THE SYNTAX OF SYNCRETISM

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1 Introduction

In NA English the verbs *go* and *come* can be immediately followed by a second verb:

(1)   *Go get* construction:[1]
     a.   **Go get** me a coffee!
     b.   **Come visit** again soon!
     c.   Every morning I **go buy** a coffee.
     d.   *Every morning he **goes buys** a coffee.

Puzzle: **(1) is morphologically restricted**: *go get* is only possibly with a **bare verb**, or with a form of the verb **syncretic** (homophonous) to the bare verb. **Both** verbs are subject to this apparently surface-oriented restriction. (Zwicky, 1969; Shopen, 1971; Carden and Pesetsky, 1977)

Proposal: the morphological restriction in (1) results from a syntax that places **conflicting feature requirements** on the verbs, and places the **same feature requirements** on **both** verbs.

These conflicting requirements result in verbs that can only be realized when syncretic to their bare forms.

This ties together three things:

1. **A theory of feature dependencies** as in Matushansky (2008), in which features are assigned by heads to their complements and those features can **spread** throughout a complement domain, and can **stack** distinct features (that are potentially morphologically incompatible) on a single head.

2. **Affix Hopping** in English (Chomsky, 1957), as a limiting case of head-complement feature assignment.

3. The idea that feature conflicts are **syntactically licit** but (potentially) **morphologically problematic**.

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[1]This construction has been called many different things in those papers that have discussed it. To avoid adding another name to the collection, I have adopted the theory-neutral name *go get construction* from Pullum (1990).

2 Morphological details of the *go get* construction

The *go get* construction and its morphological restriction were separately discovered by Zwicky (1969), Shopen (1971) and Carden and Pesetsky (1977). Also discussed in Pullum (1990); Pollock (1994); Jaeggli and Hyams (1993); Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001).

Alongside *go get* in English (2) we find similar constructions in other languages: [2]

(2)   English
     a.   **Go buy** yourself a coffee!
     b.   I told him to **come visit** again soon.

(3)   Marsalese (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001)
     a.   **Vaju** a **pigghiu** u pani.
         go-1SG to fetch-1SG the bread
         "I go and fetch the bread."[3]
     b.   A petra **vene** a **ruzzulla** assutta.
         the stone come-3SG to roll-3SG here
         "The stone comes rolling down here."

(4)   Modern Greek
     a.   **ela** **htipise** ti bala
         come-IMP.SG kick-IMP.SG the ball
         "Come kick the ball."
     b.   **pigene** **stasu** eki grigora
         go-IMP.SG stand-IMP.SG there quickly
         "Go stand there quickly."

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[2]Similar quasi-serial constructions with motion verbs also appear to exist in Russian and perhaps in Modern Hebrew, but time prevents discussion of those data.

These constructions share the following syntactic properties . . .

1. Distinct from both coordinated (***go and get***) and infinitival (***go to get***) constructions. (see appendix a)

2. Not a complex head: adverbs intervene: e.g. You should **go** quietly **wake** him up.

3. Limited to a subset of motion verbs.

   (a) English: only *go* and *come*.[4]

   (b) Marsalese: *iri* 'go', *viniri* 'come', *passari* 'come by', and *mannari* 'send'.

   (c) Greek: *pigeno* 'go', *erchome* 'come', *trecho* 'run', among others.

. . . as well as the following **morphological** properties (the topic here):

1. **Only possible with a *restricted* set of morphological forms.**

   (a) English: *the bare verb, or a form homophonous/syncretic to the bare verb.*

   (b) Marsalese: *a form that takes the 'default' stem.*

   (c) Greek (some speakers): *the imperative.*

2. **Both verbs must show the *same* inflection.**

2.1   Morphological *restriction* on the *go get* construction

A. English: The construction is good in all verb forms that systematically take the *bare* or *uninflected* form of the verb.

