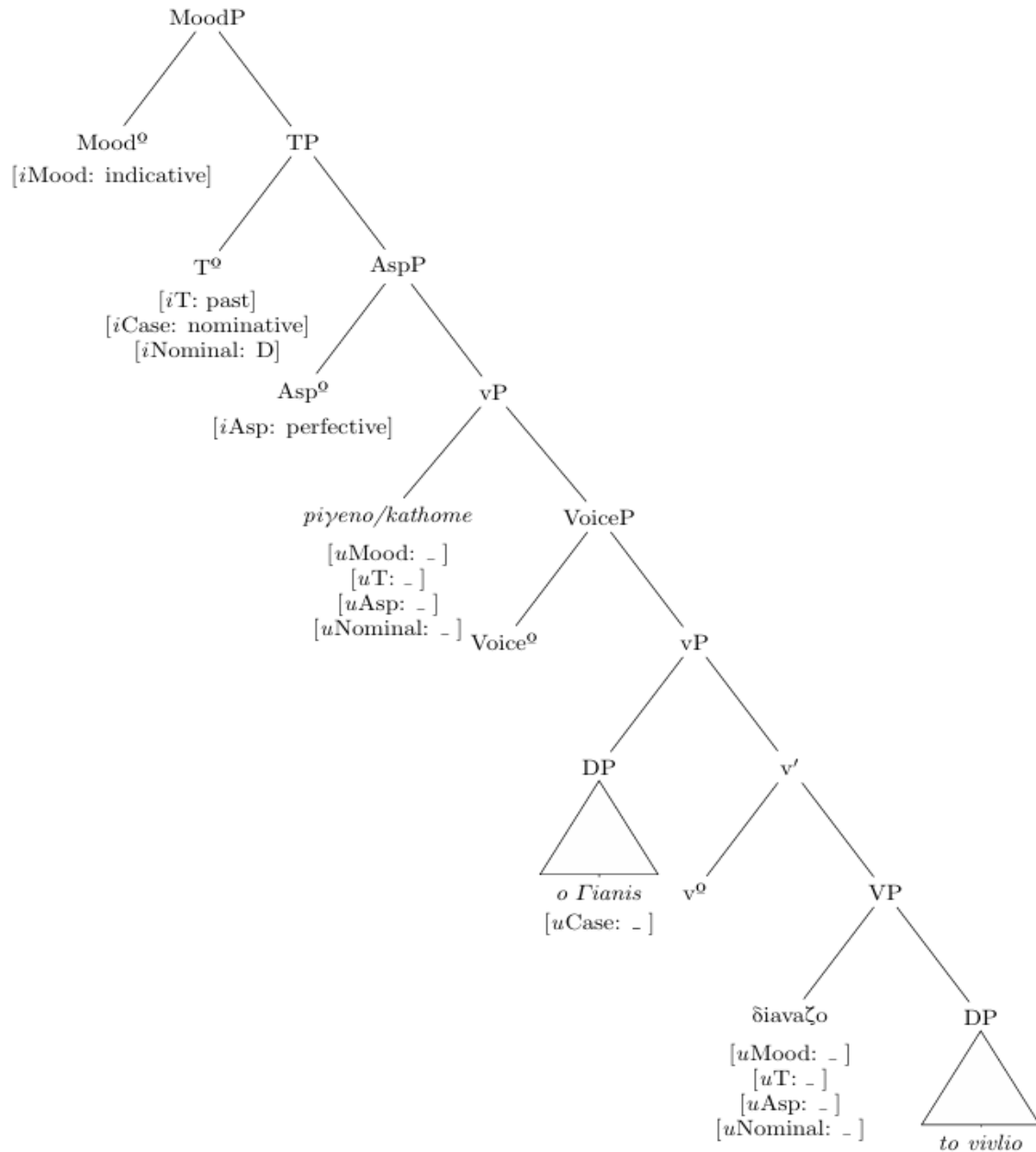
are assumed to simultaneously establish an Agree relation with the valued and interpretable aspectual feature of the higher head, which licenses their top-down feature valuation.

The same process is then repeated for the tense domain. Given the Reverse Agree mechanism assumed here, I consider that feature valuation encompasses not only the features associated with temporal information, but also with case assignment and the satisfaction of the EPP. As such, I consider T° to also carry an [iF: nominative] case feature through the downward valuation, of which it is able to license nominative case on the shared subject. In addition, since EPP checking essentially relates to D-feature checking, I consider T° to also contain an [iF: D] feature through which it licenses subject agreement on the inflectional morphology of both V1 and V2³¹.

Finally, the derivation of the functional domain ends in the mood domain with Merge of a MoodP. Again, the valued and interpretable mood feature of $Mood^\circ$ enters into an Agree relation with the unvalued and uninterpretable mood features on V1 and V2, thus licensing their valuation. An example of how feature valuation through Reverse Agree obtains for the GPC in (149a) is given below:

(152) Feature valuation through Reverse Agree in example (149a)

³¹ This is based on the assumption that at the subject agreement affix disclosed in the inflectional morphology of the verb has the categorical status of a nominal [+D] element, through which it can check the EPP (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998).



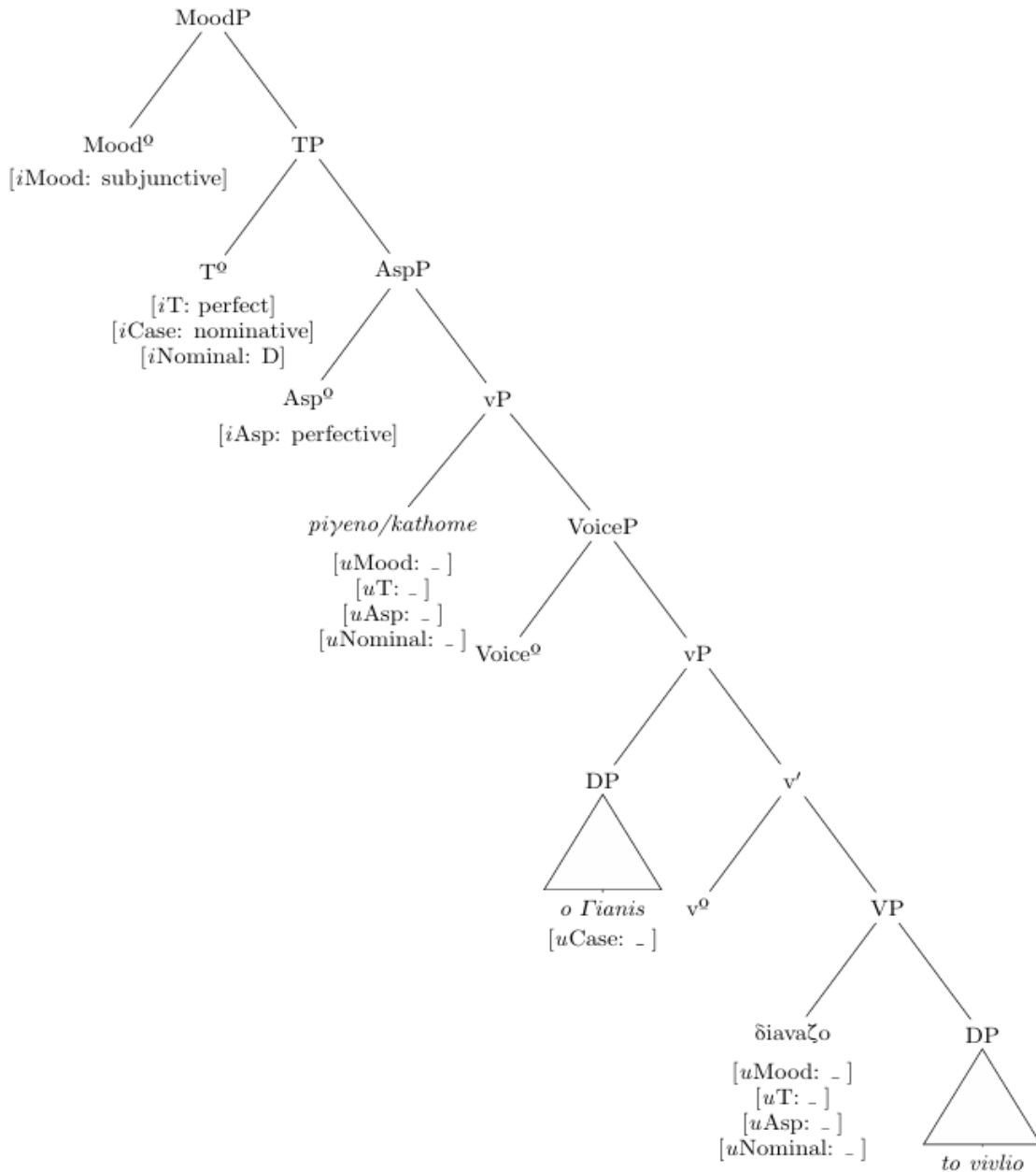
Under a DM framework, which maintains distinction between the syntactic and the morphological component of the derivation, it is possible to account for instances in which overt inflectional material is duplicated within the same mono-clausal structure as a result of satisfying the MSC. As hinted in section 1.2.3, surface morphemes, such as mood markers, tense auxiliaries, and future particles, are not interpreted as elements present in the syntactic derivation, but as collections of features that receive their morphological realization post-syntactically. Since these features are realized identically on both V1 and V2, their syntactic

derivation can be captured under the top-down feature valuation mechanism instigated by Reverse Agree. Consider, for example, the GPC shown in (149b), repeated below as (153):

- (153) Itan anamenomeno o Iianis na echi pai/katsi ke na
 be.PST.3SG expected ART John SUBJ AUX.3SG go/sit.PFV and SUBJ
 echi diavasi to vivlio.
 AUX.3SG read.PFV ART book
 ‘It was expected for John to have gone/sat and read the book.’

Assuming that functional heads carry an interpretable and valued feature to the semantic value of the head (Wurmbrand, 2012), perfect tense can be encoded as an [iF: perfect] associated with T°, and subjunctive mood can be encoded as an [iF: subjunctive] associated with Mood°. These functional heads establish an Agree relation with both V1 and V2 via top-down valuation of the unvalued [uF: _] features on the verbal elements. Once the syntactic component has manipulated inflectional features, the morphological component becomes responsible for the insertion of the morphological markers associated with perfect tense and subjunctive mood. Through that process, the GPC surfaces with two distinct overt realizations of the subjunctive marker *na* and the tense auxiliary echo ‘have.’ Feature valuation through Reverse Agree for the GPC in (153) proceeds, as shown below:

(154) Feature valuation through Reverse Agree in example (153)



Finally, a last issue I would like to briefly address pertains to how the syntactic derivation advanced here can account for the different surface positions constituents may realize within a clause. Word order in Greek is relatively flexible due to its case system and rich verbal morphology. Declarative matrix clauses allow for all the major word orders (including VOS, OVS, and SOV), with the predominant ones being VS(O) and SV(O), the former representing the least marked order (Philippaki-Warburton, 1985).

The GPC also shows a great degree of flexibility in terms of the order of its constituents, in that it exhibits all the typical word orders of matrix clauses in Greek. The only restrictions in terms of constituent order inherent to the GPC relate to the fixed order of V1 and V2 and the unavailability of argument realization in positions between verbs and the conjunction coordinator. These positions were specified when discussing the adjacency restrictions of the GPC in section 2.6. Specifically, it was shown that a subject argument may not be realized in Position A, and the object argument neither in Position A nor Position B.

What needs to be considered in the context of the present account is that within traditional Minimalist theory, the basic word orders of a language are typically derived through movement operations, such as subject movement to SpecTP for the EPP and case licensing (Chomsky, 1995) or through verb raising to T° in null subject languages like Greek for the EPP (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998). However, in the syntactic derivation presented above, no movement operations for feature licensing are stipulated. Instead, features are percolated directly into the corresponding syntactic elements in a top-down manner. What I would like to advocate here is that, even though the present account is deprived of movement operations for feature licensing, it can still be deemed as compatible with common assumptions about the derivation of different word orders without requiring additional stipulations. This should by no means be viewed as a conclusive account of the realization of the different word orders in Greek, nor of the parameters that influence word order in general.

Particularly in Greek, word order is considered to be determined by several exosyntactic factors, such as discourse configurationality, information structure, and pragmatic articulations (Keller & Alexopoulou, 2001; Haidou, 2006; Roussou & Tsimpli, 2006; Kechagias, 2011b). My goal is merely to argue that the fact that the subject and both

V1 and V2 remain in situ during the derivation does not prevent the present account from being amenable to the wide spectrum of word orders associated with declarative clauses. Starting with the nascent positions in which constituents are derived within the GPC, we get an unmarked VS(O) order, in which the subject mediates between V1 and V2. By comparison, in traditional mono-verbal clauses, a VS(O) order is generally considered to be achieved through verb raising to T° for the EPP, while the subject remains in situ (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998).

The derivation of a VOS order in mono-verbal clauses is not as straightforward. While a VOS order is usually considered to be derived from an underlying VSO order, the exact parameters involved in the derivation have been a topic of debate (Tsimpli, 1990; Alexiadou, 1997; Georgiafentis, 2001; Philippaki-Warburton, 2001; Kechagias, 2011b). The most prominent accounts propose that a VOS order is derived either through right adjunction of the subject in a position relatively high in the tree (Tsimpli, 1990; Philippaki-Warburton, 2001), A-movement of the object to SpecVoiceP (Alexiadou, 1997), p-movement of the VP to the specifier of a higher Topic projection (Georgiafentis, 2001), or pied-piping of the entire v' node containing both the verb and the object to SpecTP (Kechagias, 2011b).

The first set of approaches (e.g., Tsimpli (1990) and Philippaki-Warburton (2001)) can be applied to the GPC without any further stipulations to account for a VOS order. Due to the subject being unstressed in a VOS order, the former approaches assume that it is instead merged as an adjunct, thus allowing other constituents to receive main prominence. This assumption, when applied to the natural VSO order of the GPC, gives us VOS.

Turning to subject-initial word orders, in mono-verbal clauses, these word orders are assumed to involve Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) of the subject, which is considered to occupy a non-argument position in the left periphery of the clause, either the specifier of a TopicP or the specifier of a FocusP (Philippaki-Warburton, 1985; Iatridou, 1995; Alexiadou &

Anagnostopoulou, 1998). Given that the GPC is naturally derived as a VS(O), having the subject being merged in the specifier of a non-argument projection in the left periphery of the clause instead of SpecvP would also account for the derivation of the SV(O) without the need for any further operations.

The last set of word orders to be addressed concerns orders in which the object argument precedes the verbal components of the GPC, such as SOV and OVS. For these word orders to be derived, the object argument is usually assumed to undergo movement to a higher argument or non-argument position to receive presentational or contrastive focus. These types of operations can be made available through one of the hallmark properties of the GPC and pseudo-coordinations cross-linguistically, namely the possibility of asymmetric extraction. Within the derivation provided above, an OVS order is obtained if we assume that the projection to which the object moves occupies a position outside of the verbal domain. The same process also applies to an SOV word order, although, in this case, the object argument would have to move to a position lower than the non-argument position that the preverbal subject occupies at the left periphery of the clause.

5.2 The GPC and Verb Serialization

So far, I have demonstrated that the GPC represents an instance of complex predication, in the sense that it combines two distinct verbal components jointly expressing a unified meaning that corresponds to a single integrated event. Furthermore, in Chapter 2, I have highlighted certain semantic and syntactic properties that point towards a high degree of semantic and syntactic integration, such as the MSC. Another property characteristic of the degree of integration pertains to the omissability of the conjunction coordinator, which accounts for the construction superficially resembling a serial verb construction (SVC).

While Greek is not traditionally considered a ‘serializing’ language, similar to Yoruba, Mandarin, or Thai, the data discussed above strongly indicate the GPC's candidate

status in terms of its identification as an SVC. Below, I provide two examples of SVCs that superficially resemble the GPC, in that they involve one verb from a grammatically or semantically restricted class (e.g., motion or posture verbs) and one verb from an open class. In addition, similar to the GPC, both verbs are interpreted as an integrated event with the verb from the open class contributing the main eventive information:

(155) a. W-u-nak w-i-chúlok.

3PL.F.SBJ-IRR-go 3PL.F.SBJ-IRR-wash

‘They will go (and) wash.’ (Vitu) (Conrad & Wogiga, 1991, p. 56)

b. M-ísī m-úsā dā.

1SG-sit 1SG-eat meat

‘I am eating meat.’ (Ngambay-Moundou) (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 277)

The relation between pseudo-coordinations and SVCs constitutes a recurring topic of discussion across the literature, with multiple authors pointing out underlying similarities between the two syntactic phenomena. For example, Kjeldahl (2010) states that motion and posture verb pseudo-coordination in Danish displays a very similar underlying structure to that of prototypical SVCs. In addition, both instances are marked by complex event formation, in the sense that one verb plays more of a functional role, while the other verb acts purely as a lexical element. However, in contrast to the prototypical SVCs that involve an uninterrupted sequence of finite verbs, the respective Danish examples cannot occur without the presence of a conjunction coordinator, which in this context is considered to function as a licenser for finite inflection.

A similar observation is made by Cruschina (2013) regarding motion verb pseudo-coordination in Sicilian dialects. He observes that, under a strict definition of SVCs (as in Baker, 1989), pseudo-coordination in Sicilian would be excluded due to the lack of object sharing and the presence of the connecting element *a* ‘and.’ However, under a more dynamic

approach to the defining characteristics of SVCs, as in Aikhenvald (2006), the construction can be classified as an SVC, which in turn offers many advantages in accounting for its morphosyntactic and semantic properties.

Turning to pseudo-coordinate constructions in Polish, Andrason (2018) documents a double-verb construction that consists of the verb *wziąć* ‘take’ occupying the V1 slot and a variable V2 that may be occupied by a wide range of lexical verbs. The two verbs are linked by an element homophonous to the conjunction coordinator in Polish *i* ‘and.’ Andrason (2018) notes that even though the construction superficially resembles a coordination of verbs, it exhibits syntactic and semantic properties, otherwise indicative of serial verb constructions (as outlined in Aikhevald, 2006), such as mono-eventhood, mono-predicativity, and mono-clausality. According to the author, the construction is perceived as a pseudo-coordination representing the initial stage of a grammaticalization path from a bi-clausal construction to an SVC and subsequently to a mono-verbal construction. The only property that differentiates the *wziąć* construction from a canonical SVC is the presence of *i*, which is assumed not to represent a true coordinator, but “a dummy juncture—an atavistic relic of its diachronic origin” (Andrason, 2018, p. 188). This mixed trans-categorical profile relates the *wziąć* construction both to its predecessor (i.e., conjunctive clause combining) and its successor (i.e., the juncture-free *wziąć* construction), a canonical SVC. Andarson (2018) concludes that instead of having the same origin, different types of SVCs can be derived from different sources. The *wziąć* construction in Polish represents the evolution from a syndetic type of conjoining coordination through pseudo-coordination to a canonical SVC. During this development, the coordinator *i* is reduced to a pseudo-coordinator and eventually becomes eliminated.

A debate regarding the parallels between SVCs and pseudo-coordination has also been raised for Greek. Svorou (2018a) points out that the GPC with *piyeno* exhibits many of

the characteristic properties of SVCs, namely “it involves a mono-clausal sequence of verbs that have the same tense, aspect, and polarity value, share a core argument and are conceptualized as a single event” (p. 294). In addition, the verb *piyeno* is not assumed to express an independent event. Instead, aspects of its semantic structure frame the event expressed by V2. Within this context, the semantic contribution of *ke* is rather minimal, as indicated by the fact that it may be omitted altogether. Thus, Svorou (2018a) contends that the GPC can be considered a type of SVC, even though it might not exhibit the grammatical generality of traditional SVCs.

From the discussion so far, it is apparent that although cross-linguistically pseudo-coordination and SVCs share similarities in terms of the semantic integration of their components, the former are typologically distinguished by the presence of the conjunction coordinator. In that regard, the fact that the GPC displays an asyndetic variant within certain syntactic contexts, highlighted in section 2.8, represents an interesting case with respect to the degree of approximation the construction attests to prototypical SVCs. Following up on the assumption of Svorou (2018a) that the GPC can theoretically be considered a subtype of SVCs, in what follows, I plan to examine this issue in more detail.

That said, the categorization of the GPC as an SVC would have to be substantiated not only based on empirical similarities, but also by systematically examining to what extent these constructions can fit under a categorical definition for SVCs. Such an investigation is considered to shed light not only on the categorical boundaries of the two phenomena from a typological perspective, but also on the mechanisms that underlie multi-verb constructions in general. While the categorical properties that make up pseudo-coordinations cross-linguistically have more or less been well-defined, there is a lack of consensus regarding the definitional properties that qualify a verbal construction as an SVC.

This is attributed to the fact that a large and heterogeneous variety of verbal constructions have historically been subsumed under the umbrella of verbal serialization. More specifically, while the term was initially coined to describe a common verb pattern in Akan (Stewart, 1963), the usage of the term gradually extended to cover geographically close languages like Yoruba (Stahlke, 1970), and historically related languages like the creoles of the Atlantic region (Sebba, 1987), the typologically similar languages in South-east and East Asia (Li & Thompson, 1973), and finally even typologically unrelated languages like Serbo-Croatian (Sočanac & Joseph, 2023). However, every new extension of the term to a new language possibly entails a change in its original meaning, since the properties that were applicable in the original languages might have no relevance in the new language. Because of the difficulty in pinning down the definitional properties of the SVC category under a cross-linguistic scope, it has sometimes been suggested that SVCs are a constellation, or ‘syndrome,’ of features, rather than a well-defined, cross-linguistically valid grammatical structure (Seuren, 1991).

Nonetheless, multiple constructions identified as SVCs cross-linguistically do exhibit a number of consistent similarities, and thus the phenomenon lends itself to being captured under a cross-linguistic definition. Within the current literature, there are two prominent accounts that attempt to identify the cross-linguistic properties of SVCs and provide a set of defining criteria that cover the current and possible future manifestations of the phenomenon. The first is Aikhenvald’s (2006) typologically-driven account that aims to establish an SVC prototype that acts as a point of reference, according to which constructions found in various languages are classified as SVCs, based on their degree of approximation to a prototype.

The second is Haspelmath’s (2016) account, which provides a sufficiently restrictive definition of SVCs, with the purpose of formulating a ‘comparative concept’ that can be systematically and universally applied to specify whether a construction can be classified as

an SVC or not. In the remainder of this chapter, I will provide an overview of the defining criteria for SVCs, as outlined in Aikhenvald (2006) and Haspelmath (2016) respectively. Furthermore, I will test the extent to which these criteria can be applied to the GPC to identify its possible SVC status and to elaborate on the interface between pseudo-coordination and verbal serialization.

5.2.1 A Typology-based Account of SVCs (Aikhenvald, 2006)

Aikhenvald (2006) conducts a cross-linguistic typological study on verbal serialization to establish a comprehensive analytic framework, based on various languages of different typological profiles and genetic affiliations. In her work, verbal serialization is not treated as a unified and homogenous grammatical category, but as a universal grammatical technique covering various meanings and functions. To account for all the different properties linked to verbal serialization across different languages, Aikhenvald (2006) adopts a scalar, continuum-type approach, with respect to how SVCs can be categorized. More specifically, she puts forward the notion of an SVC prototype, which is defined as follows:

A prototypical serial verb construction—or a serial verb, for short—is defined as a sequence of inflected verbs or verb roots which act together as a single predicate, without an overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. In terms of their definitional properties, serial verbs are mono-clausal. Their intonational properties are those of a mono-verbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. Components of serial verbs cannot be negated separately. Serial verbs may also share arguments and obliques. Serial verbs typically describe what can be conceptualized as a single event. Each component of an SVC must be able to occur on its own. Within an SVC, the individual verbs may have the same, or different, transitivity values (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 1).

The SVC prototype represents the maximal set of properties. However, the prototype is not to be equated with the SVC category itself, since the category is assumed to extend far beyond the properties of the prototype. As such, verbal constructions attributed the categorical status of ‘SVC’ may exhibit most, but not necessarily all, of the aforementioned properties. More canonical instances of verbal serialization show greater resemblance to the prototype and share most of its properties, while less canonical instances may approximate the prototype only to a limited extent. Crucially, there may not be a single sufficient property for a construction to be categorized as an SVC. Instead, the inclusion of a multi-verb construction under the SVC taxon is linked to the degree of approximation it exhibits to the properties found in the prototype.

Next, I will examine how the GPC responds to the properties listed in the definition to ascertain its degree of approximation to the prototype. It should be noted that the properties presented in the prototype serve as an index of the diachronic development from multi-verb/multi-clausal constructions to mono-verbal/mono-clausal constructions that SVCs have undergone. According to Aikhenvald (2006), “SVCs originate in bi-clausal and bi-verbal structures and develop towards mono-clausality by gradually increasing their semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological cohesion” (p. 56).

Based on its properties, the GPC can also be considered confined in a continuum between clausality and verbiness. On a surface level, the construction resembles ordinary coordination of clauses, however on a morphosyntactic and semantic level, the construction approximates a mono-clausal/mono-verbal construction. As such, a significant overlap in terms of properties between the GPC and SVCs could point towards a similar underlying grammaticalization path of these constructions, which in turn can be used as a point of reference for the diachronic development of these constructions. Based on Aikhenvald’s

(2006) definition, the set of prototypical properties that will be examined for the GPC is summarized below:

(156) Properties of the SVC Prototype (Aikhenvald, 2006):

- a. Mono-eventhood – SVCs express ‘one assertion’ that conveys a single event.
- b. Mono-predicativity – SVCs occupy ‘one functional slot in a clause,’ precluding any type of syntactic dependency (e.g., subordination, embedding, nominalization).
- c. Mono-clausality – SVCs function as a single clause, distinguishing themselves from coordination, consecutivization, and complement clauses. Furthermore, SVCs do not allow any markers of dependency on their components.
- d. Shared TAM – SVCs exhibit a single TAM value, and their components cannot be marked by different, especially incompatible, TAM categories. SVCs are not confined to a particular TAM category, but appear in various TAM categories available in a language.
- e. Single intonational group – SVCs exhibit intonation characteristic of a single clause, lacking pauses or intonational contours, as would be the case in complex clauses.
- f. Shared polarity – the entire SVC maintains a unitary value. Accordingly, the components of SVC cannot denote negative and positive polarity separately.
- g. Shared core argument – the core and peripheral arguments belong to the entire construction. The components do not govern separate arguments and do not allow for duplicate roles.
- h. Independence of components – the components of SVCs can occur on their own, exhibiting, in such cases, their original lexical meaning.

5.2.2 *Mono-eventhood*

The components of an SVC generally describe what is conceptualized as a single event. Aikhenvald (2006) explains that there is a lack of conceptual clarity associated with the notion of a ‘single event,’ which is linked to the fact that the boundaries between the semantic description of a single event and what is perceived as a macro-event consisting of multiple subevents are hard to define and sometimes culturally dependent. Within individual languages, different SVCs might encode one event, several subevents closely linked together, or several subevents in sequence, which may be conceptualized as connected to each other. SVCs cross-linguistically, and even within the same language, may occupy different places on the continuum between one indissoluble event and a sequence of linked subevents.

Turning to the GPC, in section 2.10, it was shown that the construction is conceptualized as a single integrated event, based on how the construction responds to distributivity and anaphoric reference. While the notion of mono-eventhood as described in Aikhenvald’s (2006) framework is broad and to a great extent language/culture-dependent, a straightforward diagnostic that can be implemented to inspect the eventhood of a construction pertains to how the latter responds in the presence of event modifiers, as seen below:

(157) a. O Ianis piye/kathise ke diavase to vivlio dio fores.

ART John go/sit.PST.3SG and read.PST.3SG ART book two times

‘John went/sat and read the book two times.’

b. #O Ianis piye/kathise tris fores ke diavase to vivlio dio fores.

ART John go/sit.PST.3SG three times and read.PST.3SG ART book two times

‘John went/sat three times and read the book two times.’

In (157a), the modifier *dio fores* ‘two times’ takes scope over both verbs of the construction. The reading that arises is that of the subject participant having inceptively performed the act of reading two times (in the case of *piyeno*) or having been engrossed in the act of reading

two times (in the case of *kathome*). However, in (157b), the presence of a separate event modifier after V1 yields a reading under which the subject participant has gone or sat in an unspecified or implicit location three times and has also read the book two times. The presented data suggest that event modifiers must take scope over both V1 and V2 simultaneously, for a pseudo-coordinate reading to be sustained. Thus, the notion of mono-eventhood is indispensable to the GPC.

5.2.3 *Mono-predicativity*

The mono-predicativity criterion specifies that an SVC functions on par with mono-verbal clauses in discourse and occupies one core functional slot in a clause. Verbs that form an SVC act together as a syntactic whole. As demonstrated in Chapter 2, similar to prototypical SVCs, the GPC operates as a syntactic whole within contexts that involve syntactic dependencies, such as embedding or nominalization. Dependency in the case of the GPC is morphologically marked through the subjunctive marker *na* being individually repeated for each verb of the construction, as prescribed by the MSC. As such, in (158a), both V1 and V2 operate as a syntactic whole, since they are both embedded under the control verb *thelo* ‘want.’ Accordingly, in (158b), both V1 and V2 are embedded under the neuter article *to* ‘the,’ as indicated by the two separate instances of the subjunctive marker *na*:

- (158) a. O Fianis theli na pai/katsi ke na ðiavasi to
 ART John want.PRS.3SG SUBJ go/sit.PFV.3SG and SUBJ read.PFV.3SG ART
 vivlio.
 book
 ‘John wants to go/sit and read the book.’
- b. To na pas/katsis ke na ðiavasis to vivlio ine
 ART SUBJ go/sit.PFV.2SG and SUBJ read.PFV.2SG ART book be.PRS.3SG
 chronovoro.

time-consuming

‘To go/sit and read the book is time-consuming.’

The fact that embedding and nominalization are possible only if they apply to the entire construction suggests that V1 and V2 operate syntactically as a single predicate.

5.2.4 *Mono-clausality*

Serial verb constructions are mono-clausal and allow no markers of syntactic dependency on their components. However, they can include a special marker that distinguishes an SVC from other types of constructions, but does not mark any dependency relations between the components. This is critical in distinguishing serial verb constructions from coordination, consecutivization, complement clauses, subordinate clauses, and other multi-clausal structures. An example of such a construction-specific marker can be found in the Khoisan language of Khwe. In (159), the morpheme glossed as ‘II’ obligatory suffixes to each verb of the SVC, except for the last one. However, this morpheme does not have a coordinating or subordinating function anywhere else in the grammar.

(159) Xà má [kyǎĩ-a ám-à-tè].

3SG.M be.nice-II feel-I-PRS

‘He feels well.’ (Khwe) (Aikhenvald, 2006, p. 112)

In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that, based on tests that involve quantifier scope, lack of embedded negation, licensing of negative polarity items, and argument extraction, the GPC attests clause union effects syntactically captured by a mono-clausal structure that involves V1 and V2 being headed by a single functional domain. Moreover, I argued that based on its distribution and its omissability, the coordinator *ke* is a syntactically empty marker that, when present, attaches to the inflectional layer of V2 similarly to a clitic. That said, as shown in section 4.4, in contexts involving modification or negation, *ke* cannot possibly be omitted. The relevant examples are repeated below:

(160) a. *O anthropos den pai/kathete ke klei tin mira=tu.

ART human NEG go/sit.PRS.3SG and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human doesn’t sit/go, he/she cries about his/her fate.’

b. *O anthropos pai/kathete ksafnika ke klei tin mira=tu.

ART human go/sit.PRS.3SG suddenly and cry.PRS.3SG ART fate=POSS

‘The human sits/goes, suddenly he/she cries about his/her fate.’

While the GPC attests the typical characteristics of a mono-clausal syntactic structure, the definition for mono-causality provided here requires an SVC to be devoid of any markers that denote any form of syntactic dependency. That said, a narrow definition of dependency marker is not given by Aikhenvald (2006). Thus, it is not clear whether the realization of a coordinator with an otherwise syntactically empty status is considered a marker of dependency under her definition.

Aikhenvald (2006) explicitly remarks that the inference of a coordinator between the verbs of a prototypical SVC would account for a shift in the meaning of the construction. However, this shift in meaning is not evident in the case of the GPC, since, due to its empty status, the presence or absence of *ke* does not affect the overall interpretation of the construction. Furthermore, the variation that the GPC exhibits, in terms of *ke* being omissible in certain syntactic contexts while obligatory in others, would not be expected if *ke* was a typical dependency marker. Thus, I consider *ke* not to highlight any dependency relation between V1 and V2, and the GPC to satisfy Aikhenvald’s (2006) mono-clausality criterion.

5.2.5 Shared TAM

According to Aikhevald (2006), verbs that participate in an SVC share the same tense, aspect, and mood specification. The fact that no independent choice or contrast in any of these categories is permitted differentiates SVCs from regular multi-clausal constructions.

As pointed out in section 2.1, the MSC requires both verbs of the GPC to have the same type of morphological marking for a pseudo-coordinate reading to be sustained. If either verb surfaces with a different marking for tense, aspect, or mood, then the construction is interpreted as an ordinary coordination that involves two independent events. This is exemplified in (161), where V1 and V2 receive a distinct aspect marking:

- (161) #O Γίανης πηγε/κathise ke διαβαζε to vivlio.
 ART John go/sit.PST.PFV.3SG and read.PST.IPFV.3SG ART book
 ‘John went/sat and was reading the book.’

5.2.6 *Single Intonational Group*

A serial verb construction exhibits the intonation typical of a mono-verbal clause rather than a sequence of clauses. While in many languages boundaries between clauses are signaled through intonation breaks, no such breaks or pauses occur between the verbs within an SVC. A distinction between bi-clausal constructions and the GPC is also made apparent based on their intonation pattern. In a typical coordination of two clauses, conjuncts are phonetically separated by a pause, which is absent in the case of the GPC. Instead, the components of the GPC are realized within a single intonational unit, similar to a mono-verbal clause.

5.2.7 *Shared Polarity*

Similar to TAM, the verbs of an SVC have to share an identical polarity value. In the GPC, shared polarity can be identified through data based on negation placement. In section 4.2.1, it was shown that negation markers have to precede both verbs and obligatorily receive a wide scope interpretation, as in (162):

- (162) a. Δεν παο/kathome ke διαβαζο to vivlio.
 NEG go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG ART book
 ‘I don’t go/sit and read the book.’

b. #Pao/kathome ke den diavažo to vivlio.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and NEG read.PRS.1SG ART book

‘I go/sit and I don’t read the book.’

5.2.8 Shared Core Argument

Prototypical serial verb constructions share at least one core or peripheral argument. A prototypical SVC has an overall argument structure that is not more complex than that of one of its components. In addition, all the core and peripheral arguments may be associated with the construction as a whole. The shared nature of core arguments within the GPC is demonstrated in the following examples. Regarding the subject argument, as mentioned in section 2.4, both verbs obligatorily share the same subject referent. In addition, the shared subject referent cannot be phonetically realized more than once within the construction. If one of the verbs displays a different subject agreement morphology, as in (163a), or if a second overt coreferential subject is introduced, as in (163b), then the pseudo-coordinate reading is dissociated, and instead an independent event reading is imposed on the construction.

(163) a. #O Ianis pai/kathete ke diavažun to vivlio.

ART John go/sit.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3PL ART book

‘John goes/sits and they read the book.’

b. #O Ianis pai/kathete ke i Maria diavaži to vivlio.

ART John go/sit.PRS.3SG and ART Mary read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John goes/sits and Mary reads the book.’

Overall, the argument structure of the GPC is never more complex than the argument structure of V2. For example, if V2 is occupied by a transitive verb that projects an object argument, then the GPC is considered transitive as well. V1 is unable to govern separate arguments and does not allow for duplicate roles. This can be ascertained based on the

topicalization data discussed in section 4.1.6. Looking at (164), the object argument *to vivlio* ‘the book’ occurs in a clause-initial position, even though it is linked to the valency requirements of V2. In turn, this does not enforce a reading where *to vivlio* ‘the book’ is interpreted as an argument of V1:

(164) To vivlio o Ianis pai/kathete ke diavaçi.

ART book ART John go/sit.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG

‘John goes/sits and reads the book.’

5.2.9 Independence of Components

SVCs distinguish themselves from certain other verbal constructions by the ability of their components to occur as independent verbs in their own clauses. Looking at the GPC, its stable elements, as in *piyeno* and *kathome*, can indeed participate as independent verbs in their own clause. As shown in section 3.2.1, in such cases, the verbs either convey their full lexical meaning or receive a metaphorical extension based on their syntactic context. For example, in (165a), *piyeno* describes the act of physically moving towards a location, whereas in (165b), *piyeno* receives a more abstract meaning, under which the opportunity ‘has gone’ to waste. Accordingly, in (166a) the verb *kathome* describes a sitting or posture frame, whereas in (166b), it receives a more abstract meaning, under which the subject is presented with an opportunity.

(165) a. O Ianis pai sto γrafio.

ART John go.PRS.3SG to.ART office

‘John goes to the office.’

b. I efkeria piye chameni.

ART opportunity go.PST.3SG wasted

‘The opportunity went to waste.’

(166) a. O Ianis kathise sto skabo.

ART John sit.PST.3SG to.ART stool

‘John sat on the stool.’

a. Tu ekatse meyali efkeria.

OBJ.CLI sit.PST.3SG big opportunity

‘He was presented a big opportunity.’

5.2.10 Discussion

The evidence provided in this section demonstrates that, based on the definitional properties included in (156), the GPC fully complies with the prototype for SVCs. The GPC is a bi-verbal construction whose components are finite. Its components exhibit clause union and can surface even without the presence of the coordinator *ke*. Moreover, the GPC exhibits a mono-clausal intonation, with no pause separating V1 and V2, while also exhibiting a single TAM value and a single polarity value. The components of the GPC cannot be independently marked by incompatible TAM categories, and their inflectional morphology is not restricted to a particular temporal or modal category, but appears in various TAM categories available in Greek. Core arguments are shared between V1 and V2, and duplicate roles are disallowed. Finally, the components of the GPC may occur on their own, exhibiting their respective lexical meanings.

The only definitional criterion that could raise ambiguity in terms of its compatibility with the GPC is, as addressed in section 5.2.4, Aikhenvald’s (2006) mono-clausality criterion. While her definition excludes the possibility of markers of dependency (i.e., coordinators or subordinators intervening between the components of an SVC), it also allows the realization of overt markers in the form of empty morphemes. Whether the GPC fulfills this criterion depends on whether *ke* is defined as a dependency marker, despite its empty status within the construction. For my current analysis, I assume that this is not the case. What also needs to be considered regarding the presence of *ke* is that the former can only be

omitted within certain contexts, while not in others, essentially giving rise to a syndetic and an asyndetic variant of the GPC.

While this might raise issues not only with regard to the construction's categorization, it is crucial to refer back to the continuum between bi-clausality/bi-verbiness and mono-clausality/mono-verbiness, which underpins the development of SVCs on a diachronic level. More specifically, the fact that the omission of the conjunction coordinator does not apply to all syntactic contexts indicates that the GPC synchronically attests to more than one developmental stage on the continuum between bi-clausality/bi-verbiness and mono-clausality/mono-verbiness.

The uses of the GPC where *ke* is omitted correspond to a stage in which the construction transmutes into a slightly more cohesive structure, on its path to the SVC prototype. On the other hand, the uses in which *ke* is mandatory are reflective of an earlier stage that approximates the characteristics of canonical coordination. Within the former, the GPC exhibits a profile that approximates the SVC prototype to its full extent, and within the latter, the GPC represents a less canonical instance of the SVC prototype. The properties shared between the GPC and the SVC prototype are summarized in the table below:

Table 4.1

Compatibility of the GPC with Aikhenvald's (2006) SVC prototype

Prototypical properties of SVCs	Compatibility with the GPC
Mono-eventhood	+
Mono-predicativity	+
Mono-clausality	+
Shared TAM	+
Single intonational group	+
Shared polarity	+

Shared core arguments	+
Independence of components	+

To summarize, under a dynamic prototype-driven approach to categorization, where syntactic constructions are placed on a scale from less canonical to more canonical, based on the degree of approximation they display to the prototype, the GPC can be considered an instance of an SVC, since the former attests all eight properties found in the prototype. While Greek is traditionally not considered a serializing language, a dynamic approach to the categorization of SVCs, like the one presented here, makes it possible for constructions that bear even a partial degree of resemblance to prototypical SVCs, to also be construed under the SVC taxon.

This may lead to some interesting findings regarding constructions that may pose as potential candidates for SVCs in languages that would otherwise represent only a minimal utilization of SVCs, such as Indo-European languages. However, categorizations of this kind should also be perceived with caution, since the relaxation of the defining criteria of SVCs allows us to identify verb serialization in practically any language. In turn, this would lead to a great degree of opacity, regarding the boundaries of the category, and thus also render categorization superfluous as a concept. Next, I will examine whether the GPC can still be considered an instance of verb serialization under a more restrictive definition of the SVC category.

5.3 A Comparative Concept for SVCs (Haspelmath, 2016)

A different approach to Aikhenvald (2006) towards the categorization of SVCs comes from Haspelmath (2016). In his work, Haspelmath (2016) observes that, even though verbal serialization constitutes a widely discussed phenomenon in African, Oceanic, and other languages of the world since the 1970s, comparative literature has struggled to come up with

a coherent cross-linguistic concept for SVCs. This is attributed to the fact that the defining properties of SVCs have been formulated in too broad terms and, as a result, verbal serialization as a notion has not been properly delimited.

SVCs have generally been regarded as natural kinds (universal categories), so phenomena across different languages were regarded as SVCs, even when they had somewhat different properties. However, each language has its own grammatical categories and constructions, and their definitions are typically not applicable to languages that are different in relevant respects. This procedure inevitably leads to a very broad understanding of the concept, with a prototype (or ‘canonical’) structure that does not allow falsifiable claims. Haspelmath (2016) argues that, in order to postulate a set of defining criteria for SVCs on a cross-linguistic level, what is required is not the formulation of a cross-linguistic category of SVC, but of a comparative concept.

Comparative concepts are not discovered in the way natural phenomena are discovered, but are defined by comparative linguists to allow comparison of languages. As such, the defining properties of a comparative concept are by nature universal. The relevance of a comparative concept is based on whether its application leads to any interesting comparisons or generalizations. Haspelmath (2016) proposes the following definition of the comparative concept for SVCs: “A serial verb construction is a mono-clausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate-argument relation between the verbs” (p. 296). The definition can thus be narrowed down to the following five key criteria:

(167) Definitional criteria for SVCs (Haspelmath, 2016)

- a. Construction
- b. Mono-clausal
- c. Independent verbs

- d. No linking element
- e. No predicate-argument relation between the verbs

Contra to Aikhevald's (2006) dynamic approach to SVCs, which allows the category to extend beyond its outlined set of prototypical properties, Haspelmath (2016) adopts a much stricter approach, under which a verbal construction has to meet all five defining criteria of the comparative concept. His aim is not to provide a comprehensive list that accounts for all the documented cases labeled as SVCs in the literature, but to capture only the set of properties that led comparative linguists to identify a distinct grammatical category in the first place.

As such, the provided definition excludes certain verbal constructions that would have been considered instances of serialization under a wider and more inclusive definition. In addition, Haspelmath (2016) provides a list of non-criteria purposefully excluded from his comparative concept, since they are either deemed as predictable based on the already existing definitional criteria (168a-b) or not falsifiable enough to formulate testable generalizations upon them (168c-d):

(168) Non-criteria for SVCs (Haspelmath, 2016)

- a. Shared TAM
- b. Shared core argument
- c. Single event
- d. Single intonational group

Haspelmath's (2016) definition of a comparative concept for SVCs is supposed to act as a refinement over previous definitions of the SVC category, which are considered too broad to be used for cross-linguistic comparison. Crucially, five of the definitional criteria of Aikhevald's (2006) SVC category are excluded from the comparative concept. In addition, Haspelmath's (2016) definition introduces two new criteria, namely those of 'construction'

and ‘no predicate-argument relation between the verbs.’ For the purpose of examining whether the GPC would fit under a narrower definition of SVCs, I will solely focus on the five definitional criteria provided in (167). In what follows, I will provide a brief overview of each of those criteria, as outlined in Haspelmath (2016), and test the extent to which they apply to the GPC.

5.3.1 Construction

According to Haspelmath (2016, p. 296), “a serial verb construction must be a productive schematic construction such that the meaning of a concrete construct can be determined on the basis of the meanings of its parts and the construction meaning.” This criterion is introduced to the definition, since within the current comparative literature, there is no agreement with regard to how far the meaning of a verb in an SVC can stray from its main verb meaning and still count as an SVC. That said, multi-verb constructions whose meaning is not completely predictable from their components are often not distinguished from semantically transparent SVCs. Constructions that involve lexicalization or are associated with an idiomatic meaning should more likely be analyzed as individual collocations, rather than fully productive schemes.

Regarding the construction status of the GPC, it should be noted that the V1 slot of GPCs is restricted only to a specific subclass of verbs. While the V2 slot may theoretically be occupied by a wide range of lexical verbs, certain categories of verbs are more frequently attracted based on whether V1 is occupied by *piyeno* or *kathome*. For example, in sections 3.3 and 3.3.1, it was shown that *piyeno* usually selects achievement or accomplishment predicates, while *kathome* usually selects activity verbs as its complement.

GPCs are considered to attest to compositionality when it comes to their semantics, since the meaning of the construction is determined by the meaning of its parts. Specifically, the main eventive information is provided by V2, while V1 contributes specific semantic

nuances, such as inceptiveness (in the case of *piyeno*) or localization of the subject referent in space (in the case of *kathome*). The non-idiomatic status of GPCs can be attested through the consistency in their meaning that *piyeno* and *kathome* demonstrate outside of GPCs. As shown in section 2.5, *piyeno* and *kathome* retain their light verb meaning associated with the GPC also when they select a subjunctive complement:

(169) a. 1169 meres kathete na katanalosi oxiyono.

1169 days sit.PRS.3SG SUBJ consume.PFV.3SG oxygen

‘1169 days he/she sits with the purpose of consuming oxygen.’

b. Piye na proðosi tin apofasi tis epitropis.

go.PST.3SG SUBJ betray.PFV.3SG ART decision ART.GEN committee

‘He/she was about to betray the decision of the committee.’

In (169), the meaning attributed to the predicate and its argument as a whole is determined based on the meaning of the main verb (namely, *piyeno* and *kathome*), in combination with the meaning of the subjunctive complement. This suggests that the light verb meaning of *piyeno* and *kathome* is not specific to the GPC, but rather a result of the inherent semantics of the verb in the presence of verbal complementation. Based on that, I conclude that the GPC does not represent an instance of lexicalization, but constitutes a fully productive scheme.

5.3.2 Mono-clausality

Similarly to previous accounts on the definition of SVCs, Haspelmath (2016) also acknowledges the need for SVC components to share a single clausal domain. He also points out the fact that whether a given structure is mono-clausal or not can only be determined on the basis of language-dependent tests. That is to say, tests for mono-clausality may vary across languages, depending on the internal structure and organization of the language in question. This raises an issue in terms of including mono-clausality as a property within the

comparative concept, since the latter has to be defined in a way that the definition is equally applicable to all languages.

To this end, Haspelmath (2016), based on the work of Bohnemeyer et al. (2007), who rely on “the criterion of lack of independent negation as a cross-linguistically applicable test for clause-hood” (p. 501), suggests that for a multi-verb construction to be considered mono-clausal, negation can only be formed in one way, usually with scope over all the verbs. He notes, however, that the application of single negatability as a test for mono-clausality would cause certain constructions, which would traditionally be considered as SVCs in the literature, not to fit under his definition³².

The single negatability test can successfully be applied to the GPC. As was shown in (162), both verbs of the GPC share an identical polarity value. This is premised on the fact that a negation marker can occur only once within the construction and takes an unambiguous wide scope interpretation. Provided that single negatability serves as a diagnostic for mono-clausality according to Haspelmath (2016), I consider GPCs to satisfy the mono-clausality criterion.