(5)   ***go get* is limited to (overtly) uninflected verbs:**[5]
   a. **Come visit** us next week.
   b. I want to **go take** a nap.
   c. Birds will **come play** in your birdbath.
   d. Her supervisor demanded that she **go buy** a replacement.

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[4]Shopen (1971) reports that *hurry, run, stay, sit,* and *try* are also grammatical in the *go get* construction, but I have not replicated these judgements with any English speakers.

[5]At least two previous analyses of the morphological restriction have hinged on the *bareness* of these environments (Jaeggli and Hyams, 1993; Pollock, 1994). Such approaches will not allow unification of the English data with the morphological restrictions seen in other languages.

Perhaps surprisingly, this includes non-3rd-singular present tense environments:

   e.   I/you/we/they **go get** the paper every morning.

. . . but it excludes the present tense with 3rd-singular agreement (6a), as well as all other overtly inflected verb forms (6b-d):

(6)   ***go get* is ungrammatical with overtly inflected verbs:**[6]
   a. *She **goes gets** / **go gets** / **goes get** the paper every morning.
   b. *Our neighbour **came left** / **come left** / **came leave** a note on our door.
   c. *Clare has **gone bought** / **go bought** / **gone buy** the newspaper already.
   d. *Susan is **coming having** / **come having** / **coming have** lunch with us.

(There is some variability among native English speakers with respect to these judgements. The pattern described above nonetheless seems to be fairly well attested.)

B. Marsalese

- Marsalese: *go get* construction possible only in environments in which *iri* takes the 'unmarked' verb stem *va-*. . .[7]

(7)   ***Go get* is possible with the unmarked verb stem**
   a.   In the present, for some person/number combinations:
   (i)   **Vaju** a **pigghiu** u pani.
         go-1SG to fetch-1SG the bread
         "I go and fetch the bread."[8]
   (ii) **Vai**   a **pigghi**   u pani.
         go-2SG to fetch-2SG the bread
         "You (sg) go and fetch the bread."
   (iii) **Va**   a **pigghia** u pani.
         go-3SG to fetch-3SG the bread
         "She/he goes and fetches the bread."
   (iv) **Vannu** a **pigghianu** u pani
         go-3PL to fetch-3PL   the bread
         "They go and fetch the bread."

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[6]The contrast between (5e) and (6a) is really morphological, not a semantic restriction against third-singular subjects. Where Do-support is independently triggered (by negation, subject-aux inversion, etc), it uniformly 'rescues' the ungrammatical examples in (6): Subject-Aux Inversion *Does she go get the newspaper every morning?*; Negation *The delivery person didn't come leave the package on the doorstep.* This leaves a puzzle about why Do-support does not *always* apply in (5a-b) as a last-resort operation.

[7]*Veniri* shows a stem alternation in the same person/number/tense environments. *Passari* doesn't show stem alternations, but shares the distributional restriction.

b. In the canonical (singular) imperative:
> **Va**   **pigghia**   u   pani
> go-IMP-2SG buy-IMP-2SG the bread
> "Go fetch bread!"

...rather than the marked/irregular stem *i-/e-*:

(8) ***Go get* is impossible with the 'marked' stem**
a. In the present, for 1st- and 2nd-person plurals:
   (i) ***Emu** a **pigghiamu** u pani.
      go-1PL to fetch-1PL   the bread
      "We go and fetch the bread."
   (ii) ***Iti**   a **pigghiati** u pani
      go-2PL to fetch-2PL the bread
      "You (pl) go and fetch the bread."
b. In the plural imperative:
> ***Iti**   **pigghiati**   u pani
> go-IMP-2PL buy-IMP-2PL the bread
> "Go (pl) fetch bread!"
c. In other verb forms that take the 'marked' stem:
   (i) ***Ii**   a **pigghiai**   u pani
      go-PST-1SG to fetch-PST-1SG the bread
   (ii) ***Ia**   a **pigghiava**   u pani
      go-IMPF-1SG to fetch-IMPF-1SG the bread
   (iii) ***Si tinn'**   **issi**   a **accattassi** u pani ne sta butia,
      if REFL-LOC go-SUBJ to buy-SUBJ   the bread in this shop,
      spinnissi   chiu picca.
      [you] spend-SUBJ less

C. Modern Greek

- For at least some speakers, the *go get* construction is limited to the morphological imperative in Greek.