5.3.3 *Independent Verbs*

Haspelmath (2016) asserts that the only workable criterion for ‘noun,’ ‘verb,’ and ‘adjective’ as comparative concepts is the use of an item in a particular information-packaging function without special coding. For the sake of cross-linguistic comparison, the verbs that participate in an SVC have to be independent. An independent verb is defined as a form that can express a dynamic event, without any special coding in predication function, and that can occur in a non-elliptical utterance without another verb. This definition of independent verb excludes language-specific idiosyncrasies, such as flexible word classes,

³² For example, Foley (2010) discusses an SVC in Watam, where the negative prefix *ba-* can attach to different verbs of the SVC accounting for both shared negative polarity, as well as for differences amongst verbs in terms of their polarity value.

from being considered actual verbs that participate in an SVC. This is, for example, the case in the Oceanic language To'aba'ita, where property words are expressed in the same way as action words:

(170) Sofu e makwa leqa.

soap 3SG smell be.nice

'The soap smells nice.' (To'aba'ita) (Lichtenberk, 2006, p. 259)

While the example in (170) is documented as an SVC, the construction cannot be regarded as an SVC from a cross-linguistic point of view, since the criteria under which *leqa* constitutes a verb in the first place are language-specific.

The way the 'independent verbs' criterion is defined in Haspelmath's (2016) comparative concept bears many similarities to the 'independence of components' criterion mentioned in Aikhenvald's (2006) SVC prototype. However, Haspelmath's (2016) 'independent verbs' criterion is narrower, in the sense that it requires the verbal components of an SVC not only to be able to occur independently, but also to express dynamic events. Looking back at the examples in (165a) and (166a), repeated below as (171a-b), both *piyeno* and *kathome* can occur in non-elliptical utterances and express dynamic events. Thus, I conclude that *piyeno* and *kathome* can be classified as independent verbs.

(171) a. O Ianis pai sto yrafio.

ART John go.PRS.3SG to.ART office

'John goes to the office.'

b. O Ianis kathise sto skabo.

ART John sit.PST.PFV.3SG to.ART stool

'John sat on the stool.'

5.3.4 *No Linking Element*

Haspelmath (2016) adopts a stricter definition for his ‘no linking element’ criterion, compared to Aikhenvald (2006). Aikhenvald (2006) explicitly recognizes the possibility of SVCs surfacing with a special ‘dummy’ marker that does not mark any dependency relation between the verbs, but functions primarily as an empty morpheme. Haspelmath (2016) contends that the problem with this approach is that it does not provide a clear definition of what is considered a ‘dependency marker.’

For the purpose of establishing a comparative concept, he considers it a more rigid approach to regard any element that occurs in a multi-verb construction, does not occur outside of a multi-verb construction, and does not have some clear other meaning (such as tense, aspect, negation) as a linking element. Under Haspelmath’s (2016) definition of the ‘no linking element’ criterion, any instantiation of *ke* in the GPC is considered a linking element. That being the case, even though the presence of *ke* is not mandatory in most syntactic contexts, the fact that it is mandatory in some (i.e., under modification or negation) means that the GPC does not satisfy the ‘no linking element’ criterion.

5.3.5 *No Predicate-Argument Relation between the Verbs*

Haspelmath (2016) notes that complement-clause constructions are commonly subsumed under the SVC taxon in the literature. For example, Aikhenvald (2006) recognizes complement-clause serialization as a special subtype labeled “asymmetric SVCs” (p. 20). However, Haspelmath (2016) opts not to include such cases under his definition on the basis that they do not belong to the original core of SVC phenomena. In addition, if complement-clause cases were included in the definition, a large number of languages would be considered as ‘serializing,’ given that they only attest to this specific subtype of serialization.

As discussed in Chapter 2, there are various semantic and syntactic properties that point towards V2 being an argument of V1 in the GPC. The predicate-argument relation

between V1 and V2 can, for example, be attested based on the valency requirements of *piyeno* and *kathome* outside of the GPC. Returning to the examples in (169), it can be seen that under their light verb meaning, *piyeno* and *kathome* act as a matrix verb selecting for a subjunctive complement. These requirements are expected to remain consistent when the respective verbs occupy the V1 slot of the GPC. In light of this, the GPC does not satisfy the ‘no predicate-argument relation between the verbs’ criterion.

5.3.6 Discussion

The evidence provided in this section demonstrates that the GPC cannot be considered an SVC under a narrower definition, like the one presented in Haspelmath’s (2016) comparative concept. More specifically, the GPC does not comply with two out of the five definitional criteria, namely the ‘no linking element’ and the ‘no predicate–argument relation between the verbs’ criteria. The overall compliance of the GPC with the five definitional properties is presented in the table below:

Table 4.2

Compatibility of the GPC with Haspelmath’s (2016) comparative concept

Key Criteria for SVCs	Compatibility with GPC
Construction	+
Mono-clausality	+
Independent verbs	+
No linking element	-
No predicate-argument relation	-

Overall, the issue of classifying the GPC as an SVC appears to be intricately linked with the discussion around the criteria that make up the definition of SVCs in general. Under a dynamic approach to categorization, which perceives the category as a radial network

containing instantiations that range from more canonical to less canonical, the GPC can be considered an SVC, since it exhibits the definitional properties of the SVC prototype and thus displays a high degree of canonicity. However, under a narrower definition of SVCs, which restricts itself to the properties of the original core of verbal serialization phenomena, the GPC cannot be considered an SVC.

The main differentiation point between the GPC and SVCs (which is simultaneously the reason why GPCs represent SVC candidates in the first place) pertains to the occurrence of an asyndetic variant parallel to the syndetic variant. On the one hand, the asyndetic variant indicates a development toward a more cohesive structure that resembles a prototypical SVC. On the other hand, the fact that it is not as productive as the syndetic variant causes an SVC classification of the GPC to be perceived with reluctance. That said, while the synchronic status of the marker *ke* within the construction poses certain analytical challenges, the idiosyncrasies associated with its realization in GPCs can be considered suggestive of the marker undergoing gradual attrition.

Looking at verbal serialization from a diachronic perspective, this omission is not surprising at all, but rather a developmental stage, characteristic of the path between bi-clausality/bi-verbiness and mono-clausality/mono-verbiness that multi-verbal constructions undergo. Regarding the diachronic development of coordinators or subordinators in SVCs Aikhenvald (2011) notes:

An erstwhile marker of dependency between two verbs may lose its productivity, its meaning, and gradually become an empty morpheme. The sequence of verbs containing such a semantically empty marker may have all the features of a serial verb construction. The marker itself no longer indicates a dependency relation—it is a pure and simple indicator of a serial verb (p. 21).

The description of the gradual attrition that the dependency marker undergoes in SVCs is in line with the evidence provided in the previous chapter about the syntactically empty status of *ke*. Based on these facts, we can conclude that, on a synchronic level, the variance displayed by the construction in terms of the presence or not of the coordinator casts doubt upon its categorization as an SVC. However, the construction exhibits not only strong similarities with prototypical SVCs, but also features typical of the grammaticalization pathway associated with SVCs. This is of particular interest, especially from a typological perspective, since languages of the Balkan Sprachbund have traditionally been perceived as devoid of verbal serialization. However, the evidence provided here suggests that, even in languages that utilize verbal serialization to a minimal degree, one can find constructions that not only very closely resemble prototypical SVCs, but also show signs that the language is developing toward a system of more productive verbal serialization.

6. The Semantic and Syntactic Properties of the GCC

In this chapter, I will turn my attention to the syntactic construction labeled as Greek Control Coordination (GCC) in order to discuss its semantic and syntactic properties. Similar to the GPC, the GCC constitutes a bi-verbal construction that superficially resembles a coordination in the verbal system. However, it exhibits properties that distinguish it from both the GPC and ordinary coordination. The two main goals I aim to achieve in this chapter are to demonstrate those properties and to contend that the GCC should be treated as a unique syntactic phenomenon. In order to do so, I will apply the same ten diagnostic criteria used in Chapter 2 when discussing the properties of the GPC in comparison to ordinary coordination. This will allow me to create a typology that captures both the distinct as well as the shared properties corresponding to each of the three syntactic phenomena.

The present chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I will provide a brief introduction to the GCC, focusing primarily on the different categories of verbs that may occupy its V1 slot and the actuality entailment associated with this construction. In the second section, I will argue that the GCC exhibits properties that point towards an asymmetric relation between V1 and V2. In that regard, it cannot be captured under an analysis that involves V1 resembling the first conjunct and V2 the second conjunct of a coordinate structure. In the third section, I will demonstrate that despite semantic asymmetry being prevalent in both the GPC and the GCC, the two constructions exhibit significant differences in terms of the status of their respective V1, the nature of *ke*, and the semantic and syntactic dependency between V1 and V2. In the fourth section, I will summarize the findings of the previous two sections and discuss possible deductions regarding the underlying structure of the GCC.

6.1 Introduction to the GCC

As already addressed in Chapter 1, GCCs are syntactic constructions that involve two finite verbs, namely a control verb as V1 and a wide range of lexical verbs as V2. The verbs are joined by the conjunction coordinator *ke*, as in (172):

(172) a. O proeðros echi archisi ke eknevrizete.

ART president AUX.3SG start.PFV and become.angry.PRS.3SG

‘The president has started to become angry.’

Starting with V1, this slot may be occupied by both obligatory control (OC) and non-obligatory control (NOC) predicates. The construction is very productive, in that a large set of control predicates may be inserted in its V1 slot.

Ingria (2005), who was one of the first accounts to draw attention to this phenomenon, provides an indicative list of predicates that may select for clausal complements introduced by *ke*, based on two traditional grammars of Greek, namely Householder et al. (1964) and Tzartanos (1953)³³. Among the examples of verbs he provides, there are also some of the typical OC and NOC predicates that have henceforth been associated with the GCC. The first account to examine the GCC as an isolated phenomenon and to also establish its relationship with the control module comes from Kapetangianni (2010). She observes that certain categories of control predicates, such as implicative, modal, aspectual, and knowledge verbs, instead of selecting for a subjunctive complement prefaced by *na*, may select for an indicative complement prefaced by *ke*, on which they exert control.

³³ It should be noted that the list of verbs provided in the two grammars is not very representative of contemporary language usage, nor does it strictly correspond to the construction described here as the GCC. Among typical control predicates, Householder et al. (1964) and Tzartanos (1946) also list predicates, such as *plisiažo* ‘approach’ or *kartero* ‘wait,’ as verbs that can possibly select for a complement clause introduced by *ke*. However, verbal constructions with these verbs as V1 do not attest the typical characteristics of the GCC (discussed in this section) and, as such, will not be considered for the present account. Finally, there are also certain discrepancies between the two grammars, in that, for example, the verb *thelo* ‘want’ is listed as a verb that selects for *ke*-complements in Tzartanos (1946), but not in Householder et al. (1964).

Later accounts on the GCC have selectively focused on specific categories of V1s, without delimiting the extent of the syntactic phenomenon. For example, Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) focus on permissive, implicative, and modal verbs, Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021) acknowledge aspectuals, knowledge, as well as a handful of other verbs, like *boro* ‘can,’ *kataferno* ‘manage,’ and *thelo* ‘want,’ as possible candidates, and Thomopoulou (2021) mentions aspectuals, knowledge, and implicative verbs as relevant to the V1 slot. Based on all previous works, I provide a list of the different types of OC and NOC predicates that may participate in this construction. The list should not be considered exhaustive in terms of the number of predicates; however, it should provide an overview of the different categories of control predicates that participate in the GCC:

(173) **OC predicates**

a. knowledge verbs

e.g., *ksero* ‘know,’ *matheno* ‘learn’

b. aspectual verbs

e.g., *archižo* ‘start,’ *sinechižo* ‘continue’

c. ability modal verb

e.g., *boro* ‘can’

NOC predicates

a. volitional verbs

e.g., *apofasižo* ‘decide,’ *thelo* ‘want,’ *dialeyo* ‘choose,’ *prospatho* ‘try’

b. implicative verbs

e.g., *kataferno* ‘manage,’ *thimame* ‘remember,’ *tolmo* ‘dare’

c. commissive verbs

e.g., *frodižo* ‘arrange,’ *simfono* ‘agree’

Complements selected by OC predicates are distinguished from complements selected by NOC predicates, in that their null subject requires a c-commanding antecedent. Being control verbs, the verbs presented above usually select for a subjunctive complement prefaced by *na* when occurring outside of the GCC. The following examples demonstrate how control is exerted on subjunctive complements:

(174) a. O Iianis kseri na ðiavaçi to vivlio (*i Eleni).

ART John know.PRS.3SG SUBJ read.IPFV.3SG ART book ART Helen

‘John knows how to read the book.’

b. I Maria frodisce na mini moni=tis (i Eleni).

ART Mary arrange.PST.3SG SUBJ stay.PFV.3SG alone=POSS ART Helen

‘Mary arranged to stay alone’ or ‘Mary arranged for Helen to stay alone.’

In (174a), the interpretation of the null subject in the complement clause depends obligatorily on the matrix subject, since the subject of the embedded clause cannot receive an independent/external reference other than the referent of the matrix subject. As such, the NP ‘John’ is assigned two theta roles, namely that of ‘knower’ and that of ‘reader.’ On the other hand, in (174b), while the matrix subject can potentially act as the potential controller, as suggested by the identical agreement features on both the matrix and embedded verb, the embedded null subject may be interpreted as distinct from the matrix subject. Thus, complements selected by OC predicates are distinguished from complements selected by NOC predicates, in that their null subject requires a c-commanding antecedent. Furthermore, the latter, in contrast to the former, can support split antecedents, as shown by the availability of an overt embedded subject.

Next, compare the instances of subjunctive complementation in (174) with the respective examples of the GCC in (175):

(175) a. O Iianis kseri ke ðiavaçi to vivlio (*i Eleni).

ART John know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book ART Helen

‘John knows how to read the book.’

b. I Maria frodisē ke emine moni=tis (i Eleni).

ART Mary arrange.PST.3SG and stay.PST.3SG alone=POSS ART Helen

‘Mary arranged to stay alone’ or ‘Mary arranged for Helen to stay alone.’

As evidenced by these examples, the GCC bears a high degree of resemblance to subjunctive complementation. What is surprising in these cases, however, is the presence of the conjunction coordinator in a position where the presence of a subordinating element in the form of *na* would be expected. Given that subjunctive mood is not realized morphologically, but only through the presence of *na*, V2 in these instances receives an unambiguous indicative mood interpretation³⁴. Despite the presence of the conjunction coordinator, the control relations that would be otherwise expected between the matrix verb and its embedded subjunctive complement appear to remain intact when considering the subject restrictions attested in the indicative V2.

More specifically, in the presence of OC verbs in V1, V2 cannot receive an overt independent subject, as in (175a). Accordingly, in the presence of NOC verbs in V1, the overt instantiation of an independent subject is permitted. Furthermore, (175a) permits only a *de se* reading³⁵, whereas (175b) also allows a non-*de se* reading, according to which Mary arranged that somebody else, other than herself, stayed alone. This, along with the fact that V2 distributionally occupies a position identical to that of a subjunctive complement, has led many researchers to claim that V2 in the GCC is a finite complement introduced by *ke* in the position of a clausal complementizer (Kapetangianni, 2010; Kotzoglou & Canakis, 2021; Thomopoulou, 2021). Leaving aside the syntactization of its elements for the moment, I will

³⁴ The fact that V2 is derived in indicative mood is not only apparent by its interpretation, but also by the presence of mood-specific particles, such as the negative marker *den*, as will be seen later in this chapter.

³⁵ In traditional terms, *de se* and non-*de se* readings distinguish between a person's belief about themselves (*de se* reading) and their belief in the truth of a statement or proposition (non-*de se* reading).

now examine the semantic interpretation of the GCC in comparison to its subjunctive complementation counterpart.

When the knowledge verb *ksero* ‘know’ selects for a subjunctive complement, “the combination of the lexical properties of the verb along with those of *na* give rise to a dynamic modal reading and control” (Roussou, 2010, p. 599). That said, the sentence in (174a) is interpreted as the subject participant having the inherent ability to perform the action of reading. On the other hand, the action denoted by V2 in (175a) is not simply interpreted as potential, but as an action that has actually happened or is happening at utterance time. As pointed out by Giannakidou and Staraki (2012), V2 of the GCC is reported as an actual fact regardless of: (i) the tense and aspect of V1 and V2, and (ii) V1 being non-veridical, in the sense that the control verbs that occupy this slot typically select a subjunctive complement that does not denote a true proposition. As such, John knowing how to read the book does not actually entail that he has already read the book, nor that he will succeed in reading the book after trying. However, within the GCC, the meaning of knowing how to read the book is coerced into successfully having read the book.

The actuality entailment imposed by the GCC is integral to its semantic interpretation, as further corroborated by the fact that: (i) the construction can only surface in indicative mood, and (ii) the construction cannot be negated. In the following example, shifting V2 into a subjunctive mood specification results in ungrammaticality:

(176) a. *O Γianis kseri ke na δiavaçi to vivlio.

ART John know.PRS.3SG and SUBJ read.IPFV.3SG ART book

Int: ‘John knows how to read the book.’

Furthermore, as seen in (177), negating the content of V1 results in the former being dissociated from V2 and the actuality entailment of the GCC being eroded:

(177) #³⁶O Γίανης δεν κσει ke δiavaçi to vivlio.

ART John NEG know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John doesn’t know and reads the book.’

The example in (177) can only be interpreted as an ordinary coordination of verbs that describe two unrelated events, namely the subject participant not knowing an unspecified or implied piece of information and also reading the book.

The actuality entailment is not only blocked by negation, but also by control verbs, which inherently prevent the action denoted by V2 from being actualized. For example, while aspectual verbs that affirm the initiation or the duration of V2 are commonly encountered in the V1 slot, aspectuals that express the ending of the V2 event, such as the verb *stamatao* ‘stop,’ may not occupy V1. Accordingly, implicative and volitional verbs that deny the actualization of V2, such as *xehno* ‘forget’ or *arnume* ‘refuse,’ are also not permitted in the GCC:

(178) a. #O Γίανης stamatai ke δiavaçi to vivlio.

ART John stop.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John stops and reads the book.’

b. #O Γίανης xehnai ke δiavaçi to vivlio.

ART John forget.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John forgets and reads the book.’

In the examples in (178), an actuality inference of V2 cannot possibly be obtained and, as such, V1 and V2 are unambiguously interpreted as two unrelated juxtaposed events. The way V1 and V2 semantically interact in the GCC has led Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) to argue that the GCC resembles a causative construction, in that semantically negating the content in

³⁶ Throughout the examples I provide on the GCC, (#) does not necessarily indicate that the marked sentence is semantically or pragmatically odd. Rather, it may signal that the verbs are interpreted independently of each other, yielding a reading that reflects ordinary coordination rather than a genuine instance of the GCC.

V1 also results in the content of V2 being negated. Their account, which will be adopted for the purposes of the current analysis, will be extensively discussed in Chapter 7. Next, I will focus on how the GCC is distinguished from ordinary coordination.

6.2 The GCC is not Ordinary Coordination

In Chapter 2, I used a series of morphological, semantic, and syntactic tests to demonstrate the differences between the GPC and ordinary coordination. Six of those tests can felicitously be applied to the GCC, to showcase the ways it is distinguished from ordinary coordination. These will be demonstrated next.

6.2.1 V1 Restrictions

Similar to the GPC, the GCC is restricted only to a particular set of verbs that can occupy V1. As shown in section 6.1, this set is encompassed by a subset of OC and NOC verbs which: (i) outside the GCC, select for a subjunctive complement on which they may exert control, and (ii) do not explicitly deny the actualization of the action specified by V2. This represents a significant difference from ordinary coordination, where lexical restrictions that asymmetrically target only a single conjunct do not apply:

(179) a. O Γίανης kseri ke διαवाζι to vivlio.

ART John know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John knows how to read the book.’

b. #O Γίανης katalaveni ke διαवाζι to vivlio.

ART John understand.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John understands and reads the book.’

In (179b), substituting *ksero* ‘know’ for a different non-control knowledge verb in the form of *katalaveno* ‘understand’ results in the construction being interpreted as an ordinary coordination, where John both understands and reads the book. As discussed in section 2.3, the unavailability of different predicates occurring in the V1 slot not only highlights a

restriction absent in ordinary coordination, but is also considered a property suggestive of an underlying subordinate structure.

6.2.2 *Valency Requirements of V1*

Another property to be considered when examining whether the GCC should be classified as an ordinary coordination pertains to the valency requirements of its V1. As already pointed out, the control verbs that occur in V1 usually select for a subjunctive complement when occurring outside of the GCC. Their valency requirement becomes especially apparent in elliptical contexts, where the absence of a complement results in ungrammaticality:

(180) a. O proeðros echi archisi ke eknevrizete.

ART president AUX.3SG start.PFV and become.angry.PRS.3SG

‘The president has started to become angry.’

b. *O proeðros echi archisi.

ART president AUX.3SG start.PFV

‘The president has started.’

The sentence in (180b) cannot be uttered without any prior context, since the use of *archiço* ‘start’ requires at the very least the implication of an argument in order to be grammatical. Similar to the V1 restrictions demonstrated in the previous section, the presence of valency requirements is considered a proponent for a subordinate structure. A straightforward way through which the valency requirements of V1 can be satisfied is to treat V2 as the complement of V1, rather than the second conjunct of a coordinate structure, as already proposed in Kapetangianni (2010), Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021), and Thomopoulou (2021). While the valency requirements of V1 have to structurally be addressed in some way, the complement that satisfies those requirements does not necessarily have to be represented by V2.

Within the account advanced in the next chapter, I will propose that the GCC is a causative coordination, whose first conjunct in the form of V1 is supplemented at LF by a null subjunctive complement prefaced by *na*. The presence of this type of complement will be explained based on the causative relation that exists between V1 and V2. For now, it is worth noting that the valency requirements of V1 in the GCC distinguish it from ordinary coordination.

6.2.3 *Subject Restrictions*

When V1 of the GCC is occupied by an OC verb, the construction is bound to the same subject restrictions as the GPC, in that: (i) both verbs have to display the same subject agreement morphology, and (ii) a second coreferential subject may not be introduced in V2. This demonstrates yet another difference compared to ordinary coordination, where verbs may receive different overt subject referents that can surface with a different subject agreement morphology. Consider the following examples:

- (181) a. *O proedros echi archisi ke (*ta somatia) eknevrizode.

ART president AUX.3SG start.PFV and ART unions become.angry.PRS.3PL

‘The president has started, and the unions become angry.’

- b. O Ianis diaskeðaçi ke (i fili=tu) chorevun bachata.

ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG and ART friends=POSS dance.PRS.3PL bachata

‘John has fun and his friends dance bachata.’

However, when V1 is occupied by a NOC verb, neither subject restriction applies, as V2 may surface with a different subject agreement morphology and also receive an overt subject referent, as in (182):

- (182) I Maria froðiçi ke menun mona=tus (ta peðia).

ART Mary arrange.PRS.3SG and stay.PRS.3SG alone=POSS ART children

‘Mary arranges for the children to stay alone.’

Overall, as hinted in section 6.1, the control properties that a subjunctive complement would display when selected by an OC and NOC predicate are parallel to how V2 of the GCC behaves, in terms of subject agreement morphology and availability of an overt subject. As such, an analysis of the GCC as an instance of ordinary coordination, dispensing with the control module entirely, would have the burden of explaining how these restrictions affect the second conjunct in the first place.

6.2.4 *Violation of the CSC*

Similar to the GPC, the GCC does not adhere to the CSC. As seen in (183a), the internal argument of V2 may be extracted into a clause-initial position in the form of a *wh*-question. However, if the construction was an ordinary coordination, asymmetric extraction out of the second conjunct would not be permitted, as in (183b):

(183) a. Ti_i kseri ke $\delta iava\zeta i$ o $\Gamma ianis_i$?

what know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART John

‘What does John know how to read?’

b. * Ti_i $\delta iaske\delta a\zeta i$ ke chorevi o $\Gamma ianis_i$?

what have.fun.PRS.3SG and dance.PRS.3SG ART John

‘What does John have fun and dance?’

The extraction data presented here point towards a semantic asymmetry between V1 and V2, which cannot be captured under the premise that the GCC represents an instance of ordinary coordination.

6.2.5 *Unavailability of Coordinator Substitution*

In ordinary coordinations, the conjunction coordinator may be freely substituted by the disjunction coordinator, without affecting the semantic interpretation of its conjuncts, as in (184a). However, as demonstrated in (184b), this is not a possibility within the GCC:

(184) a. O $\Gamma ianis$ $\delta iaske\delta a\zeta i$ i chorevi bachata.

ART John have.fun.PRS.3SG or dance.PRS.3SG bachata

‘John has fun or dances bachata.’

b. #O Γίανης kseri i διαβαζi to vivlio.

ART John know.PRS.3SG or read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John knows or reads the book.’

Due to the presence of the disjunction coordinator, the actuality entailment integral to the GCC is not sustained in (184b), since the speaker appears uncertain about whether John actually reads the book. Furthermore, in (184b), there is no sense of control, since *ksero* ‘know’ is interpreted simply as an epistemic verb and does not give rise to a dynamic modal reading. As such, the construction can only be interpreted as a sequence of two independent events. Overall, the unavailability of coordinator substitution serves as a diagnostic to distinguish between coordinate-like constructions and ordinary coordination. However, as pointed out in section 2.7, it does not necessarily entail that the relation between V1 and V2 is not a coordinate one, as the property is also prevalent in asymmetric coordinations.

6.2.6 Fixed Order

Within an ordinary coordination, the order of conjuncts may be freely reversed without affecting the truth conditions, since the propositions denoted by each conjunct are semantically independent of each other. The same is not true in the GCC, where reversing the order of conjuncts results in V1 and V2 being interpreted as a sequence of independent events:

(185) a. O Γίανης chorevi bachata ke diaskeðaζi.

ART John dance.PRS.3SG bachata and have.fun.PRS.3SG

‘John dances bachata and has fun.’

b. #O Γίανης διαβαζi to vivlio ke kseri.

ART John read.PRS.3SG ART book and know.PRS.3SG

‘John reads the book and knows.’

While under their canonical order, the verbal components of the GCC give rise to a sense of control equivalent to that attested in subjunctive complements, the same is not true under an inverse order. In (185b), *ksero* ‘know’ is, again, interpreted as an epistemic verb that refers to an implied piece of information, rather than the action of reading the book. Similar to the unavailability of coordinator substitution, the fixed order between V1 and V2 does not undermine an analysis of the GCC as a coordinate structure. As was shown in section 2.9, the property is commonly associated with coordinate structures, in which the order of conjuncts is not parallel, but rather characterized by some logical relation (i.e., causative, temporal, or conditional).

6.3 Differentiating the GCC from the GPC

Other than certain fundamental differences between the GCC and ordinary coordination, the properties reviewed in section 6.2 also highlight certain similarities that exist between the GCC and GPC. The idea that both constructions represent manifestations of the same syntactic phenomenon is far from unfounded, since they not only show a great degree of resemblance superficially, but also appear to attest to a similar semantic asymmetry between their verbal components. Looking across the literature, coordinate-like constructions with control verbs as their V1 have received far less attention cross-linguistically compared to pseudo-coordinations.

That said, in cases when they are documented, they are most commonly considered either indistinguishable from the traditional motion/posture pseudo-coordinate construction or as a distinct subbranch, albeit subsumed under the umbrella of pseudo-coordination. Before examining the relevant studies, I should note that the counterparts of the GCC in other languages are far less productive compared to the Greek paradigm. Whereas in Greek, the V1 slot may be occupied by a wide range of control verbs and also host NOC, the cross-linguistic

counterparts are far more restricted, in that only a very limited number of OC verbs may occur in their V1 slot.

A characteristic example of the GCC counterpart in English is the so-called ‘conative construction’ (de Vos, 2005) with ‘try.’ An example of this construction is provided in (186):

(186) John will try and kiss Mary at the party tonight (de Vos, 2005, p. 55)

In earlier accounts, these constructions have been treated as equivalents of English pseudo-coordinations with the verb ‘go’ and ‘sit’ (see Carden & Pesetsky, 1977). De Vos (2005) also views these constructions in light of his more general analysis of pseudo-coordination in English. However, he points out that ‘try-constructions’ exhibit some notable differences, based on which they should be treated as a distinct subbranch of pseudo-coordination. The two most characteristic differences pertain to their inflectional morphology and the nature of their V1. De Vos (2005) states that, in contrast to motion or posture verb pseudo-coordination, the ‘try-construction’ cannot tolerate any inflection, to the extent that both verbs have to obligatorily surface as bare stems:

- (187) a. *John tries and eats an apple. (Conative construction)
- b. John goes and eats an apple. (Motion verb pseudo-coordination) (de Vos, 2005, p. 56)

Furthermore, de Vos (2005) contends that in English pseudo-coordination, V1 is considered to be semantically bleached, in the sense that parts of the lexical semantics of these verbs are deaccented, compared to their canonical motion or posture usage. However, such an effect is not apparent in the verb ‘try,’ as the former appears to maintain a meaning identical to its use outside of the ‘try-construction.’

A construction related to the GCC has also been documented in Apulian and Sicilian varieties by Manzini et al. (2017). The authors report that these dialects exhibit two types of finite control complements. The first type refers to complements introduced by *ku* ‘that’ and

“covers all obligatory control and raising environments as well non-obligatory control contexts and subjunctive contexts in general” (Manzini et al., 2017, p. 33). The second type refers to obligatorily control complements, introduced either bare or by the element *a*³⁷. This second type is much more restricted in terms of the range of matrix verbs it can be selected by. The only verbs that can select for these types of complements are the following: *stare* ‘stay,’ *venire* ‘come,’ *andare* ‘go,’ and *volere* ‘want.’ In that regard, the control verb *volere* ‘want’ is not differentiated from posture and motion verbs that typically occupy the V1 slot of pseudo-coordinate constructions. Instead, the counterparts of the GCC and the GPC are both considered pseudo-coordinations, in which a control V1 selects for a finite complement that may be introduced by the marker *a*. An example of the GCC equivalent with ‘want’ as V1 is presented in (188):

- (188) *ti vɔʝʝu a vveʃu.*
 CLI.OBJ want.PRS.1SG to see.PRS.1SG

‘I want to see you.’ (Manzini et al., 2017, p. 26)

Turning to Greek, the existence of the GCC has been documented in several works either on subjunctive complementation (see Roussou, 2006; Kapetangianni, 2010; Fykias & Sampanis, 2011) or on the status of *ke* as a clausal complementizer (see Delveroudi, 1995; Ingria, 2005; Kotzoglou & Canakis, 2021). Historically, the construction was first documented in Tzartzanos (1953), who marks it as an irregular instance of coordination, in contexts where embedding of a subordinate clause would otherwise be expected. Since then, the construction has mostly been perceived as an epiphenomenon of subjunctive complementation and has not received systematic attention.

³⁵ According to Manzini et al. (2017), the element *a* is not to be associated with the Romance conjunction coordinator *ac*, as in previous accounts (see Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; Crushina, 2013), but rather with the locative/dative preposition/complementizer of Romance.

For example, in Fykias and Sampanis (2011), instantiations of the GCC are viewed as “parasitic constructions which are in a paraphrase relation to structures involving *na*-clauses” (p. 212). A more conclusive study on the semantics of the GCC comes from Giannakidou and Staraki (2012). Their account is of particular interest, since, in contrast to other studies, it takes as a premise that the underlying structure of the GCC is indeed a coordination, albeit one which exhibits a causative relation between its conjuncts. The specifics of this account will be outlined in detail in Chapter 7.

The first syntactic account of the GCC comes from Kapetangianni (2010), who treats these constructions as complement structures that involve a finite indicative complement introduced by the complementizer *ke*. These indicative complements can only be selected by a limited number of control verbs and, similarly to *na*-complements, become a locus of control. According to Kapetangianni (2010), control in both *na*- and *ke*-complements arises from the lack of semantic tense, which triggers DP-movement of the embedded subject into the matrix clause. Thus, she asserts that control in Greek is not linked to a specific category of Mood or to a specific subordinating particle, but it can be attested in different instances of clausal embedding.

A similar account of the syntactic structure of the GCC is proposed by Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021), although the latter focuses primarily on the properties of *ke* as a clausal complementizer, rather than the mechanism of control. A point of departure in Kotzoglou and Canakis (2021) concerns the Mood and Tense categories of the embedded clause, which are not assumed to be +INDICATIVE, in the case of Mood, and semantically empty, in the case of Tense, but copied from the respective categories of the matrix clause.

Finally, a syntactic account that also treats V2 of the GCC as the complement of V1 comes from Thomopoulou (2021). To my knowledge, this is the only account in Greek that compares the GCC to the GPC and aims to provide a unitary account of these phenomena.

Thomopoulou (2021) argues that both constructions behave similarly, in terms of how they are differentiated from ordinary coordination, in the sense that they both violate the CSC and display a fixed order in terms of V1 always preceding V2. Furthermore, she notes that pseudo-coordinate verbs do not maintain their original motion or posture meaning when inserted in the GPC, whereas control verbs retain their original lexical semantics in the GCC. However, the latter should not be seen as a difference between the two constructions, since within the GPC, *piyeno* and *kathome* are considered to function identically to control verbs. More specifically, she compares the usage of *piyeno* and *kathome* to that of the aspectual verb *archižo* ‘start,’ in that they highlight the incipient nature of the event described by their respective V2³⁸. Provided that there is no significant difference between the verbs that occupy V1 in these constructions, she concludes that both the GPC and the GCC are subparts of the same phenomenon and can thus be subsumed under the broad term ‘pseudo-coordination.’

In the remainder of this chapter, I will demonstrate that despite their surface similarities, the GPC and the GCC should not be analyzed as a unitary phenomenon. More specifically, I will present empirical arguments that showcase that the constructions differ in three fundamental aspects: (i) the nature of V1, (ii) the relation between V1 and V2, and (iii) the status of *ke*. The arguments presented in this section will be used as the foundation for pursuing a different account of the syntactic derivation of the GCC in the next chapter.

6.3.1 Differences in V1

As already established, the GPC is very restricted in terms of the categories of verbs that may occupy its V1 slot, with *piyeno* and *kathome* being the only potential candidates. However, as demonstrated in section 6.1, the V1 of the GCC may be occupied by different categories of NOC and OC verbs with their commonality being that: (i) they otherwise select

³⁸ But see section 3.3 on how *piyeno* is semantically distinguished from the aspectual *archižo* ‘start,’ and section 3.3.1 on the semantic properties of *kathome*.

for a subjunctive complement prefaced by *na*, on which they may exert control, and (ii) they do not semantically block the actuality entailment of V2. While it might be convenient to also consider *piyeno* and *kathome* as OC verbs, especially given the fact that they behave identically in terms of subject restrictions, empirical evidence demonstrates that these verbs should be semantically distinguished from typical control predicates.

In Chapter 3, I argued that *piyeno* and *kathome* are light verbs that only bear a minimal semantic contribution and are predicationally dependent on their V2. Despite their meager semantic contribution, their meaning still relates to the motion and posture interpretation these verbs receive outside of the GPC. This can be ascertained by the fact that they impose selectional restrictions on their shared subject. For example, in section 3.2.1, it was shown that pseudo-coordinate verbs are incompatible with abstract subjects:

(189) *I efkeria pai/kathete ke perimeni ton Iiani.

ART opportunity go/sit.PRS.3SG and wait.PRS.3SG ART John

‘The opportunity goes/sits and waits for John.’

That said, a similar restriction does not apply to OC verbs³⁹, since the former can freely select abstract subjects when inserted in the GCC:

(190) I efkeria sinechiçi ke perimeni ton Iiani.

ART opportunity continue.PRS.3SG and wait.PRS.3SG ART John

‘The opportunity continues to wait for John.’

Another difference between pseudo-coordinate verbs and OC verbs relates to modification. In section 3.2.5, it was established that locative modifiers, for example, are incompatible with the V1 of the GPC, since the former automatically yield a lexical interpretation of *piyeno* and *kathome*:

³⁹ I mainly use examples of OC verbs for the sake of comparison with V1 of the GPC, since they share identical subject restrictions as opposed to NOC verbs. The differences presented in this section also apply to GCCs with NOC verbs in their V1 slot.

(191) #Pai/kathete sto patoma ke diavaçi tis agelies.

go/sit.PRS.3SG to/onART floor and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements

‘He/she goes/sits to/on the floor and reads the advertisements.’

However, such a restriction does not, again, apply to OC verbs, since the former may co-occur with modifiers of any type without resulting in the GCC being read as an ordinary coordination of verbs:

(192) Kataferni sto patoma ke diavaçi tis agelies.

manage.PRS.3SG on.ART floor and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements

‘He/she manages to read the advertisements on the floor.’

Finally, the difference in the status between OC verbs and pseudo-coordinate verbs can be attested in that the former may surface without their V2 within certain syntactic contexts, such as in answers to yes-no questions. Consider the following examples:

(193) a. -Kseri ke diavaçi tis agelies?

know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements

‘Does he/she know how to read (and reads) the advertisements?’

-Ne, kseri.

yes know.PRS.3SG

‘Yes, he/she knows.’

b. -Pai/kathete ke diavaçi tis agelies?

go/sit.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements

‘Does he/she go/sit and read the advertisements?’

- #Ne, pai/kathete.

yes go/sit.PRS.3SG

‘Yes, he/she goes/sits.’

In (193a), the mono-verbal use of *ksero* ‘know’ in the response turn is sufficient, as long as the respective V2, in this case ‘reading the advertisements,’ is implied through context. The same cannot be said about pseudo-coordinate verbs, since the former cannot survive the deletion of their respective V2 in an answer to a yes-no question. In (193b), a pseudo-coordinate reading of *piyeno* and *kathome* is not sustained when the former occurs independently of their V2 predicate, even if the meaning of V2 is implied contextually. That said, the answer provided in (193b) is not felicitous, since it enforces a purely lexical interpretation of *piyeno* and *kathome*, whereas the GPC in the question turn is associated with a light verb interpretation of these verbs. Instead, for the answer to be felicitous, both V1 and V2 of the GPC would have to be repeated, as it is through the presence of a V2 predicate that a light verb meaning of V1 becomes accessible.

While the data presented in this section highlights the semantic difference between pseudo-coordinate verbs and OC verbs, which in turn points towards a difference in terms of their categorial status, it is not considered sufficient in terms of identifying the GCC and GPC as two independent syntactic phenomena. Given the cross-categorial status of the verbs that occupy V1 of the GCC, the categories could theoretically be extended to also cover light verbs in the form of *piyeno* and *kathome*. After all, *piyeno* and *kathome* also share the general properties of V1s of the GCC, in the sense that: (i) they may select for a subjunctive complement outside of the GPC on which they exert control, and (ii) they do not explicitly block the actuality entailment of V2. However, in the next two sections, I will argue that the differences between the two constructions are not limited to the nature of V1, but also pertain to their underlying structure.

6.3.2 Differences in the Relation between V1 and V2

The verbal components of the GPC exhibit a higher degree of dependency compared to those of the GCC. This can be morphologically determined through the MSC and

semantically through the single event interpretation related to the GPC. Starting with the MSC, the former was defined in section 2.1 as follows: “Both verbs of a pseudo-coordinate construction must agree in terms of mood, tense, and aspect. Overt inflectional material associated with these categories is realized separately for each verb of the construction.”

The same kind of morphological dependency is not attested in the GCC. Looking at the category of Mood, V1 and V2 of the GPC may inflect for all three Mood categories, as long as they share the same category. However, the verbal components of the GCC are obligatorily inflected for indicative mood, as semantically necessitated by the actuality entailment of the construction:

- (194) #Ipa stin Maria na frodisi ke na mini
 tell.PST.1SG to.ART Mary SUBJ arrange.PFV.3SG and SUBJ stay.PFV.3SG
 moni=tis.
 alone=POSS
 ‘I told Mary to arrange and to also stay alone.’

As seen by the translation provided, in (194), the sense of control is not sustained, and instead the verb *frodiço* ‘arrange’ is considered to receive an implicit object argument unrelated to V2. Furthermore, the subjunctive mood specification accounts for the action of ‘staying alone’ being interpreted as potential and not as actualized.

Turning to the categories of Tense and Aspect, the morphological marking of V2 in the GCC depends on: (i) the category of V1, and (ii) the morphological specification of V1. Starting with tense, it is generally the case that V2 has to morphologically agree in terms of its specification with V1. However, aspectual and implicative verbs are more flexible compared to the other categories, in that they may surface with a different tense morphology compared to their V2. That said, they still exhibit some degree of dependency on the Tense category of V2, in that they have to share the same +/-PRESENT specification. If V1 and V2

disagree in terms of their +/-PRESENT specification, then the construction becomes ungrammatical. Consider the following cases, where a present perfect V1 is accommodated by a simple present, as in (195a), or a simple past V2, as in (195b):

- (195) a. O proeðros echi archisi/kataferi ke eknevrizete.

ART president AUX.3SG start/manage.PFV and become.angry.PRS.3SG

‘The president has started/managed to become angry.’

- b. *O proeðros echi archisi/kataferi ke eknevrizotan.

ART president AUX.3SG start/manage.PFV and become.angry.PST.IPFV.3SG

‘The president has started/managed and was becoming angry.’

It should be noted that when discussing implicative and aspectual verbs, only V1 may temporally precede V2. The opposite cannot be the case, since it results in the sense of control being dissociated:

- (196) *O proeðros archiçi/kataferni ke echi eknevrísti.

ART president start/manage.PRS.3SG and AUX.3SG become.angry.PFV

‘The president starts/manages and has become angry.’

Similar to tense, the aspect morphology is also generally shared between V1 and V2 of the GCC. Knowledge and aspectual verbs are an exception, since when the former occupy V1, V2 has to obligatorily be inflected for -PERFECTIVE aspect. The same restriction would apply if these verbs selected a subjunctive complement outside the GCC. The relevant examples are provided below:

- (197) a. O proeðros archiçe na eknevriçete/*eknevrísti.

ART president start.PST.3SG SUBJ become.angry.IPFV/PFV.3SG

‘The president started to become angry.’

- b. O proeðros archiçe ke eknevrizotan/*eknevrístike.

ART president start.PST.3SG and become.angry.PST.IPFV/PFV.3SG

‘The president started to become angry.’

The data presented so far highlight a different pattern in terms of how functional categories are realized between verbal components of the GPC and the GCC. The most significant difference is presented in terms of mood, as the GCC has to always be inflected for +INDICATIVE. Regarding tense and aspect, both constructions generally behave identically, in that the features associated with these categories have to be shared among both V1 and V2. Even if we take into consideration the exceptions presented in (195a-b) and (197a-b), it becomes clear that V1 and V2 of the GCC still demonstrate a degree of dependency when it comes to their morphological specification. The temporal/aspectual dependency highlighted in the above examples is reflective of the semantic dependency between V1 and V2. In the next chapter, I will advocate that this semantic dependency has the form of a causative relation. Under this approach, the restrictions in the inflectional morphology associated with these functional categories are to be expected.

The next difference to be addressed between the GCC and the GPC relates to their event semantics. More specifically, while, as established in section 5.2.2, the verbal components of the GPC exhibit mono-eventhood, the same cannot be said about the verbal components of the GCC. This is based on data pertaining to modification by event modifiers and to the placement of negation markers. As seen in (198a), if V1 of the GPC is followed by an event modifier, then V1 becomes semantically isolated and is interpreted under its canonical motion or posture meaning. On the other hand, when the event modifier occurs in a sentence-final position, as in (198b), it has to take scope over both V1 and V2 as a unit, in order for a pseudo-coordinate reading to be sustained. The same is not true in the GCC, since

its verbal components may be individually selected by event modifiers without affecting the semantic interpretation of the construction (see 198c-d)⁴⁰:

- (198) a. #Pai/kathete *δίο fores ke δίαβαζι* *tis agelies*.
 go/sit.PRS.3SG two times and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements
 ‘He/she goes/sits two times and reads the advertisements.’
- b. Pai/kathete *ke δίαβαζι* *tis agelies* *δίο fores*.
 go/sit.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements two times
 ‘He/she goes/sits and reads the advertisements two times.’
- c. I Maria borese *δίο fores ke τραγούδise*.
 ART Mary can.PST.3SG two times and sing.PST.3SG
 ‘Mary was two times able to sing.’
- d. I Maria borese *ke τραγούδise* *δίο fores*.
 ART Mary can.PST.3SG and sing.PST.3SG two times
 ‘Mary was able to sing two times.’

In (198c), the presence of the event modifier after V1 accounts for a reading, under which Mary was given the opportunity to perform the act of singing two times. In (198d), the position of the event modifier accounts for a reading, under which Mary was given the opportunity to sing and performed the act twice, possibly in a consecutive fashion.

In terms of event semantics, another way to ascertain the difference between the GPC and the GCC is through negation. In section 6.1, it was shown that negation cannot precede V1 in the GCC, since its narrow scope results in V1 being dissociated from V2 and overall

⁴⁰ The ‘event modifier’ test cannot be felicitously applied to all predicates that may occupy V1 of the GCC. For example, implicative verbs such as *kataferno* ‘manage,’ cannot be targeted by event modifiers independently of their V2, since their meaning is dependent on the interaction with the meaning of V2. Similarly, the dynamic modality denoted by the verb *ksero* ‘know’ in the GCC is understood as a continuous state, rather than an action that unfolds in time or space and thus cannot be modified in terms of its frequency.

interferes with the actuality entailment of the construction. However, V2 may be individually negated as seen in (199b):

- (199) a. #O proeðros ðen echi archisi ke eknevriçete pleon.
 ART president NEG AUX.3SG start.PFV and become.angry.PRS.3SG anymore
 ‘The president has not started and already becomes angry.’
- b. O proeðros echi archisi ke ðen eknevriçete pleon.
 ART president AUX.3SG start.PFV and NEG become.angry.IPFV.3SG anymore
 ‘The president has started to not become angry anymore.’

In contrast to (199a), V1 and V2 in (199b) are not interpreted as independent from each other, despite the latter being individually negated. On a superficial level, the availability of negation in V2 could be deemed as contradictory to the actuality entailment attributed to the construction. However, in (199b), the presence of negation along with the negative polarity adverbial *pleon* ‘anymore’ does not explicitly deny the actualization of an action, but indicates the cessation of a previously ongoing action (i.e., of becoming angry). That said, V2 overall entails a positive outcome, since it is understood that the president is currently behaving more calmly.

From an event semantics point of view, the fact that V2 may be negated independently of V1 corroborates the fact that, in the GCC, the verbal components do not form a single event. If we compare the examples above with the relevant negation data on the GPC, we will observe that the latter follows the exact opposite pattern. In section 4.2.1, it was shown that in the GPC, negation may only occur within the matrix domain and takes an unambiguous wide scope interpretation. The relevant examples are repeated below:

- (200) a. ðen pao/kathome ke ðiavaço to vivlio.
 NEG go/sit.PRS.1SG and read.PRS.1SG ART book
 ‘I don’t go/sit and read the book.’

b. #Pao/kathome ke den diavažo to vivlio.

go/sit.PRS.1SG and NEG read.PRS.1SG ART book

‘I go/sit and I don’t read the book.’

In the case of the GPC, V2 may not be individually negated, as this would interfere with a pseudo-coordinate reading of V1. The data on negation also point towards a difference in the underlying structure between the GCC and the GPC, since the V2 of the former appears to have a functional head that can license negation.

6.3.3 Differences in *Ke* ‘and’

The last point of differentiation between the GPC and the GCC pertains to the behavior of the marker *ke*. In section 4.4, it was established that the presence of *ke* in the GPC is mandatory only in syntactic environments where the propositional integrity may be questioned, such as under negation or modification. Otherwise, *ke* may be omitted without affecting the semantic interpretation of the GPC. This idiosyncrasy is not applicable to the GCC, where the presence of *ke* is mandatory across the board. This is depicted in (201):

(201) *O Iianis kseri ke diavaži to vivlio.

ART John know.PRS.3SG and read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John knows reads the book.’