- For all speakers, it is banned from all particle-verb constructions (such as the future):

(9) ***Go get* is limited to the imperative for some speakers:**
a. ela   klotsise   ti bala
   come-IMP.SG kick-IMP.SG the ball
   "Come kick the ball!"
b. %Kathe kirjiaki, i   Maria erhiete   majirevi   ja tin jaja
   every Sunday the Maria come-IMPF cook-IMPF for the grandmother
   tis.
   her-GEN
   "Every Sunday, Maria comes cooks for her grand mother."
c. *Avrio,   i   Maria tha erthi majirepsi ja tin jaja   tis.
   Tomorrow the Maria FUT come cook   for the grandmother her-GEN.
   "Tomorrow, Maria will come cook for her grandmother.

For the purposes of this talk, I will be concerned with those speakers for whom the construction is limited to the imperative.

2.2 Source and basis of the morphological restriction

- The focus of this talk is not what allows there to be two verbs in a single clause.

- There is nonetheless a correlation between the availability of the construction and the morphological restrictions described above. We can adopt a **placeholder** for this syntactic correlation: *Go get* licenser = GG

- Whatever licenses the construction is also reasonably the *source* of the featural restriction on the verbs.

What is the featural basis of the morphological restriction? A feature that describes the *bareness* restriction in English, the *default stem* restriction in Marsalese, and the *imperative* restriction in Greek is [imperative].

Thus assume that GG assigns an [imperative] feature to the two verbs.

- This is a **morphological** [imperative] feature – it does not imply that a clause with *go get* is syntacticly or semanticly imperative.

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[8] I use the translations provided in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) who do not draw a distinction between English *go get* construction and asymmetric VP coordination. Also, see their paper for arguments that this construction is unlike a non-finite complementation structure, despite the presence of the particle *a* (diachronically related to the infinitival particle).

2.3   Inflectional identity between the two verbs

This section shows that both the wider syntactic environment and GG impose their restrictions on **both** verbs in the *go get* construction.

- Marsalese and Modern Greek: trivial – both verbs are overtly inflected.

- English: more subtle to show this, as the construction is restricted to uninflected forms.

Nonetheless, two environments show the inflectional identity between the verbs clearly for English:

1. Complements of perfect *have*

2. *Be* as V$_2$ in *go get*

2.3.1   The *go get* construction under perfect *have*:

Go is restricted from occuring in the *go get* construction under *have*, because its perfect participle is *gone*:

(10)   **have gone ungrammatical in *go get* construction**
    a.   *He has **gone bought** the newspaper already.
    b.   *Georgia wished she had **gone visited** Paris when she got the chance.

Unlike *go*, *come* has a perfect participle homophonous to its bare form. Despite this, it cannot occur in the *go get* construction when it is followed by a regular (non-bare) perfect participle:

(11)   **have come + regular perfect participle: still ungrammatical**
    a.   *Alex has come knocked on my door three times. (**come knock*)
    b.   *Jacob has come bought a paper every day this week. (**come buy*)
    c.   *Helen has come visited her grandmother only twice. (**come visit*)

- Carden and Pesetsky (1977) observed, however, that when second verb is *also* one of the handful of verbs whose perfect participle is exceptionally homophonous to its bare form,[9] the perfect examples improve for many (though not all) speakers:

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[9]The complete list of verbs with exceptional bare/perfect-participle homophony, as reported by Pullum (1990), is: *bet, bid, burst, cast, come, cost, cut, fit, hit, hurt, let, put, quit, rid, run, set, shed, shut, slit, spit, split, spread, thrust, wed, wet.*

(12)   **have come + irregular bare perfect participle: improves**
    (Carden and Pesetsky, 1977)
    a.   Alex has come hit the piñata three times.
    b.   Jacob has come shut the door.
    c.   Helen has come put the vase on the stand.