Furthermore, the GPC is bound to certain adjacency restrictions that need to be maintained between its verbal components and *ke*, as outlined in 2.6. More specifically, it was shown that the position between *ke* and V2 (Position B) can only be occupied by the inflectional material associated with V2 and object clitics. This also highlights the syntactic change that *ke* has undergone, with respect to its original position as the conjunction coordinator. However, the same is not true for the GCC. While similar to the GPC, Position B

cannot be occupied by the subject referent⁴¹, the GCC, again, shows a greater degree of flexibility, in that it allows for modifiers (202a) as well as internal arguments of V2⁴² (202b) to occur in that position:

(202) a. Kataferni ke tis agelies *ðiavaçi*.

manage.PRS.3SG and ART advertisements read.PRS.3SG

‘He/she manages to read the advertisements.’

b. Kataferni ke *γρίγορα* *ðiavaçi* tis agelies.

manage.PRS.3SG and fast read.PRS.3SG ART advertisements

‘He/she manages to read the advertisements fast.’

The data presented above shows that the GCC is not subject to any adjacency restriction with respect to its components. If we also take into account the fact that omissability of *ke* is excluded in this construction, there is no inherent semantic or syntactic property that could challenge the status of *ke* as a legitimate syntactic element.

6.4. Summary

In the previous two sections, my goal was to present the semantic and syntactic properties characteristic of the GCC and to establish its status as a distinct syntactic phenomenon. In order to do so, I applied the same diagnostic criteria employed in Chapter 2, where the goal was to establish the fundamental differences between the GPC and ordinary coordination. When the GCC was compared to ordinary coordination in section 6.2, it was shown that the former attests to all the properties that point towards an asymmetric relation between V1 and V2, namely violation of the CSC, V1 restrictions, subject restrictions, V1 valency requirements, and unavailability of coordinator substitution.

⁴¹ The distribution of the subject referent within the GCC will be explicitly addressed in the next chapter, when discussing the syntactic derivation of the construction.

⁴² Interestingly, the example in (202a) also demonstrates a difference between the GPC and the GCC regarding the topicalization of V2 arguments. In 4.2.5, I demonstrated that, in the GPC, arguments of V2 may be topicalized in a clause-initial position. However, in the GCC, a V2 argument can be either topicalized clause-initially or in a position that precedes V2.

The remaining properties introduced in Chapter 2 are indicative of the degree of semantic/syntactic integration that exists between V1 and V2 and include: the TMA restrictions⁴³, the single event interpretation, the availability of coordinator omission, and the adjacency restrictions. These were examined in section 6.3, when the GPC was directly compared to the GCC. Interestingly, while these are all prevalent in the GPC, only ‘TMA restrictions’ apply to the GCC, although in a less restrictive sense, as was shown in 6.3.2. Overall, the responsiveness of the GCC to the ten diagnostic criteria is summarized in the table below, along with the constructions discussed previously:

Table 5.1

Properties of the GPC, the GCC, and ordinary coordination

Properties	GPC	GCC	Ordinary coordination
<i>Asymmetric relation between V1 and V2</i>			
Unavailability of coordinator substitution	+	+	-
Violation of the CSC	+	+	-
V1 restrictions	+	+	-
Valency requirements of V1	+	+	-
Subject restrictions	+	+	-
Fixed order	+	+	-
<i>Semantic/Syntactic integration</i>			
TMA restrictions	+	+	-
Availability of coordinator omission	+	-	-
Adjacency restrictions	+	-	-
Single event interpretation	+	-	-

⁴³ Here, I use the more general term ‘TMA restrictions’ instead of ‘Morphological Sameness Condition,’ which only applies to the GPC. As was shown in section 6.3.2, while the GCC is not subject to the MSC, it still attests to restrictions in terms of the tense, mood, and aspect specification of V1 and V2.

Focusing on the comparison between the GPC and the GCC, in section 6.3, I provided a three-level segmentation of their differences comprised of: (i) the nature of V1, (ii) the relation between V1 and V2, and (iii) the status of *ke*. In terms of the first level, the differences in terms of selectional restrictions, modification, and ellipsis overall suggest that, in contrast to *piyeno* and *kathome* in the GPC, V1 of the GCC cannot be considered a light verb. The second and third levels highlight the fact that semantic and syntactic integration between verbal components is less tight in the GCC compared to the GPC. More specifically, it was shown that the TMA restrictions applied in the GCC are mostly dependent on the specific verb that occupies V1 and are overall less strict compared to the MSC. Furthermore, V1 and V2 of the GCC do not semantically form a single event and, in the case of V2, can accommodate narrow scope negation. Looking at the third level of differentiation, *ke* presents a different distribution compared to the GPC, as the former cannot possibly be omitted without yielding ungrammaticality, nor requires a certain degree of adjacency to the other elements of the construction. The aforementioned differences are summarized in the table below:

Table 5.2

Differentiating properties between the GPC and the GCC

Properties	GPC	GCC
<i>Nature of V1</i>		
Selectional restrictions	+	-
Modification restrictions	+	-
Semantic lightness	+	-
<i>Relation between V1 and V2</i>		
Availability of different Mood categories	-	+
Availability of different tense specification	-	+

Availability of different aspect specification	-	+
Negation of V1 and V2	+	-
Negation of V2	-	+
<i>Nature of ke</i>		
Availability of coordinator omission	+	-
Adjacency restrictions	+	-

Based on the findings presented in this section, we can gather some information regarding the underlying structure of the GCC. The first thing to note is that the properties displayed in Table 5.1 largely advocate for a subordinate treatment of the GCC. With the exception of TMA restrictions, fixed order, and unavailability of coordinator substitution, the remaining properties attested in the GCC have been employed as diagnostic criteria for an underlying subordinate structure that involves V2 being embedded by V1 (see the relevant discussion in Chapter 2).

A second takeaway based on the properties discussed in this chapter pertains to the status of *ke* in the GCC. The absence of adjacency restrictions and the unavailability of its omission suggest that the former is not a semantically empty element, but an element that canonically participates in the syntactic derivation. In addition, a major proponent for the analysis of *ke* as an empty marker in the GPC relates to the construction being morphologically and semantically identical to a subjunctive complementation under embedding (see the relevant discussion in section 2.5). However, in terms of the GCC, there is no equivalent construction that morphologically and semantically matches it, without simultaneously not requiring the presence of *ke*. Based on these facts, the account that will be

pursued in the next chapter treats *ke* in the GCC as an element identical to its canonical use as a conjunction coordinator⁴⁴.

We can also deduce certain information about the clausal status of the GCC. Based on the properties reviewed in this chapter, there are four major arguments in favor of the GCC being a bi-clausal structure (i.e., involving two distinct functional domains). The first concerns the nature of its TMA restrictions. While all verbal categories that may occupy V1 impose restrictions on the inflectional morphology of the verb, only knowledge and modal verbs require V2 to surface with an identical tense and aspect specification. This indicates that at least for all the other categories of V1, the structure of the GCC involves two distinct functional domains, since it permits V2 to surface with a distinct tense and aspect morphology.

The second argument relates to the event semantics of the GCC. Based on the availability of event modifiers targeting individually both V1 and V2, it can be concluded that they do not denote a single event. Following the assumption that mono-clausal structures are reserved for semantically mono-evental propositions, the aforementioned data serves as an index for a bi-clausal syntactic structure. Thirdly, data on negation placement suggests that V2 has a distinct functional projection that can license negation. Finally, when discussing adjacency restrictions, it was shown that Position B can be occupied by internal arguments of V2. If the GCC was a mono-clausal structure similar to the GPC, arguments of V2 would have to obligatorily be fronted in a clause-initial position that precedes both V1 and V2 (as discussed in section 4.2.5). The fact that Position B is available for fronting internal arguments of V2 points towards the existence of a clause boundary in V2 of the GCC.

⁴⁴ This treatment may be deemed as conflicting with the empirical data mentioned above, which is suggestive of an underlying subordinate structure. However, the account that will be pursued adopts a coordinate structure, while also derivationally accounting for the subordinate relation between V1 and V2.

7. The GCC as a Causative Coordination and its Syntactic Derivation

In the previous chapter, I provided an introduction to the semantic interpretation associated with the GCC and the categories of verbs that may occupy its V1 slot. In addition, I reviewed the formal properties that distinguish this construction from ordinary coordination, as well as the GPC. Using the previous discussion as my theoretical baseline, in this chapter, I aim to delve deeper into the underlying structure of the construction and also provide an account of its syntactic derivation.

More specifically, I will propose that the GCC represents causative coordination that involves ellipsis of the subjunctive argument of V1 in the first conjunct. My proposal will be premised on Giannakidou and Staraki's (2012) semantic account, which focuses on the actualized ability reading that the verb *boro* 'can' receives when it occupies the V1 slot of the GCC. While the authors point towards an interaction between the coordinate structure of the GCC and the lexical meaning of its components, they do not discuss how a coordination analysis is substantiated from a syntactic perspective. In that regard, there are certain issues that need to be resolved, if we were to assume that the GCC involves coordination, such as properties mentioned in section 6.2, e.g., V1 restrictions, valency requirements of V1, subject restrictions, violation of the CSC, unavailability of coordination substitution, and fixed order. In particular, the violation of the CSC and the availability of only a single subject referent across V1 and V2 pose strong counterarguments against a coordination analysis. The account that will be pursued in this chapter opts to address those issues by employing a multidominance structure that involves the subject referent being structurally shared between both conjuncts.

The present chapter is structured in four sections. In the first section, I will review Giannakidou and Staraki's (2012) account and highlight certain aspects, which will be integral to the account pursued here, namely the causative relation between V1 and V2 and

V1 receiving a subjunctive complement at LF. In the second section, I will discuss how Giannakidou and Staraki's (2012) account can be modified to account for the wide range of control verbs associated with the GCC. Furthermore, I will demonstrate that despite the properties addressed in section 6.2, a coordination account of the GCC can still be maintained, as long as certain semantic and structural conditions are met. Assuming that V1 receives a null subjunctive complement, in the third section, I will focus on how control is exerted within the first conjunct. In particular, I will examine previous accounts of control in subjunctive complements in Greek and discuss their compatibility with a structure sharing approach on the subject referent. Finally, in the fourth section, I will provide a multidominance account of the syntactic derivation of the GCC and also discuss certain issues regarding the linearization of the proposed syntactic structure.

7.1 Actualized Ability in Greek (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012)

In contrast to previous approaches that view the GCC as a phenomenon related either to control or subjunctive complementation, in their study, Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) focus on the different ways in which ability is expressed in Greek. The authors claim that Greek distinguishes empirically between ability as a precondition for action and ability as initiating and sustaining force for action. Starting with the former meaning, it is expressed primarily through ability verbs selecting for a subjunctive complement, as in (203):

(203) O Ianis boruse na apoðrasi (ala ðen apeðrase).

ART John can.PST.IPFV.3SG SUBJ escape.PFV.3SG but NEG escape.PST.3SG

'John could escape (but he didn't).' (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 2)

The ability in (203) can be understood as either a generic or time-bound disposition for action. Whether generic or time-bound, pure ability does not imply acting on the ability and is considered non-veridical, because it does not trigger the actual truth of the complement clause (Giannakidou, 2001). However, ability may also manifest through real actions, in

which case it is interpreted as actualized ability, since actualizing an ability involves performing an action (Mari & Martin, 2009). This is made apparent in the following example:

- (204) O Iianis borese na apoðrasi (#ala ðen apeðrase).
 ART John can.PST.PFV.3SG SUBJ escape.PFV.3SG but NEG escape.PST.3SG
 ‘John was able to, and he did escape (#but he did not).’ (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 2)

While example (203) is a statement of pure ability and, as such, non-veridical, the statement in (204) has an actuality entailment, under which John engaged in a series of actions that resulted in his escaping. The difference in terms of entailment between the two statements is commonly attributed to their difference in the aspectual specification of the verb *boro* ‘can.’ For example, in Hacquard (2006, 2009) and Piñón (2003), the actuality entailment with ability is treated as an aspectual phenomenon triggered by perfective aspect. Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) argue against this assumption by underlining the “relevance of causation in allowing ability to initiate action to bring about a result” (p. 3). In that regard, they draw attention to the GCC and some of its cross-linguistic variants in English and Georgian:

- (205) a. O Iianis boruse ke epine ðeka bires kathe vradi
 ART John can.PST.IPFV.3SG and drink.PST.IPFV.3SG ten beers every night
 tin epochi ekini
 ART time that.
 ‘John used to be able to, and did, drink 10 beers every night at that time.’
 (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 12)
- b. Merim shesdzlo da gamotsvala borbali.
 Mary can.PST.3SG and fix.PST.3SG wheel
 ‘Mary was able to and did change the wheel.’ (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 10)

c. Bill tried and got himself an appointment (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 10)

The authors do not draw any correlation between the construction and control predicates, but rather label it as a “causative co-ordinate structure” (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 10). They also do not provide an overview of the different categories of control predicates that can occupy the V1 slot of the construction, as discussed in section 6.1. Instead, they focus primarily on how the construction semantically interacts with predicates that inherently denote the effort or the ability to perform an action, such as *kataferno* ‘manage,’ *boro* ‘can,’ and *prospatho* ‘try.’ According to them, the construction in (205a) represents a case where, in contrast to the instances of subjunctive complementation presented in (203) and (204), an actuality entailment is derived independently of the tense and aspect specification of its predicates.

Even though both verbs are inflected for imperfective aspect and past tense, the example in (205a) is interpreted as John being able, and, in fact, drinking ten beers every night. Instead of being dependent on aspect, the actuality entailment in this case is assumed to be derived from the causative relation between the first and the second conjunct. More specifically, the verb in the first conjunct, also labeled as the ability clause, contains an action component, which in the presence of causation is coerced into an action meaning. The second conjunct or result clause introduces the result of the ability clause and, as such, enforces the realization of the action component. In Giannakidou and Staraki (2012), the action component in V1 is seen as a prerequisite in order for the former to receive an actuality entailment. This is also the reason that assertive, factive, and epistemic verbs are excluded from the ability clause, since their meaning cannot be coerced into an action meaning. In these cases, the construction reads like an ordinary coordination instead:

(206) #O Gianis pistepse/ipe/charike ke i yi itan epipeði.

ART John believe/say/be.glad.PST.PFV.3SG and ART earth be.PST.3SG flat

‘John believed/told/was glad, and the earth was flat.’ (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 10)

According to the authors, the GCC is suggestive of how the meaning of ability verbs or verbs of effort can be shifted based on the syntactic context they occur. For example, when selecting a subjunctive complement, the verb *prospatho* ‘try’ is non-veridical, in the sense that its complement does not denote a true proposition. On the other hand, when inserted in the first conjunct of the causative coordination frame, the verb becomes veridical and, as such, a new meaning is created (e.g., aside from the typical *prospatho* ‘try,’ we would get the veridical *prospatho*₂, which is interpreted as ‘make sure’). This is demonstrated below:

(207) O Iianis prospathi ke troi ena milo tin imera.

ART John try.PRS.3SG and eat.PRS.3SG one apple ART day

‘John tries to eat an apple per day, and he does.’ (=John makes sure to eat one apple per day) (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 13)

While instances like the one above could simply be attributed to lexical ambiguity,

Giannakidou and Staraki assert that:

It is more profitable to envision these systematic correlations between verb meaning and form of syntactic complement as interactions where the syntax affects the meaning of a verb by bringing about components in the verb meaning that were there already—but which, without the syntactic trigger, would remain invisible (2012, p. 14).

Having emphasized the role of causation and the associated shift in veridicality that V1 undergoes, they propose the following structure for the GCC:

(208) a. I Ariadne borese (na ftiaksi to aftokinito) ke eftiakse

ART Ariadne can.PST.3SG SUBJ fix.PFV.3SG ART car and fix.PST.3SG
to aftokinito

ART car.

‘Ariadne could fix the car and she fixed the car.’

b. [I Ariadne borese [e: ~~fix the car~~]] and [Ariadne fixed the car].

As seen in the above examples, the verb in the ability clause selects for a null subjunctive complement that syntactically corresponds to the TP of the second conjunct/*ke*-clause. This assumption is crucial regarding the syntactic account pursued in this chapter. In particular, I will claim that all categories of predicates that may occupy the first conjunct of the GCC, select for a subjunctive complement homophonous to the second conjunct, which is only realized at LF. Furthermore, the structure in (208b) provides syntactic evidence in favor of causation being translated into a bi-clausal structure, in the sense of Dowty (1979), where the first conjunct/ability clause provides the cause and the second conjunct/*ke*-clause the result, under the logical form [ϕ CAUSE [become ψ]]. The causation relation between the two conjuncts is interpreted by the authors under the strictly event-based definition of Lewis (1973), shown in (209):

(209) Lewis (1973) on causation:

An event A causes an event B iff:

- a. When A happens, B happens, and
- b. If A were not to happen, B would not happen.

Finally, regarding the status of *ke* the authors contend that since “*ke* looks like a coordinator, the most plausible course of action is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to assume that it also functions as such” (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 11). However, as discussed in section 6.2, there is substantial empirical evidence that challenges the status of *ke* as a coordinator in the GCC, such as violation of the CSC and availability of a single subject referent. In the next section, I will demonstrate how these counterarguments can still be accounted for, while maintaining the status of *ke* as a coordinator.

A major proponent of Giannakidou and Staraki's (2012) account is that ability is not conceptualized as mere possibility, but as a precondition for action. This is deemed plausible considering the fact that ability verbs, like 'can,' are treated as universal modals (Giannakidou, 2001). Regarding the ability verb *boro* 'can,' Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) provide the following logical form:

$$(210) \quad K_{\text{ability}}(x)(w) = \{w' : \forall p [x \text{ is capable of } p(w) \rightarrow p(w')]\} \quad (\text{p. 15})$$

As the definition suggests, the ability modal base contains only worlds in which the agent has in fact tried and therefore knows that they are capable of doing *p*. The definition of the modal base is agent-dependent, which differentiates the ability modal from epistemic or deontic modals. Given that ability is defined via an action component, the GCC with the ability modal in (208) could thus be expressed as follows:

$$(211) \quad [[\text{Ariadne had the ability to perform actions to the effect of fixing the car}] \text{ CAUSE} \\ [\text{BECOME [car fixed]}]] \quad (\text{Giannakidou \& Staraki, 2012, p. 17})$$

In the remainder of the paper, the authors demonstrate how the causative construction accounts for a shift in the meaning of the ability modal. Note that under Lewis' (1973) definition in (209), the causal relation requires the cause clause to be conceptualized as an event. However, the notion of ability as a precondition for action outlined in (210) does not in itself entail an action component. With this in mind, the definition of ability within the GCC needs to be enriched to capture how the causative frame affects the meaning of the ability verb. For this purpose, Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) adopt Copley and Harley's (2010) definition of force:

A force is an input of energy into some initial situation. This energy is either generated by an animate entity, or it comes from the motion or properties of an inanimate object. The application of this energy changes the initial situation into a different situation, as long as no stronger force keeps it from doing so.... A force's

observed final situation is thus contingent on the existence and strength of other forces opposing it (p. 8).

In addition, according to the ‘Law of Rational Action’ formulated by Copley and Harley (2010), when there is a volitional agent intending an action, the intention, assuming that nothing prevents it, will become force:

(212) Law of Rational Action (Copley & Harley, 2010):

If a volitional entity intends something in a situation *s* and is not prevented by anything from acting in such a way (according to his/her beliefs) as to achieve it, the being acts (exerts a force on *s*) in such a way (according to his/her beliefs) to achieve it (p. 16).

Using force and the Law of Rational Action as their theoretical framework, Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) sketch an analysis of how *boro* ‘can’ is understood within the causation frame. They propose that the Law of Rational Action can be triggered within certain syntactic constructions, due to how they semantically affect their components. In the context of the GCC, the second conjunct/result clause asserts that a specific result holds true. This has a significant impact on how ability operates in the first conjunct/ability clause. The causative frame triggers the Law of Rational Action, and as such, ability transforms into force, which enables the agent to carry out actions that will lead to the result specified in the *ke*-clause. The authors propose the following abstract logical form, which captures the transformation of ability as a precondition for action to action via force.

(213) $[[\text{Force} (x \text{ CAN } \psi)]]$ is true at time *t* in *w* iff:

- a. *x* has the ability do ψ ; and
 - b. Force initiates a path, i.e., a sequence of eventualities $S (<\text{init}(f), \dots, \text{fin}(f)>)$ such that
- S* is a necessary means ($<$) for ψ ;

c. ψ is the fin(f) of S (Giannakidou & Staraki, 2012, p. 20).

The present account primarily focuses on the different meanings that the ability verb *boro* ‘can’ is able to encompass in Greek, when occurring in different syntactic contexts. Whereas, under subjunctive complementation, the verb is non-veridical, when inserted in the causative frame of the GCC, the verb becomes associated with an actuality entailment. Importantly, the trigger for the actuality entailment, in this case, is not aspect, as claimed in previous accounts (see Hacquard, 2006, 2009; Piñon, 2003), but rather the interplay between causation and force under the assumption that force may take ability under its scope.

Moreover, the present account can be extended to also capture how the meaning of other predicates (i.e., verbs of effort), as shown in (207), is affected when they are inserted in the causative frame in terms of veridicality. This is especially important for the account that will be pursued in the remainder of this chapter, as I will claim that the causation frame of the GCC is responsible for the actuality entailment observed with other types of predicates, such as knowledge, aspectual, and permissive verbs.

7.2 Implementing Giannakidou and Staraki’s (2012) Account

Having outlined the proposal of Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) regarding the status of GCCs as causative coordinations, as well as the mechanisms through which the meaning of the ability verb is manipulated in these constructions, there are two issues that need to be addressed regarding its implementation. The first issue concerns the current theoretical apparatus being limited to only ability and verbs of effort, but not specifying how other categories of predicates associated with the GCC, as shown in section 6.1, interact with the causative frame. The second issue pertains to the assumed coordination analysis being in conflict with the properties mentioned in section 6.2, which undermine the status of *ke* as a conjunction coordinator in these constructions.

These two issues will be discussed separately in this section. Specifically, I will propose certain modifications in the current theoretical framework on causation, in order for the former to be compatible not only with ability verbs, but with the broad range of control verbs generally associated with the GCC. Furthermore, I will show that the coordinate structure of the GCC assumed in Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) can still be maintained under an approach that involves structure sharing.

7.2.1 *The GCC as a Causative Construction*

Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) make two fundamental assumptions regarding their proposed causative frame, which apply irrespective of the verb that occupies the V1 slot. The first relates to the structure of causation and the nature of the causative relation itself. Structurally, causation consists of two clauses with the logical form [ϕ CAUSE [become ψ]]. Following Lewis (1973), both clauses are treated as two unique eventive propositions, with the actualization of the second proposition being dependent upon the actualization of the first.

Their second assumption relates to the second conjunct denoting the outcome of the first conjunct, which in turn triggers a shift in the meaning of the V1 verb from pure energy (in the case of ability verbs) into force. Regarding the verbs that can occupy the V1 slot, Giannakidou and Staraki (2012) set the following two limiting criteria: (i) V1 has to be able to select for a subjunctive complement, realized only at LF, and (ii) V1 has to be an action verb⁴⁵. In terms of (ii), they also enrich the semantic definition of the ability modal *boro* ‘can,’ in order to be conceptualized as a verb that initiates and sustains action through the successful end result when inserted in the causative frame.

However, the criterion raised in (ii) is deemed problematic, considering the heterogeneous range of verbs related to the V1 slot of the GCC shown in section 6.1. Looking

⁴⁵ The term ‘action verb’ is used broadly here to refer to verbs that simply denote a physical or mental action. They should not be confused with ‘action verbs’ that denote some change of state as the result of an action, where the change of state often involves an attribute of the direct object of the verb, as in Hovav and Levin (2010).

across the categories of OC and NOC verbs that may occupy V1, we find knowledge, aspectual, ability, volitional, implicative, and commissive verbs. While the majority of those verbs are related to some sort of physical or mental action when they are inserted in the V1 slot of the GCC, there are also verbs associated with mental states, rather than dynamic actions. An indicative example is the volitional verb *thelo* ‘want,’ which, when inserted in the causative frame, still conveys an ongoing state of desire or intention as in (214):

- (214) O Iianis theli (na ðiavaçi to vivlio) ke ðiavaçi
 ART John want.PRS.3SG SUBJ read.3SG ART book and read.PRS.3SG
 to vivlio.
 ART book
 ‘John wants to read the book and he reads the book.’

Another verb that cannot unambiguously be classified as an action verb is the knowledge verb *ksero* ‘know.’ As was shown in section 4.1.2, the former may receive a different meaning depending on the type of complement it embeds. As such, *ksero* ‘know’ is interpreted as an epistemic verb when it selects for an *oti*-complement. In contrast, when it selects for a subjunctive complement, as is the case in the first conjunct of the GCC, it receives a dynamic modal reading. In that regard, it could be compared to the ability verb *boro* ‘can,’ and thus its behavior in the GCC could possibly be captured under an analysis based on force, as is done in Giannakidou and Staraki (2012)⁴⁶. While I do not intend to dismiss this as a possibility, in this section, I would like to introduce a more flexible approach to causation, one that is not dependent on V1 being semantically associated with an action component.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that ‘*ksero* ‘know’ + subjunctive complement’ is not to be semantically equated to ‘*boro* ‘can’ + subjunctive complement.’ The two verbs are semantically distinguished by whether the act described by the subjunctive complement is possible at utterance time. Whereas *boro* ‘can’ emphasizes the present capability or permission on the part of the subject to perform the action described by the subjunctive complement, *ksero* ‘know’ does not necessarily imply that the subject is able to perform the action at the given moment.

Following Giannakidou and Staraki (2012), I use the concept of veridicality as a theoretical foundation in order to describe causation in the GCC. Veridicality pertains to the truth status of propositions in natural language semantics. As a concept, it was first introduced by Montague (1969) to analyze the semantics of perception verbs that entail the existence of the individuals involved in their complements. The term was formalized in Giannakidou (1994, 1995) and Zwarts (1995) and has since then been employed in various studies to discuss issues such as mood selection, the behavior of polarity items, and the semantics of modal/epistemic verbs. Here, the term will be used parallel to ‘non-veridicality,’ in order to semantically distinguish the subjunctive complement in the cause clause and its indicative counterpart in the result clause. According to Giannakidou (1994, 1995, 1998, and subsequent work), veridicality is defined as follows:

(215) Definition of veridicality:

A propositional operator F is veridical if for a proposition p and world w :

$F(p) \Rightarrow p$ is true in some world accessible from the actual world w .

In this case, the truth of p is entailed in the world that is relevant to the context of evaluation.

This means that the operator F requires that the proposition p be true in that world.

Importantly, in this definition, veridicality provided here is not associated with existence, but with truth entailment. Accordingly, non-veridicality is defined as the absence of the aforementioned entailment:

(216) Definition of non-veridicality:

$F(p) \not\Rightarrow p$ is true in the actual world w .

In this case, the operator F does not commit the speaker to the truth of the proposition p . The proposition remains possible, but it is not guaranteed to be true. According to Giannakidou (1998, 1999), subjunctive complements selected by control verbs are non-veridical, since

they do not denote a true proposition. In contrast, declarative statements in indicative mood are veridical, in the sense that their truth is presupposed by the speaker.

Given that the null subjunctive complement in the cause clause syntactically corresponds to the TP of the result clause, causation can be premised on the veridicality shift attested in the two propositions. Let us look at this in more detail by means of the GCC with *thelo* ‘want’, exemplified in (214). Starting with the first conjunct, we have the proposition ‘to read the book,’ which is embedded under *thelo* ‘want’ in the main clause. In this case, *thelo* ‘want’ acts as an operator that introduces non-veridicality. This can be represented as follows:

(217) $\text{WANT}(p) \nRightarrow p$

The former can be read as: ‘John’s desire to read the book does not guarantee the truth of the proposition ‘John reads the book.’ In the second conjunct, the proposition ‘John reads the book’ is introduced in indicative mood. Indicative mood in this case acts as the veridical context F , which guarantees the truth of the proposition p in the actual world. This is demonstrated as follows:

(218) $F(p) \Rightarrow \text{True}(p, w_0)$

This means that when p is in a veridical context F , it follows that p is true in the actual world w_0 . The second conjunct or result clause, following Giannakidou and Staraki’s (2012) framework, accounts for a shift from non-veridicality to veridicality, in terms of the proposition ‘John reads the book.’ This is represented below:

(219) $\text{WANT}(p) \nRightarrow \text{True}(p, w_0) \rightarrow F(p) \Rightarrow \text{True}(p, w_0)$

Causation within the GCC can thus be understood as the potentially true subjunctive complement in the cause clause becoming true in the actual world in the result clause. In that regard, it is not necessarily dependent upon V1 having an action component. Lewis’ (1973)

initial definition of causation, adopted by Giannakidou and Staraki (2012), restricts causation to a relation between two distinct events. More specifically, he asserts that:

I shall confine myself to causation among ‘events’, in the everyday sense of the word: flashes, battles, conversations, impacts, strolls, deaths, touchdowns, falls, kisses, and the like. Not that events are the only things that can cause or be caused; but I have no full list of the others, and no good umbrella-term to cover them all (Lewis, 1973, p. 633).

However, predicates that refer to mental processes, such as *thelo* ‘want’ or *ksero* ‘know,’ cannot be conceptualized as events in the traditional sense. To this end, a more flexible approach to causation, as in Lewis’ (2000) theory on causation as influence, is deemed more preferable. In his subsequent work, Lewis (2000) expands his notion of causation to make it more flexible and capable of handling complex, continuous, and gradual causal relationships. Accordingly, the binary, event-based dependence in his initial definition is replaced with a more flexible and gradual notion of influence, where small changes in causes lead to small changes in effects.

Under this new approach, influence allows for causal relationships in cases where strict counterfactual dependence does not hold (e.g., ‘if C had not occurred, then E would not have occurred at all’). More importantly, his notion of causation is expanded from a relation between events to also include mental states as potential causes, particularly in cases where mental events influence physical actions. Furthermore, he introduces the idea that the cause clause has to temporally precede the result clause, which fits under the current assumption that the non-veridical embedded proposition in the cause clause becomes veridical in the

result clause. Under causal influence, the logical form of causation for the GCC in (211), would be as follows⁴⁷:

(220) D(J, R): ‘John desires to read’ (Cause clause).

A(J,R): ‘John reads’(Result clause).

$C(D(J,R),A(J,R)) \wedge (D(J,R) \text{ precedes } A(J,R))$: ‘John's desire to read causes his action of reading’ (the causal influence relationship between the two).

Similar to Giannakidou and Staraki (2012), causation in the GCC under the current approach is triggered structurally through the non-veridical argument of the control verb in the first conjunct surfacing as a veridical proposition in the second conjunct. However, the causative relation between conjuncts is not necessarily perceived as a relation of counterfactual dependence, as in Lewis (1973), but rather as a more gradual and multifaceted concept. This has the advantage of more accurately capturing how mental processes, such as desire, can be coerced into actions.

For example, under Lewis’ (1973) definition provided in (209), it would be hard to pinpoint a single event in John's mind that caused the action of reading. On the other hand, under causal influence, variations in the desire, such as strength and timing, would lead to variations in the action. Furthermore, the definition in (209) can potentially lead to overdetermination when it comes to the GCC examined here. Assuming that a person’s desire is independently sufficient to perform the action of reading the book, ‘reading the book’ would be expected to occur also in cases where multiple people share the same desire. If causation is simply treated as a binary relation of counterfactual dependence, the former is not possible. For example, if John wanting to read the book is interpreted as the cause, then it

⁴⁷ The concept of influence implies that variations in the desire result in corresponding variations in the reading behavior, thus reflecting the gradual nature of causation. The degree of desire lies beyond my current purposes. My main goal here is to demonstrate that the mere mental process of wanting to read the book can be perceived as the cause behind the action of reading the book. In that regard, I take for granted that a weaker desire $D_1(J,R)$ might result in less reading $A_1(J,R)$, while a stronger desire $D_2(J,R)$ might lead to more reading $D_2(J,R)$.

follows that ‘if John hadn’t wanted to read the book, he wouldn’t have read it.’ However, if we assume that Mary also wants to read the book and reads it, the counterfactual for John’s desire does not strictly hold. Even if John had not wanted to read the book, Mary’s independent desire could have still led to both of them reading the book. This creates a problem for strict counterfactual dependence, because the result of the book being read would occur even without John’s desire. However, under the causal influence approach assumed here, both John’s and Mary’s desires still influence the outcome, with the degree of influence being determined by the strength and timing of each person’s desire.

7.2.2 *The GCC as a Coordination*

In this section, I will argue that a coordination analysis of the GCC can be maintained, assuming certain semantic and structural conditions are met. More specifically, I will demonstrate that the six counterarguments to a coordination analysis, mentioned in section 6.2, can be rendered obsolete under the following three assumptions: (i) the verb in the first conjunct embeds a null subjunctive complement, which is the exact mirror of the entire second conjunct, (ii) V1 temporally precedes V2, and conjuncts display a causative relation among each other, and (iii) the embedded subjunctive complement and the second conjunct structurally share their subject argument.

The first counterargument pertains to V1 verbs forming a restricted class, in the sense that they have to be either OC or NOC predicates. A lexical restriction that asymmetrically targets V1 would be expected if we were dealing with a subordinate structure, but not in ordinary coordination. However, if (i) is considered to be true, then at LF, the first conjunct consists of the control verb and its subjunctive complement. As such, the restriction on V1 being limited to control predicates does not undermine the status of *ke* as a coordinator, since the restriction is imposed by the subjunctive complement, which may only be selected by a specific semantic class of verbs.

Related to this is the ‘valency requirements’ counterargument brought up in section 6.2.2. The former draws attention to the fact that in the GCC, V1 is occupied by a control predicate, which would otherwise select for a subjunctive complement. Again, if we assume that (i) is true, the valency requirements of the control verb are satisfied derivationally, through the presence of the embedded subjunctive complement in the first conjunct.

The third counterargument relates to the unavailability of coordinator substitution. In section 2.7, I pointed out that even though coordinator substitution is commonly associated with ordinary/symmetric coordination, it is not a property that should be linked to coordinate structures in general. I provided several examples across the literature of constructions where the unavailability of coordinator substitution does not undermine their coordinate status. The examples pertain to coordinations that display a semantic asymmetry, in which case conjuncts are temporally or causally dependent on each other. Some relevant examples are repeated below:

(221) a. The magician pulled a trick and the audience was amazed.

He pulled the chair and I fell.

The door suddenly opened and I got scared.

b. #The magician pulled a trick or the audience was amazed.

#He pulled the chair or I fell.

#The door suddenly opened or I got scared.

Provided that (ii) is true, the GCC behaves similarly to the coordinate structures in (221), where substituting the conjunction coordinator with the disjunction coordinator results in the causative relation being eroded and the construction being read as an ordinary coordination instead.

The same can be said with regard to how the GCC responds to the conjunct reordering test. As was shown in section 6.2.6, reversing the order of V1 and V2 results in V1 not being

interpreted as a control verb and its dependency on V2 being diminished. Again, this behavior is expected under the premise that the conjuncts of the GCC are not parallel, but rather linked through a causative relation. As seen in (222), reordering the conjuncts of a semantically asymmetric coordination results in their semantic dependency being diminished:

(222) #The audience was amazed and the magician pulled the trick.

#I fell and he pulled the chair.

#I got scared and the door suddenly opened.

The last two arguments against a coordination analysis pertain to subject restrictions and to violation of the CSC. While these properties raise significant issues with respect to a coordination analysis, I will demonstrate that they can be accounted for under (iii). In line with Giannakidou and Staraki (2012), I argue that the GCC involves a coordination of TPs headed by a &P⁴⁸. Following Munn (1993), I consider the first conjunct to be merged as the specifier and the second conjunct as the complement of the coordinate complex. Following previous accounts on subjunctive complementation, I also assume that *na* is merged as the head of a MoodP projection (Rivero, 1994; Philippaki-Warbuton, 1998; Kapetangianni, 2010), which is embedded under V1⁴⁹. Using the GCC in (214) as an example, repeated in (223a) for ease of reference, this gives us the simplified structure in (223b):

- (223) a. O Fianis theli (na *ðiavaçi* to vivlio) ke *ðiavaçi* to
 ART John want.PRS.3SG SUBJ read.3SG ART book and read.PRS.3SG ART
 vivlio.
 book
 ‘John wants to read the book and he reads the book.’

⁴⁸ I will consider the projection associated with mood (i.e., MoodP) to be situated above the &P complex, since both conjuncts have to share the same indicative mood specification.

⁴⁹ The present account does not build upon previous accounts on subjunctive complementation. Whether *na* is analyzed as a mood/modal marker (Philippaki-Warbuton, 1998; Rivero, 1994) or a complementizer (Agouraki, 1991; Tsoulas, 1993), or both (Roussou, 2000, 2009), is not important for the purposes of the multidominance account assumed here.

- b. [&P [TP1 **O Ianis** theli [MoodP na *ðiavaçi* to vivlio]] & [TP2 **O Ianis** *ðiavaçi* to vivlio]]

In the structure above, the constituents in bold are considered shared. According to Gračanin-Yuksek (2007, 2012) and Citko (2005), the main indicator for structure sharing in a coordinate structure pertains to a constituent being interpreted in both conjuncts, but only being pronounced in one. This is indeed the case for the DP ‘John,’ which is semantically interpreted in both conjuncts, but only pronounced in either the first or the second conjunct at PF. More specifically, the DP ‘John’ is interpreted both as the subject of the verbs *thelo* ‘want’ and *ðiavaço* ‘read’ (via control) in the first conjunct, as well as of the verb *ðiavaço* in the second conjunct.

In theory, the verb *ðiavaço* and the object argument *to vivlio* ‘the book’ could also be considered as shared, since they are semantically related to both conjuncts, but only pronounced in one. However, the embedded domain associated with these constituents is only realized at LF, but omitted at PF, and as such, these constituents can only be pronounced in the second conjunct. Thus, in contrast to the subject argument, which is associated with the PF structure of the first conjunct (namely the matrix clause), in the case of *ðiavaço* and *to vivlio*, structure sharing is redundant, since they are not visible in the first conjunct at PF.

Subject sharing in the GCC can be captured under a multidominance analysis that involves Parallel Merge of the subject argument in both the first and the second conjunct. The structure sharing assumed here is derivational, in the sense that the shared constituents can be traced back to where they were first merged in the tree. The details on how the GCC is derived as a multidominant structure based on Parallel Merge will be outlined in detail in section 7.4. For the purposes of this section, I will next explain how adopting such an analysis can account for the subject restrictions and the violation of the CSC attested in the GCC, while still maintaining a coordinate structure.

Starting with the violation of the CSC, since the constraint only concerns argument extraction, the former is not violated if the same constituent is extracted out of all conjuncts simultaneously (i.e., in an Across-The-Board (ATB) fashion) (Williams, 1978). If we assume that the subject and the object argument are realized in both conjuncts, but only pronounced in one, then extraction may proceed in an ATB fashion without violating the CSC:

- (224) a. Ti_i theli $\quad \quad \quad o$ $\Gamma ianis$ na $\delta iava\zeta i$ $\quad \quad \quad \text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{to}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{vivlio}}}_i$ ke o $\Gamma ianis$
 what want.PRS.3SG ART John SUBJ read.3SG ART book and ART John
 $\delta iava\zeta i$ $\quad \quad \quad \text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{to}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{vivlio}}}_i$?
 read.PRS.3SG ART book
 ‘What does John want to read and reads?’
- b. $Pios_i$ theli $\quad \quad \quad \text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{to}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{Fianis}}}_i$ na $\delta iava\zeta i$ $\quad \quad \quad \text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{to}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{vivlio}}}$ ke $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{to}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{Fianis}}}_i$
 who want.PRS.3SG ART John SUBJ read.3SG ART book and ART John
 $\delta iava\zeta i$ $\quad \quad \quad \text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{to}}}$ $\text{\textcircled{\tiny \textit{vivlio}}}$?
 read.PRS.3SG ART book
 ‘Who wants to read the book and reads the book?’

As such, what appears to be an instance of asymmetric extraction can be accounted for under the premise that the extraction target is either present in both conjuncts simultaneously at LF (in the case of the object argument) or structurally shared (in the case of the subject argument).

Turning to subject restrictions, in section 6.1, I pointed out that depending on the control predicate in V1, the second conjunct of the GCC attests identical restrictions regarding the overtiness of the embedded subject to a subjunctive complement. In other words, when V1 is occupied by a NOC predicate, the second conjunct may receive an overt independent subject and also different subject agreement morphology. Accordingly, when V1

is occupied by an OC predicate, a second coreferential subject may not be introduced in the second conjunct, and both verbs have to display the same subject agreement morphology.

In section 6.2.3, I showed that the restrictions associated with OC predicates are not compatible with an analysis of the GCC as an ordinary coordination. However, if we assume that the subject is shared among both conjuncts, this allows us to account for these restrictions in the following fashion. When V1 is occupied by an OC predicate, the former exerts control on its subjunctive complement, and thus the first conjunct exhibits only a single subject referent throughout the matrix and the embedded clause⁵⁰. Given that this subject referent is shared, it can be pronounced only once, either in the first or the second conjunct of the GCC, as in (225):

(225) (O Γianis) theli na δiavači to vivlio ke (o Γianis)

ART John want.PRS.3SG SUBJ read.3SG ART book and ART John

δiavači to vivlio.

read.PRS.3SG ART book

‘John wants to read the book and he reads the book.’

Thus, under structure sharing, the restriction of OC predicates in terms of the overt realization of the subject follows naturally. In the next section, I will delve deeper into the nature of the subject and into how it behaves both in OC as well as in NOC contexts.

7.3 Control in the GCC

Given the structure introduced for the GCC in the previous section, an issue that needs to be addressed before proceeding to a full proposal on its syntactic derivation is that of control within the first conjunct. The goal of the present section is not to scrutinize how control is instantiated across subjunctive complements, but merely to show that for an

⁵⁰ In the next section, I will advocate that control in the first conjunct can be derived without the need to postulate a PRO submodule. Instead, I will argue that both control and non-control are derived through independently motivated properties, regardless of the nature of V1. Given the pro-drop property of Modern Greek, I will consider the embedded subject, if empty, to correspond to pro.

account based on structure sharing to be put in place, certain approaches to control are favored over others. More specifically, I will argue that given the shared nature of the embedded subject in the first conjunct, approaches to control based on restructuring or on the embedded subject being *pro* are more compatible than approaches in which the embedded subject is *PRO*. Next, I will investigate how the structure sharing account prefaced in the previous section can be coupled with different approaches that have been formulated for control in Greek subjunctive complements.

Control in Greek has received significant attention, with different theories being advanced on how the former affects subjunctive complementation. Across the literature, one can find *PRO*-based approaches (Iatridou, 1993; Varlokosta, 1994; Landau, 2004), *pro*-based approaches (Philippaki-Warbuton & Catsimali, 1999; Spyropoulos, 2007; Kapetangianni, 2010), and approaches based on functional restructuring (Roussou, 2009; Grano, 2015).

The first set of approaches makes use of a special empty category *PRO*. As an element, *PRO* is usually identified as [+pronominal] and [+anaphoric], based on the fact that it behaves both as an anaphor and as a pronoun (Chomsky & Lasnik, 1993). Its special status is also attributed to its distribution, since it is commonly associated with ungoverned positions, such as the subject position of embedded non-finite complements. When inserted in the embedded clause, *PRO* is assigned a separate thematic role by the embedded predicate. Similar to pure anaphors, *PRO* requires a c-commanding antecedent, which can be found in the matrix subject, with which *PRO* is coindexed, thus resulting in control. The theories that make use of *PRO* in subjunctive complements usually assume that even though these types of complements are morphologically finite, they are non-finite with respect to their tense properties (Iatridou, 1993; Varlokosta, 1994). Given the defective T° of these complements, *PRO* is considered to be licensed similarly to English infinitives by seeking a c-commanding antecedent in the matrix DP subject.

If we assume that in the GCC, the embedded subject of the subjunctive clause is PRO, then multiple theoretical issues arise if we pursue an account based on structure sharing. The first issue lies in the nature of PRO itself. Given its empty status, it is unclear to what extent the former can become available for structure sharing, considering that structure sharing requires shared constituents to be interpreted in both conjuncts, but only be pronounced in one. Furthermore, even if we assume that the subject of the second conjunct is also PRO, then the former would require an antecedent, due to its anaphoric nature. Provided the structure assumed here and the fact that the second conjunct is a matrix clause by itself, no c-commanding antecedent can be found.

Finally, there is a last issue that makes control accounts based on PRO particularly unattractive in the case of Greek. Similar to languages like Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam, 2000) and Romanian (Alboiu, 2007), Greek subjunctive complements are considered to exhibit backward control (Alexiadou et al., 2010)⁵¹. A backward control pattern arises when the controller in the matrix clause is non-overt and the controllee in the embedded clause is overt, as in (226a). Given that Greek attests both forward and backward control, the overt DP that agrees in person and number with both the matrix and the embedded verb can surface in multiple positions both in the matrix and the embedded clause, as in (226b):

(226) a. *Emathe na peči kithara o Fianis.*

learn.PST.3SG SUBJ play.3SG guitar ART John

‘John learned to play the guitar.’

b. *(O Fianis) emathe (o Fianis) na peči (o Fianis)*

ART John learn.PST.3SG ART John SUBJ play.3SG ART John

kithara (o Fianis).

⁵¹ Greek and Romanian differ from Tsez, in that all OC verbs allow backward control, whereas in Tsez, backward control is obligatory and limited to only aspectual OC verbs.

guitar ART John

‘John learned to play the guitar.’ (Alexiadou et al., 2010, p. 6)

The data in (226) are deemed problematic for accounts that derive control by licensing PRO as the subject of the complement clause. First, in these accounts, PRO is usually assumed to be in complementary distribution with overt DPs, which is not the case for languages that exhibit backward control. Secondly, licensing of PRO is contingent upon the syntactic/semantic properties of the embedded clause. As such, the former cannot possibly be licensed as the subject of the matrix clause, assuming that its overt counterpart is realized within the embedded clause.

The next set of approaches on control in subjunctive complements to be discussed here are approaches that view control as tied with functional restructuring (Roussou, 2009; Grano, 2015). As already addressed in section 4.1, when discussing Roussou’s (2009) account of the particle *na*, these approaches usually assume that obligatory control arises from clause union effects (restructuring) being in place between the matrix and the embedded clause. In Roussou (2009), for example, when the subjunctive complement is embedded under a control predicate, then clause union effects apply, which allows matching of all nominal features in the derivation. This D-feature matching yields a bound interpretation throughout the matrix and embedded clause, thus resulting in control. According to Grano (2015), clausehood is considered the main theoretical apparatus responsible for control. The obligatory coreference between the subjects of the embedding predicate and the subject of the embedded predicate suggests that the entire sentence relates to a single argument structure. Furthermore, obligatory coreference between the matrix and embedded tense suggests that the entire sentence is associated with just one tense. According to him, subjunctive complements controlled by OC verbs can be captured under a mono-clausal analysis that

involves the OC verb being merged in a functional projection and selecting for a finite complement headed by *na* that lacks a unique TP projection.

The major advantage of approaches based on restructuring is that they bypass the issue of the nature of the empty subject in control domains, since no empty subject needs to be postulated in the first place under a mono-clausal structure⁵². In that regard, they are also compatible with the structure sharing account advanced here. Following, for example, Grano (2015), we can assume that the first conjunct represents a mono-clausal structure, with its single subject referent being merged as the subject of the embedded null subjunctive complement. Given its shared nature, the same subject is also considered to be merged as the external argument of the verb occupying the second conjunct. As such, the subject restrictions of the GCC are accounted for by having a shared subject among both conjuncts only pronounced in one of the conjuncts. In addition, subject extraction symmetrically targets both conjuncts without violating the CSC.

The final set of approaches on control stipulates that, due to the pro-drop nature of Greek, the embedded subject of the subjunctive clause is a null pronoun *pro*. The challenge for these approaches usually lies in explaining how the embedded subject comes to exhibit control and not pronominal properties when the subjunctive clause is embedded under an OC verb. Certain approaches (e.g., Spyropoulos (2007)) derive control through a series of Agree operations established between the matrix and embedded tense and agreement features of the respective C and T heads. Others, like Kapetangianni (2010), put forward a movement-based approach to control, in the sense of Hornstein (1999), which involves the embedded subject moving into the matrix clause, as a result of not being able to be properly licensed.