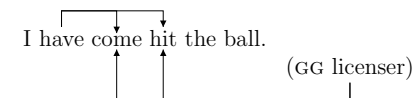### 2.3.2   The *go get* construction with *be* as the second verb

A similar point can be made when *be* is the second verb in a *go get* construction, because *be* has no present-tense forms homophonous to its bare form:

(13)   **be is in principle possible with *go get* ...**
    a.   Would you go be loud somewhere else?
    ... but not in any tensed environments:
    b.   I go *am/*be cheerful once a week at my grandmothers.
    c.   Every weekend, we/you/they come *are/*be loud at our favourite restaurant.

- Were the second verb not required to be inflected, we would expect invarient *be* to be fine here.

- Were it not required to be bare, we would expect *am* or *are* to be fine.

2.3.3   Summary

These examples show that the requirements of the higher syntactic environment (present tense, or perfect *have*) are being imposed on *both* verbs in the *go get* construction, and that the requirement for syncretism to the bare form is likewise being doubly imposed.

(14)   **Both verbs are doubly restricted:**

I have come hit the ball.

                                  (GG licenser)

- This shows that both the wider syntactic environment and the construction itself impose their peculiar morphological requirements on both verbs:

Expressed in terms of features on the two verbs:

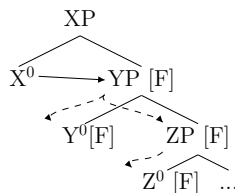| *environment F* ...	V_1	V_2	
	[imperative]	[imperative]	⟵ determined by GG licenser
	[F]	[F]	⟵ determined by environment F

3   A Theory of Syntactic Feature Conflicts

What we need to describe the *go get* construction:

1. A way to impose identical featural requirements on two separate verbs.

2. A way to impose conflicting inflectional requirements on the verbs.

A syntactic theory with exactly these properties has been proposed within a novel approach to predicative Case. Matushansky (2008) proposes that the features that result in morphological case are assigned via local head-complement relationship, in which a head can assign features to its sister, features that are then inherited by all the daughters of that sister.

(15)   **Feature Dependencies in Matushansky (2008):**

- Feature percolation can be *blocked*: Matushansky (2008) proposes that phase-boundaries are blockers; in principle, there may be other blockers.

Extended to verbal inflection, this has the properties required for *go get*

A. *Spreading* of features onto more than one head.

(16)   **Other evidence for spreading: inflection in Serial Verb Constructions**[10]

     a.   Koṇḍa (Steever, 1988, 71–73)

        vā-n-a   sū-n-ap

        come-NONPAST-1PL.exc see-NONPAST-1PL.exc

        'We will come and see'

     b.   Lango (Noonan, 1992, 211–12)

        ácwɛ́   álɔ́   rwót

        1sg-fat-HAB 1sg-exceed-HAB king

        'I am fatter than the king' (lit. I-fat I-exceed king)

     c.   Saramaccan (Byrne, 1990, 152)

        a (bi)   féfi   dí wósu (bi)   kabá

        he TENSE paint the house TENSE finish

        'He had painted the house already.'

B. *Stacking* of multiple features of one type onto a single head.

- **A head can easily receive sets of incompatible features on this model.**
  (Unlike in an Agree model, this does not require merging a head with illicit combinations of features)

- **In general** this stacking of incompatible features is what creates feature conflicts.