⁵² But see Alexiadou et al. (2010) for several counterarguments against restructuring in controlled subjunctive complements in Greek.

Generally, these approaches are compatible with the structure sharing account assumed here, since by its nature and in contrast to PRO, *pro* does not raise any issues in terms of being realized in both conjuncts simultaneously. Due to its simplicity, I will adopt Kapetangianni's (2010) approach to control, briefly introduced in Chapter 4, which can account for the cases of OC and NOC that are relevant to the GCC. Furthermore, due to being movement-based, Kapetangianni's (2010) approach is also potent in accounting for the instances of backward control outlined in (226)⁵³. Below, I will present how subjunctive complements behave both under NOC and OC predicates in her account.

According to Kapetangianni (2010), the distinction between NOC and OC verbs is orthogonal to the type of subjunctive complements the two categories select. Subjunctive complements selected by NOC verbs are considered dependent, since their tense specification is reliant on the tense of the matrix clause. On the other hand, subjunctive complements selected by OC verbs are considered anaphoric/untensed, since in contrast to dependent subjunctive complements, they cannot support temporal adverbials distinct from the matrix clause nor display a perfect tense specification.

Following Landau's (2004) scale of finiteness, she asserts that semantic tense is expressed in the syntax through the feature [T], associated both with C° and with I°. As such, dependent subjunctive complements carry an interpretable [+T] feature on I° and on C°, while anaphoric subjunctive complements carry an interpretable [-T] feature on I°, given that they lack semantic tense altogether. Crucially, anaphoric complements lack a CP projection in Greek, because, contrary to dependent complements, they cannot project elements associated with C°. Consider the following example:

(227) a. O Fianis_i kseri na kolibisi_{i/*j}

⁵³ Based on the 'Copy theory' of movement (Chomsky, 1995), movement creates a copy chain and, in that chain, one or more instances of the copied element may be deleted. Under Polinsky and Potsdam's (2006) typology of control and raising, backward control represents an instance of cataphora, since out of the two copies created through the movement of the embedded subject into the matrix clause, only the lower one is pronounced at PF.

ART John know.PRS.3SG SUBJ swim.PFV.3SG

‘John knows how to swim.’

b. O Ianis_i kseri pu na kolibisi_{i/j}

ART John know.PRS.3SG where SUBJ swim.PFV.3SG

‘John knows where he/she can swim.’

c. O Ianis_i kseri pu na kolibisun*_i

ART John know.PRS.3SG where SUBJ swim.PFV.3PL

‘John knows where they can swim.’ (Kapetangianni, 2010, p. 85)

In (227b-c), when the subjunctive complement projects a CP layer, as indicated by the presence of the item *pu* ‘where,’ OC is suspended, and the embedded subject can either be interpreted as ‘John’ or receive an independent reference. As such, dependent subjunctive complements are considered CPs, whereas anaphoric subjunctive complements are considered TPs. Given the featural specification of tense adopted above, complement clauses can become transparent to A-movement, if they lack independent semantic tense (see Polinsky & Potsdam, 2006 for a similar approach). The derivation of OC and NOC subjunctive complements is thus structured as follows.

Starting with OC complements, their DP subject is initially merged in the embedded thematic position, where it gets assigned its thematic role. Due to the embedded I° carrying a feature [-T], the former cannot check/value nominative case on the DP subject. That being the case, when the matrix verb is merged, the embedded DP subject, which is still available for syntactic operations, is attracted to the specifier of the matrix v° for theta feature checking. Finally, the DP subject moves to the specifier of the matrix TP to be case licensed. Based on the example in (227a), the two subsequent movements that the embedded subject performs are presented below (I use the English glosses for ease of exposition):

(228) a. [θ John_t v [VP know [MoodP na [TP I_[-T] [vP John_t swim]]]]]

b. [TP John_t I_[+T] [θ John_t v [VP know[MoodP na [TP I_[-T] [vP swim]]]]]]]

In Kapetangianni's (2010) account, the OC properties are derived through the unavailability of case licensing in the embedded domain. Due to this restriction, both overt DP subjects as well as null subjects, as in the case of *pro*, cannot end their derivation within the embedded clause, but are forced to ultimately move to the matrix *I*^o to be assigned case.

In contrast to anaphoric subjunctives, dependent subjunctives are capable of licensing *pro*, which allows for NOC properties to emerge. However, since tense is not fully independent, but dependent upon the matrix tense specification, these domains are still transparent to A-movement. That said, dependent subjunctives have semantic tense and are thus capable of case licensing the embedded subject. As such, the trigger for A-movement in their case is not the unavailability of case licensing, but the need for convergence at the interfaces. Let us take the following case of a dependent subjunctive as an example:

- (229) O Ianis_i ithele na kolibisi_{i/j}
 ART John want.PST.3SG SUBJ swim.PFV.3SG
 'John wanted to swim.'

As with anaphoric subjunctives, the subject DP is again merged inside the embedded thematic position. However, if the DP remains within the embedded clause, the theta features of the matrix predicate cannot be checked because no other DP exists in the numeration. As such, the embedded DP 'John' is required to move to the matrix clause, in order for the derivation not to crash at the interfaces. Thus, the coreference interpretation in (229) is derived because of the need for convergence at the interfaces, which triggers movement of the embedded subject, as seen in (230a). On the other hand, under the free reference interpretation of (229), the numeration contains both the DP 'John' as well as *pro*. *Pro* can be licensed as the embedded subject, since case valuation is available in dependent subjunctives.

In this case, ‘John’ is merged in the matrix theta position, where it is assigned its thematic role and then moves to the specifier of the matrix TP for case valuation, as in (230b):

- (230) a. [TP John_t [θ John_t v [vP wanted [CP [MoodP na [TP I_[+T]] [vP John_t swim]]]]]]]
 b. [TP John_t [vP John_t wanted [CP [MoodP na [TP I_[+T]] [vP pro swim]]]]]]]

The same premise also applies to cases of NOC with two distinct overt subjects. The only difference from the above example is that the numeration would include two overt subjects, instead of an overt subject and pro. One of the overt subjects would be licensed in the embedded clause, due to the presence of semantic tense, while the other would be licensed in the matrix clause.

7.4 The Syntactic Derivation of the GCC

Before presenting the syntactic derivation for the GCC, I will first summarize what has been established so far. In the previous chapter, we saw that based on its syntactic and semantic properties, the GCC cannot be considered an ordinary coordination nor a monocausal pseudo-coordinate construction similar to the GPC. At the same time, a bi-clausal subordination analysis runs into certain theoretical and empirical issues with respect to the status of *ke* as a subordinating element, as discussed in Chapter 4.

With that in mind, the analysis proposed here was that of an asymmetric coordination, which involves *ke* ‘and’ corresponding to the conjunction coordinator and conjuncts not being merely juxtaposed, but combined by a causative relation. To that end, I adopted Giannakidou and Staraki’s (2012) account of GCCs with ability and verbs of effort being analyzed as causative coordinations, which involve the verb in the first conjunct suppressing its subjunctive complement at PF. I argued that their analysis can be extended to also cover the other categories of OC and NOC verbs that may occupy the V1 slot of the GCC. For this to be possible, a revised version of their notion of causation should be pursued, which encompasses not only action verbs, but also verbs associated with mental activities. In that

respect, I proposed a semantic account premised on Lewis' (2000) theory on causation as influence and argued that causation in the GCC is triggered through the veridicality shift attested in the second conjunct. Furthermore, I pointed out that despite the documented differences to ordinary coordination mentioned in section 6.2, a coordination analysis on the GCC can still be maintained under a multidominance approach that involves subject sharing.

Finally, given that the control verb in V1 selects for a subjunctive complement, the parameters through which OC and NOC arise would also need to be specified. Crucially, the mechanism through which control arises in the embedded subjunctive complement should be compatible with the assumption that the embedded subject is structurally shared among the first and the second conjunct. To that end, I adopted Kapetangianni's (2010) movement-based approach to control, which is premised on the idea that control arises in domains that lack semantic tense, and consequently, the external argument cannot properly be licensed and is forced to move. The properties of the GCC that have been discussed so far, and which will be pivotal for its syntactic derivation, are summarized below:

(231) Summary of GCC properties:

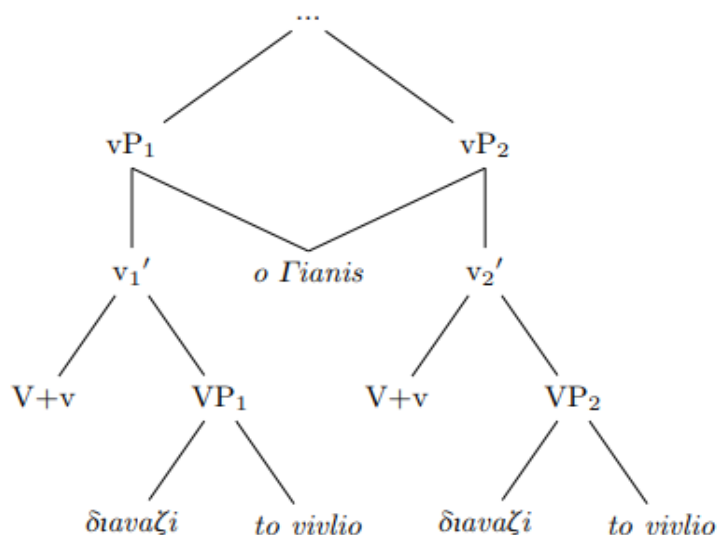
- a. The GCC is a causative coordination of clauses, where the first conjunct corresponds to the cause clause and the second conjunct to the result clause.
- b. The control verb in V1 embeds a subjunctive complement homophonous to the second conjunct, which is only realized at LF.
- c. The syntactic structure of the GCC involves sharing of the subject argument between the first and the second conjunct.
- d. OC verbs in the first conjunct select for an anaphoric subjunctive complement, whereas NOC verbs select for a dependent subjunctive complement. OC in the first conjunct is triggered by lack of semantic tense in the embedded subjunctive

complement, which forces movement of the embedded subject into the matrix clause.

With these ingredients in place, we can begin to sketch out the syntactic derivation for the GCC, with the NOC verb *thelo* ‘want’ in the first conjunct, first introduced in (214). Similar to my account of the GPC in Chapter 5, I will assume that syntactic derivation proceeds in a bottom-up fashion, with Merge being the basic operation for structure building. The derivation begins in the cause clause within the embedded subjunctive complement with Merge of vP_1 . Based on its argument structure, the verb *diavaζo* ‘read’ projects a DP, in this case ‘John,’ as its external argument and a DP, in this case ‘the book,’ as its internal argument.

Once the internal and external argument positions have been filled, structure building proceeds in the result clause. There, a vP_2 with identical argument structure and *diavaζo* ‘read’ as its head are merged. For a coreferential interpretation to be derived between the first and the second conjunct, vP_2 cannot merge a different DP in its external argument position. Rather, this position has to enter Parallel Merge with the DP merged inside the respective position of vP_1 . This results in the subject DP having two parent nodes in vP_1 and vP_2 . The resulting structure after Parallel Merge is given below:

(232) Parallel Merge of the external argument under coreference



Next, the AspP₁ and TP₁ projections of the cause clause are merged. As I did with my account of the GPC, I assume that the features associated with these heads can be checked onto the respective elements inside the vP₁ through an asymmetric c-command relation via Reverse Agree. Finally, the embedded domain is completed once the subjunctive marker *na* merges with TP₁. Following previous accounts on the syntactization of *na*, I assume that the former constitutes the overt realization of a Mood° (Philippaki-Warbuton, 1998; Kapetangianni, 2010).

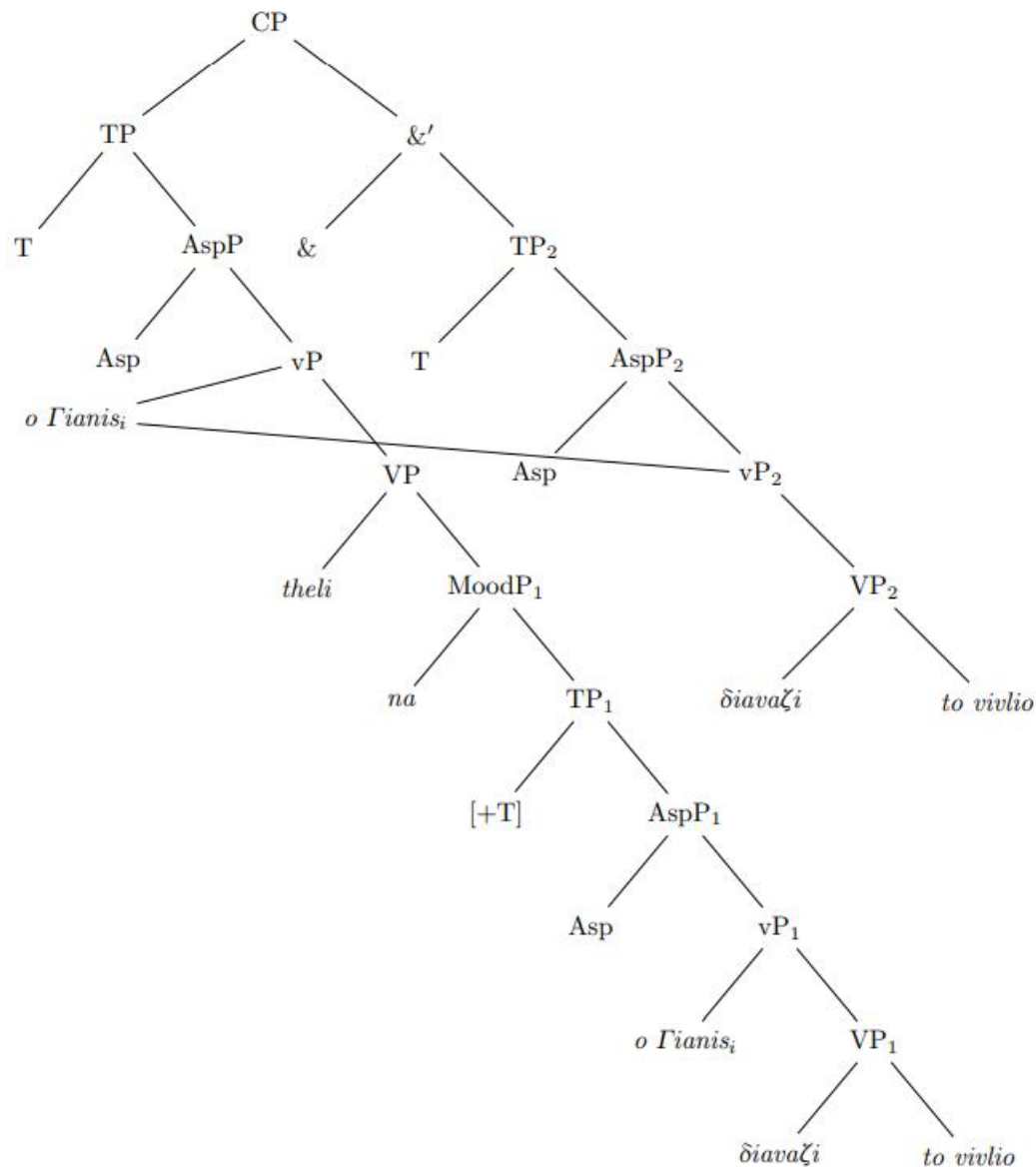
In the next step of the derivation, the NOC verb is merged in the matrix clause and imposes its selectional restrictions on its subjunctive complement. Given that *thelo* ‘want’ is a NOC predicate, the embedded subjunctive complement becomes dependent, i.e., its I° and C° are specified as [+T] due to selectional restrictions imposed by the matrix predicate. Recall that, according to Kapetangianni’s (2010) account presented in section 7.3, dependent subjunctives can still be transparent to A-movement even though they don’t lack semantic tense. Under coreference between the matrix and the embedded clause, the embedded subject is forced to move to the matrix v°, since the theta features of the matrix predicate *thelo* have to be checked. This movement is mandatory for convergence at the interfaces, provided that the subject ‘John’ is the only available subject in the numeration.

Next, the functional domain of the matrix clause is merged, consisting of AspP and TP. At this point of the derivation, the moved subject is case licensed by the matrix T° ⁵⁴. I assume that the corresponding valuation happens in a top-down fashion through Reverse Agree. Once the derivation of the cause clause is complete, structure building proceeds in the functional domain of the result clause with Merge of AspP₂ and TP₂. Again, the features associated with these heads are percolated onto vP₂ in a top-down manner⁵⁵. In the last step of the derivation, the TP of the cause clause and the TP₂ of the result clause are joined by an &P under a specifier-complement relation, thus becoming the first and the second conjunct of a coordinate phrase (Munn, 1993). The complete structure for the GCC in (214) is given below:

(233)

⁵⁴ It could be argued that, due to being realized in both conjuncts simultaneously, the subject in the embedded subjunctive clause does not necessarily have to be case valued by the T° in the matrix clause, but can receive case valuation through c-command from the functional T° in the second conjunct. This would raise issues with respect to OC contexts, where movement of the subject is triggered as a result of the former not being able to be case licensed within the subjunctive clause. If the shared subject is able to be case licensed by the T° in the second conjunct, then it would no longer present an eligible candidate for movement. What needs to be considered is that, given the derivational approach assumed here, the TP projection of the second conjunct has not entered the derivation yet. As such, the shared subject cannot potentially be case valued by the T° in the second conjunct and is thus forced to move to the matrix clause.

⁵⁵ This assumes that the shared subject argument associated with both SpecvP and SpecvP₂ is case licensed by two distinct T-heads, namely T° and T°_2 . As raised in Citko (2005), this is unproblematic, as long as case is not treated as a primitive feature, but as a reflex of features on T and v heads. Under the present approach, the subject DP enters the derivation with an unvalued case feature, which is valued under an Agree operation, provided that the appropriate structural conditions are met.



The derivation would proceed in the same fashion if V1 was occupied by an OC verb, which unambiguously forces obligatory coreference. In that case, the embedded subjunctive complement would be anaphoric and not dependent. Accordingly, since the former would carry an interpretable [-T] feature in I°, movement of the embedded subject would be triggered as a result of the unavailability of case licensing and not for the purpose of convergence at the interfaces.

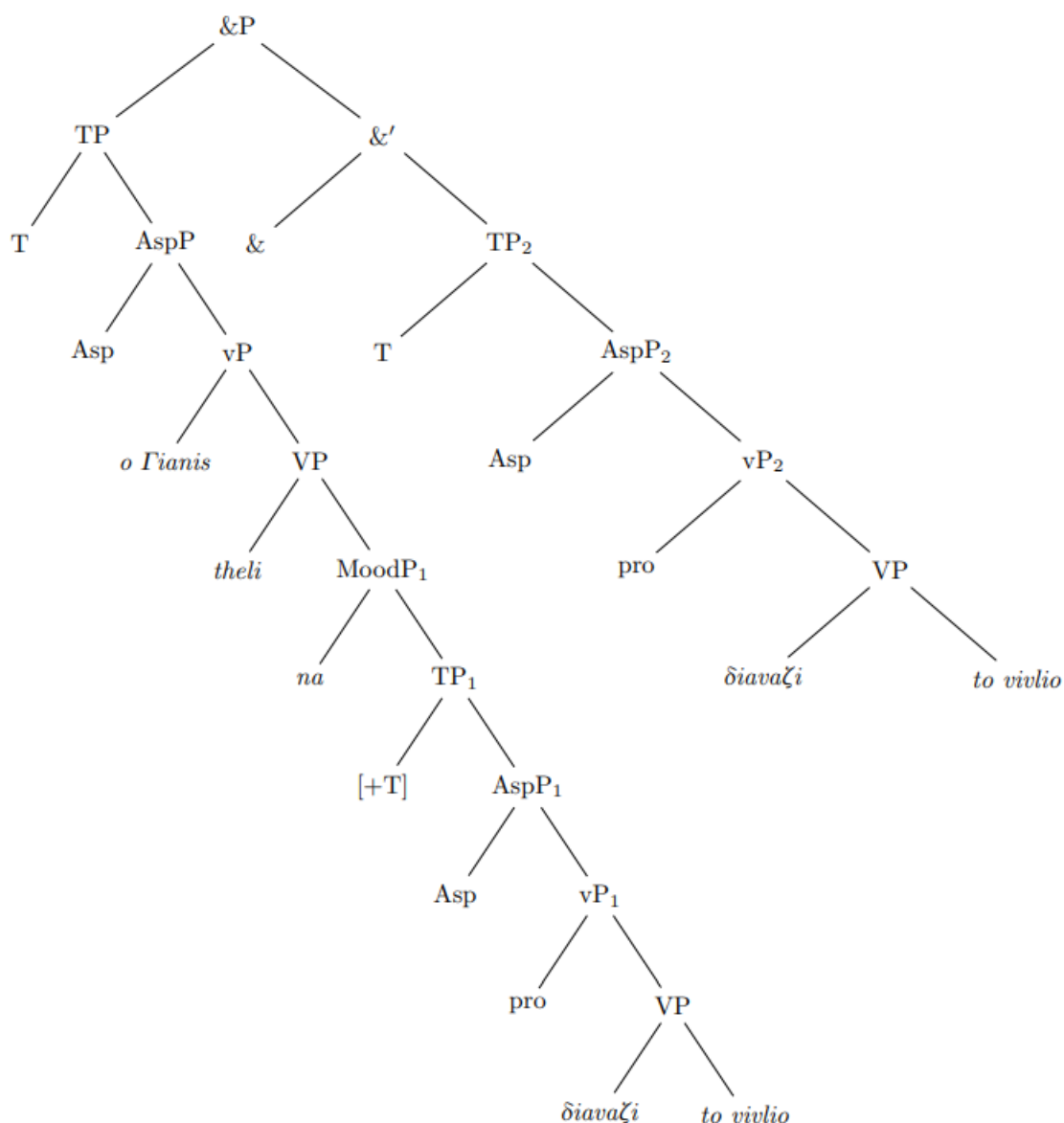
Provided that *thelo* ‘want’ is a NOC verb, I will next look at how (214) is derived under free reference. In contrast to coreference, free reference does not involve structure sharing of the subject argument, since the former is not interpreted in both conjuncts

simultaneously. As such, each conjunct is assumed to be merged independently. Starting with the first conjunct, structure building would, again, begin in the embedded subjunctive complement, with *pro* being merged in the external argument position. Once the derivation of the embedded subjunctive clause has been completed, it becomes selected by the matrix verb *thelo* merged inside the matrix vP.

Pro is not required to move into the matrix clause, since the former can be case licensed in the embedded clause. As such, the remaining DP in the numeration ‘John’ is merged in the matrix theta position, where it gets assigned its thematic role. Derivation proceeds in the functional domain of the matrix clause up to TP. The matrix TP asymmetrically case licenses the DP ‘John’ through Reverse Agree. The second conjunct is then also merged in a bottom-up fashion. Starting with the verbal domain, *diavaζo* is merged inside vP₂ and projects *pro*⁵⁶ as its external argument and *to vivlio* as its internal argument. Next, the functional domain of the second conjunct is merged with functional projections licensing the c-commanded vP₂ through Reverse Agree. The conjuncts are then joined in a specifier-complement relation by an &P giving us the following structure:

(234)

⁵⁶ Do note that the second conjunct is the ‘indicative mood’ mirror of the embedded subjunctive complement in the first conjunct. As such, if the external argument of *diavaζo* ‘read’ in the embedded subjunctive complement is *pro*, the external argument of *diavaζo* in the second conjunct is also *pro*.