- Such feature conflicts are **syntactically licit**, but may be uninterpretable in the morphology – **if incompatible features remain on a single head to the point of Vocabulary Insertion, they will only be interpretable if they happen to be syncretic.**

3.1   Feature Spreading and Affix Hopping

The one-to-one dependencies of Affix Hopping can be seen as a limiting case of this kind of feature movement – instead of affixes literally moving down the tree, the features that determine the spell-out of those affixes are assigned downward by each inflectional head.
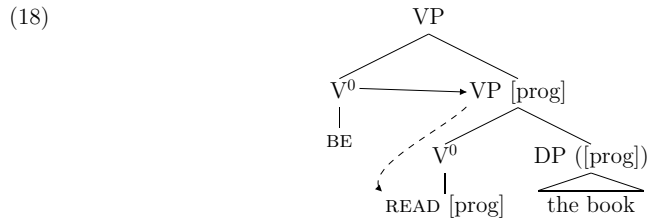
Each inflectional head also acts as a blocker to feature spreading from the head above it. Thus each head uniquely assigns morphological features to the VP and V^0 that is in its complement.

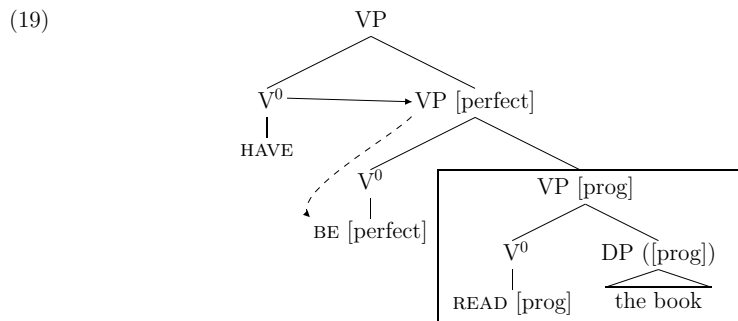[10]Examples drawn from Aikhenvald and Dixon (2007).

For illustration, consider the following example:

(17)   The students will have been reading the book.

When progressive BE is merged above READ, it assigns a feature requireing progressive participle morphology to its complement (I adopt the simplification of assuming this is a single feature):

(18)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}^0 \longrightarrow \text{VP [prog]} \\
\text{BE} \\
\text{V}^0 \quad \text{DP ([prog])} \\
\text{READ [prog]} \quad \text{the book}
\end{array}
$$

When the perfect auxiliary HAVE is merged, it assigns a feature requiring a perfect participle to its complement: this feature does not percolate past the next auxiliary down (BE) into the boxed portion of the tree.

(19)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
\text{V}^0 \longrightarrow \text{VP [perfect]} \\
\text{HAVE} \\
\text{V}^0 \quad \text{VP [prog]} \\
\text{BE [perfect]} \\
\text{V}^0 \quad \text{DP ([prog])} \\
\text{READ [prog]} \quad \text{the book}
\end{array}
$$

It is necessary that the VPs headed by auxiliaries be blockers to feature percolation; otherwise incompatible features [prog] and [perfect] would end up on the head READ.

- Final spell out:
  a.   READ[prog] $\longrightarrow$ *reading*
  b.   BE[perfect] $\longrightarrow$ *been*

3.2   Applying this syntax to the *go get* construction

Assume that the feature required by the *go get* construction originates from whatever element licenses the construction.
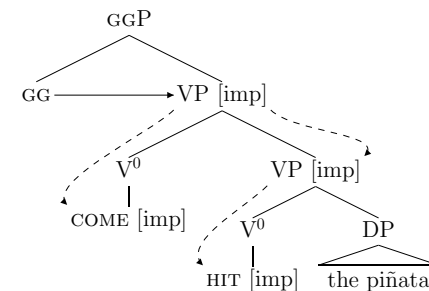
That is, the syntactic placeholder GG

- GG assigns a feature [imperative] to its complement. This feature spreads across two lexical verbs.
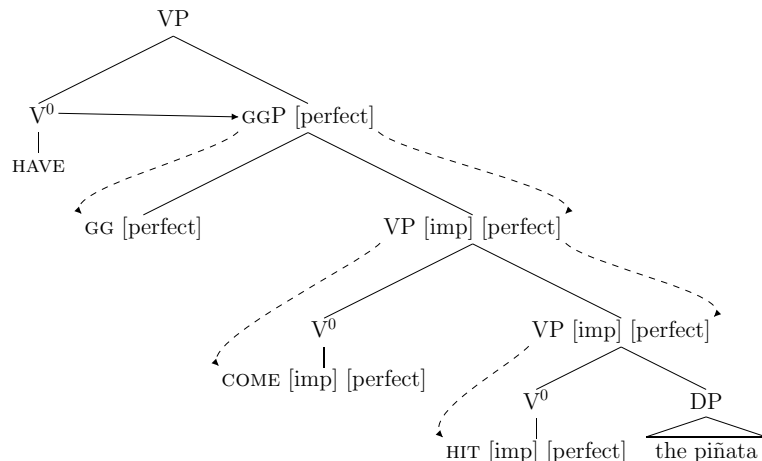- GG is not a blocker to further percolation.

Thus, in a sentence like (20) . . .

(20)   Alex will **have come hit the piñata.**

. . . we get a subtree like the following (including the stand-in projection GG):

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{GGP} \\
\text{GG} \longrightarrow \text{VP [imp]} \\
\text{V}^0 \quad \text{VP [imp]} \\
\text{COME [imp]} \\
\text{V}^0 \quad \text{DP} \\
\text{HIT [imp]} \quad \text{the piñata}
\end{array}
$$

... then when HAVE merges, we get the following:

VP

V⁰   → GGP [perfect]

HAVE

GG [perfect]   VP [imp] [perfect]

V⁰   VP [imp] [perfect]

COME [imp] [perfect]   V⁰   DP

HIT [imp] [perfect]   the piñata

Any features later assigned to HAVE will be blocked, however, from percolating further down.

- Both COME and HIT end this derivation with multiple features. Due to coincidental properties of their paradigms, they can nonetheless spell out these multiple features with single vocabulary items, so we want something like the following to occur at the point of morphological realization:

(21) **Desired result at spell-out: resolution via syncretism**
   a.   COME $\longrightarrow$ *come*
       [imperative] [perfect]
   b.   HIT $\longrightarrow$ *hit*
       [imperative] [perfect]

By contrast, if we replace the verb HIT with a verb like EAT, we get the same derivation, but at the point of lexical insertion we get a crash.

(22)   *Alex will **have come eaten the cake.**

- The desired effect is for the derivation to crash at lexical insertion because there is no element in the paradigm of EAT that can spell out all the features it has been assigned:

(23) **Desired result at spell-out: crash**
   a.   COME $\longrightarrow$ *come*
       [imperative] [perfect]
   b.   EAT $\longrightarrow$ **??? ← Crash**
       [imperative] [perfect]

Uninterpretability at the morphological interface does not come for free with a theory such as DM, however. Section 4 discusses this point.

4   Morphological Resolution of Feature Conflicts

For the purposes of this discussion, I adopt the post-syntactic model of Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz, 1993, 1994; Harley and Noyer, 1999).

How do we expect (incompatible) Feature Stacking to be interpreted by the morphology?

The result we want: multiple features of the same type impose their morphological restrictions *simultaneously*: the result of morphological interpretation is grammatical only if both features would have the same morphological realization.

(24)   **Impossible in standard implementations of DM:** For any head with a particular set of features, a set of ordered Vocabulary Insertion (VI) rules will always produce exactly one output. [11]
   a.   Hypothetical set of ordered VI rules:
       i. F $\longrightarrow$ a
       ii. G $\longrightarrow$ b
       iii. *elsewhere* $\longrightarrow$ c
   b.   Disjunctively ordered VI rules will always produce an output.
      A head X^0 with features [F] and [G] will always spell out as a, if the rule with [F] in its environment is ordered first.

- What is needed is a way to force the set of VI rules to apply **more than once**, in those cases where 'incompatible' features have been assigned to a head.