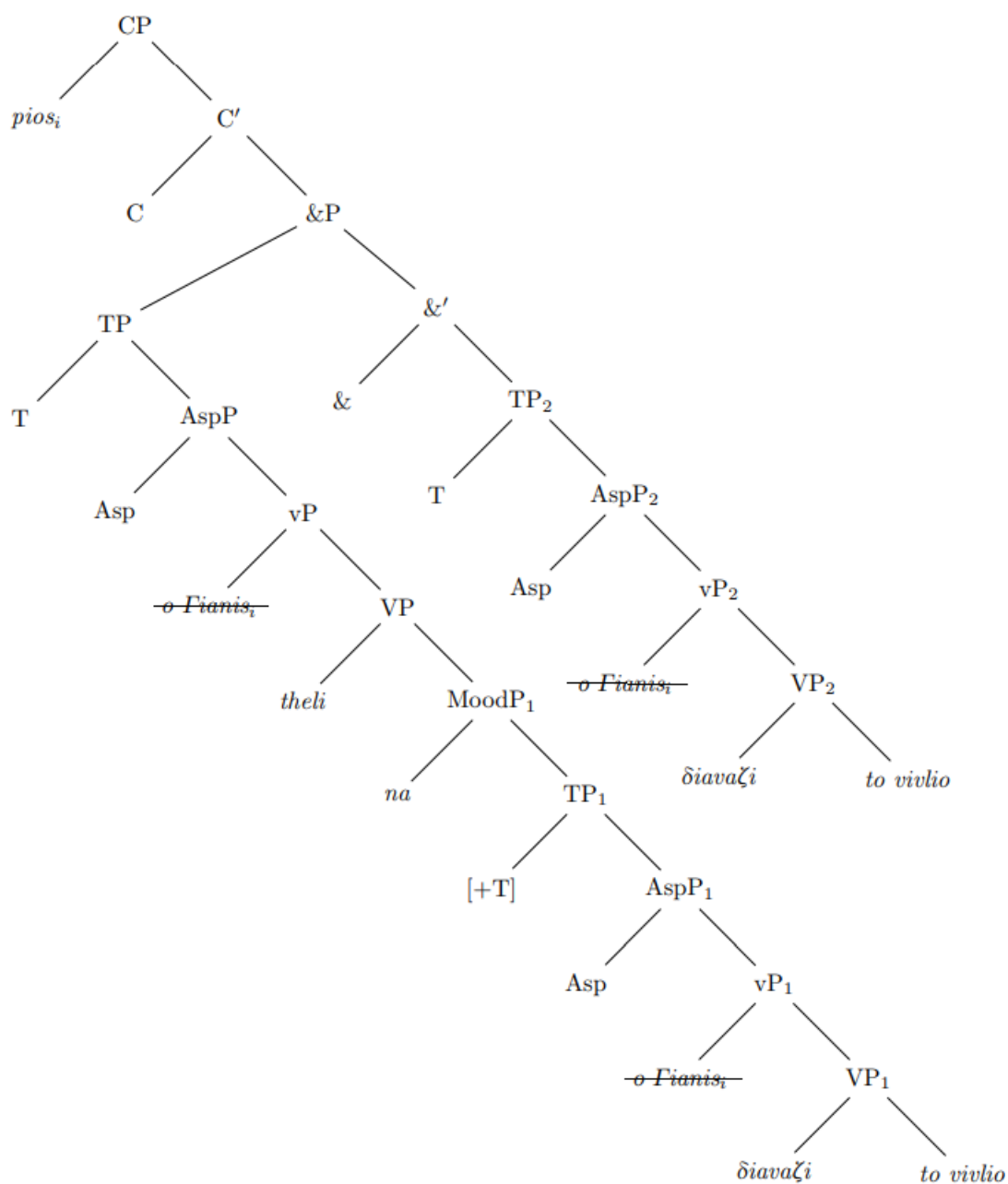
In contrast to the symmetric structure in (233), the structure associated with free reference is entirely asymmetric. The only way the shared subject in (233) can be realized under a single parent node is if it becomes subjected to extraction. Once &P is merged, the shared subject can become a target for extraction to the higher CP projection. Given its shared nature, extraction is conducted in an ATB fashion, thus not violating the CSC⁵⁷.

Whether ATB movement as a process extracts elements from both conjuncts and unites them into a single landing site (see Williams, 1978), or whether it extracts the element from the

⁵⁷ The same is true for the object argument. Even though the former is not structurally shared, during LF it is present within both conjuncts, and thus its extraction is also conducted in an ATB manner.

first conjunct and licenses a gap in the second conjunct (see Munn, 1999) is irrelevant to my current purposes. What is important is that when the shared constituent undergoes extraction to a position higher than the &P complex, for example, C° , it no longer has two parent nodes, but becomes internally remerged under a single parent node. Take, as an example, the following case where the shared subject argument is extracted out of both conjuncts as a result of wh-extraction:

(235) ATB Wh-extraction of shared subject in (233)



Outside of subject extraction, the fact that (233) is symmetric raises issues in terms of its linearization at PF. Symmetric structures are incompatible with linearization algorithms, which derive linear order from strict asymmetric c-command relations (see Kayne, 1994). In the last section of this chapter, I will explore different alternatives to the linearization of the GCC structure under obligatory coreference. A final thing to be reminded of in terms of the structures presented in this section is that I consider the embedded domain in the first conjunct (MoodP₁ and below) not present at PF. Following Giannakidou and Staraki's (2012) account outlined in section 7.1, only the lexical counterpart of the embedded subjunctive complement appears at PF, as represented by the second conjunct of the GCC.

7.4.1 Linearization of the GCC Structure

The last issue I would like to address regarding the GCC pertains to its linearization at PF. Linearization of multidominant structures remains an ongoing issue in the literature, since structure sharing cannot be captured by linearization models that derive linear precedence from asymmetric c-command, such as Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). The former is described below:

(236) Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne, 1994):

$d(A)$ is a linear ordering of T ,

(T the set of all terminal elements; A the set of ordered pairs of non-terminals, where the first member asymmetrically c-commands the second; $d(A)$ the set of terminals dominated by A .)

While in the structure presented in (235), the effects of structure sharing are invisible during Spell-Out, the multidominant structure in (233) leads to reflexivity violations in the output, because the shared subject is simultaneously dominated and asymmetrically c-commanded by other constituents. In order to account for this issue, different accounts have

been developed for the linearization of shared constituents, which can be differentiated based on their approach towards the LCA.

Certain accounts conform to the LCA by assuming that the former does not apply throughout the entire derivation, but is checked only during Spell-Out, where the effects of structure sharing are invisible and the structure is completely asymmetric (see Citko, 2005). Others put forth certain theoretical extensions or relaxations to the LCA, in order to permit the linearization of shared constituents (see Wilder, 1999, 2008; Gračanin-Yuksek, 2013; Bachrach & Katzir, 2009, 2017). Finally, there are also approaches that completely dismiss the LCA in favor of other linearization algorithms (see de Vries, 2009).

An overarching theme among all the proposals mentioned above is that they are primarily formulated to address syntactic phenomena commonly associated with multidominant structures, such as ATB movement, Right-Node Raising (RNR), and parasitic gaps⁵⁸. In that regard, their proposed algorithms focus on the linearization of shared constituents situated in landing sites of movement, either at the right or the left periphery of the clause. The structure of the GCC in (233) differs from typical multidominant structures in that shared material is sandwiched between unshared material. Since both positions corresponding to the shared subject intervene between unshared material, the former cannot be considered peripheral. Furthermore, as was shown in section 6.1, the subject may be realized both within the first and the second conjunct, which suggests that both its positions within the structure are in principle potential Spell-Out positions.

This poses an additional challenge for linearization algorithms, since the latter usually restrict linearization of shared material to a single Spell-Out position. It should be noted though that the GCC does not represent the only case where the application of multidominance cannot be straightforwardly accounted for by the existing linearization

⁵⁸ See also Gjersøe (2016) and the discussion therein for a similar view on multidominance algorithms.

algorithms. A pertinent example is the so-called ‘saddle-grafts’ in Dutch, documented by Van Riemsdijk (1998) and de Vries (2009), where shared material is not peripheral inside the graft, as in (237a). German *Subjektücke in finiten Sätzen* (SLF) constructions have also been analyzed as coordinate constructions that involve constituent sharing (Mayr & Schmitt, 2009). This construction also represents an instance where the shared subject does not occupy a peripheral position, as in (237b):

(237) a. Joop heeft [ik vermoed dat het een Bugatti is] gekocht.

Joop has I presume that it a Bugatti is bought

‘Joop bought—I presume it’s a Bugatti.’ (de Vries, 2009, p. 366)

b. Den Hund₁ [hat er t₁ gefüttert] und [wird_ jetzt essen gehen].

the dog has he fed and will now eat go

‘The dog, he fed it and will now go eat.’ (Mayr & Schmitt, 2009, p. 2)

In what follows, I will attempt to sketch out how the linearization of the GCC could possibly be instigated by using current structure sharing linearization algorithms. However, I should underline that due to the design of those algorithms catering towards multidominant structures that structurally differ in terms of the position of their shared constituents, the linearization of a structure like the one presented in (233) cannot be computed without additional assumptions. That said, a possible solution regarding the linearization of the shared subject in the GCC can be provided through de Vries’ (2009) graph traversal approach to linearization.

In his work, de Vries (2009) discusses certain theoretical issues associated with LCA as a model, which in turn cast doubt on the extent to which an LCA-based approach to linearization is deemed suitable for multidominant structures altogether. Following the works of Kural (2005) and Kremers (2009), he favors a linearization process based on graph traversal. He develops a linearization model based on the premise that the structure-building

operation Merge produces an ordered pair that encodes semantic or syntactic asymmetry. This asymmetry can be mapped straightforwardly onto direct precedence at the PF interface.

The following objects can serve as input for Merge: (i) lexical items, (ii) complex items that are the result of previous instances of Merge, and (iii) terms of complex items. While traditional asymmetric structures built through Merge may be linearized through strict precedence, the same is not true for the multidominant structures that involve Parallel Merge. Therefore, de Vries (2009) pursues an alternative account of the linearization based on the means of graph traversal.

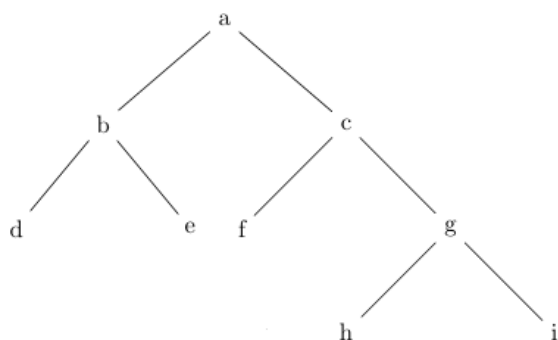
Graph traversal is a recursive process that follows three main steps: choosing the leftmost child, choosing the rightmost child, and performing an operation, such as listing the content of the present node. When a complex child node is encountered, the traversal temporarily pauses at the current level to explore the child node first, before continuing at the higher level (this is known as recursive depth-first scanning). The procedure is outlined in (238), which identifies the three potential positions from which the action can be carried out:

(238) **Scan triad**

- ↓ (← list present node: Preorder)
- ↓ select left child; if complex => start scan triad of child
- ↓ (← list present node: Inorder)
- ↓ select right child; if complex => start scan triad of child
- ↓ (← list present node: Postorder)

Taking the abstract tree in (239) as an example, scanning is operated as in (240):

(239)



(240) preorder: /a b d e c f g h i/ (‘Spell-Out before going down’)

inorder: /d b e a f c h g i/ (‘Spell-Out before going down the second time’)

postorder: /d e b f h i g c a/ (‘Spell-Out before going up’)

A linguistic linearization only needs a sequence of terminal elements (end nodes). In example (241), the strings from (240) are shown again, with the terminals highlighted in bold.

(241) preorder: /a b **d e c f g h i**/

inorder: /**d b e a f c h g i**/

postorder: /**d e b f h i g c a**/

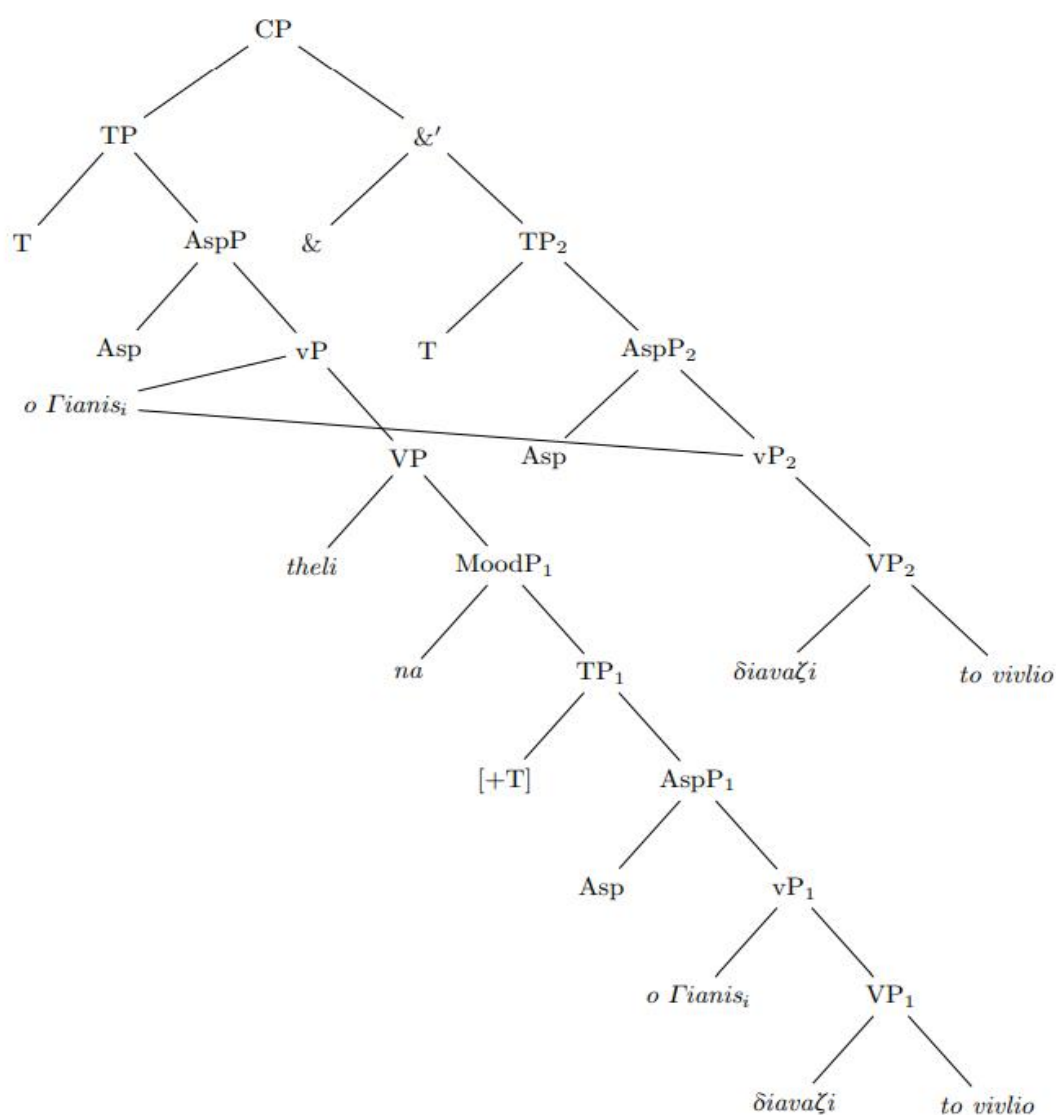
Notably, the necessary sequence of terminals /d e f h i/ appears in all three traversal orders. Therefore, arranging terminal nodes is far less arbitrary than arranging projection nodes; in practical terms, it doesn’t matter whether preorder, inorder, or postorder is used. As such, when the scan triad procedure is applied recursively, the Spell-Out operation is limited strictly to terminal elements.

Below is a step-by-step explanation of how (239) is linearized. The process begins at the root node, a. Since a has children, we first examine its left child, b. Node b is also complex, so we move to its child d, which has no further members. As a result, d is added to an initially empty string. We then return to b and examine its right child, e, which is also terminal, and add it to the string. Next, we go back up to a (via b) and look at its right child c, another complex node. We move to its child f and add it to the string. From there, we return

to c and examine its right child g, which is also complex. We scan g's child h and add it to the string, then move to g's right child i and add that as well. After backtracking through the structure (a total of four times), the procedure ends. The final string produced is /d e f h i/, as intended.

The same principle can be applied to multidominant graphs, if certain modifications are added to the process regarding the linearization of shared constituents. The main issue with the version of graph traversal provided above relates to shared nodes being encountered twice when traversing the graph at PF. Turning to the multidominance structure for the GCC provided in (233), repeated here as (242), the shared DP 'John' cannot be properly linearized.

(242)



More specifically, the DP has two parents, namely vP and vP_2 . When we arrive at DP from vP , we have to check if there is another parent outside vP . This is the case, since there is another parent, vP_2 , which does not dominate vP . Therefore, the linearization of DP is omitted at this point. Later, when we arrive at DP from vP_2 , we determine that there is another parent that is not dominated by vP_2 , namely vP , and again DP is not linearized, although it should be. Thus, the DP will not be spelled out at all.

The former issue is amended by de Vries (2009), by positing a structural condition on the Spell-Out of nodes that have been remerged either internally or externally:

(243) Spell-Out of nodes with more than one parent:

An α with more than one parent is linearized iff:

- (i) the current parent is not dominated by any other parent, and
- (ii) every parent has been traversed, or the current parent dominates every other parent that has not been traversed (de Vries, 2009, p. 381)

This concludes the basis of his proposal, which aims to capture the linearization of multidominant graphs. Next, I will look at how the scan triad illustrated in (238) can be applied to the structure in (242) under the conditions on Spell-Out in (243).

There are two positions associated with the shared subject, namely $SpecvP$ and $SpecvP_2$. If we arrive at the DP ‘John’ through vP , (i) does not apply, since vP does not dominate all other parents (vP_2). Furthermore, not every parent has been scanned yet, so (ii) does not apply either, and the linearization of DP is omitted. In contrast, when we arrive at the DP from vP_2 , the DP is encountered a second time and can be spelled out, since every other parent has been traversed. Thus, graph traversal ensures that the shared subject will always be linearized in the second conjunct.

However, as pointed out earlier in this section, the shared subject in the GCC may also surface in a preverbal position within the first conjunct. A possible way to account for

this surface position is through the mechanisms that coordinate structures provide. As has been pointed out in Chapter 5, Greek SVO orders are assumed to involve Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD) of the subject, which is considered to occupy a non-argument position in the C domain (i.e., SpecFocusP or SpecTopicP) (Philippaki-Warbuton, 1985; Iatridou, 1995; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 1998). While within the present syntactic derivation, the subject referent is not merged inside that position, we can stipulate that due to the non-argument position being situated outside the &P complex, the former can be moved there through ATB extraction, as in (235). For my current purposes, I will consider the trigger of this movement to be the subject surfacing in a position where it can receive primary stress. Importantly, I consider this movement to take place before the structure is linearized at PF, so that the subject is able to surface in a preverbal position. Given that in the resulting asymmetric structure, the subject occupies a position above the &P complex, linearization based on graph traversal would proceed as follows.

We first arrive at DP from the highest parent, namely CP. According to (i), DP is spelled out; (ii) does not apply, because the other parents have not been traversed yet. However, if we arrive at DP from vP and vP₂, respectively, linearization of DP is to be omitted. Indeed, (i) no longer applies, since vP and vP₂ are not the highest parent, and (ii) does not apply because they are dominated by CP. This correctly predicts the linearization of the subject in the non-argument position above &P.

Overall, under the current approach, linearization of the subject in both conjuncts requires some additional theoretical machinery. Even though I will not pursue the issue further here, I will underline that multidominant structures may come in a greater variety than originally anticipated when examining phenomena such as ATB extraction and RNR. In that regard, while it is reasonable that the existing linearization algorithms cater primarily to these

phenomena, accounting for a wider range of multidominant structures could also expand the analytical prowess of multidominance altogether.

8. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I have provided a description of two syntactic constructions in Greek that superficially resemble a coordination of verbs. By delving into these phenomena through the lens of Minimalist syntax, I aimed to provide a theoretical account that captures their unique characteristics while situating them within the broader syntactic theory. The first construction was labeled as the GPC, as it represents the Greek variant of a cross-linguistic phenomenon commonly referred to in the literature as pseudo-coordination.

In accordance with variations of the construction in other languages, the GPC is attested with the motion verb *piyeno* and the posture verb *kathome* in its V1 slot. I have demonstrated that the construction exhibits all the properties that typologically distinguish pseudo-coordination from ordinary coordination and some properties unique to the Greek variant, such as the omissability of the conjunction coordinator and the inflectional restrictions imposed by the MSC. Furthermore, I have argued that these properties can be captured under an analysis that involves V2 being realized as the complement of V1.

To proceed with a syntactic account of the construction, I had to delve deeper into the status of V1, the status of the conjunction coordinator *ke*, and the hierarchical structure preceding V1 and V2. First, I pointed out that the use of *piyeno* and *kathome* in the GPC does not differ significantly from their canonical usage outside the GPC. Additionally, I argued that these verbs are capable of underassociating parts of their lexical semantics and entering syntax as light verbs that are dependent on a different predicate, to provide the primary eventive information.

Secondly, I demonstrated that in contrast to previous accounts on the status of *ke*, its distribution in the GPC cannot be considered that of a clausal complementizer. Instead, I proposed that *ke* is a semantically empty element that merely serves as a discourse marker that maintains the propositional integrity of the construction. Thirdly, I showed that the GPC

exhibits clause union effects and can thus be mapped into a mono-clausal syntactic structure. Finally, I provided a feature-based account of the syntactic derivation of the GPC, able to capture the inflectional restrictions of the MSC, based on Wurmbrand's (2012) Reverse Agree mechanism for feature valuation.

The last issue I explored regarding the GPC pertains to its typological similarity to SVCs. To do so, I examined the extent to which the GPC satisfies the definitional criteria for SVCs provided in the accounts of Aikhenvald (2006) and Haspelmath (2016). It was shown that under a strict definition premised only on the core properties of verbal serialization, as in Haspelmath (2016), the GPC cannot be considered an SVC. However, under a more dynamic approach, aiming to capture multiple variations of verbal serialization documented across the literature, as in Aikhenvald (2006), the GPC represents an SVC.

The second construction I examined in this dissertation was labeled as GCC, since its V1 slot is occupied either by OC or NOC predicates that typically select for a subjunctive complement preface by *na*. While similar constructions have also been documented in other languages, as in English (de Vos, 2005) or Italian dialects (Manzini et al., 2017), the Greek variant attests to a greater degree of flexibility in terms of the range of verbs it can host in its V1 slot. Similarly to the GPC, the GCC attests to semantic and syntactic properties that indicate that the former does not represent an ordinary coordination of verbs.

However, it also distinguishes itself from the GPC in the following three aspects: (i) the nature of V1, (ii) the relation between V1 and V2, and (iii) the status of *ke*. Based on these differences, I took a different approach to the syntactic derivation of the GCC. Provided that in the GCC, *ke* does not show any signs of attrition, I treated the former as the realization of the conjunction coordinator. Furthermore, to capture the idiosyncratic properties of the construction, such as its actuality entailment and its restriction to indicative mood, I followed Giannakidou and Staraki's (2012) account of the GCC representing a causative coordination.

I also expanded their notion of causation beyond ability verbs to make it compatible with the wide range of control verbs associated with the GCC. Finally, to capture properties, such as the violation of the CSC and the subjection restrictions, I proposed a multidominant syntactic structure that involves structure sharing of the subject referent. The proposed structure differentiates itself from typical multidominant structures in terms of the structural position of shared material and thus cannot be straightforwardly captured by the current linearization algorithms.

Overall, the present dissertation sheds light on the variability and complexity exhibited by verbal coordinate-like constructions in Greek. While constructions like the GPC and the GCC have commonly been treated as a unitary phenomenon, this study offers a detailed investigation into their individual properties and highlights the ways in which they differ both from each other as well as ordinary coordination. Furthermore, it underscores that these constructions cannot be confined to traditional syntactic categories or straightforward generalizations, instead revealing nuanced interactions between syntax, semantics, and morphology.

Finally, the dissertation also offers three interesting insights into Greek syntax. First, it documents the characteristics and the syntactic contexts associated with light verbs, a feature of Greek grammar that has largely remained understudied. Secondly, it explores the synchronic development of the conjunction coordinator *ke*, highlighting coordinate-like constructions where it may undergo attrition in certain syntactic contexts. Thirdly, the dissertation describes the mechanisms through which an actuality entailment can be inferred from coordination—a semantic nuance not typically associated with coordinate structures.

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