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[11] I am grateful to Alya Asarina for pointing this out to me. This argument is developed in greater detail in Asarina (in preparation).

Assume features are organized into *bundles* or *geometries*, as proposed by Harley and Ritter (2002) among many others, and proposed specifically for verbal inflection in Cowper (2003, 2005).

Proposal: Assignment (or co-existence) of incompatible features requires the creation of a second bundle, and *VI rules apply in sequence once per bundle.* All applications of VI rules per head must produce the same output, or the result is ungrammatical.

A Mechanism for Creating Multiple Bundles: when features are assigned to a head they check to see if they can form a consistent 'bundle' with the features that head already has.

In a normal case:

1. Subject = person and number features, e.g. [1,sg]

2. These are assigned to, or Agree with, T^0, which is itself specified for inflectional features: e.g. [pres]

3. All features are compatible, so they form a single bundle [1,sg,pres]

Then in the *go get* construction:

1. Both the motion verb and the second verb bear [imperative] in *go get* configurations.

2. A higher head (e.g. T^0 [1,sg,pres]) assigns more features downwards

3. Upon assignment, the syntax checks to see whether these features can coexist in a single feature geometry with the features already present on the head.

4. No, so head ends up with two feature bundles: [imperative] and [1,sg,pres]

5. At morphological spell-out, all feature bundles must be realized via a vocabulary insertion rule.

(25)   *She **comes visits** her grandfather every week.

(26)   **Multiple feature bundle spell-out for** COME **(greatly simplified)**

	COME [3,sg,pres]	COME [imp]	*VI applies once per feature bundle*
3,sg⟶ -s	*comes*	–	
elsewhere ⟶ ∅	–	*come*	
	comes≠come		

...**non-identity of outputs results in uninterpretability (crash)**

4.1   Returning to Marsalese and Greek

The logic is the same, but the available resolutions are different.

In both languages the construction licenser GG also assigns [imperative] to the two verbs.

Marsalese: in Marsalese imperative 'morphology' consists of the default stem with no inflection (as in many other languages). Unlike in English, it is indifferent to the presence of agreement suffixes. Thus, features that result in the spell-out of suffixes are acceptable as long as they do not place conflicting requirements on the stem.

Greek: in Greek, there is a dedicated inflected morphological imperative. The [imperative] feature is incompatible with all other possible verbal features; all would require different morphological interpretation.

For those speakers of Greek who lack the morphological restriciton to the imperative, presumably the construction licenser GG does not assign any morphological features. The same thing can be said for the analogue of the *go get* construction in Russian, not discussed here, which does not appear to be morphologically restricted at all.

5   Extension to other facts

The theory developed here can be applied to more famous cases of morphological resolution of syntactic feature conflict.

Groos and van Riemsdijk (1981) observe that free relatives in German require the gap and the free relative itself to be in positions calling for the same Case, except when the relative pronoun is syncretic for the multiple Case values.

(27)   German Free Relatives (Groos and van Riemsdijk, 1981)

    a. Ich nehme, wen   du mir empehlst.
         I   take   who-ACC you me recommend.
         "I take whomever you recommend to me." (ACC assigned in matrix and within RC)

    b. *Ich nehme, wer/wen   einen guten Eindruck   macht.
         I   take   who-NOM/who-ACC a   good impression makes.
         "I take whoever makes a good impression." (NOM and ACC not syncretic for *wer*)

    c. Ich habe gegessen was   noch übrig war.
         I   have eaten   what-NOM/ACC still left was
         "I ate what was left." (NOM and ACC syncretic for neuter *was*)

Directly adopting Matushansky (2008)'s assumptions about the composition of Case features: nominative Case results from a single feature ([nominative]) while accusative Case results from two features ([nominative, accusative])

1. In its base position in the free relative, the relative pronoun is assigned [nominative]

2. In the matrix clause, it is assigned [nominative,accusative] – the second [nominative feature is incompatible with a geometry already containing the first [nominative], resulting in a second feature bundle on the relative pronoun.

3. We now get two bundles of features, which have to be spelled out at the same time.

4. Spelling out [nominative] and [nominative,accusative] will produce the same result, so the Case conflict is resolvable.

6   Conclusion

The empirical focus of this talk was the *go get* construction, an odd little serializing construction which occurs with morphological restrictions in a number of languages.

In analyzing the morphological restriction, three strands of thought were drawn together:

1. The idea that the morphological restriction is the result of **conflicting feature requirements**, resolvable only when the conflicting features are syncretic.

2. The idea that features can be assigned in a head-complement relationship, and can **spread** throughout a domain so long as they are not blocked from doing so.

3. The idea that classical Affix Hopping (hence, English inflection) might be basically correct, but involve downward movement of features rather than of affixes.

Topics of current and future research:

More careful look at the geometry underlying feature incompatibility, particularly in extending this to other cases of syncretism.

Broader cross-linguistic pattern of the *go get* construction, particularly in languages lacking the morphological restriction.

Precise conditions of syntactic licensing, and possible connection to the features involved in the morphological restriction. Pursuing the imperative connection; this requires a syntax for imperatives.

Investigation of why apparently serial constructions involving motion verbs are frequently possible in non-serializing languages.

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A   *Go get* is not coordination or non-finite complementation

A common initial assumption is that the *go get* construction in (28a) is related to either the pupose-infinitive construction in (28b) or the asymmetric VP-coordination construction in (28c):

(28)   a.   I go buy a coffee every morning.
          b.   I go to buy a coffee every morning.
          c.   I go and buy a coffee every morning.

A.1   *go get* is not *go to get*

(29)   A motion verb followed by a purpose infinitives is not morphologically restricted:

       a.   I went to buy a coffee.
       b.   She comes to visit her grandmother often.

(30)   *Go get* and *go to get* have different truth conditions (from Shopen, 1971):

       a.   Every Saturday I go to buy vegetables, but there are never any vegetables.
       b. #Every Saturday I go buy vegetables, but there are never any vegetables.

(a) is potentially true; I can go somewhere with the intention of buying vegetables even if I never actually succeed in doing so. (b), by contrast, expresses a contradition; to say that I *go buy* vegetables appears to entail that I do actually *buy* vegetables.

A.2   *go get* is not *go and get*

The differences here are more subtle: indeed, many authors have failed to distinguish the constructions Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001); De Vos (2004); Wiklund (2005), or have analyzed *go get* as the coordination *go and get* plus conjunction reduction (Zwicky, 1969; Carden and Pesetsky, 1977).

(31)   No morphological restriction on *go and get*.[12]

       a.   What have you gone and done this time?
       b.   He/she goes and gets the paper every morning.
       c.   The delivery person came and left the package on the porch.

    d.   He has gone and bought the newspaper already.

    e.   Susan is coming and having lunch with us.

(32)   *Go get* construction requires an agentive subject. (Shopen, 1971)[13]

    a.   Will the army come destroy the city?

    b. #Will the bomb come destroy the city?

    . . . while *go and get* coordination lacks this agentivity requirement.

    c.   Will the bomb come **and** destroy the city?

(33)   *Go and get* allows a verb particle or a locative PP to follow the motion verb. *go get* doesn't. (Pullum, 1990)

    a.   (i)   Every morning you go (*out) fetch the mail?

           (ii)   Every morning you go (out) and fetch the mail?

    b.   (i)   I asked the courier to come (*to the office) pick up the package.

           (ii)   I asked the courier to come (to the office) and pick up the package.

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[12]Carden and Pesetsky (1977) correctly observe that *try and V* and *be sure and V* constructions are impossible with overt inflection, and they claim that the Inflection condition *does* apply to coordinated VPs with *go* or *come* in the first conjunct. See Pullum (1990) for arguments specifically addressing their examples.

[13]Thanks to Patrick Grosz for suggesting these examples.